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Kua Huri Taku Tira:
The Rereahu Journey Towards Autonomy

A thesis

submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

Master of Māori and Pacific Development

in

Development Studies

at

The University of Waikato

by

Jenny Te Huamanuka Crown

2019
Pepeha

Ko Pureora, Pirongia Titiraupenga, Tongariro, Taranaki ngā maunga
Ko Tainui, Te Arawa, Aotea ngā waka
Ko Waimiha, Waipā, Waikato, Waitara ngā awa
Ko Rereahu, Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Te Atiawa ngā iwi
Ko Jenny Te Huamanuka Crown tāku ingoa

He mihi tēnei ki a koutou katoa, tēnā koutou tēnā koutou tēnā tātou katoa.
Kōrero Tairitenga – Poem

Hurakia

Tirohia atu rā e hoa mā, ngā maunga teitei
Te Iringa o te tapu papanui o Tāne
Kua ngaro i te Toki-parau a te Kiritea.
Ka aroha hoki au, ki te iwi kua hīangahia
e te hunga kua heke no ki te kōnuitanga
o te motu e takoto nei.

Pureora te maunga e tū tahanga ana, hei
Tou whaka-āta kite ao tu.
Whakamau te titiro ki Hurakia te ohākī a te
Tini kua wehe atu ki te ao pōuri
Kua raungaitihia e Te Rohe Pōtae te paepae o Rereahu
Whakamaunga o Pipiri, Tauranga rua o Rēhua
ki te ao nei.

My friends look at those tall sacred hanging mountains
The wide courtyard (forests) of Tāne – Gone, lost because of
the enslaved axe of the White Man.
I feel oh so sad for my people who have been misled
by those who have shifted on into the wide country beyond.

Pureora is the mountain now standing naked – a sight
for the world to see.
Gaze (look) at Hurakia the sacred epitaph of those
who have descended into the world of darkness
The Rohe Pōtae has enclosed the Paepae of Rereahu
The pathway of Canopus, the second coming of Orion.

He Whakarāpopoto - Abstract

The establishment of the Native Land Court in Aotearoa New Zealand by the settler government caused much upheaval for tangata whenua. Traditional land tenure was interrupted by the colonised view of land ownership. Impetus to establish individual ownership of land was placed upon iwi and hapū Māori. This necessitated the iwi and hapū of the Rohe Pōtae to define their own individual boundaries within the autonomous region.

Over one hundred years later, the New Zealand government were under pressure from the Māori community. Iwi and hapū were vociferous in their requirements. The returning of land and natural resources to Māori was of paramount importance. The implementation of the Māori Trust Board Act enabled iwi and hapū to establish governance entities which permitted access to government funding. These entities also provided a vehicle through which iwi could pursue cultural redress from the Crown. This was the only way forward – the way dictated by the Crown.

Devolution was to become a reality and a sign of the decolonisation process at play. Such would allow Māori to re-establish autonomy which had been lost over a century prior. Destructive notions such as marginalisation, disenfranchisement and displacement would be reversed and Māori would regain control over their own cultural practices, cultural resources and future. Under the Fourth Labour Government of New Zealand this became a reality for some iwi and hapū.

This thesis investigates the attempts made by the Rereahu iwi in securing such recognition. Interrogation into the many ways in which Rereahu has attempted to navigate the multiple political landscapes which still exist and continue to control iwi and hapū have been discussed. The study develops a theoretical framework of
Māori wide concepts as applied through a Rereahu-centric lens. Thus, allowing for a balanced approach to the collection, collation and analysis of all evidence utilised in this thesis.

Key findings bring to light the effects colonisation has had and continues to have on Rereahu autonomy. The ways in which Rereahu has been misrepresented, and how Rereahu has responded to threats of colonisation in the 21st century are apparent. This thesis contributes new knowledge to the realm of academia through the experiences of the iwi Rereahu; and offers indigenous discourse regarding resilience and resistance.

The ongoing effects of colonisation being felt by the Rereahu iwi in this contemporary landscape are defined. It is an example of how the oppressed can easily become the oppressor. This thesis goes some way to highlighting the destructive nature of the Waitangi Tribunal process in regards to Rereahu. The knowledge presented in this thesis could be utilised by the Office of Treaty Settlements, education and health establishments, policy makers and the iwi of Rereahu in addressing and combating the negative effects created by the cycle of colonisation.
Ngā Mihi Whānui – Acknowledgements

This literary composition is the culmination of multiple synergies. A thesis only made possible through collaborative means. My heartfelt gratitude must therefore be given to my whānau, marae, iwi and friends. Thank you for showing an interest, giving of your time and for all the words of support.

An abundance of respect and gratitude must go to my two reverent matriarchs. Tāku whaea - my mum; the brave and tireless mahi you so selflessly and crucially committed to some three decades ago is ensconced in the fabric of our world. This thesis is an adage to the formidable foundations you prepared. I will be forever grateful for all that you have done and all that you continue to do. My Nana, who prefers subtlety over spectacle; your wisdom, patience, kindness and enduring hospitality were the essential elements to the elixir of enlightenment. Self-care is key. Aroha nui ki a kōrua.

My whānau I express the utmost thanks for supporting me with your myriad of skills and energies. My Mr and Pop, you have been constant reminders of why this journey was so important and necessary. You are the next generation. I know you will be as brave, as intuitive and as humble as your tūpuna. Pahi, it still seems surreal that we have journeyed the master's pathway together. It has been a pleasure navigating with you. Sal, your passion, love, pride and desire of justice for our people gave me sustenance and grounding throughout this journey. Janet, your willingness to use your legal and academic expertise to help me will always be remembered. Hinga, you created such valuable sharing and learning opportunities
for me. Glen, you created time to support and share your knowledge with me. Pat, the kindness you showed me, even through sickness was so humbling.

Whaea Moenohotu, your passing came near the end of my writing journey. I will cherish how freely you shared with me. Moe mai rā e te whaea, hoki atu rā ki ē mātua tūpuna.

Dad, so steeped you were in the ways of our tūpuna; your intelligence, knowledge and wisdom knew no bounds. With quiet unshakable fortitude and with mum astutely at your side, you reignited 'The Rereahu Journey Towards Autonomy' for the betterment of our people. This is my contribution as guided by your foresight, for our people passed, our people present and our people yet to come. Brother, you bravely traversed the path travelled by our Dad. You navigated the variables with pure intentions and thus your love for our people was prevalent in all you did.

Ēnoka Murphy, what a privilege it has been. Your robust scholarly advice, guidance, questioning and grasp of both te reo Māori and Pākehā enabled me to develop as a researcher and writer. You allowed me the freedom to pursue what had already been predestined.

I would also like to acknowledge Hinerangi and the organisers of Te Toi o Matariki writing retreats for openly sharing your expertise and assistance. Many thanks to Maraeroa C Incorporation, Tiroa E and Te Hape B Trusts', Tuaropaki Trust, Tūwharetoa Māori Trust Board, Raukawa Charitable Trust, Waikato Tainui, Paraninihi ki Waitōtara and The Ministry of Education Teach NZ whose financial support made this journey possible.

Nei rā aku mihi aroha ki a koutou katoa.
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<td>Aotearoa</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aroha</td>
<td>love, compassion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aukati</td>
<td>boundary marking a prohibited area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awa</td>
<td>river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hapū</td>
<td>tribe (sub), kinship group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hau kāinga</td>
<td>home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiki</td>
<td>According to some stories this is the sacred homeland from which the Māori migrated to Aotearoa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hikairo</td>
<td>An iwi of the King Country and Waikato regions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hīnau</td>
<td>A tall, low lying tree native to Aotearoa New Zealand which produces white flowers and edible berries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hui</td>
<td>A meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui-ā-iwi</td>
<td>A gathering of all people who affiliate to a particular tribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hono kai</td>
<td>virtual food basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hononga</td>
<td>connection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwi</td>
<td>tribe, kinship group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāhui Ariki o Tainui</td>
<td>Aristocratic leader of Tainui waka group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaiārahi</td>
<td>leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāinga</td>
<td>home, residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaitiaki</td>
<td>guardian, caretaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaitiakitanga</td>
<td>guardianship</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 As certain Māori words have multiple meanings I have selected those that are relevant to the usage required for this thesis. For the purpose of this glossary I have primarily utilised *The Māori Dictionary Online*, and *Dictionary of the Maori Language*.

2 Unless stated otherwise all geographical locations referred to in this thesis will be situated in Aotearoa New Zealand.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karakia</td>
<td>ritual chant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karanga</td>
<td>A formal call of acknowledgement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaumātua</td>
<td>An elder or a person of status within a family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaupapa</td>
<td>topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kauwhanganui</td>
<td>tribal council, parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāwhia</td>
<td>A small west coast town in the Ōtorohanga district.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawa</td>
<td>Kawa is frequently used to refer to rituals or protocols related to, but not limited to, the formal welcome of visitors on the marae. Kawa derives from atua, the spiritual worlds, to tāngata i.e. humanity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōkōwai</td>
<td>Red ochre pigment was used for rock art and is found in volcanic areas. It was also used for personal adornment and for decorating artefacts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōrero</td>
<td>narrative, story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kōrero tuku iho</td>
<td>history, oral traditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koroua</td>
<td>An elderly man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotahitanga</td>
<td>unity, togetherness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuia</td>
<td>An elderly woman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kupu</td>
<td>word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ley line</td>
<td>A supposed straight magnetic line running through the earth connecting three or more prehistoric or ancient sites. These are sometimes regarded as the line of a former track and associated by some with lines of energy and other paranormal phenomena.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahinga kai</td>
<td>cultivation, traditional food gathering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua</td>
<td>Rereahu tribal area located in the central North Island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamaku</td>
<td>A giant tree fern with flattish oval frond scars on the trunk, black and very thick frond stalks and arching fronds. Common in damp forest gullies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana</td>
<td>prestige, authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manaakitanga</td>
<td>The process of showing respect, generosity and care for others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana motuhake</td>
<td>autonomy, self-government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana whenua</td>
<td>A people (whānau, hapū, rūnanga and iwi) who exercise customary rights and absolute authority over a geo-political area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manawa</td>
<td>heart (of a person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>An indigenous person of Aotearoa New Zealand - a new use of the word resulting from Pākehā contact in order to distinguish between people of Māori descent and the colonisers. Traditionally meaning normal or common.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māoridom</td>
<td>A māori world view</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marae</td>
<td>A complex of buildings and grounds that people have a genealogical connection to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māramatanga</td>
<td>enlightenment, insight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matakite</td>
<td>prophecy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mātauranga</td>
<td>knowledge, understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matawhāura</td>
<td>battle, warfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mātua</td>
<td>parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maunga</td>
<td>mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mihimihi</td>
<td>Speech of greeting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miringa Te Kakara</td>
<td>A Māori reservation situated on the whenua of Rereahu. A whare wānanga or house of learning once stood there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moemoeā</td>
<td>dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōkau</td>
<td>A small west coast town in the Northern Taranaki and Southern Waitomo Districts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motu</td>
<td>nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāti Maniapoto</td>
<td>An iwi of the Waipa and Waitomo regions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngāti Pōrou</td>
<td>An iwi of the East Cape and Gisborne regions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ngāti Raukawa: An iwi of the South Waikato and Northern Taupō regions.

Ngāti Tūwharetoa: An iwi of the Central Plateau and Taupō regions.

nōho puku: to dwell inwardly, to be grounded

Ōtorohanga: An inland town in the upper North Island.

pā: pre European settlement

Pākehā: A term used to describe the English-speaking settlers to Aotearoa New Zealand.

papakāinga: original home, village

Papaptūānuku: Earth Mother and spouse of Ranginui.

patupaiarehe: A spirit being of the mists.

pepeha: Adages of tribal identity.

Pirongia: A small town in the Waipa district. One of many mountains named by the ancestor Kahurere.

pītau: The young succulent shoot of a fern.

pono: be true, valid

pou: pole, pillar

pūrākau: ancient legend, story

Pureora-o-Kahu: Ancestral mountain of the Rereahu people located in the Central North Island.

rangahau: research

rangatira: chief

rangatiratanga: sovereignty, to exercise authority, autonomy

Rangiatea: An ancient settlement established by Rereahu's paternal grandfather, Tūrongo, near the township of current day Ōtorohanga.

Ranginui: Sky father, spouse of Papatūānuku. The realm of the heavens.

Rangipare: Rangipare was the granddaughter of Rereahu by way of his daughter Kinohaku. She was in fact betrothed to Wairangi the chiefly son of Rereahu's sister Kurawari.
Raukawa
Father of the eponymous ancestor Rereahu.
An iwi of the central North Island.

rauwiri
eel weir

Rengarenga
Native plant to Aotearoa New Zealand with fleshy roots.

Rereahu
Eponymous ancestor of the Rereahu iwi.

Rereahutanga
The beliefs and practices reflecting those of Rereahu. Being Rereahu.

Rereahu-centric
Implicitly regarding Rereahu beliefs and practices as central to this thesis.

rohe
region

Rohe Pōtae
The area of the hat/ under the brim of the hat.
In this thesis, a traditionally large tract of autonomous land governed according to tribal lore in the North Island. It is also known as the King Country.

rongoā
remedy, medicine.

roopu
group, entourage

taiao
natural world, environment, nature

take
issue, concern

takiwā
region

tamariki
children

tangihanga
Māori customary mortuary practices.

Tāne kaha
A tree native to Aotearoa New Zealand.

Tāne Māhuta
The people of Rereahu recognise Tāne Māhuta as the conveyor of cargo.

tangata
person, man

tāngata
people, human beings

tapatapa waerea
Sacred clearing chants.

tapu
sacred, restricted

Tarapikau
A spiritual custodian presiding over the Rereahu takiwā Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua.
Tāwhaki  The people of Rereahu consider Tāwhaki to be the Harvester. He is also known as Tāne i te wānanga (Tāne the learned).

Tāwhiao  Tāwhiao, the second Māori king.

Tāwhiao's tongikura  The prophecies of Tāwhiao the second Māori king.

te Ao Māori  The Māori world.

Te Arawa  A confederation of iwi and hapū located in the Rotorua and Bay of Plenty region.

Te Kāhui Manu Tāiko  The term 'kāhui' in Māori is used to describe a flock and the term 'manu tāiko' is used to describe the bird which acts as sentry or lookout for the whole flock. Thus, the role of Te Kāhui Manu Tāiko within the Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies, is to uphold the Human Research Ethics as defined by Waikato University.

Te Kūiti  Te Kūiti is situated in the Northern King Country region. It is sometimes referred to as Te Kūittitanga o ngā whakaaro. This refers to the narrowing of thoughts, likening it to the physical nature of the land as it narrows at this point. Therefore, it has become recognised as a gathering or meeting place of the Maniapoto people and the congregating of thoughts.

Te Rā Karepe  A tohunga of Miringa Te Kakara from Tawata - Whanganui.

te reo  Māori language

Te Tiriti o Waitangi  Te Tiriti o Waitangi and The Treaty of Waitangi are the founding documents of contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. The two versions were first signed on the 6 February, 1840. Both documents have three articles and outline principles that refer to the partnership between the British Crown and Māori tribes.
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<th>Meaning</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Te Wana was an elderly man with status in the iwi of Maniapoto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikanga</td>
<td>Māori customary practices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipua</td>
<td>strange, foreigners, in this case Pākehā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titiro</td>
<td>gaze, examine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohunga</td>
<td>chosen expert, priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūāhu</td>
<td>A sacred place for ritual practices carried out by a Tohunga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuakana</td>
<td>The definition of elder sister to a female is synonymous with this thesis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūhoe</td>
<td>An iwi of the eastern North Island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupuna (singular)</td>
<td>ancestor, grandparent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūpuna (plural)</td>
<td>ancestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūtakamoana</td>
<td>Tūtakamoana was a grandson of Rereahu by way of his son Maniapoto. Tūtakamoana was raised in childhood, by Tūwhakahekeao his father's brother in the Rereahu lands of Maraeroa (Maraeroa will be discussed further in chapter 5). However, in manhood, Tūtakamoana made a new home along the Mangaorongo River at Hikurangi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uri</td>
<td>descendent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uira</td>
<td>lightning, electricity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urupā</td>
<td>burial ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāhi tapu</td>
<td>sacred place, sacred site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waiata</td>
<td>song, chant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waiata tawhito</td>
<td>Traditional Māori songs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waikato</td>
<td>A large geographical region of the upper North Island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wairua</td>
<td>It is the non-physical spirit, distinct from the body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wānanga</td>
<td>A gathering of people for deliberate discussion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wero</td>
<td>challenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakaaro</td>
<td>thought, plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakapapa</td>
<td>genealogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakawhanaungatanga</td>
<td>The process of establishing relationships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whānau</td>
<td>family, extended family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whanaunga</td>
<td>relative, kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whanaungatanga</td>
<td>A sense of family and familial relationships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whanganui</td>
<td>An iwi of the Manawatu-Whanganui region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A river within the same region mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>City on the West coast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare</td>
<td>house, building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare tangata</td>
<td>house of humanity, womb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare wānanga</td>
<td>Traditionally, places where tohunga would</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teach their people's history, genealogy and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>religious practices to selected recipients.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whenua</td>
<td>land, area</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Rārangi Kupu Whakapoto – List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIP</td>
<td>Agreement in Principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNI</td>
<td>Central North Island Forestry Claim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LNG</td>
<td>Large Natural Grouping Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maraeroa C</td>
<td>Maraeroa C Incorporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMTB</td>
<td>Maniapoto Māori Trust Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMTBA</td>
<td>Maniapoto Māori Trust Board Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NLC</td>
<td>Native Land Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTS</td>
<td>Office of Treaty Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSGE</td>
<td>Post Settlement Governance Entity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marae Pact</td>
<td>Ngāti Maniapoto Marae Pact Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPK</td>
<td>Te Puni Kōkiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Charitable Trust</td>
<td>Te Rohe Pōtēa o Rereahu Maniapoto Charitable Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rūnanga</td>
<td>Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Rereahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Society</td>
<td>Te Rohe Pōtēa o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Task Force</td>
<td>Te Rohe Pōtēa o Rereahu-Maniapoto Drug and Alcohol Task Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Treaty</td>
<td>The Treaty of Waitangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tribunal</td>
<td>Waitangi Tribunal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Trusts</td>
<td>Tiroa E &amp; Te Hape B Trusts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TKoRM</td>
<td>Te Kauwhanganui o Rereahu-Maniapoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMoRIT</td>
<td>Te Maru o Rereahu Iwi Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOWPU</td>
<td>Treaty of Waitangi Policy Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRPO</td>
<td>Te Rohe Pōtēa Organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRPOS</td>
<td>Te Rohe Pōtēa Organisational Structures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTB</td>
<td>Tainui Trust Board</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mum - My Sage.
A modern day heroine imbued with other worldly prowess.
You surpass the full spectrum of beauty attainable to humankind.
**KUPU WHAKATAKI - INTRODUCTION**

*Ko Tamakaiuru ki te rangi. Ko Rereahu ki te whenua.*

*Tamakaiuru (comet) of the stratosphere. Rereahu of the land.*

**Introduction**

This thesis seeks to uphold the mana\(^3\) of Rereahu\(^4\) within the context of academia. I have contemplated the implications of presenting this story of my people in an academic framework due to; the constraints, expectations and restrictions of scholarly writing, deemed appropriate by western concepts of thought. The tapu\(^5\) nature of much kōrero\(^6\) is obvious and therefore certain aspects of the story will remain unprinted. Kaitiaki\(^7\) will guide me through this process and it is my absolute belief that only kōrero which is deemed appropriate will be printed. This research is but a small token of support for my tūpuna\(^8\) and whanaunga\(^9\) who have contributed to the cause - to 'the Rereahu\(^10\) journey towards autonomy'.

In keeping with the practices of my tūpuna and for the purpose of this thesis I will delineate my personal relationship to this kaupapa.\(^11\) I am a woman of Rereahu. My lineage traverses multiple pathways from the eponymous ancestor Rereahu by way

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\(^3\) prestige, authority
\(^4\) The eponymous ancestor and namesake of the Rereahu iwi.
\(^5\) sacred, restricted
\(^6\) narrative, story
\(^7\) guardian, caretaker
\(^8\) ancestors
\(^9\) relative, kin
\(^10\) The iwi of Rereahu will usually be referred to as just, Rereahu. However, when quoting iwi literature such as Native Land Court records the term 'Ngāti' will usually preceed the noun Rereahu. Ngāti means descendent of. In tribal and sub tribal settings the words Ngāti and Ngai establish this relationship. On speaking with numerous descendents of the ancestor Rereahu it was impressed upon me that they did not see themselves as 'descendents of' Rereahu but rather embodiments of Rereahu himself. Hence the reason why many will present their tribal affiliation as being Rereahu and not Ngāti Rereahu.
\(^11\) topic
of his two sons; Te Ihingārangi and Tūwhakahekeao. Within me I preserve these precious connections. In terms of this research I centre myself in regards to the relationship which stems from the second union of the rangatira Rereahu to Hineupounamu. This partnership produced Tūwhakahekekeao. I write this thesis as a woman of Rereahu whom begat Tūwhakahekekeao, who produced direct issue through fourteen generations to myself. Thus, I am a woman of Rereahu.

This chapter will outline the aims of this thesis. It will then describe the tupuna Rereahu. Following on will be a succinct presentation of historical background regarding the Rohe Pōtæ and Rereahu takiwā, Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua. The theoretical framework underpinning this research will then be discussed. This chapter will then consider the methods prescribed to in the collection of research for this thesis. A chapter outline will follow. In conclusion, a summary of the chapter will be provided.

**Research Aims**

Since the introduction of a colonial government and rules, the traditional societal systems within and between iwi and hapū have altered. These systems have evolved out of necessity and in response to the actions of oppression forced upon Māori by the settler introduced government. On reflection it would seem the remnants of a colonised past are continuing to plague Māori in present times. The

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12 Traditionally a large tract of autonomous land governed according to tribal lore in the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. Also known as the King Country.
13 Rereahu tribal area located in the central North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand.
14 tribe (sub), kinship group
15 tribe, kinship group
16 Indigenous person of Aotearoa/New Zealand - a new use of the word resulting from Pākehā contact in order to distinguish between people of Māori descent and the colonisers traditionally meaning normal or common.
autonomy and cultural identity of many iwi and hapū have been categorically denied by the Crown. In order for cultural and commercial redress to take place, iwi and hapū have been forced to conform to the beliefs and understandings of colonised minds. Currently, a number of iwi and hapū from throughout the motu have claims that are being reviewed or settled according to a culturally conflicting process, steeped in westernised notions of governance.

Rereahu is one such iwi who are in threat of being subsumed in the settlement process directed by the Waitangi Tribunal (The Tribunal). This process is supposed to be in accordance with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (The Treaty).

This thesis endeavours to present the attempts made by the iwi of Rereahu to gain legally recognised political autonomy. The term autonomy in this thesis; refers to Rereahu obtaining recognition and acceptance from the Crown to directly negotiate and settle historic grievances pertaining to their own interests within the land area Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua. This thesis will outline the actions undertaken by my tūpuna and whanaunga in retaining mana whenua.

Hence, the overarching question requiring consideration in this thesis is; 'What long lasting effects has colonisation had on Rereahu autonomy?' In order to answer this satisfactorily two sub questions will also be presented. The first is, 'How has

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18 nation
19 See reports on the Pare Hauraki Claim, Tauranga Moana, Ngāti Pāoa and Ngā Puhi to name but a few.
20 Te Tiriti o Waitangi and The Treaty of Waitangi are the founding documents of contemporary New Zealand. The two versions were first signed on the 6 February, 1840. Both documents have three articles and outline principles that refer to the partnership between the British Crown and Māori tribes (Campbell & Mc Creanor, 2010; Orange, 2013). There are some vast semantic differences between the texts with the English version having taken precedence in our nation's history (Russell, 2017). This continues to cause significant cultural and societal upheaval for Māori.
21 A people (whānau, hapū, rūnanga and iwi) who exercise customary rights and absolute authority over a geo-political area.
Rereahu been misrepresented?’ The second being, ‘How has Rereahu responded to the ongoing threat of colonisation in the 21st century?’

Chapters two and three will investigate the first sub question. Chapters four and five will interrogate the second of the two sub questions. The overarching question will be answered in both the fifth and conclusion chapters. It is my disputation that in answering the questions above, a gap exists in the literature pertaining to Rereahu. The literature that does exist generally misrepresents this iwi. It is therefore an aim of this thesis to provide a resource for my people of Rereahu and our uri of future generations. The thesis will also contribute to the knowledge base of accessible literature on Rereahu and the takiwā Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua presented through a Rereahu lens. It is an aspiration that this thesis be used as a tool of self-determination for the iwi of Rereahu.

**Rereahu – Te Tangata**

This section will introduce; the rangatira, the tohunga, the eponymous ancestor, Rereahu. It will offer insight into how the iwi of Rereahu lived in the days of his reign. The examples provided are stories that have been preserved through generations. This section of writing will highlight how and why thoughts and theories were developed amongst the people of Rereahu. Thus, leading to the chosen theoretical framework implemented in this research.

Rereahu is a direct descendant of Hoturoa, tohunga or commander of the Tainui waka. Rereahu was born the eldest of four children from a union between Raukawa

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22 descendental
23 person, man
24 chief
25 chosen expert, priest
of Tanui descent, and Turongoihi of Te Arawa\textsuperscript{26} ancestry. His three younger siblings were Whakatere, Kurawari and Takihiku (South Waikato District Council, 2015, p. 1).

At Te Manga-i-tutu-ai-a-Raukawa (Manga-Tu Valley), Raukawa watched the skies and was witness to a meteor. He whispered to himself, "He matakōkiri ki te rangi ka puta ko Rereahu ki te whenua". A meteor blazing in the heavens 'tis the birth of Rereahu upon the land. That night Rereahu was born (Crown, 2009, p. 15).

In his youth, Rereahu was an adventurer. He helped his father Raukawa lead the people. However, the time came for Rereahu to leave the shadow of his father. Before he set off on his discoveries Raukawa led Rereahu to Rangiatea.\textsuperscript{27} To Rereahu he bestowed these words:

\begin{quote}
I reira kātahi ka puta mai te kōrero e tama, ānei tō rahi. Mai i Rangitoto ki Tuhua. Kia kaha mai koe te tīaki, kia kaha mai koe te tīaki mō ō teina a Takihiku, a Kurawari, a Whakatere. Here is your territory from Rangitoto to Tuhua, look after the lands for your younger siblings, Takihiku, Kurawari and Whakatere (New Zealand Government, 2010b, p. 101).
\end{quote}

Hence, Rereahu set out with the intent of finding a wife. He was successful and settled at Okahukura with Rangiānewa. It was here their child Te Ihingārangi was born. Following this they moved to the village of Tihikoreoreo which is in close proximity to current day Waimiha. This union was not to be and it was here that

\textsuperscript{26} A confederation of iwi and hapū located in the Rotorua and Bay of Plenty area in the North Island of Aotearoa, New Zealand.

\textsuperscript{27} An ancient settlement established by Rereahu's paternal grandfather, Tūrongo, near the township of current day Ōtorohanga situated in the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand.
Rereahu and Rangiānewa parted ways. Te Ihingārangi was still an infant and accompanied his mother on her departure (Crown, 2009, p. 16).

Rereahu sought the company of Hineaupounamu, the highly esteemed cousin of Rangiānewa. Together Rereahu and Hineaupounamu located further north to the Mohaonui district in the village of Hikurangi. They bore eight tamariki\(^\text{28}\) in total (Crown, 2009, p. 16). Their names were as follows: Maniapoto, Matakore, Tūwhakahekeao, Tū Rongo Tapu Arau, Te Io Waananga, Kinohaku, Kahu Ari and Te Rongorito. Some of the children were born at Hikurangi and some in the Southern district of Maraeroa (Crown, 2009, p. 16).

Rereahu and his people occupied these lands. Due to the nomadic nature of tribal existence which was in response to the seasonal changes, the people traversed and sought refuge in the diverse geographical settings of the whenua\(^\text{29}\). The traditional whenua of Rereahu was physically vast and varied. Therefore, many homes were made. Papakāinga\(^\text{30}\) could be found in the mountainous regions, plains, river villages and inner depths of the forests (Crown, 2009, p. 15).

The Rereahu stronghold of Maraeroa was dense with forest which provided ample of Rereahu's favourite kai\(^\text{31}\). Mamaku,\(^\text{32}\) a black fern with tender pītau\(^\text{33}\) was plentiful. So too, hinau\(^\text{34}\)berries and rengarenga root.\(^\text{35}\) These ingredients made into a cake was Rereahu's most favoured delicacy (Crown, 2009, p. 17).

\(^{28}\) children
\(^{29}\) land, area
\(^{30}\) original home, village
\(^{31}\) food
\(^{32}\) A giant tree fern with flattish oval frond scars on the trunk, black and very thick frond stalks and arching fronds. Common in damp forest gullies.
\(^{33}\) The young succulent shoot of a fern.
\(^{34}\) A tall, low lying tree native to Aotearoa New Zealand which produces white flowers and edible berries.
\(^{35}\) A native plant to Aoteroa New Zealand with fleshy roots.
Rereahu was a capable provider for his whānau and would navigate the testing terrain in commute to Kāwhia and Mōkau. He would gather kai from the sea and birds of the coast to return to his whānau (Crown, 2009, p. 16). Within his lifetime, Rereahu not only provided his people with ample kai but knowledge too. This knowledge was shared with his many children and grandchildren. The stories were also disseminated to Rereahu's younger siblings and their offspring (Crown, 2009, p. 17). Rereahu stood true to the words of his father and provided care and support for his younger siblings.

Rereahu was a peaceful and amiable man well loved by his people. At the peak of Puketurua hill on the whenua of Tiroa a house by the name of Otarararehua was built and dedicated to Rereahu. Yet another was built at Nga Herenga village nestled within Maraeroa. It was here in Nga Herenga that death became of Rereahu. This house was renamed 'Tūturu-whakamate' by his children to mark his bereavement (Crown, 2009, p. 17). Following the passing of their eponymous ancestor, the people of Rereahu continued to occupy the lands of Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua. At its peak some 200 hapū were affiliated to the rangatira Rereahu.

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36 A small west coast town in the Ōtorohanga district.
37 A small west coast town in the Northern Taranaki and Southern Waitomo Districts.
38 family, extended family
39 This was shared with me on numerous occasions throughout my life, by Rereahu kaumātua and tohunga Phillip Crown.
Figure 1: An artist's impression: "Te Rohe o Rereahu" The Dominion of Rereahu. From [Adapted from] Rereahu chronicles: Rare and precious gems (p.6), P. N. Crown 2009, Te Kūiti New Zealand: Maraeroa C Incorporation. Reprinted with permission.
Historical Background

The information in this section relates to the actions undertaken by iwi within the Rohe Pōtae (where Rereahu is geographically situated) in response to the prospects of land alienation and dispossession. The research will reflect the iwi situation as it existed in the late nineteenth century through to the early twentieth century. In 1840 Francis Dart Fenton established the 1840 rule of Māori land title. He determined that Māori tribal boundaries became permanent and that Māori became owners according to Pākehā ideology. This was in direct conflict with the traditional customary lifestyle which existed and prevailed in the evidence given to the Native Land Court (NLC) by the tūpuna. At times conflicting views amongst the tūpuna witnesses, showed how boundaries were viewed as being fluid rather than being fixed. As H. Mead (2016) notes, traditional groupings had an; “idea of boundaries of their rohe, although those bordering would rarely ever agree to such assertions” (p. 220).

The following research is presented in chronological order. Presentation in this way will highlight the fluid nature of theory formulated by iwi in response to the situation they faced. Methods conducted in reaction to the theories will be clearly defined. These will include; providing whakapapa, engaging in negotiations with the Pākehā government, iwi issues being the catalysts for law amendments and iwi implementing the use of Pākehā law to meet their needs. With the introduction of western law and a Westminster system of government, Māori were unable to settle differences according to traditional Māori lore. Therefore, divisions were

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40 The Native Lands Acts 1865 established the Native Land Court later to become the Māori Land Court.
41 region
42 genealogy
43 A term used to describe the English-speaking settlers to Aotearoa New Zealand.
created between iwi under the auspices of colonial law. Here we see the introduced law as a perpetrator of divide and unrest within iwi and hapū.

This section of writing will also substantiate the implementation of the theoretical framework created for this thesis. The information provided highlights the ways in which iwi and hapū life was dynamic and fluid. Adaptation took place according to socio-cultural and political-economic situations. In many cases, these were guided by epistemological beliefs influenced by geographical environments (Ballara, 1998, p. 21). Ownership of land was a foreign concept or theory to iwi. The land and the resources which came from the land and water were not 'owned' by iwi in terms of a commodity that could be bought and sold (Durie, 1998; Marr, 1996; Waitangi Tribunal, 1993). Iwi land tenure dictated occupation of land by extended whānau and hapū groups. This system supported ongoing use, not ownership (Durie, 1998, p. 31). Occupation could be intermittent according to the seasons and needs of the people. Ballara (1998) hypothesised, "if one word could characterise [traditional existence] it was mobility" (p. 195). However, it soon became apparent that to continue this form of occupation iwi and hapū would be required, by Pākehā law, to substantiate their right to ownership. Proof would be required by the NLC. Iwi were to provide evidence of land ownership in a court of Law. Customary land tenure was under siege from, and reduced to, the dictates of British Imperialism (Cleaver, 2011; Cross & Bargh, 1996; Marr, 1996; Waitangi Tribunal, 1993).
The Rohe Pōtæ\textsuperscript{44}

In 1882 rangatira from the iwi of Ngāti Maniapoto,\textsuperscript{45} Ngāti Tūwharetoa,\textsuperscript{46} Ngāti Raukawa,\textsuperscript{47} and Whanganui;\textsuperscript{48} (later to be known as 'The Four Tribes') (Marr, 1996; Robinson & Christoffel, 2011; Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b) gathered to discuss the current political situation of that time period. This included the effects it was to have on their people. A catalyst to this was the proposal of the Crown to introduce a railway line through the Rohe Pōtæ. Discussions proceeded on how to define the rohe of an autonomous area of land proposed two years earlier. One story shared by P. Crown (cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b) tells of Wahanui Huatare taking possession of a hat belonging to Governor Gore-Browne\textsuperscript{49} to whom he instructed with the words, "Give me your hat" to which the Governor obliged. Wahanui took off his hatchet and was brandishing it as if to strike and halve the Governor's hat. Gore-Browne said to Wahanui, "Hang on, just a minute. What are you doing?" Wahanui said, "You want to chop our land in half, but you are fearful lest we chop your hat in half" (p. 639).\textsuperscript{50}

The external boundary of the hat on the map signified the outer perimeter of what was to be known as the Rohe Pōtæ. Unofficially the Pākehā would refer to this area as the 'King Country', due to the role the Māori King Tāwhiao\textsuperscript{51} had in its inception (Marr, 2011, pp. 16-17). However the term was discarded by colonial governments due to the political connotations attached to the meaning (Marr, 2011, p. 17).

\textsuperscript{44} The area of the hat/ under the brim of the hat.
\textsuperscript{45} An iwi of the Waipa and Waitomo regions.
\textsuperscript{46} An iwi of the Central Plateau and Taupō regions.
\textsuperscript{47} An iwi of the South Waikato and Northern Taupō regions.
\textsuperscript{48} An iwi of the Manawatu-Whanganui region.
\textsuperscript{49} He replaced George Grey as Governor of New Zealand in 1855.
\textsuperscript{50} As is the nature of oral histories there are many explanations regarding the defining of the Rohe Pōtæ. However, there seems to be general agreement that both Wahanui and Tāwhiao used a pōtæ as a metaphor to delineate the territory (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 684).
\textsuperscript{51} Tāwhiao was the second Māori king.
Nevertheless, later that year Wahanui Huatare (hereafter Wahanui) spent four days giving evidence at the NLC in Pirongia.\textsuperscript{52} He gave evidence on behalf of the four initial iwi of the Rohe Pōtae and petitioned the Government to recognise the boundaries of the Rohe Pōtae.

Wahanui stated on oath [and I surmise] the boundary of the Rohe Pōtae was set as being:

Mai Rangitoto ki te marangai, Tuhua ki te tonga, mai i waenganui O Taupo moana i te aranga o te ra, ki te hauauru ka tapotu atu ki te Moana-Nui-a-Kiwa, rua te kau ma wha maero te tawhiti atu ki waho. Ko te rohe o te hauāuru rere tika atu ki Karewa ki te marangai, ki Wai Pingāo ki te tonga.

From Rangitoto in the North to Tuhua in the South, from the middle of Lake Taupō in the East, continuing out West into the Pacific Ocean for a distance of twenty-four miles. This western boundary runs parallel with the coastline from Gannett Island in the North to the Wai Pingao River in the South.

These original boundaries which were petitioned for in 1883 contained around 3,500,000 acres" (as cited in Marr, 1996, p. 9).

By this time the government already had plans to incorporate a railway line in the North Island. Because Parliament was unsuccessful in reaching an agreement with the Rohe Pōtae iwi, two measures of persuasion were passed during Parliamentary Sessions (Major Te Wheoro, 1882, p. 2). One was the Native Reserves Act 1856 proposing that the Rohe Pōtae be sanctioned into reserves. The other being the Amnesty Act 1882 which gave the Governor authority to issue pardons. In the words of Native Minister Bryce this meant that the Act, "will amount to an amnesty

\textsuperscript{52} A small town in the Waipa district. One of many mountains named by the ancestor Kahu.
for offences or crimes that have been committed during, or have arisen out of, our wars with the Native race" (Loveridge, 2006, p. 40).

The prophet warrior Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki of Rongowhakaata\(^{53}\) had taken refuge in the Rohe Pōtae and was included in the amnesty. It was Bryce's belief that issuing the amnesty would bring about a change of heart from iwi. This was not to be so as the surveyor Charles Hursthouse found when he went to explore the proposed railway route. On reaching Ōtorohanga\(^{54}\) he was greeted by a party of fifty Ngāti Maniapoto and thus was temporarily unable to cross the aukati\(^{55}\) laid down by Rohe Pōtae Iwi (Marr, 2011, p. 758).

On the 16\(^{th}\) of March 1883 an exchange of correspondence took place between Wahanui and Bryce. Wahanui’s letter gave permission for the railway survey to go ahead, but there were to be no further surveys until he had discussed the matter with his people. A petition would soon be sent “praying you and your Parliament to pass a satisfactory law for the lands of the Ngatimaniapoto” (correspondence cited in Cleaver & Sarich, 2009, p. 53). In a reply written the same day, Bryce agreed that the survey would do no more than explore rail routes, and that he would seriously consider the petition, once presented. Other surveys would be delayed ‘for a time’, apart from those having nothing to do with title (correspondence cited in Cleaver & Sarich, 2009, pp. 53-54).

In June 1883, the petition outlined iwi concerns about the expenses associated with the NLC often resulting in alienation of the land, and the activities of land

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\(^{53}\) Te Kooti will be mentioned again in following chapters.

\(^{54}\) An inland town in the upper North Island.

\(^{55}\) A boundary marking a prohibited area.
speculators. It was over 1000 words long and made five main requests, as summarised by Loveridge (2006):

First: That they be ‘relieved from the entanglements incidental to employing the NLC to determine our titles to the land’, and the ‘fraud, drunkenness, demoralization, and all other objectionable results attending sittings of the Land Court’ be prevented.

Second: that a law be passed ‘to secure our lands to us and our descendants forever, making them absolutely inalienable by sale’.

Third: that the petitioners themselves be allowed ‘to fix the boundaries of the four tribes...the hapu boundaries in each tribe, and the proportionate claim of each individual within the boundaries’. The boundaries of the four tribes were described in detail.

Fourth: that once the final decisions on tribal and hapu boundaries, and individual ‘proportionate claims’ were made, they be officially confirmed by ‘persons’ appointed by the Government and ‘vested with power to confirm our arrangements and decisions in accordance with law’.

Fifth: that all leases of lands in individual claims be made by public auctions (pp. 85-86).

This petition was tabled in the House on June 26, 1883 and was considered by the Native Affairs committee in August. The committee recommended petition to the favourable consideration of the House when the Native Committee Bill and Native Land Sales Bill were before it (Colonel Trimble Chairman, 1883, p. 9). Their motivation being the completion of the final stage of The Main Railway Trunk Line
(Dalziel, 1990, p. 564). Consequently, the New Zealand government continued with the development of a national railway.

Like their eponymous ancestor, the iwi of Rereahu were a humble peace faring people. They continued to occupy their traditional lands during these events. It is so prevalent today that their fellow iwi made no mention of their existence. Although the decisions and actions of the 'Four Tribes' ensured the Rohe Pōtae remain under iwi kawa\(^{56}\), it was the beginning of the assimilation of Rereahu by the iwi of the Rohe Pōtae. Being voiceless in proceedings and decision making, the iwi of Rereahu, the eponymous tupuna of Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua, was placed in an enforced position of assimilation.

In the late 1880's and in fact even around the time of the Rohe Pōtae petition, fractions began to appear between the Rohe Pōtae iwi. Te Keepa Te Rangihiwinui was in support of the main trunk railway line and resented the actions of Wahanui and his supporters creating delays (Marr, 2004, p. 29). Toakohura Tawhirimatea of Whanganui and 101 supporters put in a petition against the Rohe Pōtae boundary line as it ran through Whanganui whenua. Toakohura advised that a large area of Whanganui whenua was included in the boundary set forth by Wahanui. He referred to the survey as being 'Te Rohe Pōtae a Wahanui' and asserted the fact Wanganui whānau had not been consulted. Whanganui hapū recalled their support and demanded autonomy over Whanganui land interests (Cross & Bargh, 1996, p. 56).

The determination of ownership to the land was based on ancestry, conquest and occupation (Marr, 1996; Quince, 2007). The NLC considered the tribe and sub-tribe

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\(^{56}\) Kawa is frequently used to refer to rituals or protocols related to, but not limited to, the formal welcome of visitors on the marae. Kawa derives from atua, the spiritual worlds, to tāngata i.e. humanity.
as being the epitome of belonging. Defining tribes and sub-tribes as being the descendants of those ancestors from whom the rights to land derived. Paradoxically these were viewed as isolated definitive constructs. Such thinking was in direct contradiction to iwi realities. Differing descent groups often lived within the same kāinga.\(^{57}\) These groups were conducive to a communal setting where hononga,\(^{58}\) either genealogical or mutual, provided the grounds for living together and occupying an area of land. The nomadic nature of traditional life could also see living situations change and evolve (Ballara, 1998; Durie, 1998).

Evidentially, consistent mention of iwi-rohe overlap was provided to the NLC. The many areas can be described as borderlands between tribes. The term 'original owners' as coined by the NLC, necessitated that witnesses give evidence to maintain their tūpuna exercised mana whenua to the exclusion of all others. Their people had to also occupy the land to the exclusion of all others. They then had to include everyone else under their ancestor, or maintain that other people only lived on the land with the permission of the iwi being evidenced (Ballara, 2000, p. 32).

As other iwi objected to having their land included in the consolidated land holdings of the great Rohe Pōtae the land began to decrease in size. So too, it began to be divided. Two notable cases of objection were the ‘Tauponuiatia Block’ and ‘The Waimarino Block’. In October 1885, Horonuku Te Heuheu applied for ownership and withdrawal of Ngāti Tūwharetoa land in the Rohe Pōtae. Following this petition in December 1885, Te Rangihuatau applied absolute ownership of the Whanganui

\(^{57}\) home, residence
\(^{58}\) connection
tribal land south and east of the Whanganui River. This land became the Waimarino block (Marr, 2004, p. 286).

It has been hypothesised that the motivation for these petitions were in response to the political power Wahanui and therefore the Rohe Pōtāe had accumulated. In terms of negotiations The NLC privileged Wahanui as a negotiator developing a mutually binding relationship with him. As representative of the Rohe Pōtāe and Ngāti Maniapoto it has been suggested by Marr (1996, p. 31) that other īwi were fearful the Rohe Pōtāe would be treated by the NLC as a consolidate block of land in which the Ngāti Maniapoto tribe were the main claimants and the other tribes were counter-claimants. The actions undertaken by īwi were again in direct response to the introduced laws forced upon them by the settler government.
Figure 2: "Boundaries of the King Country as gazetted in 1889 and 1894" From [Adapted from] An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, A.H McLintock. 1966, Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry for Culture and Heritage/ Te Manatū Taonga. Reprinted with permission.
Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua

Rereahu iwi members provided evidence for land ownership in the Court sessions 1886 and 1891 'A & B blocks' and the 1898 'Rangitoto Tuhua'. Land within the surveyed boundaries of the Rohe Pōtae continued to be contested. The Rangitoto Tuhua block was in question and in 1898 Te Paehua Matekau of Whakatere and Ngāti Karewa (hapū of Rereahu) provided evidence. Matekau was cross examined for this particular case from Tuesday February 1, 1898 -Thursday February 3, 1898. He is quoted as saying, "I know the block in question Rangitoto, my interest in the land is ancestral. My ancestors lived here from the time their patriarch colonised and settled in these lands. That is why I'm still here” (R. Crown, personal communication, 1983, p.13).

Over the following three days of cross examination, Te Paehua recounted the stories shared with him by his tūpuna. He described the experiences of his youth and the journeys he would make with his mātua and tūpuna around the whenua of Rereahu. He made references to many Rereahu wāhi tapu including the sites of pā, urupā, rauwiri, and battle grounds (R. Crown, personal communication, 1983, p.15-20).

Te Paehua was a main witness in the Maraeroa, Pouakani and Rangitoto Cases. He represented his people of Whakatere and Karewa in all three cases. According to the colonial law, ownership had to be claimed and granted. This was unfortunate. As discussed above iwi or hapū land did not always have a definite boundary

59 parents  
60 sacred place, sacred site  
61 pre European settlement  
62 burial ground  
63 eel weir
according to customary land tenure. Conflicting views were always present. However, Te Paehua partitioned Maraeroa according to the kōrero he held.

Rauroha Te Ngare was also a claimant within these lands. He too maintained the people of Ngāti Rereahu as being the 'original owners' over much of the land. The tone of the evidence provided by both Te Paehua and Rauroha can be seen to fluctuate throughout the hearing. This is not surprising considering the oral nature of the traditions and histories. It is obvious that at times the kaumātua64 tire during cross examination. These tūpuna were doing their utmost to uphold their iwi and hapū traditions and kōrero within a framework designed by a foreign view of their world. This evidence allowed the original owners to retain mana whenua.

These case books may in fact be the first written examples of 'The Rereahu Journey Towards Autonomy'. As these lands lay within the surveyed boundaries of the Rohe Pōtae it is important to note this. Rereahu was always in these lands albeit their whanaunga denied them the right to an authentically represented voice in the development of the Rohe Pōtae. Arguably, their whanaunga were trying to navigate a pathway for protection also. The pathway needed to submit to the foreign laws whilst concurrently protecting and retaining mana whenua. This is yet another example of colonial law subjugating traditional societal iwi and hapū structures.

In 1898 Ellis and Burnand, who were major saw milling merchants of the time, negotiated payment for the milling of timber on the Rereahu whenua Rangitoto Tuhua. Cutting commenced in 1903. In October of that year, Ellis appeared before the Native Affairs Committee and stated that the owners' decision to sign an

64 An elder or a person of status within a family.
agreement was unanimous. The entire 100 (about) owners had signed the 1898 agreement (Cleaver, 2011, p.201). In 1907 an inquiry took place as directed by the Maniapoto-Tūwharetoa District Māori Land Board and the agreement substantiated. The terms of the agreement including payment was confirmed and issued in 1911.

In 1909, the Rereahu whenua of Maraeroa C was vested in the Waikato-Maniapoto District Māori Land Board under Part I of the Native Land Settlement Act 1907 (Cleaver, 2011, p. 201). It would appear that some of the owners disagreed with the vestment whilst others were unaware of the development. Prior to the vesting, the owners (many of whom were the same as the Rangitoto 36 owners and belonging to Rereahu) entered into a similar agreement with Ellis and Burnand. Ellis requested that the licence contain the same terms as the Rangitoto 36 licence. Therefore, in December 1912 an Order in Council enabled the Board to grant a cutting license over Maraeroa C.

Notably, before 1920 much of the inalienable land blocks available for purchase included stands of commercially valuable forest. However, the price paid did not reflect the value of the timber. The purchasing of this type of land was made by private saw milling businesses. The State Forest Service would have liked to acquire these forest lands but lacked the funds to pursue this policy (Cleaver, 2011, p. 201). The purchases and acquisitions saw the iwi land ownership of the Rohe Pōtae plummet from thirty-one to twenty-one percent of the total land area between the years 1920-1940.

The Forests Act 1921-1922 created a process which allowed the Commissioner of State Forests to evaluate the forests standing on alienable iwi land. A price would
then include the value of the land and the timber on it. It became obvious to owners of the Maraeroa C and Rangitoto Tuhua blocks that the land purchased from them between 1907 and 1921, had in fact been purchased for less than the blocks worth and they wanted recompense. These blocks of land were very large and therefore of significant economic value. The adjacent blocks had mostly the same owners who belonged to Ngāti Rereahu (Cleaver, 2011, p. 121).

In 1922 Pouaka Wehi (a rangatira of Rereahu at the time), and the 'whole tribe', wrote to Maui Pomare regarding Rangitoto 36 and Maraeroa C. The letter decreed the owners' discontentment about the cutting arrangement (Wehi and others to Pomare, 1922). In regards to Rangitoto 36, the licence did not indicate a cutting tenure. In terms of Maraeroa C, the owners could not comprehend how the land had become vested in the Board. Quite simply they did not agree to the prices being paid by Ellis and Burnand for the cutting arrangements (Cleaver, 2011, p. 123).

Two years later and without a response to the letter mentioned above, Taroa Te Ringitanga and 17 other members of Rereahu and owners of Rangitoto 36, petitioned the House of Representatives. The petition decreed for the 1911 Order in Council to be revoked allowing for a new, fair and just agreement to be negotiated (Petition of Taroa Te Ringitanga and 17 others, 1924). The reasons for this were: the owners had been unaware of the enquiry; and, the alleged thirty five million feet of timber contained on the block was 'an absurd underestimate' and 'manifestly inaccurate' (Cleaver, 2011, p. 123). The royalties being paid were not reflective of the present ruling royalties or those existing when the Board confirmed the agreement. The difference in amount was estimated at being several thousand pounds per annum.
Alterations to the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1924 allowed for adaptation to occur in the timber agreements subject to Land Board approval. However, by the 31st of January 1925 negotiations had still not begun. In frustration of the company failing to deliver timber for the building of a church on Te Hape marae, Te Ringitanga proceeded to block the company's tramway with logs and earth. Ōngarue Police directed him to move the obstruction to which Te Ringitanga objected. A fight ensued and Te Ringitanga sustained a broken leg (Anderson, 2008, pp. 32-33; Cleaver, 2011, p. 124).

In March of 1936 another physical display of contest was made. This time it was in response to the issue of short measuring on Maraeroa C. On March 9 native agent and Maraeroa C owners' representative Gabriel Elliot, informed Ellis and Burnand that the people were re-entering Rangitoto 36 and terminating the timber cutting license over that block (Anderson, 2008, p. 52; Cleaver, 2011, p. 128). Te Tau Waretini of Rereahu and sister of the then Rereahu leader Pouaka Wehi occupied the tramline for several days, resisting any movement to shift her. The police responded to the demonstration. The occupation concluded on the pretence (as posed by the police) the dispute be settled by arbitration. Later in 1936, the Under Secretary of the Native Department received deputation formed by Gabriel Elliot, Wehi and his sisters Waretini and Tawhana (Notes of Valder and Kent deputation, 1924). This raised many issues, including the use of the tramway across the land by Ellis and Burnand's company. It was suggested that the matter be settled in Court.

On December 4 1941 Waretini once again took up occupation of the tramway traversing the lands. She camped out for many days (Anderson, 2008, p. 59). This set back milling tremendously and caught the attention of government because of their investment in the company to clear the land for dairy and produce purposes.
The Tiroa Native Land Emergency Regulations were set out in an Order in Council signed by the Governor General on 18 March 1942. This in some ways responded to the concerns of iwi. Despairingly, the court refrained judgement from the owners claims which alleged the 'fouling of waterways' by milling practices (Cleaver, 2011, p. 132).

I have greatly summarised this case study for the purpose of this introduction. However, it is blatantly obvious that the Pākehā laws which governed Rereahu were biased and confronting. More often than not they were in direct conflict with traditional lore or tikanga. These laws were the mechanism of forced assimilation and marginalisation of Rereahu. The actions undertaken by the iwi give testament as to how the traditional ways grounded their beliefs. These values guided their ability to act accordingly in response to the situation. Therefore, Rereahutanga is not some static isolated concept. It is fluid, impressionable, articulate, cunning and strong. Rereahutanga is about resilience, resistance, survival and growth according to the beliefs or theories conceptualised by the people of Rereahu in response to threats. Threats in the form of the colonial laws impinged on Rereahu by the settler government. Throughout the duration of this thesis, examples will be provided highlighting the potent presence of a Pākehā government.

Many people today claim that Rereahu, the Father, specifically transferred the mantle of authority and mana to his second eldest child Maniapoto. However, the Rereahu people believe this transference was one of personal mana and authority only. Their reasoning is substantiated through oral histories. Furthermore, should 65 The beliefs and practices reflecting those of Rereahu. Being Rereahu. 66 This will be further elaborated on in chapter 2 of this thesis under the subheading 'Methods of Misrepresentation'. 
the transfer have included "tribal" mana and authority, then in the NLC books of 1886 and 1891'A & B blocks'; and the 1898 'Rangitoto Tuhua' the people, when giving evidence in court would have identified their lands as belonging to Ngāti Maniapoto. Instead, they identified their lands as belonging to Whakatere, Matakore and Tūwhakahekeao – hapū of Rereahu (R. Crown, personal communication, 1983, p.13).

Over a century later it seems evidence is still being required of iwi and hapū. A list of sixty-four Rereahu affiliated hapū was presented to the Waitangi Tribunal in 2006 by Rereahu kaumātua P. Crown. Consequently, Rereahu is an iwi of the central North Island of Aotearoa67 New Zealand. It is an iwi situated within the traditional surveyed boundaries of the Rohe Pōtē. It is not now nor has it ever been a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto.

**Theoretical Framework**

Smith et al. (2016) suggests that; "Indigenous knowledge exists as indigenous understandings of who we have become, who we are now, as much as who we once may have been. The universal question, 'Who am I?' in an indigenous framework becomes 'Who are we?'"(p. 136). On contemplation this suggestion became astonishingly clear. This collective sense of being required an assessment of my gaze. Hence, 'I' has become 'we'. We are Rereahu. In representing our truths, we must claim a space. The space which will represent this is a theoretical framework which validates Rereahutanga.

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67 New Zealand
Central to any rigorous research is the intrinsically intelligible force known as theory. Kaupapa Māori theory claimed its positioning within academia some thirty years ago. It is a transformational vehicle through which Māori became 'we' and not 'I'. A tool of liberation and validation enabling the shackles of hegemony to be shattered and homogenous indigenous models discarded.

Kaupapa Māori theory highlighted the need for a theoretical framework through which 'we' could develop from our own wide knowledge base. We needed a transformative framework through which 'we' can assert our world views and shared experiences. L. Smith (2013) suggests that stories; "serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, and the land with the people and the people with the story" (p. 146). This layered interconnected view of existence creates a foundation on which Rereahu theory can occur.

Theory is a tool used to answer the why or the how, allowing for the fluidity of thoughts to be ever changing. As time continues, so too theories can evolve. Robust inquisition of the question: 'What long lasting effects has colonisation had on Rereahu autonomy?' necessitates a Rereahu-centric theoretical base. Rereahutanga is fluid. It is evolving in accordance with the unique and varied whakapapa, kōrero, pūrākau68, waiata69 and whenua of Rereahu. Encapsulating all, it seems only logical that Rereahutanga would sit at the centre of this research for it prescribes to a Rereahu worldview.

Our epistemological beliefs must be upheld and understood in order to establish a relationship with this research. To establish a relationship, reciprocity must be

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68 ancient legend, story
69 song, chant
evident. This is non-negotiable. For the purposes of this thesis, reciprocity is being observed through the implementation of a Rereahu theoretical framework.

Methods

The topic of this thesis was indeed not the original one I had in mind. I do however feel very privileged to be afforded the time and support to learn more about my people of Rereahu. This particular subject matter is very current with The Tribunal in the process of settling historical claims within the Rohe Pōtae. In this year 2018 Rereahu is involved in negotiations with The Tribunal. Due to the focus of this thesis and the theoretical framework proposed, it seems only suitable that the methods prescribed to should be reflective of Rereahutanga.

Rereahu research methods find their theoretical foundation in Rereahutanga. This is due to the uniqueness of Rereahu as an iwi. Similarly to all iwi our whakapapa, pūrākau, kōrero, whenua, and waiata are representative of our positioning in the world. Rereahu research methods are the practical actions carried out in order to gather Rereahu research in response to Rereahu-centric\textsuperscript{70} theory.

Prior to embarking on researching this kaupapa, I visited my marae\textsuperscript{71} Miringa Te Kakara. Miringa is a place of spiritual grounding for me. Guided by Rereahu tikanga\textsuperscript{72} our tribal sense of wairua\textsuperscript{73} was the starting point for this journey. My mother accompanied me. On arrival at the marae, recognition was given to Te

\textsuperscript{70} Implicitly regarding Rereahu beliefs and practices as central to this thesis.
\textsuperscript{71} A complex of buildings and grounds that people have a genealogical connection to.
\textsuperscript{72} Māori customary practices.
\textsuperscript{73} The non-physical spirit, distinct from the body.
Whetū Mārama o Ngā Tau o Hinawa, the whare wānanga\textsuperscript{74} which once stood on this land, and to all our people buried in the urupā.

I then travelled over the whenua of Rereahu to the resting place of two Rereahu rangatira who are particularly dear to me. I paid homage to them and sought their support. I also visited the home of my mother which held lasting memories of my time spent with three Rereahu kaumātua who greatly contributed to ‘The Rereahu Journey Towards Autonomy’. I sat and shared karakia\textsuperscript{75} and my thoughts. These actions have paved the way for this rangahau\textsuperscript{76} to take place. Rereahu research methods will be discussed at greater length in the first chapter of this thesis.

**Chapter Outline**

The following provides a detailed overview of the content to be covered in each chapter. The ponderings and postulations of Rereahu tūpuna will head each chapter. As hooks, these will set a scene for the research to follow throughout. A sub question will be posed at the beginning of each discussion chapter. The subsequent content will respond to the sub questions purported as outlined.

**Chapter One**

The aim of this chapter is to provide a detailed description of the theoretical framework Hurakia. Developed specifically for this research, Hurakia has guided the collection, collation, analysis and evaluation of rangahau. The story of ‘Miringa Te Kakara’ will provide a foundation upon which elaboration of the framework can proceed.

\textsuperscript{74} Traditionally, places where tohunga would teach their people’s history, genealogy and religious practices to selected recipients.

\textsuperscript{75} ritual chant

\textsuperscript{76} research
Chapter Two

This chapter explores methods. Methods employed for the purposes of research in this study according to a Rereahu world view. As well as methods used in the misrepresentation of the Rereahu iwi. The misappropriation of pre-colonial Rereahu kōrero used as a tool of cultural assimilation will be discussed in detail. This will substantiate the belief that 'the oppressed become the oppressors'.

Chapter Three

This chapter describes the tools of colonisation created and enforced by the Crown. The execution of such contrivances against Rereahu from the hands of the Crown will be defined. Rereahu mana motuhake\textsuperscript{77} and mana whenua are themes investigated throughout the chapter. The majority of the content in this chapter will be informed by manuscripts from the Te Rohe Pōtai Organisations.

Chapter Four

This chapter interrogates the wrongs perpetrated against Rereahu and highlight how the desire to control the land still holds the utmost importance. Political power is gained through the accumulation of wealth. In this context, wealth occurred through the ownership of whenua. This idea will be further developed.

Chapter Five

This chapter is a tribute to the people of Rereahu and their ability to hold steadfast through their actions, beliefs and stories. Mana whenua will remain. However, it will be shown how the practices of Rereahu have evolved to meet the current

\textsuperscript{77}autonomy, self-government
circumstances. This concept will be discussed in accordance with Rereahu resilience and resistance.

**Conclusion**

This chapter will summarise the content presented in the previous chapters. Final inquiry of the key findings; in particular, the impacts felt by Rereahu on ‘The journey towards autonomy’ will be revisited. This final analysis will explore the practical ways in which the people of Rereahu have consistently responded toward sustained threats to their autonomy, and the long lasting impacts colonisation have had and continue to have on the iwi of Rereahu. It will also include evaluatory questions which could guide further research.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has presented me, the researcher, as a woman of Rereahu. The main aims including the questions being answered in this thesis have been defined. A short biography of the eponymous ancestor Rereahu has been given. An historical background of both the Rohe Pōtāe and Rereahu tribal region, Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua was given. This background creates a setting for the proceeding chapters. The theoretical framework developed in line with Rereahutanga underpinning this research is briefly mentioned. Methods utilised in the collection of data have been discussed. A synopsis of the following chapters has been given followed by a summary of the introduction in its entirety.
Miringa Te Kakara: a dream foretold and in truth a reality

"Ko te matauranga te ara hei rapunga i te pono.
Knowledge is the pathway in the search for perfection" (R. Pehikino, personal communication, 1981).

Introduction

Indigenous knowledge thus embodies a web of relationships within a specific ecological context; contains linguistic categories, rules, and relationships unique to each knowledge system; has localized content and meaning; has customs with respect to acquiring and sharing knowledge; and implies responsibilities for possessing various kinds of knowledge. No uniform or universal Indigenous perspective on Indigenous knowledge exists – many do. Its unifying concept lies in its diversity (Battiste, 2008, p. 508).

Theorists' euro-centric contemplations on indigenous cultures, once engulfed the academy. Postulations purporting indigenous existence according to western theoretical frameworks dominated the realm of academic research. Such frameworks perpetuated and validated the process of colonisation (Battiste, 2008; Pihama, Tiakiwai, & Southey, 2015; G. Smith, Hoskins, & Jones, 2012; Smith, 2013). Imperial concepts of power were applied and maintained. The roles remained the same. The almighty colonial oppressor and the helpless oppressed. The hegemonic nature of scholarly writing created yet another layer of oppression to be plastered over the already suffocated voices of indigenous bodies. Disenfranchisement and marginalisation was continuing within the context of western theoretical frameworks (Pihama, 2001; Pihama et al., 2015; G. Smith et al., 2012).
Consequently, indigenous scholars must continue to construct counter-hegemonic responses. By repositioning ourselves at the centre of the research we are able to present our indigenous cultures through an indigenous centric research lens. Self-determination and transformation through applying one's own epistemologies, languages and pedagogies must prevail. In doing so we continue the work of our Māori scholarly revolutionaries such as: Sir Mason Durie (1998), Moana Jackson (1996), Sir Hirini Mead (2016), Leonie Pihama (1993), Hingangaroa Smith (1997), Linda Smith (2013), Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1991), Ranginui Walker (1981) and Aroha Yates-Smith (1998) in asserting how we are represented within the academy. In constructing such spaces of our own we reduce the overpowering dictates of imperial theories and research agendas to but an ember.

This chapter will discuss the counter-hegemonic theoretical framework that underpins this thesis. The first section of the chapter will describe the research restrictions. It will then go on to discuss the research discipline. This will be followed by the research approach. The chapter will then define Hurakia; the conceptual framework created for the purposes of this thesis. Following on, a review of Kaupapa Māori theory and other iwi-centric frameworks will be presented. In conclusion, a summary of the main themes discussed throughout this chapter will be provided.

**Research Restrictions**

There are certainly some limitations to this thesis. The time frame provided for a kaupapa of this magnitude has been challenging. Due to the nature of oral histories and manuscripts time can sometimes become an anomaly. Giving traditional literature the utmost respect it deserves requires numerous hours. Balancing respect
for the literature with the external measures of thesis preparation has led to the employment of creative time management strategies. Time capacity has also restricted the opportunity for wānanga\textsuperscript{78} to be carried out on a greater scale. Wānanga would have allowed for the further development of balance to occur between the views of Rereahu and the available literature. Wānanga would have provided a space where the experiences and attached emotions of the iwi could have been represented.

Another aspect that could be seen as limiting is the thesis being fully focused on the Rereahu iwi and takiwā Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua. The thesis topic could be viewed as being narrow. However, when assessed in its entirety the themes weaving concurrently throughout this body of work are applicable to many hapū and iwi Māori. The issues will not only identify with Māori but also the experiences of other indigenous communities within this modern day context. The directed length of a Master's thesis in terms of this kaupapa is restrictive. The themes within the thesis could perhaps be elaborated on and justice given more fully in a PhD. Deciding on what kōrero and whakaaro to incorporate and what to leave out has required much consideration.

**Research Discipline**

The cumulative effect of this research documents ‘The Rereahu Journey Towards Autonomy’. Consequently, this thesis is attuned to the realm of Māori studies which is where it shall reside. Multidisciplinary in nature, Māori studies is a stunningly diverse subject area concerned with upholding the practices and belief systems of Māori. It is an eloquent instrument of resistance and resilience for Māori; and

\textsuperscript{78} A gathering of people for deliberate discussion.
envelopes every aspect of life within the culture. Subsequently this allows for the investigation into the contemporary, historical, linguistic, physical, political, spiritual and societal landscapes (to name but a few) of Māori. As Mead (2012) suggests Māori studies is, "a cultural system of knowledge about everything that is important in the lives of the [Māori] people" (p. 13).

We, Rereahu, are central to this thesis. As a Rereahu researcher my exploration of this kaupapa is personal. Contrary to western research which is viewed as a scientific 'objective' process (Payne, 2014; Smith, 2013; Toi, 2018) stalking from the fringes is not my calling. I have been posted to the densest part of this explorative terrain. My gaze is very much on us. By necessity, the theoretical framework employed, sets the tikanga and kawa for the research and allows clarity to prevail. Furthermore, it will reinforce our Rereahu identity. Therefore Māori studies navigates a pathway of transition, as endorsed by Smith (2013) from "Māori as the researched" to "Māori as the researcher" (p. 185).

**Research Approach**

From the time of my inception, as I was nestled safely in the whare tangata\textsuperscript{79} within my mother, to when I entered this physical plane, the Rohe Pōtāe\textsuperscript{80} has been my home. Traditionally referred to as Te Nehenehenui o Te Waonui a Tāne\textsuperscript{81} it is known by many as the King Country. The town of Te Kūiti\textsuperscript{82} is my hau kāinga\textsuperscript{83}.

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\textsuperscript{79} house of humanity, womb

\textsuperscript{80} Place of the hat or King Country. A tribal region of the Rereahu Maniapoto people located in the North Island.

\textsuperscript{81} The Great Forest of Tāne was the name given to the area of land over which mana whenua was practised by Ngāti Rereahu, Ngāti Whakatere, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Matakore and their hapū (Emery, n.d, p. 3).

\textsuperscript{82} Te Kūiti is sometimes referred to as Te Kūtitanga o ngā whakaaro. This speaks of the narrowing of thoughts referring to it is a gathering or meeting place of the Maniapoto people and thus the congregating of thoughts.

\textsuperscript{83} home
Rereahu, Te Ihingārangi and Tūwhakahekeao, are three of my ancestors who roamed the extensive lands of the rohe.¹⁴ Gratefully, my upbringing privileged the stories of my tūpuna and during my formative years I was exposed to the varying tikanga and kawa of my people. I knew where I belonged and so too how. These knowledge tools were to have a great impact on me, serving at times as a shield of self-defence. Unbeknownst to me, I was to be involved in many interactions which would require such armour.

Although the term hegemony was not to enter my vocabulary for many years - I was to gain first-hand experience in real life context. I came to realise that there was a 'dominant' culture within the indigenous climate of the Rohe Pōtae. Assumptions began to impact on my sense of being. Some people expected me to identify with one particular iwi over another. Others presumed they knew who I should be. Some went as far as 'correcting' me when they thought I was wrong (this included teacher's). I fielded comments such as; 'where is that iwi from?', 'what iwi is that?', 'you mean that's your hapū?' and 'but you're Ngāti Maniapoto really'. I feel it necessary to add here that these sentiments have been echoed by many emerging Rereahu leaders. This year I have experienced similar reactions within academic settings. It seems utterly abhorrent to me that twenty years, some two decades later, in this so called 'decolonising world' these same experiences are occurring.

I am the variegated creation of multiple iwi, hapū and tūpuna. I am a living embodiment of the whanaungatanga,⁵ the nurturing of relationships, practised between our many people traceable all the way to Hawaiki.⁶ Although I knew and

¹⁴ These tūpuna were discussed in greater depth in the introduction chapter of this chapter.
⁵ A sense of family and familial relationships.
⁶ According to some stories this is the sacred homeland from which the Māori migrated to Aoteroa.
believed this, at times, vulnerability would make way for feelings of internal conflict. Was it not acceptable to represent all parts of oneself? The inherent sense of pluralism I once possessed was coming under siege. Fortunately, I had a mother who afforded me the right to ask questions and encouraged me to develop my own world view.

Determined to have a multidimensional 'sense of being' I sought answers to the numerous questions my internal dialogue had imposed. I relied heavily on the logic I gleaned from personal experiences. In conjunction with this I would seek the thoughts and interpretations of others. I would even discuss my ideas with people whom I shared few assumptions. Realising that perhaps an outsider's view could contribute to my 'sense' making quest. I then contemplated the multiple forms of data made available to me. Intrinsically, analysis and evaluation ensued. My conclusion brought validity to the concept 'the oppressed became the oppressor'. I theorised as to how and why this had happened according to my prior knowledge and personal experiences.

In this sense, I have been a researcher for the majority of my earthly existence. Philosophising and thinking to make sense of my world is inherent to me as it was to my tūpuna. These experiences have shaped my worldview. They have informed my decision to embark on this rangahau journey in celebrating the resistance and resilience of my iwi Rereahu and my positioning at the centre of this research. The development of Hurakia is in direct response to my experiences and to the iwi that is Rereahu.
Hurakia: A Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework underpinning this research is entitled Hurakia. The meaning of which is 'to reveal'. The analogy of a thick mist clearing was shared with me by my whanaunga. Thus, the kupu\textsuperscript{87} embodies the notion of providing clarity. Clarity is something afforded to me by my positioning in this thesis. I am a woman of Rereahu. Consequently, this framework will provide a space within in which the stories of my people are clearly presented according to Rereahutanga. Hurakia is a mechanism of self-determination and transformation for Rereahu within the academy. The framework will allow Rereahu epistemologies, languages and pedagogies to prevail as the dominant knowledge, the dominant culture, and, the dominant voice.

In terms of this thesis, the kupu Hurakia derives from a mountain range which stands at the headwaters of the Ōngarue River and within the Rereahu takiwā Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua. The poem at the beginning of this thesis by Ropata Pehikino (1986) described Hurakia as 'the sacred epitaph of the departed'. In this respect Hurakia is grounded in the whenua and whakapapa of my people. An ensign of our tūpuna and the important role our past holds in understanding our present and in realising our future. It sits forever extant, anchored to the whenua. Hurakia asserts the need to be grounded in our practices. Accordingly, it reminds us of the importance in returning to the underlying values of our people as we make advances in this world.

The following will present an overview of the framework. The ideologies presented will be substantiated through Rereahu pūrākau. The visual representation of the

\textsuperscript{87} word
framework will aid in understanding the concept. It is my belief that Hurakia will allow for the research questions to be answered in terms satisfactory to Rereahutanga. Hurakia will guide and support the research aims of this thesis. A summary will outline the main aspects of the framework.

Figure 3: Hurakia – a visual interpretation of the theoretical framework underpinning this thesis.

The figure above provides a visual representation of the theoretical framework Hurakia. This model is based on the whare wānanga Te Whetū Mārama o Ngā Tau o Hinawa. This whare wānanga stood at the Rereahu marae Miringa Te Kakara. The marae is situated on the lands of Tīroa - the whenua of Rereahu.

The beginning of Miringa Te Kakara is rather like a myth. In the early 1850’s people of the Rereahu tribe were living scattered around the plains at the foot of the Pureora
and Hurakia Ranges. The influx of tipua\textsuperscript{88} into the rohe had become of an urgent concern. The people decided to send some of their men to Whanganui\textsuperscript{89} to seek guidance from a well-known tohunga of the time (R. Pehikino, personal communication, February 6, 1979).

In Whanganui, Te Rā Karepe\textsuperscript{90} (who will also be referred to as Te Rā), on receiving his guests listened to the purpose of their visit. In concluding, the tohunga confirmed that he was quite aware of the approaching menace. Ropata Pehikino recorded Te Rā as saying, "Tears shall flow like the Whanganui River but Ngāti Rereahu will never know it or feel it" (R. Pehikino, personal communication, February 6, 1979). He then told the group to return home and in due course a gift from the heavens would descend upon the people. He asserted "within it shall be everything you have been seeking" (R. Pehikino, personal communication, February 6, 1979).

Two years later in August of 1857 the kuia\textsuperscript{91} Ngā Harakeke of Ngāti Hine-Tu\textsuperscript{92} awoke in the morning and told her family of a dream she'd had that night (by this time many had forgotten the prophecy provided by Te Rā). In her dream, a house of a most unusual shape hung suspended in mid-air. She gathered some fern and proceeded to construct a rough model of this strange architecture. Someone asked her if she remembered where in the heavens it appeared from. Her response: "i te puku o te Mango Roa" in the belly of the Milky Way (R. Pehikino, personal communication, February 6, 1979).

\textsuperscript{88} Strange, foreigners, in this case Pākehā.
\textsuperscript{89} City on the West Coast.
\textsuperscript{90} A tohunga of Miringa Te Kakara.
\textsuperscript{91} An elderly woman.
\textsuperscript{92} A hapū of the Rereahu iwi.
They wondered if that was what Te Rā had prophesised. If so, they thought it was beyond their capabilities to cope with the project (R. Pehikino, personal communication, February 6, 1979). People of Rereahu gathered in hui\textsuperscript{93} seeking a resolution to their predicament. Consensus was met. The construction of this cross shaped whare would proceed. Building was guided by both the physical and spiritual. The ancient blueprint of synergies which connected both the heavens and earth provided the plans. In solidarity people united for what was perceived as a greater good and for the betterment of Rereahu. After five years of unified effort the structure was created with geometric precision (R. Pehikino, personal communication, February 6, 1979). The four wings were of equal dimensions. Each wing leaned into the main pou\textsuperscript{94} which stood at the centre point off which, the entire whare\textsuperscript{95} stemmed. The result: a whare of prefect balance.

Such precision was a collusion of both physical and spiritual energies. Ley lines\textsuperscript{96} of untold vigour hold residence in the land on which the whare was constructed. Te Whetū Mārama o Ngā Tau o Hinawa stood to become a space of resistance and resilience (Melbourne, 2009, p. 26). It was to be a place of protection for the lore and practices of te Ao Māori. Every element of the journey from Matakite,\textsuperscript{97} moemoeā\textsuperscript{98} construction and use was inextricably linked. For one would not have been effective without the other. The interconnectedness between the ontological and epistemological in creating balance is reflective of the methodological components incorporated in the conceptual framework underpinning this thesis.

\textsuperscript{93}a meeting
\textsuperscript{94}pole, pillar.
\textsuperscript{95}house, building
\textsuperscript{96}A supposed straight line connecting three or more prehistoric or ancient sites, sometimes regarded as the line of a former track and associated by some with lines of energy and other paranormal phenomena.
\textsuperscript{97}prophecy
\textsuperscript{98}dream
This framework creates a space of resilience and resistance for my people of Rereahu within the academy.

**Framework Component – Wairua: The East Wing**

Wairua is positioned on the east wing. It is in the east that the sun appears bringing about the new day. On its journey the sun comes to rise in the realm of Ranginui. Like the sun, wairua provides daily protection and guidance. This component encompasses all that is intangible, of a divine nature and the trajectory of flow. The intangible can be the inception of a new idea. The divine instils intuitiveness and allows one to apply experiential and theoretical knowledge. The trajectory of flow is the pathway one sets out upon on a new journey. Laying a blueprint upon which a researcher can begin. As a result, Wairua heralds the commencement of a research journey. The concept of wairua, for me, highlights the intuitiveness of my tūpuna. The need to draw on both the thoughts and experiences of my tūpuna is clear to me. I will be open to the pathway being set before me and accept the flow as generated by Rereahutanga.

The story of 'Miringa Te Kakara' is a correlation of the intangible, of divine nature and of trajectory of flow. Prophesy brought about a dream through which the flow of the four winds were to be present and privileged. Matakite and moemoeā of this kind are examples of divine thought and transference. Recognition of the four winds with each wing resolutely facing the four cardinal points dictates to the uninterrupted flow of indigenous connections.

This kōrero is a prime example of what master theorists Rereahu were. The powers our tūpuna possessed in navigating the data available to them is prevalent here. The

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99 Sky father spouse of Papatūānuku. The realm of the heavens.
ability to analyse, interpret and evaluate different types of data simultaneously was innate.

**Framework Component – Whenua: The West Wing**

Whenua is positioned within the west wing. It is in the west that the sun returns to Papatūānuku.\(^{100}\) This maintains the balance of the east west axis. The whenua component incorporates the tangible, that which is grounding and nurtures connections. Whenua provides connections through whakapapa to all living things. Whenua provides grounding. It holds steadfast, anchored in a state of wisdom and fortitude. Adorned by our meandering waterways, our majestic forests, our beautiful flora and fauna and our many wāhi tapu this signifies mutually respectful and beneficial relationships.

The tangible aspect can be likened to the collection of literature. The researcher enters the whakapapa of research available on a topic. Grounding can be considered in terms of the concept noho puku.\(^{101}\) This reminds a researcher to remain grounded, still, and humble in the execution of their actions. The nurturing of connections is reflective of the whakawhanaungatanga\(^{102}\) process; whereby a researcher develops and maintains mutually respectful relationships which will support the gathering of data. Consequently, whenua reflects the gathering of data by reviewing literature and carrying out interviews. The concept of whenua instils in me as a researcher the necessity to remain grounded in this research journey, to return to my whenua and

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100 Earth Mother and spouse of Ranginui.
101 to dwell inwardly, to be grounded
102 The process of establishing relationships, relating well to others.
to action the whakaaro\textsuperscript{103} of my tūpuna. I will remain humble by reflecting the qualities of Rereahutanga.

The balance created by the concepts of the east west axis is reminiscent of the Rereahu story 'Tāne the Strong'. In this kōrero tuku iho\textsuperscript{104} Tāwhaki\textsuperscript{105} ascends the realms of the heavens to recover the three baskets of knowledge from Tāne-matua.\textsuperscript{106} The contents of one basket were all the dormant but fertile seeds of the first plants and trees of the world (Crown, 2009, p. 9).

Tarapīkau,\textsuperscript{107} a patupaiarehe\textsuperscript{108} had the responsibility of preparing the whenua to receive the seeds being provided by Tāne-mahuta.\textsuperscript{109} He employed the assistance of tapatapa waerea,\textsuperscript{110} which contained such power that an explosion of growth took place. Leaves and shoots appeared reaching toward Ranginui. The roots sent their tendrils deep down into Papatūānuku (Crown, 2009, p. 9).

However, one seed lay dormant and Tarapīkau had exhausted his powers of encouragement through chant. A greater power was needed to nurture the growth of this particular seed. The power of Tāne-mahuta was called upon. Through the power of chant imbued in the sacredness possessed by Tāne-mahuta this plant grew to become so strong and mighty the name bestowed upon it was Tāne-kaha\textsuperscript{111} – Tāne the Strong (Crown, 2009, p. 10).

\textsuperscript{103} thought, plan
\textsuperscript{104} history, oral traditions
\textsuperscript{105} The people of Rereahu consider Tāwhaki to be the Harvester. He is also known as Tāne i te wānanga (Tāne the learned).
\textsuperscript{106} The people of Rereahu recognise Tāne-matua (the Divine Architect of Creation) in terms of his sacred name, Io-matua (The Creator).
\textsuperscript{107} A custodian over the Rereahu takiwā Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua.
\textsuperscript{108} A spirit being of the mists.
\textsuperscript{109} The people of Rereahu recognise Tāne Māhuta as the conveyor of cargo.
\textsuperscript{110} Sacred clearing chants.
\textsuperscript{111} A tree native to Aotearoa New Zealand.
The thought of knowledge seeking occurred. Theoretical and experiential knowledge made way for intuitiveness. A pathway was identified. Means were provided. Preparation through action was carried out. Cultural practices grounded the process. Collaboratively the relationships between Tāwhaki, Tarapikau and Tāne Māhuta ensured a desired outcome.

Undoubtedly, this story is a depiction of the balance created by wairua and whenua. How one notion complements the other, and how the underlying qualities of each concept create a rich tapestry of fundamental practices; I will implement in the undertaking of this rangahau.

**Framework Component – Te Reo Me Ōna Tikanga: The North Wing**

Te reo me ōna tikanga\(^{112}\) is situated on the northern wing. These concepts are inextricably linked to the thought processes and practices of Rereahu. The importance of normalising the use of our language and our customary system of ideals and practices, is prevalent throughout our actions, stories and behaviours. Tikanga is fluid and when wrapped in the beauty of our reo is executed in ways which uphold Rereahutanga.

This component encompasses method, communication and values. Method is the 'how' and is governed by kawa. The way in which you create a safe environment in regards to the construction of a thesis. Formatting rules which include copyright responsibilities and referencing guidelines are indicative of this. Purpose is the 'why' and is underpinned by the quality of mātauranga.\(^{113}\) Collaborative awareness

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\(^{112}\) Māori language and belief systems.

\(^{113}\) Knowledge, understanding
development takes place within a thesis. The end result contributes to the body of knowledge available in a certain subject area. Communication becomes the ‘what’ and is founded on the concept of wānanga. Communication is paramount within wānanga. Clear and succinct analysis generates understanding. In wānanga, as in a thesis, an overarching theme guides the delivery of all comprehension. It is imperative to always relate back to the initial question to create clear pathways for learning and understanding.

The concept of te reo me ōna tikanga highlights to me the importance of upholding the teachings of my people. They had practices which ensured ongoing safety, constructive communication and the development of knowledge. Each of these is essential in thesis writing. Subsequently, each is reflective of Rereahutanga.

Te reo me ōna tikanga is exemplified in the Rereahu pūrākau 'The Coming of Te Kooti' in which Te Kooti and his followers entered the village of Pāharahara (Hēnare Tūwhāngai as cited in Judith, 1984, p. 367). The old priest, Te Rā Karepe questioned the visitor as to the reason for his arrival. Te Kooti insisted he desired the supreme power of Miringa Te Kakara. Te Rā responded, “O Kooti, here residing upon my tongue is that supreme power, if you so wish to procure it, dare to come forth and obtain it”(Crown, 2009, p. 35).

A comrade of Te Kooti contemplated this wero\footnote{challenge} and on evaluation suggested that their roopu\footnote{group, entourage} retreat and discuss the matter. It was agreed that Te Rā was indeed pono\footnote{be true, valid} in the tikanga he proposed. Te Kooti once again sought the council of Te

\footnotesize

\begin{itemize}  
\item \footnote{challenge}  
\item \footnote{group, entourage}  
\item \footnote{be true, valid}  
\end{itemize}
Rā. To whom he said “O sire that which you have said is correct, quite true. We shall all stay and listen to your wisdom” (Crown, 2009, p. 35).

This Rereahu story is yet another example of the analytical capability of our people. Te Rā draws strength from kawa, which in turn creates a safe environment. Wānanga produced a clear and definitive theme. Mātauranga was to occur through collaboration. Te Rā upholds te reo me ōna tikanga. So innate are these practices he is unwavering in his delivery. Wānanga ensues whilst mātauranga is engendered. The language and stories live on. The concept of te reo me ōna tikanga is a reminder that our tūpuna were scholarly people. Inherent practices directed as to how a safe environment was to be maintained, and why understanding needed to be developed and was essential.

Framework Component – Tāngata: The South Wing

Tāngata is situated in the South wing. The concept brings balance to the north south axis. For it is the tāngata that carry out the actions which are underpinned by te reo me ōna tikanga. For without one there cannot be the other. The Tāngata component incorporates the embodiment of the qualities identified in this framework; a sense of adventure and the representation of a collective people.

Tāngata as a component is the activator of Rereahutanga. These are the actions that symbolise all that the people stand for and all that the people do. Tāngata are the human entities of Rereahu and therefore, the humanistic aspect of Rereahutanga. The glue encapsulating us is tikanga. Tāngata breathe life into the reo of Rereahu. It is the people who bring the societal constructs of iwi, hapū and whānau to life.

117 people, human beings
The embodiment of all these qualities is practised through kaitiakitanga. Like a thesis, kaitiakitanga promotes the stewardship of every aspect. The sense of adventure can be experienced through the notion of māramatanga. This is where enlightenment can occur and encourages risk taking. In terms of research to take risks is to seek alternatives to the status quo. Similarly to this theoretical framework it urges a researcher to stay true to their beliefs. Representation of a collective people requires respect for oneself and others. It is underpinned by manaakitanga. This notion promotes elite performance.

The concept of tāngata instils in me as a researcher the need to execute all the qualities defined within this framework. It is a reminder that enjoyment is procured when I am able to uphold the beliefs of my people. I will uphold the mana of my people by respecting the knowledge presented in this thesis.

The balance created by the concepts of the north south axis can be compared to the fate of Tūtakamoana and Rangipare in the Rereahu pūrākau 'Tūtakamoana and Rangipare...Tree top lovers'. Both were mokopuna of Rereahu. Both longed for the companionship of the other. Although expectations from their people would prevent such they made the decision to pursue a relationship. Together they eloped and sought refuge in tree top shelters.

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118 guardianship  
119 enlightenment, insight  
120 The process of showing respect, generosity and care for others.  
121 Tūtakamoana was a grandson of Rereahu by way of his son Maniapoto. Tūtakamoana was raised, in childhood, by Tūwhakahekeao his father's brother in the Rereahu lands of Maraeroa (Maraeroa will be discussed further in chapter 5). However in manhood Tūtakamoana made a new home along the Mangaorongo River at Hikurangi.  
122 Rangipare was the granddaughter of Rereahu by way of his daughter Kinohaku. She was in fact betrothed to Wairangi the chiefly son of Rereahu's sister Kurawari.
An old gentleman by the name Te Wana\textsuperscript{123} discovered the pair while out fishing one day. It was in the water Te Wana saw the reflections of the cousins and was prompted to look up. The couple had deep set feelings of respect for their whānau which prompted their disappearance. However, they longed for the company of their people. Te Wana took word of their safety to Maniapoto the father of Tūtakamoana (Crown, 2009, p. 19). On learning of the couple’s well-being the tribe welcomed the pair back without animosity. The safety of one’s own seemed more important than the enforcement of rules which once governed the couples existence (Crown, 2009, p. 19).

Without doubt this story depicts the balance created by te reo me ōna tikanga and tāngata. The fluidity of kawa and maintenance of manaakitanga ensured the safety of those reintegrated into the group. Wānanga and māramatanga allowed for collaborative decision making and enlightenment. Mātauranga and kaitiakitanga were present in the couple’s survival and care for one another.

**Framework Component – Manawa: The Fortitude of Balance**

Manawa\textsuperscript{124} of the heart and breath stands erect at the cross roads of the other four components. Resolute in support of the four wings which find strength in its conviction. For it is the love of who we are that breathes life into our continued existence.

Manawa speaks of the necessity to be receptive and the need to practise reciprocity. To be receptive is reflective of kotahitanga.\textsuperscript{125} It requires a researcher to be open

\textsuperscript{123} Te Wana was an elderly man with status in the iwi of Maniapoto.

\textsuperscript{124} heart (of a person)

\textsuperscript{125} unity, togetherness
and accepting of differences. Reciprocity is resonated through aroha. In order to receive the knowledge we seek we must be open to giving back. The completed thesis is a place within which kotahitanga is preserved. It is a collection of differing perspectives and shared assumptions. Aroha is the contribution the body of work will make to a people and the astronomical space of academia. Consequently, it absorbs the synergies of the other components and reciprocates with the love and kindness encompassed in a complete thesis.

Manawa is a reminder to me that the outcome of my research must be an extension of aroha and kotahitanga. I will be receptive to differences and similarities of beliefs and represent them fairly. I will reciprocate the efforts of all those who have contributed to this thesis with love and kindness through my acknowledgements.

The concepts of aroha and kotahitanga are interwoven throughout a story about Rereahu shared by kaumātua Phillip Crown and is also used in the introduction chapter of this thesis. Rereahu who was a humble tohunga possessed great physical strength and spiritual sense. This enabled him to transverse seamlessly in both our physical and spiritual realms. Raukawa led his eldest son Rereahu to Rangiatea. Here he bestowed these words upon Rereahu; “Here is your territory from Rangitoto to Tuhua, look after the lands for your younger siblings, Takihiku, Kurawari and Whakatere” (Government, 2010b, p. 101).

In a display of both kotahitanga and aroha, Rereahu preserved the wish of his father. Attuned to both the physical and spiritual aspects of life Rereahu gifted both whenua and mana to his tamariki. Perhaps this could be the epitome of

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126 love, compassion
127 So it was told that Rereahu presented each of his tamariki with a form of mana to help them best protect their offspring and people. For example, to his first born son Te Ihingārangi he gifted the mana of the taiao so that he may care for the environment and in turn be provided for by it
kotahitanga and aroha. The gifting of elements from both worlds could be considered as the essence of kotahitanga and aroha. Undoubtedly Rereahu was an edifice of both kotahitanga and aroha. Traits of which are intrinsic to Rereahutanga today.

Traditionally the physical structure or visual conceptualisation of Hurakia was utilised as a place of resistance, resilience and research. The different aspects of te ao Māori could be discussed, developed, taught and learnt within the four wings. The central point represented the symbiotic nature of life in te Ao Māori. The equal size of each wing demonstrated the importance of all knowledge. The directions of the wings recognise the connections to all peoples. Thus being symbolic of the holistic nature of te ao Māori.

In this modern day context of academia, the structure informs how research is to take place. The four wings represent four main components with underlying values. Each axis is a balanced representation of existence. Together with the four other components the central chamber exemplifies the balanced nature of Rereahutanga. This dictates a Rereahu-centric approach to the research undertaken in this thesis. The four wings reaching out to the four cardinal points provide the reasoning for other iwi-centric methodologies to be investigated. Such will provide further generalised rationale for the theoretical framework underpinning the research.

(Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, 2016). To his son Tūwhakahekeao he gifted the mana of military prowess, territorial control and the well being of his people which are recognised as the qualities of rangatiratanga (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p.57). To his daughter Te Rongorito he gifted the ability to create peace enabling violence to be tamed allowing her to create a place of peace and safety for her people (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 101). The rest of the mana remained with Rereahu himself (Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, 2016).
Therefore, the visual conceptualisation of this theoretical framework is affecting research as much in this modern context as it was in a traditional setting. Research is no longer being conducted within the physical confines of the cruciform structure. Nevertheless, it continues to inform the way research is to be carried out in the contemporary institution that is the academy. The structure demands that analysis and evaluation is tested against the concepts of the framework. This holistic approach to rangahau will ensure equilibrium is maintained throughout this thesis.

On sharing my ideas with my whanaunga who is a Rereahu academic, he was unsurprised. He, too, has utilised a theoretical framework which insists on upholding the equilibrium and holistic nature of life as a whole. He has also used the whare Te Whetū Mārama o Ngā Tau o Hinawa as inspiration for his framework. Therefore, I believe this is a true representation of Rereahutanga methodology. The traditional has transcended generations to inform the research approaches of our people today.

Figure 4: Key - Elements of Hurakia Framework.
## Framework Summary

### Table 1: Hurakia – an overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Framework component</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Guiding principles</th>
<th>Research Relevance</th>
<th>Rereahu pūrākau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wairua</strong></td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Intangible Trajectory of flow Divine</td>
<td>The inception or birth of an idea and the pathway on which the idea is pursued. The beginning of a thesis.</td>
<td>Miringa Te Kakara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Whenua</strong></td>
<td>West</td>
<td>Whakapapa Tangible Noho puku Grounding Whakawhanau -ngatanga Connections</td>
<td>The gathering of information through action. The collection of literature and data.</td>
<td>Tāne the Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Te reo me ōna tikanga</strong></td>
<td>North</td>
<td>Kawa Methods Mātauranga Purpose Wānanga Communication</td>
<td>The rules administered and to be followed. Structure is created.</td>
<td>The coming of Te Kooti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tāngata</strong></td>
<td>South</td>
<td>Kaitiakitanga Embodiment Māramatanga Adventure Manaakitanga Representation</td>
<td>The collation of information in order to create the body of research.</td>
<td>Tūtakamoana and Rangipare… Tree top lovers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manawa</strong></td>
<td>Centre</td>
<td>Kotahitanga Receptive Aroha Reciprocity</td>
<td>The completion of your thesis. The giving of your contribution.</td>
<td>The birth of Rereahu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hurakia is the theoretical framework underpinning this thesis. It permits clarity according to Rereahutanga while engendering self-determination and empowerment within the constraints of academic research. This framework is a proclamation of resistance and resilience for Rereahu. It is a way in which transformation can occur for us through academia.

The physical position of each concept is defined within the visual representation of Hurakia. As a researcher I recognise the importance of my positioning within this rangahau. A privileged position guided by and upholding the notions of wairua, whenua, te reo me ōna tikanga, tāngata and manawa. Working in balanced synchronicity these concepts enable me to research according to Rereahutanga.

The balance represents the need for unbias to be administered, in the analysis of data collected for this thesis, as much as is humanly possible. Rereahutanga is to have shared assumptions with my iwi. However, with the balanced framework and the qualities of the concepts presented, I recognise the importance of weaving equilibrium into this thesis. With comparison comes growth of knowledge, strength, and sense of self or a collective sense of a people.

The textual tapestries used in this overview highlight the fact that my tūpuna have been inherently theorising, analysing and evaluating for generations. Homage is given to their reverent presence through the conceptualisation of Hurakia. The kōrero tuku iho also legitimise, privilege and validate the concepts fundamental to the framework according to Rereahutanga.

Hurakia finds its inception in the blueprint of Te Whetū Mārama o Ngā Tau o Hinawa. Upheld by the concepts of wairua, whenua, te reo me ōna tikanga, tāngata
and manawa are transferred through Rereahutanga. This transference occurs by Rereahu theorists and by Rereahu researchers!

**Kaupapa Māori Theory**

Kaupapa Māori theory invokes in 'us' the fundamental ways of being Māori and researchers. This notion spearheaded a spatial landscape for the application of a Māori worldview within academia. At a national level Kaupapa Māori theory provided rationale for ‘Māori researchers’ to apply structural analysis to their research through a Māori lens (G. Smith et al., 2012, p. 11). L. Pihama (as cited in Pihama et al., 2015, p. 9) declares that Kaupapa Māori disregarded resistance from some university faculties in upholding a more traditional stand on research and theory. In more recent times it has developed discourse encouraging Māori researchers to carry out research in terms of their own localised iwi, hapū and whānau centric views (Hutchings, Potter, & Taupo, 2011; G. Smith et al., 2012; Smith, 2015).

In 2011 at the Kei Tua o te Pae hui L. Smith (as cited in Hutchings et al., 2011) argued that Kaupapa Māori research is:

- a plan; it’s a programme; it’s an approach; it’s a way of being; it’s a way of knowing; it’s a way of seeing; it’s a way of making meaning; it’s a way of being Māori; it’s a way of thinking; it’s a thought process; it’s a practice; it’s a set of things you want to do. It is a kaupapa and that’s why I think it is bigger than a methodology (p. 11).

"Multiplicity of expression" is a term championed by Pihama (2001, p. 104). She disputes the notion of a homogenous Kaupapa Māori theory. Suggesting instead that Kaupapa Māori methodology was fundamental to the knowledge systems
practiced by our tūpuna. Accordingly, it is intrinsically rooted in the shared assumptions of the Māori people however innately diverse due to the various societal structures practised within Māoridom.

Hana O'Regan (2001) asserts "Kai Tahu\textsuperscript{128} are still Māori, but we are Kai Tahu first" (p. 168). This notion is supported by Professor Wally Penetito's view (as cited in Hutchings et al., 2011) that it "is a fallacy to research Māori as though they are a homogenous entity" (p. 39). These examples affirm the need for localised iwi, hapū and whānau centric views to be privileged beyond that of a generalised Māori world view.

As this thesis attempts to present the journey and assumptions of an iwi it seems essential that an iwi-centric framework be adopted. This necessitates the acknowledgement of the shared nationalised Māori assumptions that will underpin the research. Nevertheless, it is imperative that the concepts are authenticated according to the cultural, physical, political, and spiritual landscapes of an iwi.

**Iwi-Centric Frameworks**

Hurakia derives from the notion of a cross shaped house. The wings and entrances of which reach out to the cardinal points of East, West, North and South. Thus, it recognised the many connections to be made with the four winds or corners of the world. As a place of renaissance, resistance and resilience, this whare guided the ongoing protection of Māori teachings. Just as the whare guided the delivery of learning, the concepts identified within the framework will guide the research for this thesis.

\textsuperscript{128} A South Island iwi.
These ideas are generalised and recognised throughout Māoridom. However, such concepts are implemented and practised in different ways. Application of these concepts is informed by the varying cultural, physical, political, and spiritual landscapes of iwi, hapū and whānau (Mane, 2009; O'Regan, 2001; Royal, 1998; Smith, 2015). This creates a localised approach to generalised ideas. Both the notions of the four winds and a localised iwi-centric approach provide the rationale for me to investigate other iwi or hapū centric theoretical frameworks.

The development of our own iwi and hapū frameworks is another step towards decolonising academia for Māori researchers (Mahuika, 2012; Pihama et al., 2015; Smith, 2013). Tahu Kukutai advocates that, (as cited in Mahuika, 2012, p. 42)" The construction of Māori identity is and always has been a political and activist activity". In the current political landscape, it seems apt that there are a growing number of Māori academics presenting their worldviews through an iwi and hapū lens.

Doherty (2009), Mahuika (2012) and Payne (2014) all creatively weave their own iwi world views into their research frameworks. Our frameworks are a salute across the chasm of divide separating indigenous and non-indigenous methodologies. They are similar in terms of the rationale for their development. Each centres us in the research and is a way of transforming the constraints of scholarly exploration.

Doherty (2009, p. 63) presents his thesis titled Mātauranga Tūhoe: The Centrality of mātauranga-a-iwi to Māori Education from his world view as Tūhoe.129 He promotes the necessity to understand the relationships between the buzz words of

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129 An iwi of the eastern North Island.
mātauranga-a-īwi, mātauranga Māori, and Kaupapa Māori theory used within a current educational landscape.

In order for the relationships between these concepts to be better understood Doherty (2009) has created the Ranga Framework. The Ranga Framework provides a visual conceptualisation of the interdependent nature of each component within the framework. The Ranga Framework promotes the use of an iwi-specific landscape as well as an iwi-centric lens. Both these concepts are grounded in a Tūhoe worldview.

Mahuika's (2012, p. 64) thesis is representative of an iwi perspective to oral histories. The personal experiences and exposure Mahuika has had with Ngāti Porou130 oral histories are drawn on. The research is centred on himself and his Ngāti Porou world view. The research is nestled within a Ngāti Porou theoretical, political and intellectual framework.

Mahuika argues that Ngāti Porou theory provides a vehicle through which collective memory and composure are re-negotiated by whakapapa and mana motuhake (2012, p. 317). In this respect Mahuika (2012) asserts that: "Ngāti Poroutanga 'theoretical realignment' defines a space which privileges iwi political and activist approaches and transforms oral tradition and oral history to kōrero tuku iho" (p. 317).

Payne's (2014) thesis is representative of a whānau view informed by a specific hapū location. For the purposes of this local thesis project, Payne develops a framework entitled 'He Whare Tongikura' which was inspired by the methodological framework titled Tongikura Framework. Tongikura framework

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130 An iwi of the East Cape and Gisborne regions.
was developed by Brad Totowera (Payne, 2014, p. 39) and utilises the analogy of a
whare to build a framework and methodologies. The key concepts align with the
messages provided in Tawhiao's tongikura.131

Payne shares whakapapa to the particular hapū location within which her thesis is
set. The locality and whakapapa is set within the Waikato.132 She provides
explanation as to how the Tongikura Framework will be applied to the context of
her research. Payne argues that when writing as an insider from an iwi perspective
whakapapa need be a central concept and the Waikato methodological framework
the Tongikura Framework supports her assumptions.

Similarly to Hurakia, the frameworks referenced above allow the researchers to
centre themselves within the research. The respective iwi, hapū and whānau are
represented according to their own world views. The iwi-centric frameworks create
a space where the shared assumptions of a people can be validated within the
dictates of the academy.

It is important to note that the main difference between the three iwi models and
Hurakia is the implementation of Kaupapa Māori theory. Doherty, Mahuika and
Payne all incorporate Kaupapa Māori theory as a main component of their
frameworks. Hurakia does not.

The concepts and values situated within the Hurakia framework share many
parallels with Kaupapa Māori Theory. However, Hurakia is based solely on the
interpretations of these concepts according to Rereahutanga. This best suits the
critical questions and structural aims of this particular thesis.

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131 The prophecies of Tāwhiao the second Māori king.
132 A large geographical region of the upper North Island.
Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted my personal research repertoire of restrictions, discipline and approach as perceived by me. It has also defined the foundations on which the proceeding chapters will develop. Hurakia is about acknowledging a collective past, shared assumptions and recognising the evolution of an iwi over the course of time. I feel fortunate to have been afforded the opportunity to create my own world view informed by Rereahutanga.

My upbringing honoured my iwi of Rereahu and thus my whakapapa. This chapter therefore pays homage to Kaupapa Māori theory which created a space within academia for a framework like Hurakia to be developed. Likewise, the three distinctly iwi-centric models discussed, provided impetus for the conceptualisation of Hurakia.

Hurakia is situated within a decolonising academic landscape. The research presented in this thesis is a tool of transformation for my people of Rereahu. In order to appreciate the content and structure of the following chapters an understanding of Hurakia is advisable.
"Ko te kōrero mai rānō ka whānau mai te tangata me tōna ake mana, nā Io i hōmai".

When a man is born he has his own individual mana given to him by Io” (P. Crown as cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 35).

**Introduction**

This, then, is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressors, who oppress, exploit and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both (Freire, 1972, p. 21).

The destructibility of notions such as marginalisation, assimilation, exploitation, genocide and violence are undeniable. These heinous and reprehensible ideals have been systematically preserved and engendered by way of scholarly writing. One need only skim the surface of literature composed by late 19th century ethnographers to endure the foul stench of imperial domination and intellectual colonialism (Berryman, 2008; Graham, 1995). Albeit only words on a page, this powerful form of oppression was and continues to be one of the many cogs perpetuating motion in the machine known as colonisation.

Profundity to disturb the violent 'cultural disparities' invoked urgent transformational action. Myriads of transformative methods promoting self-determination, emancipation, affirmative action, hope and sovereignty have potentially paved a way for Māori to assert their shared assumptions as valid and
legitimate ways of being. Consequently, invoking powerful spaces where by deficit narratives are eloquently replaced. Essentially this has given rise to some united sense of liberation to Māori and so too, their non-Māori counterparts. Many of whom are driven and willing to adopt and learn a Māori sense of being. Throughout Friere's Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Freire, 1972, p. 21) he plainly states that conscientising academia means to decisively broaden, desensitise and critically free the mindscapes of both Māori (the oppressed) and non-Māori (the oppressors) according to a Māori (oppressed) worldview.

Whether it be Māori according socio-political, socio-economical or socio-cultural change decolonisation is no less prevalent within the academic community. Ostensibly, modes and methods of change are being: conducted, informed and entrenched by Māori, for Māori and with Māori (Penetito, 2011; Pihama et al., 2015; Smith, 2013). Revelling G.Smith et al. (2012, p. 13 & 19) insistence to 'get our hands dirty' and to 'speak back' to traditionally pervasive dominant theories, the methods employed for this research are dialogically situated within the world view and understanding of Rereahu.

Prolifically and specifically located, Rereahutanga enshrines the idyllic and beneficial relationship between critical thought and structuralism invoking transformation. Such are crucial demonstrations in the decolonisation of scholarly indigenous discourse where action is informed by critical theory according to Māori epistemologies as purported by Wally Penetito (2011), Graham Smith et al. (2012) and Sharon Toi (2018). Hence, indestructible Māori fortitude is defying flagrant traditional western methods of research whilst concurrently liberating academia one paper, one thesis at a time.
This chapter will define the methods employed to navigate the pursuit of research pertaining to this thesis. The chapter will also address the question: 'How has Rereahu been misrepresented?' This question is the first of two sub questions to be interrogated in this thesis. Answers to this question will supply sustenance for the overarching question the thesis demands exposition of. The main question being: 'What long lasting effects has colonisation had on Rereahu autonomy?'

Situated in the first section of this chapter will be an overview of the methods utilised. The second section will attempt to dispel common myths involving the Rereahu iwi. The third section will discuss the methods used either consciously or otherwise in the misrepresentation of Rereahu. Rereahu pūrākau, 'Tāne the Strong', will be revisited as an indicator against which to measure the misrepresentations in terms of Hurakia – the underlying methodology of this thesis. Finally, a conclusion will be given.

**Research Process**

A research process reflecting Rereahutanga is empowered by notions of emancipation, hope, optimism and possibility. Māori and indigenous commentators within academia have been demanding and prescribing a critical rebuttal toward the widely accepted dominant western notions of hegemony for decades (Bishop, 1996; Lyons, 2014; Powick, 2003; Smith, 2013). Unwavering self-determination has allowed for an emergence of strategic agency as a form of resistance and affirmative action (S. Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006, p. 4). The performance of research in this thesis exemplifies such.

Consequently, the research process undertaken in this thesis encourages rules and order to be defined and actioned according to Rereahutanga. This process creates a
space in which Rereahutanga can function within the constructs of the academy as critically relevant to a Rereahu landscape. The research process undertaken in this thesis can be likened to a strategic balancing act like that of an intricate tapestry personifying idyllic harmony existing within the delicate interwoven threads. In order to grasp the full beauty of what hangs before your eyes you must first appreciate the collective actions undertaken in creating utter precision and balance.

As a Rereahu researcher the current political\textsuperscript{133} social\textsuperscript{134} and cultural\textsuperscript{135} landscapes identify the need to be open to being led as well as to lead in some proceedings. These thoughts are indicative of the varying opportunities for reimagining and for mātauranga growth to occur. Therefore, it has become blatantly apparent that opportunities for rangahau to develop can surface at any time. Research is neither an exclusive nor isolated concept. On the contrary, knowledge is all around us. Like a shape shifter it takes many forms. Allowing oneself the opportunity to be receptive requires a balanced view of life. For this thesis, acceptance of such must be determined by Hurakia the theoretical framework underpinning this thesis.

Humility coupled with reciprocity play equally important roles in this research process. Each dictates to the importance of privileging the time and space required for such. Similar to being receptive, both humility and reciprocity are required, providing oneself the permission to sit and listen. Being an active listener or 'hearing data' as coined by Rubin & Rubin (2011, p. 9) requires a researcher to be

\textsuperscript{133} Currently Rereahu is in the throes of Treaty Settlements. This involves the unifying and collaboration of multiple iwi to develop a framework which allows for the introduction of legal recognition and application of kaitiakitanga practices to an awa.

\textsuperscript{134} Developing and maintaining networks which allow us to be Rereahu in a very European dominant society.

\textsuperscript{135} Hui-ā-iwi of all 8 Rereahu marae in order to find a way in which our shared cultural assumptions can, re-emerge and be the drivers and guides of our continued existence. The need to reignite the passion of our tūpuna in nurturing and upholding our relationships with one another in terms of whakapapa is imperative.
humble and reserved. It is about allowing the interview participant to share their knowledge in an environment void of judgement or condemnation. Reciprocity is conducted under these terms. Being a Rereahu researcher demands this balanced approach to research. It is also in keeping with the theoretical framework underpinning this specific research.

Humility, receptiveness and reciprocity are characteristics synonymous to Rereahutanga. To be humble and receptive requires necessary action which in turn transfers into reciprocity. The methods utilised in the research process of this thesis will be further elaborated on in the following section of this chapter.

**Methods and Analysis**

As was discussed in the introduction chapter of this thesis, prior to beginning my research, I journeyed to the Rereahu marae Miringa Te Kakara which is situated on the Rereahu whenua of Tiroa. Acknowledgement in the form of karanga\(^{136}\) resonated forth toward the physical remnant of Te Whetū Mārama o Ngā Tau o Hinawa (whose physical personification is replicated as the visual conceptualisation of Hurakia, the theoretical framework for this thesis). Likewise, the metaphysical concept represented by our tūpuna residing in the urupā. A short trek over the whenua ensued to the resting place of two Rereahu kaumātua to whom I am and forever will be entwined. I have provided the Miringa Te Kakara trust board with a letter informing them of the reference to Miringa Te Kakara and Te Whetū Mārama o Ngā Tau o Hinawa in this thesis.

Analysis through fluid, constructive interpretation, will formulate according to the concepts of Hurakia. Rereahu pūrākau: 'Miringa Te Kakara', 'Tāne the Strong', 'The

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\(^{136}\) A formal call of acknowledgement.
Coming of Te Kooti', 'Tūtakamoana and Rangipare...Tree Top Lovers' and 'The Birth of Rereahu' will act as indicators against which the subsequent chapters will be analysed in terms of Hurakia. Hurakia is the theoretical framework developed for the purpose of research in this thesis.

**Ethical Issues**

**Applied to Ethics Board**

Interviewing is a qualitative data gathering method employed for this research. As mentioned earlier it can be thought of as 'hearing data' (Rubin & Rubin, 2011) which requires interactive participation. Consequently, conducting interviews involves human participation. In order to pursue this method of developing knowledge, an application to Te Kāhui Manu Tāiko\(^ {137} \) was required. This process involved completing the necessary documentation provided by Te Kāhui Manu Tāiko. Included in this was a Research Ethics Application and an Information Form requiring an overview of the research which was to be carried out. A consent form for the proposed participants was also supplied.

This process ensures that the utmost respect is provided for the participant’s intellectual property; integrity, beliefs, and mana. Participant knowledge is honoured in this thesis. Recognisably, without the willingness and sacrifice of these participants the research would lack the substantial depth it so deserves.

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\(^ {137} \) The term 'kāhui' in Māori is used to describe a flock and the term 'manu tāiko' is used to describe the bird which acts as sentry or lookout for the whole flock. Thus, the role of Te Kāhui Manu Tāiko: within the Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies Human Research Ethics Committee at Te Whare Wānanga of Waikato, is to safeguard its members engaged in ethical research. The authority for this committee is delegated by the University Human Research Ethics Committee (University of Waikato, 2018).
Interviews

Recruitment Through Whanaungatanga

Mason Durie (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003, in Cunningham, Stevenson & Tassell, 2005; Cram & Kennedy, 2010) highlights the multifaceted nature of the term whānau according to context. He suggests that whakapapa whānau have shared ancestry and kaupapa whānau have shared interests and may or may not have shared ancestry. Bishop (1996, p. 216) suggests that whanaungatanga is a way in which to establish and maintain whānau relationships. Tinirau's (2008) notion of whanaungatanga echoes the ideas mentioned above and stipulates that it "emphasises the development and enhancement of relationships and making connections with people through whakapapa" (p. 296). Consequently, whānau can carry an array of different meanings.

In keeping with these articulations, whakapapa does not discriminate according to the concepts of shared ancestry or shared interests. Mead (2016) also supports this notion discussing whanaungatanga as being a "principle reached beyond actual whakapapa relationships and included relationships to non-kin persons who became like kin through shared experiences" (p. 28). Therefore whanaungatanga need not be defined exclusively by kinship ties, but through shared interests and experiences (Cram & Kennedy, 2010, p. 1; Kennedy & Cram, 2010, p. 1).

As a consequence, the interview participants were initially selected according to their availability, knowledge of the kaupapa and gender. I emailed those who I know are time poor allowing them the opportunity to address my request at a time suitable to their schedule. I physically approached those who are situated in my locality. This pre-empted some kōrero prior to the semi-structured interviews
planned, allowing thoughts to be shared in an organic way. Making such connections planted a seed of thought that the interviewees were able to elaborate on further at the time of the interviews. I also pre-empted communication via text message. The participants instructed me further as to their preferred mode of communication.

The original number of interview participants changed dramatically. In fact, only one formally conducted and recorded interview took place according to my pre-set questions. As the year transpired I attended many hui and was involved in many kōrero with numerous people which supported the development of my own contemplations. But mostly, it affirmed the stories of my people that have been shared with me my entire life. Much of the kōrero I heard echoed the next. For this reason, there will be minimal use of personal communications carried out through interviews within this research. This is in keeping with the guidelines defined by Te Kāhui Manu Tāiko.

**Whānau Driven Talk**

Two wānanga style situations have occurred, one in the home of my whanaunga and the other in a car. Within these environments the participants become active collaborators in the creation of the research. Ideas are shared in a safe and unassuming sense. Stories are created and interpreted according to a certain world view and in a group atmosphere, allowing for accentuation to occur through consensus and differing ideals to be purveyed through debate. In this sense, whānau-driven talk derives from a place of wonderment and creation directed by an organic sense of being. Of expanding ones contemplations through the utilisation
of karakia, waiata tawhito,\textsuperscript{138} pūrākau and a myriad of other knowledge sharing constructs.

It is important to note here that the original projected time constraints did not initially provide for wānanga to eventuate. However, flexibility was required as wānanga were proposed by a Rereahu kuia as a means of support. She felt the symbiotic nature of this thesis and the kaupapa of another Rereahu thesis would benefit from this style of information transference and transformation. Therefore my tuakana\textsuperscript{139} organised a wānanga to take place.

Hurakia guided me in accepting the proposition of wānanga. Maintaining cohesion with the theoretical framework of this rangahau is of utmost importance. Upholding the stipulations governed by Te Kāhui Manu Tāiko in terms of human participation was also of vital concern. At the beginning of the first wānanga I felt the constructs were somewhat loose. There was much going on and pairs of people were talking amongst themselves whilst others prepared food. This concerned me because I was actually unable to take stock of each situation.

Hindsight however, provided me the realisation that this was just the interface between wānanga and whakawhanaungatanga. Karakia and mihimihi\textsuperscript{140} set the foundation for what was to become a terrain of collaborative narrative building. Whakaaro evolved through people adding and building onto each other's kōrero. On reflection I realised the participant driven research as suggested by H. Wihongi (2010), echoed the notions of research as presented by Walker et al. (2006) "of collective care of knowledge, culture, and values"...allowing for the shared

\textsuperscript{138} Traditional Māori songs.
\textsuperscript{139} The definition of elder sister to a female is synonymous with this thesis.
\textsuperscript{140} Speech of greeting.
“guardianship of its knowledge” (p. 337). Unequivocally these are examples of balance being nurtured and maintained.

**Sharing of Food**

As a researcher I was fully aware of the impingement I was placing on my interview participants. I was privileged to be afforded time with them and that they were willing to share their knowledge with me. Due to the nature of the kaupapa it was necessary for kai to be shared. Kai was provided and shared according to the nature of each meeting.

The sharing of kai during both wānanga and the semi-structured interviews (both formal and informal) was another way in which we could come together. During such periods of time the tone of the kōrero certainly changed. It became in a sense more relaxed, if not somewhat casual. The kai was shared at different times throughout and sometimes two courses were had.

**Data Management**

**Transcribing**

Excerpts from the recorded interview were carried out by myself. Significant portions of the publicly attended hui were carried out by both my whanaunga and myself. I tried my utmost to ensure the transcribed kōrero was recorded verbatim. I took great care to record the notes of conversations from the intention of each speaker.

**Security and Storage**

Hard drives were utilised in the storing of all data. Transcriptions of the one formal interview and the publicly attended hui were saved to hard drives. External hard drives were utilised as a level of back up. Web based programme Google Docs was
employed to provide another reliable level of back up. Google Docs also supply security through the use of a password.

Hard copies of any data collected were stored in a lockable compartment within my home. This included all the notes I would physically write during and after my time with participants who were not audio recorded. All data gained through interviews was treated with the utmost care and respect. The mana of the research participants including the tapu nature of some of the kōrero provided was treated with great importance.

**Summary**

The research process has set a trajectory of flow for me as the researcher. Te Kāhui Manu Tāiko enabled the navigation of ethical issues. As a result, safety of both the participants and the researcher is maintained. Interviews were carried out according to Rereahutanga. Data gained from interview or wānanga participants is held in high regard and afforded respect through the incorporation of strict storage safety practices. As a result, Hurakia is a living breathing source of guidance informing the interpretation and analysis of all research explored.

**Dispelling a Common Myth**

In order to dispel myths in this context an exploration of the term whakapapa is required. Whakapapa is intrinsic to who Māori are as a people. For whakapapa is not a lineal state of transformation, it encompasses our connections to all living things. Rereahu kaumātua Phillip Crown discusses this notion with Edwards (2009) and provides an account of a kōrero shared with him by a kuia in which she
explained that uira\textsuperscript{141} rekindles and connects our human whakapapa. Crown describes it as: "Ka ū te ira atua me te ira tangata i te uira, arā te tīmatanga o te whakapapa. Spiritual and human essences are recalled in lightning that is the beginning of whakapapa" (p. 253).

Spirit and animate are inextricably united in Māori whakapapa. This holistic view is entrenched in the collective narratives of whānau, hapū and iwi. Seemingly idyllic, whakapapa knowledge can engender physical and mental well-being as suggested by Pohatu (2004) and can be viewed as “the importance of known valued environments and cultural legacies” (p. 9). In essence this creates a sense of belonging and identity. The onslaught of colonisation aggressively threatened the Māori culture in many ways. Whakapapa is no exception. With the demise of te reo, tikanga, the displacement of our people from our whenua and the disenfranchisement of our people from a Māori way of living; whakapapa knowledge has significantly suffered.

It is not uncommon to hear or see people on social media request their pepeha\textsuperscript{142} from whānau members or people they think may know. Within my own whānau and my wider whanaunga I field many questions as to our particular iwi and hapū affiliations. People want to re-establish their connections to their whakapapa. People are seeking out a sense of who they are. They want to know what makes them who they are, why they feel the way they do, what is behind a name and how they relate to someone else.

\textsuperscript{141} lightning, electricity
\textsuperscript{142} Adages of tribal identity.
In my profession I regularly hear questions which include: "How is that my marae? How is that my maunga? Why is that my awa? I am of a certain iwi so what would my maunga and awa be?" I will gently refer the person asking to pose such questions to their own whānau. The answers I receive are usually variants of, "My parents don't know. My koro says this and my nana says that. My grandparents don't know because they weren't brought up Māori'.

People who wish to know more and are unable to source information from within their own whānau and hapū will turn to other sources. There are multiple modes of information sharing in this modern context; some of which include books, newspapers, iwi websites and television. However, we cannot always be sure the information presented is our own truth. The following section will interrogate two myths affecting the people of Rereahu and their journey towards autonomy.

The following definition of 'myth' is drawn from the Collins dictionary, "If you describe a belief or explanation as a myth, you mean that many people believe it but it is actually untrue" (CollinsDictionary.com, n-d). Another assumption of myth is noted by Marshall (2018, p. 1) who comments that myths echo cultural narratives that govern individual and collective behaviours. An additional definition of myth as prescribed to by Edelstein and Lerner (2007) is that modern myths are “expressions of political culture” and not the “timeless and universal forms” as expressed by “anthropological, religious and psychoanalytic [writings]” (p. 1).

143 mountain
144 river
Multiple definitions of the term myth are provided as the research is underpinned by Hurakia. Hurakia dictates to upholding the nature of balance. The three definitions of myth presented provide a varied over view and balanced interpretation of the term myth. One blatantly alludes to the misleading or 'untrue' nature of a myth. As the above heading contains the word dispelling, it is imperative the suggestion of a myth being fallacy is considered.

There are two myths this section of research will prove to be false. These myths have penetrated the psyche of political, cultural and social relations between the people of Rereahu and Ngāti Maniapoto for generations. The beliefs are:

1. "If you are Rereahu you are Maniapoto".

2. "Ko Rereahu te hapū, ko Ngāti Maniapoto te iwi".

The second myth implies that Rereahu is a sub-tribe of the Maniapoto iwi.

The definitions presented along with personal communication and available literature will provide due evidence to substantiate this. As the definition acquired from the CollinsDictionary.com (n-d) suggests, these myths are widely believed. So too, as suggested by Marshall (2018), the myths were nurtured within the cultural narratives of a collective people. In reference to Edelstein and Lerner (2007, p. 1) each of the above mentioned myths are somewhat modern in nature and have been created to justify a political cultural situation.

As was highlighted in the section titled, 'Research Approach' in chapter one of this thesis, I have been surrounded by comments alluding to such myths for the majority of my life. This would suggest that indeed the myths are widely accepted. Life's experiences are what shape our world view and I have no doubt in my mind that
such occurrences have impacted on my sense of self. In this respect the myths have been nurtured within the cultural narratives of Ngāti Maniapoto. Dissemination has reached far and wide and thus continues to be nurtured generation after generation. Unfortunately, the above myths are demeaning to my whakapapa and as I will explain later on in this chapter, have been justified to suit the political cultural situation of a certain peoples.

For the purpose of this section I will provide the lineal paternal whakapapa of Rereahu, a descendent of the Tainui waka according to male lineage.
The Whakapapa of Rereahu

The whakapapa provided above clearly delineates the biological and thus lineal relationship between Rereahu and Maniapoto. It substantiates, as stated above that, "if you are Rereahu you are Ngāti Maniapoto" is a myth. Rereahu was the father of

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145 This whakapapa was provided orally by Rereahu kaumātua Phillip Ngawhira Crown (21.04.02) to Adam Patete (Patete, 2002, p. 1). Adam Patete compiled the Ngāti Rereahu Scoping Report for Te Maru o Rereahu Iwi Trust which will be discussed in chapters four and five.
Maniapoto. Maniapoto was the brother to many siblings. The siblings may be viewed as iwi in their own right. The descendants of the siblings are connected through the eponymous ancestor Rereahu and not through Maniapoto. Biologically speaking and according to the hierarchical nature of a lineal genealogy there is no evidence to show that if you are descended from Rereahu your lineal whakapapa need incorporate Maniapoto. In this sense, if you are Rereahu you are Maniapoto is incorrect.

It is important to reiterate here that whakapapa is all encompassing. We are surrounded by our whakapapa we are situated within our whakapapa (Edwards, 2009; Winiata, 2002). As people we are the physical embodiments of whakapapa. Our stories are intricately woven throughout our whakapapa providing sustenance and fluidity. Because of these, the actions of our tūpuna can be interpreted differently according to a particular world view (O'Regan, 2001; Winiata, 2002).

Nestled within the whakapapa of Ngāti Maniapoto is a story transcending generations. A story steeped in the cultural values and practices of Maniapoto. The story is widely known. This pivotal moment in Ngāti Maniapoto whakapapa is spoken about to this day with certainty and pride. The kōrero is intrinsically interwoven into the fibres of connection between Maniapoto and his descendants.

The story speaks of the relationship between Rereahu and his eldest son Te Ihingārangī by his first wife Rangiānewa. Rereahu and Rangiānewa parted ways when Te Ihingārangī was a young child. He was raised by his mother in the company of her people. Naturally, Rangiānewa had expected the mantle of kāhui Ariki o Tainui to be transferred from Rereahu to Te Ihingārangī. However,

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146 Aristocratic leader of Tainui.
Rereahu preferred his eldest son by his second wife Hine-au-pounamu whom notably, held a position of seniority to her cousin Rangiānewa (Phillips, 1995, p. 100).

According to Ngāti Maniapoto whakapapa the preference shown toward Maniapoto by his father Rereahu was inextinguishable. The relationship stood the test of time and distance. Prior to the coming of Rereahu's passing he sent for Te Ihingārangi to prepare a tūāhu. During this time Rereahu's head was anointed with kōkōwai. Rereahu then asked Maniapoto to bite his head or neck. This action was symbolic of the transference of mana. On Te Ihingārangi's return the red lips of Maniapoto signalled the proceedings which took place during his absence (Jones, 1995; Phillips, 1989, 1995).

Nuances lace the cultural practices of Māoridom allowing for fluidity and interpretation. This story is an example of such. Ngāti Maniapoto whakapapa has interpreted this act as a complete transference of iwi mana from father to son. In no way does this refute the lineal whakapapa of Rereahu or Maniapoto. Supposedly it could be perceived to disturb the holistic whakapapa of Rereahu.

However, bearing in mind the allegorical, metaphorical and nuance heavy nature of te Ao Māori, the people of Rereahu interpret this story in a different way. Rereahu also have kōrero that have been preserved through generations. The repositories of which are not the Native Māori Land Court (NLC) or libraries but

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147 A sacred place for ritual practices by a tohunga.
148 Red ochre pigment was used for rock art and is found in volcanic areas. It was also used for personal adornment and for decorating artefacts.
149 There are many variations to this story, two of which are described in the books written by Phillips.
150 A Māori world view.
151 The Māori world.
are steeped in the blueprint of the whenua Miringa Te Kakara. As the land of Miringa Te Kakara remains today, so too do the stories of Rereahu.

Revered Rereahu kaumātua reflected the humility of the tupuna Rereahu. These were people who preferred equilibrium over turmoil and angst. Because of this they did not deny that Rereahu did in some way perform a transference of mana to his second eldest son Maniapoto when he realised his time on earth was coming to an end. However it was suggested that the transference was one of personal mana and authority (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 4) not that of iwi authority. This echoes the consideration from M. Jackson (as cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 196) that the mana of an individual will never supersede the endowment of mana embodied in the tribe.

An explanation by Rereahu kaumatua was presented as follows: had the transference that took place included ‘iwi mana and authority’ then in the 1898 NLC minute book for the Rangitoto-Tuhua region, the tupuna when giving evidence in court would have identified their lands as belonging to or residing under the mana of Maniapoto. Instead the koroua identified their lands as belonging to Whakatere, Matakore and Tūwhakahekeao; all of which were considered as being hapū of Rereahu.

Likewise in the 1891 NLC minute book for the investigation of title in the Maraeroa-Hurakia block Te Paehua Matekau intimated that the right of title to

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152 An estimated 400 years after the passing of Rereahu.
153 Part of the geographical land area of Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua to which Rereahu seek customary rights.
154 elderly man
155 An area of the Rereahu takiwā Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua. Te Paehua Matekau descended from Maniapoto, the son of Rereahu and his second wife, Hine-au-pounamu (Māori Land Court, 1891b, p. 37).
the particular block originated from Kahu (Patete, 2002, p. 7). In providing insight into the descendants who occupied the whenua traditionally he states; "In the time of our pakeke, 156 N’Whakatere, N’ Poutu, N’Karewa, N’ Tarapikau, N’ Maniapoto and N’ Rereahu all numerously occupied the land"(Māori Land Court, 1891b, p. 81). This suggests that Rereahu still inhabited the land and identified as an iwi.

The people of Rereahu have yet another kōrero that nullifies the myth being discussed. The kōrero was alluded to in the footnotes of the section 'Theoretical Framework' found in chapter one. I reiterate here for the purpose of dispelling this myth. The kōrero highlights the extent of the humility Rereahu possessed, a detail which is important to note due to the nature of this thesis and the theoretical framework Hurakia.

The tupuna Rereahu exemplified humility, knowledge and wisdom. His birth was signified by a comet passing through the sky above the cave in which his mother was labouring. This was symbolic of the inextricable connection Rereahu had to both the spiritual and physical worlds. Unsurprisingly, respect of both was inherent to Rereahu. This led to him being a wonderful caretaker and provider. He exemplified this in many ways, one of which being the transference of mana between himself and his children. Rereahu gave different aspects of mana to each of his children. The mana was specific to the nature of each child and to the attributes of the environment within which they would reside.

So it was told, that Rereahu presented each of his tamariki with a form of mana to help them best protect their offspring and people. To his first born son Te Ihingārangi he gifted the mana of the taiao so that he may have the ability to care

156 In the NLC minute books N’ is shorthand for the word Ngāti.
for the environment and in turn it would provide for himself and his people. To his second born son Maniapoto he provided the mana of matawhāura.\textsuperscript{157} This suited the nature of Maniapoto who was a traveller and enabled him to have the strength to protect his people who loyally accompanied him on his travels. To his son Tūwhakahekeao he gifted the mana of military prowess, territorial control and the well-being of his people which are recognised as the qualities of rangatiratanga (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p.57). Kinohaku was afforded the mana of mahinga kai\textsuperscript{158} allowing her the skills to not only provide abundant kai for her people but to also instil in her people the skill of self-sustainability (Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, 2016). To his daughter Te Rongorito he gifted the ability to create peace so that violence could be tamed and she would be able to create a place of peace and safety for her people (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 101). The rest of the mana remained with Rereahu himself (Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, 2016).

In determining the validity of the second myth, "Ko Rereahu te hapū, Ko Maniapoto te iwi", it is necessary to look at the fluid tribal constructs of hapū and iwi which are connected rather than distinct groupings (Ballara, 1998; Kukutai & Rarere, 2013; O'Regan, 2001). In terms of lineage in the context of this chapter, the term hapū represents a kinship group made up of familial units who share a common ancestor, generally referred to as a sub tribe (Katene, 2006; Smith, 2013).

O'Regan (1992, p. 4) describes the construction of an iwi as being; a collective group of people with shared descent lines, identifying to a defined land area and recognised by other groups as being a tribe. Iwi in this respect are comprised of

\textsuperscript{157} battle, warfare
\textsuperscript{158} cultivation, traditional food gathering
hapū or sub tribes with whakapapa being the thread that weaves the hapū together to form the ‘iwi’. The term iwi refers to the descent of a group of people from an eponymous ancestor.

As was stated in the introduction chapter for the purpose of this thesis, I centre myself in regards to Tūwhakahekeao who is the younger brother of Maniapoto. According to claimant Tame Tūwhāngai, it was Tūwhakahekeao who gave recognition to Rereahu as an iwi (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 57). It was this belief that endorsed Rereahu as the eponymous ancestor.

In returning to the whakapapa on page seventy-five, it clearly demarcates the relationship of Rereahu as father to his second born son Maniapoto. Rereahu comprises many hapū as does Ngāti Maniapoto. Rereahu and Maniapoto are considered ancestors to their respective descendants. Furthermore if we consider whakapapa in terms of identity, which is defined by Harris (1995) as "knowing who one is, and who one is not", (p. 5) it highlights the right of a person to define who they are according to whakapapa.

There is no doubt that Rereahu and Ngāti Maniapoto are inextricably linked. For their connections are ensconced in the very fibres of their being. Claimant R. Collier (cited in Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, 2016) recognises the relationship of father and son whilst dispelling the myth being disputed in his address at a Waitangi Tribunal mandate hui held at Te Kūiti Pā; "So the discrepancy is often when my people are referred to as a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto. If ngāti means descendent of, then how can the father be of the son? Which comes first? The father or the son?"

In reference to O'Regan's (1992, p. 4) definition of iwi and the collective recognition of other groups to the iwi, both Rereahu and Ngāti Maniapoto are iwi. Neither are
hapū, both are iwi with their own distinctive identities (Edwards, 2009, p. 9). Therefore the myth, "Ko Rereahu te hapū, Ko Maniapoto te iwi" is misleading and false.

There is no doubt that the myths above are widely believed. Each of which can be seen in literature, watched on Facebook and be heard from the mouths of people of all ages within Ngāti Maniapoto. The myths have been nurtured in the cultural narratives of Ngāti Maniapoto and shared through print, media and the spoken word, safely dispersed through generations.

Nevertheless, the lineal Rereahu whakapapa, NLC evidence and Rereahu stories support the dispelling of these myths. "If you are Rereahu you are Maniapoto", is a fallacy. It does not fit within the oral histories or the lineal whakapapa of many Rereahu descendants. This myth denotes the identity of descendants from a number of Rereahu's other offspring. "Ko Rereahu te hapū, ko Maniapoto te iwi"; is a controversial, physically impossible, erroneous belief as argued by Collier (as cited in Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, 2016).

Time is of the essence. In the current political, cultural and social climate where Treaty claims are being settled and stabilised within another layer of neo-colonial destruction, it is imperative that we reignite our connections of identity. We need to make sure that the correct authentic knowledge and stories are shared within whānau, hapū and iwi. If we do not, myths such as those above will continue to perpetuate the devastating effects of disenfranchisement and marginalisation and wreak havoc on the psyche of those yet to come. The following section will touch on the third definition in terms of the myth being used to substantiate a political-cultural situation, as defined by Edelstein and Lerner (2007, p. 1).
Methods of Misrepresentation

The following section of this chapter will define what methods have contributed to the misrepresentation of Rereahu as an iwi. The methods have been identified as being the spoken word, print and politics. This may not seem to be an exhaustive list and it does not claim to be. Yet, in conjunction with the previous section of this thesis, the methods discussed will aide in the formulation of answers to the question: 'How has Rereahu been misrepresented?'

**Spoken Word**

The spoken word has played a prolific role in the dissemination of the myths discussed in the previous section. Originally, te reo Māori\(^{159}\) was the mechanism of recording Māori culture. As with numerous indigenous languages, the history of a whānau, hapū and iwi was preserved through song, chant, and storytelling. All of which, are modes of communication conveyed through oral language and applied art.

Stories of Rereahu the iwi being entangled as a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto have been shared by means of informal and formal speech. This includes being within familiar settings and prescribed settings. Like a torrent, oral stories can only be controlled by the person sharing. If the majority of the people telling the story affiliate to a population strong group, it is highly likely their version will be readily shared and heard. According to population or registration numbers Rereahu has fewer affiliates than Ngāti Maniapoto.

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\(^{159}\) Māori language
Print

Researching this particular topic has uncovered a number of examples whereby Rereahu as an iwi has been misrepresented in print. Not only has it been misrepresented in terms of the words written on a page, it has also been misrepresented in terms of not being referenced to at all in terms of whakapapa. In some instances, Rereahu ceases to exist.

Books and journals contain references to 'Ngāti Rereahu' as a hapū of Ngāti Maniapoto (Binney, 1995; Edwards, 2009; Elsmore, 1989). The Rereahu takiwā Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua is presented as being the land holdings of Ngāti Maniapoto (Cowan, 1921). However on closer inspection, main sources of the information are not those who prescribe to being Rereahu. They are Ngāti Maniapoto commentators applying information through a Ngāti Maniapoto lens.

Stories of the relationship between Rereahu and his second born son Maniapoto were referenced in the preceding section of this chapter. The knowledge and research of Pei Te Hurinui Jones (1995) and Finn Phillips (1989, 1995) is presented in the form of books. Phillips highlighted the relationship between father and son as being paramount through his description of the affiliation between the two wives of Rereahu. Jones presents the relationship according to the symbolic mana transferral ceremony.

Neither of the two historians presented a balanced interpretation to either account. The stories are presented as being factual and thus correct. Undoubtedly, they are presented as being the only explanations of their kind in terms of the history. Much can be inferred from such narratives. Other truths have been omitted and therefore create a manipulation of the historical snapshots presented.
The descriptions seem somewhat reminiscent of the historical compositions of early ethnographies accumulated by European anthropologists. Analysis, evaluation and interpretation of the information compiled by these early ethnographers, were filtered through and applied according to pre-conceived western notions of being (Payne, 2014; Smith, 2013).

Not dissimilar to this, Jones as a Ngāti Maniapoto leader, was recognised for his scholarly attributes. Being Māori he sought out the truths of Tainui. His immaculate record taking and keeping provided many priceless resources for Tainui. Connections to anecdotes according to Jones's prior knowledge were applied through him affiliating to Ngāti Maniapoto. On the National Library website, which contains records of Jones’s vast manuscripts, the scope note reads: “Rereahu is the iwi of Ngāti Maniapoto” (National Library, n.d). Nevertheless, the noun Maniapoto regularly precedes that of Rereahu.

Phillips on the other hand, was a Pākehā historian. In the introduction to his first book, 'Nga Tohu a Tainui, Phillips (1989, p. ix) emphasises the reluctance of Māori to discuss traditional history unrelated to their own tribal grouping or area. Oral tapestries of many iwi and hapū were therefore unattainable.

Furthermore, when compiling an historical account of Tainui one would hope a repository of Rereahu history would be acknowledged as being such. However, further in the introductory passages, Phillips acknowledges many Māori elders according to their iwi affiliations. None of which he identifies as being Rereahu. This seems misleading considering at least two identified as such.

Two somewhat differing tales of mana transference between Rereahu and Maniapoto are presented in Phillips's two books. This suggests that even within a
collective people 'multiplicity of expression' (Pihama, 2001, p. 104) does exist. Importantly when presenting peoples narratives as factual, it is always vital to stress the multifaceted nature of oral histories. Acknowledgement of multiple interpretations must be adhered to. There is no doubt that Phillips's contributions to the Tainui people are many, whilst also being indicative of his positioning within his research. Undeniably he did his utmost best with good intentions, albeit an example of his generation and cultural upbringing.

Tau (2003) emphasizes the belief that all oral literature or kōrero whakapapa gives moral instructions with a functional purpose. Survival of kōrero throughout multiple generations is in accord with a stories inherent purpose. One of the purposes will be interrogated in the following section of this chapter.

**Politics Endorsed by Law**

The establishment of the Maniapoto Māori Trust Board Act (MMTBA) in 1988 saw Rereahu subsumed in law by Ngāti Maniapoto (Maniapoto Maori Trust Board Act 1988). Between the years of 1984-1990 Koro Tainui Wetere was Minister of Māori Affairs under a Labour led government. Wetere, who affiliated strongly to Ngāti Maniapoto, assumed a pivotal role in ensuring the social, cultural and economic needs of his people were safeguarded.

While the outcome of the MMTBA brought about much positivity and celebration for the descendants of Ngāti Maniapoto, the circumstances for Rereahu were far from such. Many formal objections were put forward by the people of Rereahu to the inclusion of Rereahu marae and hapū into the Act (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu- Maniapoto Inc., 1988).
During the years 1984-1992 Rereahu voiced their objection in constructive ways to the idea that Rereahu the father would be controlled by Maniapoto the son. Rereahu created a central framework under which all Rereahu tamariki and their individual descendants would retain a position of autonomy over their own resources (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 44). The central framework also ensured that the cultural, social, political and economic needs of all iwi within the Rohe Pōtae could be supported through a central body; while being administered according to the distinctive cultural identities and physical resources of each group (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 31).

This was in contrast to the proposed Maniapoto Māori Trust Board (MMTB) framework whereby the many distinctive groups were absorbed under a 'top down' model (Rereahu Trust Board Steering Committee, personal communication, February 6, 1988). The frameworks proposed by Te Rohe Pōtae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society (The Society) provided a holistic outlook on how the many different groups of people within the Rohe Pōtae could have their own interests protected, developed and progressed.\textsuperscript{160} This allowed for the development and growth of all groups, whilst nurturing and maintaining whakawhanaungatanga, at the same time as celebrating the differing histories, physical locations and narratives of iwi (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 26).

The proposed Central Incorporated Society as a management organisation was to ensure, "the safeguard for all people within the Rohe Potae...all economic, social and cultural issues, as well as all human rights principles" (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc, 1988, p. 33). The Central Organisations were to represent

\textsuperscript{160} These frameworks are shown on pages 96 and 98 of this thesis.
"the five tribes of Rereahu-Maniapoto, Tūwharetoa, Wanganui, Raukawa and Hikairo" (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 33). The functions of these organisations were; "To bring unity amongst the iwi of the five tribes [and] to re-create a reserve for the people, where the people themselves have as much control over their own resources as is possible" (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc, 1988, p. 33).

The establishment of the MMTBA and the Maniapoto Māori Trust Board was justified according to whakapapa and the beliefs of the then Minister of Māori Affairs (K. Wetere, personal communication, February 5, 1988). Formation of a Trust board which assimilated the people of Rereahu and Maniapoto under the banner of Maniapoto relied on the dissemination and acceptance of the kōrero mentioned above. Acceptance of the definitive transference of mana from Rereahu to his second born son Maniapoto was required.

This kōrero can therefore be considered in terms of the view Tau (2003) presents of kōrero whakapapa and the definition of myth proposed by Eldelstein & Lerner (2007). The kōrero serves a purpose. In some way it substantiates for Ngāti Maniapoto, why they should feel that assuming leadership over all Rereahu political, cultural, social and economic interests; is in some way upholding whakapapa. So too, the kōrero has transformed from a timeless story to become an expression of political culture.

The MMTBA and other governmental acts will be the focus of the following chapter. The methods and ideals of Rereahu employed to unify the people of the Rohe Pōtae in a fair and just manner will be explored. It will display the continuation of Rereahu's humility and willingness, to provide for his people, in a
diplomatic fashion as practised by his descendants some nearly 500 years after his physical passing.

Summary

Rereahu are not Ngāti Maniapoto. Certainly they are whanaunga who share whakapapa and undeniably have whakapapa interests. However the lineal biological whakapapa and whakapapa stories of many Rereahu descendants circumvent that of Maniapoto. Rereahu are an iwi who are recognised as being such by other groups. Rereahu have their own distinct kōrero, customary values, cultural beliefs, linguistic nuances and geographical area. Misrepresentation of Rereahu has occurred through the spoken word, print and law. Nevertheless, Rereahu kōrero survives today embodied in the whenua and living descendants of Rereahu, the eponymous ancestor.

The Hurakia Indicator: 'Tāne The Strong'

Rereahu pūrākau shall be used as indicators in each of the chapters to demonstrate the balance of the content as prescribed by Hurakia. The tangible is evident in the methods defined in the research process. Each step adds to the whakapapa of this research as a whole. Noho puku can be likened to the iwi of Rereahu acknowledging that a transfer of mana took place between the father and the son. They do not deny this. However, this humility is laced with the reverence they have for their own kōrero tuku iho to which they hold true. Grounding comes from upholding your truth and authenticity. Whakawhanaungatanga is reflected in the section ‘Whānau Driven Talk’ where connections are maintained.

Tāne-kaha is a tangible incarnation of the whakapapa pertaining to Papatūānuku. Tarapikau practised noho puku by accepting his limitations and employing the skills
of Tāne Māhuta. Therefore, whakawhanaungatanga was highlighted in the collaborative effort that brought Tāne-kaha to existence (Crown, 2009, p. 10).

Balance is maintained in this chapter according to Hurakia. The methods employed are in keeping with the abovementioned concepts. The data presented provides a space within which multiple views are given a voice. The research question ‘How has Rereahu been misrepresented?’ is answered in the same vein.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has presented the many methods employed in accordance to research for this thesis. The research process upholds Rereahutanga as guided by the components of the theoretical framework Hurakia. Hurakia was empowered in creating a space of liberation for Rereahu within the academy. Analysis of the methods utilised was carried out in agreement with Hurakia.

Te Kāhui Manu Tāiko dictated the formal methods required in terms of human participant ethics. Interview participants were sought out through the method of whakawhanaungatanga. Interviews and wānanga took place in settings which allowed for organic conversation to take place. During such times food was shared. Through the transcribing process, interview participants preferring anonymity had their kōrero anonymised.

Two myths that are widely referred to as being correct by many commentators were dispelled through the use of whakapapa, NLC evidence and Rereahu kōrero tuku iho. ‘methods of misrepresentation’ were defined and elaborated on utilising Rereahu and non-Rereahu references. Thus, answering the research question, 'How has Rereahu been misrepresented?’ Analysis of this chapter was carried out according to Hurakia characterised through the Rereahu pūrākau 'Tāne the Strong'.
The content of this chapter has demonstrated the power possessed by Rereahu as an oppressed people. Preservation of Rereahu oral narratives are chronicled in the voices of Rereahu descendants. Undeniably these narratives have the power to dissolve assimilation and provide liberation for the oppressed (Rereahu) and the oppressors (Ngāti Maniapoto and the Crown).
The potent presence of pākehā politics

"I wish all of you wisdom in strength and faith in our cause as we move in what will be for all of us, a new era in Maoridom within the Rohe Potae" (R. Pehikino, personal communication, May 3, 1986).

Introduction

It was 1984 and whānau within the Rohe Pōtae\(^{161}\) had identified specific needs. The need for unity. The need for autonomy. The need for protection of their people and their assets through policy. The majority of this chapter will utilise the correspondence, minutes, submissions and services provided by the Te Rohe Pōtae organisational structures (TRPOS).

This chapter will elaborate on the section ‘Methods of Misrepresentation’ found in chapter two of this thesis. It will shed light on the subsection 'Politics Endorsed by Law'. This subsection introduced the Rereahu political plight of the 1980's and 1990's when the Honourable Koro Tainui Wetere was the Minister of Māori Affairs under the Fourth Labour Government.\(^{162}\) This period in Aotearoa New Zealand political history saw the introduction of the Large Natural Grouping Policy (LNG).\(^{163}\)

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\(^{161}\) Macrons will be omitted from certain words including; kaumatua, Potae, Maori, Ngati, Runanga and Tuwharetoa when quoting the manuscripts, correspondence and minutes of the Te Rohe Potae Organisations. This is due to the lack of a macron typset option during the time.

\(^{162}\) The Fourth Labour Government was in power over the period 1984-1990.

\(^{163}\) This is a preference for the Crown to negotiate with larger groups. It makes the process easier to manage for the Crown when assessing whether the claimant group and the claims to be settled meet the criteria for comprehensive negotiations with a large natural group. Step 1 – preparing claims for negotiation (New Zealand Office of Treaty Settlements, 2004, p. 39).
This chapter will also explore the political iwi climate within the Rohe Pōtae during the 1980's. Similarly to chapter two, this chapter will also address the research question: 'How has Rereahu been misrepresented?' This question is the first of two sub questions to be examined for the purpose of this thesis. The outcomes of both this chapter and chapter two will contribute to the main question being investigated throughout this thesis. The main question being: 'What long lasting effects has colonisation had on Rereahu autonomy?'

Although the majority of material used in this chapter is unpublished, it is official documentation. It includes: signed minute books; registered inward and outward correspondence; relevant reports; communications with Parliament; and pertinent background information. The plight of those who were involved in the redevelopment of a Rohe Pōtae political structure worked tirelessly in a just and fair manner according to the wishes of the people. Redefinition of the power balance was deemed imperative. It is therefore fitting that Hurakia the framework underpinning this thesis is relied upon to ensure that balance is maintained in the presentation of content within this chapter.

This chapter will provide a condensed version of 'Te Rohe Pōtae' from the introductory chapter of this thesis. Following this, will be an explanation of the Te Rohe Pōtae Organisations. Continuing on the 'concept of combating further colonisation' will be discussed. The position of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Rereahu (The Rūnanga) will then be presented. This will be followed by the 'first' and 'second take'\textsuperscript{164} as identified by the people of The Rūnanga. Rereahu pūrākau, 'The Coming of Te Kooti', will be revisited as an indicator against which to measure the

\textsuperscript{164} Take is an issue or concern. It will be italicised indicating the Māori word.
misrepresentations in terms of Hurakia the underlying framework of this thesis. Finally, a conclusion will be given.

**Looking Back**

There is general acceptance that until at least 1882 the Rohe Pōtae was an autonomous area of land, within which no alcohol, no surveying and no railway were to be allowed. The Reserve (as the land holding was labelled) was governed according to the practices and belief systems of Māori (Robinson & Christoffel, 2011, p. 14). As was covered in the introduction chapter of this thesis, the 1883 petition presented by Wahanui and signed by 412 others exemplified the people's wishes (Wahanui, Taonui, Maniapoto, R., & me ona hoa e 412, 1883). Among other things it urged the settler government, to pass a law which would protect the traditional land holdings within the Rohe Pōtae making them 'absolutely inalienable to sale'.

It also asked that Te Rohe Pōtae Māori retain the right of practising rangatiratanga\(^{165}\) over their people. That the Māori of the Rohe Pōtae tribes be allowed to fix internal iwi and hapū boundaries according to their oral traditions (Wahanui et al., 1883; Loveridge, 2006). The themes of autonomy, protection of both the people and land and unity were prevalent in such requests. On April 15 1885 the 'sod turning' ceremony took place (New Zealand Government, 1885). This day marked the physical beginning of the Rohe Pōtae relationship with the Main Trunk Line. Some may suggest that this day signified the opening of the Rohe Pōtae and the denigration of the Rohe Pōtae Māori customary rights and practices.

\(^{165}\)sovereignty, to exercise authority, autonomy
Te Rohe Pōtae Organisational Structures

Some 100 years later people of the Rohe Pōtae decided to revisit the happenings of the past. The themes of autonomy, protection of land and people as well as unity were identified as imperative to the well-being of the people. As these ideals were being threatened in a traditional context they were also seen as being priorities in a contemporary context. These overarching themes became the impetus for the reimagining in, 1985 Rohe Pōtae. Therefore, the re-establishment of the traditional Rohe Pōtae concept was to be transferred to and informed by a twentieth century landscape.

It was the belief of The Society, who represented many Rereahu and Maniapoto people that for any system to best service the people of the Rohe Pōtae it had to be democratic, totally inclusive and representative. It also had to be accountable. Therefore, it was decided that these ideals could all be accomplished by using the systems under the European laws of, Incorporated Societies and Charitable Trusts. These systems will be elaborated on in the section of this chapter entitled, 'The Structures and Reasons Why'.

Māori legislation166 in the 1980's did not provide future proof as nobody really knew what changes would occur in future legal decisions. Māori Trusts appeared to service the lands but they did not in any way give redress for the people as to what had been lost or taken. The Māori Land Trusts were vehicles to administer to only the land that had been returned.

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166 See the Māori Trust Board Act 1955: "Historically, Māori Trust Boards were created to receive compensation from the early settlement of grievances against the Crown. The Māori Trust Boards Act 1955 was enacted to, standardise the administration of Māori Trust Boards and the use of Trust Board assets in the promotion of the welfare of their beneficiaries" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018b, para. 2).
Figure 6: The Te Rohe Pōtae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Diagrammatic explanations for the proposed Te Rohe Pōtae Central Organisations Diagram I (Personal Image).
The framework above was set in place as inclusive and representative of all the iwi who were founding members of the Rohe Pōtae. The structure ensured democracy prevailed. It included political, legal, economic management, cultural, social and spiritual structures (including Miringa Te Kakara which was discussed in chapter one of this thesis). Local and national government departmental funding is also included.
Figure 7: The Te Rohe Pōtae a Rerehu-Maniapoto Diagrammatic expositions for the proposed Te Rohe Pōtae Central Organisations Diagram II (Personal Image).

The above image elaborates on the first image in greater detail.
To open communications about the establishment of the central Te Rohe Pōtae organisation prominent Rereahu kaumātua visited representatives of the five iwi identified in the structures above. Agreement for the proposal was sanctioned by representatives of each iwi. The kaumātua visited Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu (Te Ata) to seek her approval. This she gave, allowing for the initial strategic planning to occur. The first of which was the formation of the Te Rohe Pōtae central body.

**Te Rohe Pōtae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society**

This structure was formed to give voice to the local people and their needs. One of the first jobs performed by this committee was to approach the Tainui Trust Board (TTB). The Rereahu-Maniapoto people had identified an inadequate representation of iwi and hapū within the region widely recognised as the King Country on the

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167 Northern Whanganui, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Raukawa, Hikairo.
168 The first Māori Queen and longest standing Māori monarch to reign in New Zealand. Her reign lasted 40 years.
169 The original name of the incorporated society was Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society. Much deliberation occurred regarding this name prior to registration. Many members of the Rereahu and Maniapoto whānau longed for both iwi to stand united under a banner which represented the correct whakapapa and included all affiliations from the eponymous ancestor Rereahu. However a small number of Maniapoto affiliates disagreed with having the name Maniapoto in the title. Therefore, the name Rereahu was the only one represented and Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu Incorporated Society was certified on April 29, 1986, number WIS304162. Following further discussions and with Te Ata again reiterating the importance of unity within the Rohe Pōtae the name of the incorporation was changed to again include Maniapoto. The name Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated was officially recognised on March 27, 1987 (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society, personal communication, March 27, 1987).
170 Report on hui held at the Tainui Trust Board in Ngaruawahia held on 11.05.1986. Mr Forbes explained that the Tainui Trust Board was originally set up by Princess Te Puea Herangi in 1936 to seek compensation from the Government for Maori lands that were confiscated. The purpose for the Board it would seem had outlived its usefulness and it could be that the Board would have to consider restructuring to enable it to help Tainui as a whole as Maniapoto requested. Another thought could be Tribal federations could be formed to include Waikato-Maniapoto and Hauraki to work under the umbrella of the Tainui Trust Board. Board members would need to canvas the areas to meet with the people and that consideration would be given to meeting with the people of Rereahu in the near future. Mr Forbes thanked the delegation for coming. He understood there was to be only 2 or 3 people to receive. Receiving such a large gathering from Maniapoto was indeed an honour (R. Stockman, personal communication, April 19, 1986).
TTB. The Ngāti Kinohaku\textsuperscript{171} representative on the TTB endorsed the \textit{take} presented to the TTB and the Māori Queen. He also made it explicitly clear that he was the Ngāti Kinohaku representative and not a representative of Ngāti Maniapoto on the Tainui Trust Board (R. Stockman, personal communication, April 19, 1986). The delegation who presented the \textit{take} included representatives\textsuperscript{172} of the Te Rohe Pōtae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Organisations (TRPO) and the Ngāti Maniapoto Marae Pact Trust (Marae Pact).\textsuperscript{173}

Another requirement identified by the people was the need to establish autonomy for the rohe. New Zealand's government had been considering providing funding to the regions for the betterment of Māori through the Trust Board structure.\textsuperscript{174} The Society was initiating discussions about establishing its own Trust Board within the King Country region.

A further need suggested by the people was that of the health and well-being of the people. Drug and alcohol abuse was on the rise in the community. In order to develop a practicable model to meet this need, it was essential that an incorporated society be formed so that a task force had a legal framework under which to work and to secure funding.

\textsuperscript{171} People who have ancestral lineage to Rereahu's daughter Kinohaku. They recognise the territory from inland Hangatiki and Waitomo to coastal Marokopa and Waikawau which lies within the King Country boundaries (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018b, p. 55). This is a segment of the traditional land holdings of the eponymous ancestor Rereahu. He gifted this land region to his daughter Kinohaku.

\textsuperscript{172} Ripeka Anderson, Te Kore Crown, Robert Crown, Oti and Doreen Herangi, Bob and Georgina Nankivell, Amohaere Kawe Roes, Tu and Terewai Stockman, Enid Tata, Marge Tawhana, Hēnare Tūwhangai and Nick Tūwhangai represented the TRPO (R. Stockman, personal communication, April 19, 1986).

\textsuperscript{173} The Marae Pact was constituted as a Charitable Trust in November 1981. The aim of the organisation was to improve the holistic well being of Māori and those people living in the tribal area of Maniapoto. They have been able to carry out this aim more effectively in the last 20 years (Ngati Maniapoto Marae Pact Trust, 2016).

\textsuperscript{174} So called large natural groupings were identified and endorsed by the government to accept government funding. Māori Trust Boards became the post offices through which government money was received and then sent out again to those in need as identified by the Trust Boards themselves (Māori Trust Boards Act 1955, N.Z.).
Tikanga guided the process undertaken by the people in the establishment of The Society. One of the many benefits to eventuate from this was the Te Rohe Pōtae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Drug and Alcohol Task Force (The Task Force). Due to the legal recognition of The Society, funding was secured. The money paid for the salary of a drug and alcohol councillor and administrative personal. The Task Force worked collaboratively with Te Kūiti Probation, Te Kūiti Police and schools within the district in order to best support the needs of the people. The Task Force was heralded by Parliamentary Ministers; including the Minister of Māori Affairs, local government officials, and many members of the whānau and wider public, for the vast amount of transformative work it achieved within the community (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Organisations, personal communication, August 23, 1986; October 18, 1986).

**Presentation of Structures and Submissions**

On the 23rd of August 1986 the Te Rohe Pōtae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Kauwhanganui (TKoRM) hosted the Honourable Koro Wetere in Te Kūiti. At this hui the above mentioned structures including explanations for each were presented to Wetere (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society, personal communication, August 23, 1986). This included a number of submissions that the whānau asked Wetere to present on behalf of the Rereahu-Maniapoto people to Parliament (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society, personal communication, August 23, 1986). Wetere agreed to present the ten general submissions and seven specific submissions provided to him.

This agreement was confirmed by the signing of a document. Wetere and five kaumātua of TKoRM signed the document entitled: A memoriam of submissions presented to the Honourable Koro Wetere by the confederation of tribes of Rereahu and Maniapoto. It goes on to state:
I Koro Wetere, Minister of Maori Affairs, Minister of Forests and Lands, and member for Western Maori, agree to present the submissions laid before me by the Kauwhanganui o Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto and Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated to parliament (Confederation of Tribes of Rereahu and Maniapoto, personal communication, August 23, 1986; Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 35).

**Summary**

Tikanga guided the actions carried out by the TRPO. The Organisations set out to serve the aspirations of the people through upholding the traditional ideals of the Rohe Pōtāe. Unity was sought through engagement with the TTB. Autonomy was to be created through the establishment of a Te Rohe Pōtāe Central Trust Board. Protection of the people was realised through The Society and The Task Force. The TRPO was a successful collaboration of Rereahu and Maniapoto whānau serving the wider community. Support shown towards their efforts were many. However, history and foresight had prepared them for greater tasks ahead.

**Combating Further Colonisation**

Many events within the two-year period between the submissions being presented to Koro Wetere and August 1988 had taken place within the Rohe Pōtāe. Numerous hui had ensued. Contestation between the TRPO and the Marae Pact\(^{175}\) was

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\(^{175}\) Discussion held at a hui of The Society declares, "Although one of the Steering Committee members attended our meeting on 27 April 1987 and moved a motion which states: That Te Kauwhanganui o Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu–Maniapoto kaumātua direct the executive of both TRP Kauwhanganui and Incorporated Society to sit down together with the Ngati Maniapoto Maori Trust Board Steering Committee and work out ways of joining forces for the benefit of all Rereahu-Maniapoto people. The steering committee Secretary informed the incorporated society secretary that there is no room for negotiation etc as far as the Trust Board is concerned anyway, they intend to go ahead regardless" (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society, personal communication, May 3, 1986).

The Society's AGM Chairman's Report summarises a Maniapoto hui held on the 6.2.86: "Our proposals rejected. Maniapoto Pact Trust to represent Maniapoto" (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society, personal communication, February 6, 1986).
apparent. TRPO had tried multiple times to work alongside and with the Marae Pact\textsuperscript{176}. Such events resulted in the Rereahu people becoming united in their desire to form an organisational structure which would allow the Rereahu whānau to determine their own development in a manner best suited to their own aspirations and requirements.\textsuperscript{177}

However difficult this was proving, TRPO persevered in protecting and uniting the Rereahu-Maniapoto people. At one particular Maniapoto hui the Chairman allocated presentation time for TRPO. The TRPO kaumātua completed his mihi and then called upon the TRPO secretary to speak on the papers prepared for presentation at this particular hui. The secretary likewise completed her mihi and then began the explanations. The secretary was only able to speak for approximately 2.5 minutes before the Minister of Māori Affairs verbally attacked and continually interjected making it impossible for the papers to be presented.\textsuperscript{178}

\textsuperscript{176} Motion Three carried at a hui held 27.04.87 for The Society states: "The Kauwhanganui o Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto and the Incorporated Society invite the Ngati Maniapoto Maori Trust Board Steering Committee, and the Kaumatua to join forces with the Rohe Potae Organisations, and to work within the structures set up by the Rohe Potae which will lead to the autonomy and unity of the Rereahu-Maniapoto tribes – i.e., the father and son united as one. The Kauwhanganui and the Society also invite the Ngati Maniapoto Steering Committee and kaumatua to combine forces and support the submissions that Te Rohe Potae organisations have already presented to Koro Wetere on 23rd August 1986, and about which the honourable Minister signed a memoriam statement promising to present them to Parliament. The Kauwhanganui and Society extend these invitations with sincere hope that they will be accepted and that the work set up by our Tupuna over a hundred years ago, may be fulfilled with the strength of unity and peace " (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society, personal communication, April 27, 1986).

\textsuperscript{177} A report titled Rereahu-Maniapoto – Together They Represent Unity regarding a hui held at Miringa Te Kakara Marae on 31.10.1987 made the decision that, "The Ngati Rereahu Maori Trust Board” be the name of the Iwi authority (Te Runanga o Ngati Rereahu, personal communication, October 31, 1987). However due to a meeting held 13.7.87 of predominately Ngāti Maniapoto people where a vote of 14/18 carried a motion which stated: “this meeting endorses the establishment of a trust board under the name of the Ngati Maniapoto Maori Trust Board” (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto, personal communication, July 13, 1987). Consequently, in order to maintain unity it was decided the name should be, "Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Trust Board or the Rereahu-Maniapoto Maori Trust Board for short” (Te Runanga o Ngati Rereahu, personal communication, October 31, 1987). Further to this, at a meeting of the people of Rereahu held at Mangapeehi Marae on 6.2.1988 the minutes state: “a unanimous decision was made by all present, That Rereahu forms its own Trust Board” (Rereahu, personal communication, February 6, 1988).

\textsuperscript{178} In a letter to Prime Minister David Lange from the Secretary of The Society it states: "On the Monday morning following the hui, one of the Ngati Maniapoto Kaumatua came around to
It is important to note that it was not the people who stopped TRPO from delivering their presentation but the then Minister of Māori Affairs. The group had no alternative but to withdraw gracefully. After this episode of Mr Wetere’s, one Rereahu kuia informed the gathering that Rereahu would not be taking part in the proposed Ngāti Maniapoto Trust Board, and that the decision to form their own trust board, or not, would have to come from the Rereahu people themselves (T. Karauna, personal communication, December 9, 1987).

A Precedent Set

The Minister of Māori Affairs had recently recognised the Raukawa Trust Board as an iwi authority. Such recognition enabled iwi to access both governmental MANA and MACCESS funding. Rereahu applauded the foresight, wisdom and regard shown by Wetere in supporting an individual iwi in this way. Granting the Raukawa request allowed them to implement an organisational structure which best met the aspirations and requirements of their people (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 12).

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179This is highlighted in a letter written by a probation officer and employee of The Task Force. “The other issue which made an impression on me, unfortunately a negative impression, related to the conduct of the Honourable Minister of Maori Affairs on Sunday 6 December. When the meeting re-convened that morning, The Chairperson...stated...that Rereahu would also be presenting a ‘take’ (proposal) to the Hui. The Chairperson requested that each speaker be given the opportunity to have their say...I checked this with 2 other persons who remained at the hui until the conclusion...and each confirmed it was true the Honourable Minister had stopped the presentation of the ‘take’ from Te Rohe Potae...it certainly was contrary to the rules of any meeting and contradicted the permission granted to Te Rohe Potae by the Chairperson ... In the interim however there is not total unity here amongst the Maori people and I am of the opinion that any legislation which proposes a Trust Board, is premature” (K. Brown, personal communication, December 9, 1987).
Te Kauwhanganui o Ngāti Rereahu decided to steer their iwi in a similar fashion to that adopted by the Ngāti Raukawa people. The kaumātua of Rereahu proposed the formation of their own Iwi Authority to be named 'Te Runanga o Ngāti Rereahu'(The Runanga) under the legal organization of Te Rohe Pōtae o Rereahu–Maniapoto Charitable Trust (The Charitable Trust). By structuring their iwi authority in this way it was the hope of the kaumātua and people that it be accepted by Wetere in the same fashion as that of Ngāti Raukawa (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 15).

The 'Take' of the Rereahu Whānau

A delegation of Rereahu iwi members made their way to Parliament on August 17 1988 at 4pm to meet the Honourable Minister of Māori Affairs, Koro Wetere. They went to present the take of both the Rereahu iwi and the TRPO. In attendance representing both the Rereahu people and the TRPO were Mr B. Rangitaawa, Mr P. Rite (Chairman of The Society), Mr S. Kiu (Chairman of TKoNR) and Mr J. Pai (Chairman of Miringa Te Kakara Trust). The Honourable Dr. Bruce Gregory Member of Parliament (MP) for Northern Māori, and a member of the Māori Affairs Select Committee was also present (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 11). The documents provided by the iwi members were full and thorough. These included: in depth explanations for everything being proposed; numerous governance and operational frameworks (which had already been successfully implemented with positive outcomes); statistics and data supporting the documentation; maps; The Society and The Charitable Trust legislation (already registered and in use); the proposed Te Runanga o Rereahu constitution; referenced

\[180^*\] The registered certificate number for this Trust is No H.N. 384320 (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 6).
historical information regarding the original Rohe Pōtāe; communication with the Minister of Māori affairs and a copy of the Memoriam signed by him including previous submissions.

**The Reasoning**

The Charitable Trust was part of a much wider organisational structure set up to service the needs of all people living within the area of the Rohe Pōtāe inhabited by the Rereahu-Maniapoto Tribes. Devolution\(^{181}\) was considered a reality at that time. Wetere had suggested that a partnership approach between Māori and Government was vital for the development of New Zealand as a whole (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 12). The structures delivered attempted to merge European organisation structures using Māori objectives and observing Māori kawa (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 13). Subsequently, the people believed the structures presented achieved their aspirations and requirements. Within the structure the 'mana' of the kaumātua was supreme. The kaumātua were provided the power to veto any decisions made by The Runanga. However, kaumātua were protected and were unable to be held legally liable. Thus the position of security and guidance once held by kaumātua of all tribes was reinstated to ensure that mana continued to reign over the people. The only other structures which allowed for such were that of the Runanga or Trust Board (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 13).

While not intending to dwell on the recent history in the area, the people could not escape the fact that there were difficulties between the Rereahu and some Maniapoto peoples in deciding which organisational approach would be more

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\(^{181}\) The transfer or delegation of power to a lower level, especially by central government to local or regional administration.
appropriate. Many whānau felt that participation in a multicultural organisation such as The Charitable Trust was advantageous (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1986, p. 42). The structure also included a seat which would allow for Maniapoto representation. This allowed for the kinship ties between the father Rereahu and the son Maniapoto to be maintained (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1986, pp. 6-7).

This provision was made in order to develop and prioritise an ongoing relationship with Ngāti Maniapoto. The Rūnanga hoped it would encourage Maniapoto to engage in the near future. By utilising the name Rohe Pōtae the people felt they were upholding the values and foresight exhibited by the tūpuna when the Reserve was initially established (R. Crown., & L. Crown, 1985; R. Crown, personal communication, January, 1986). The name was also seen to demonstrate inclusivity.

Maximum protection for the people was secured through using a structure befitting Charitable Trust Law. This enabled whānau to easily alter their own constitution in order to best meet their own aspirations. The Society constitution clauses provided safeguarding for all those involved (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1986; Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988).

**Summary**

There was an undeniable split between the people seemingly perpetuated by the cultural-political situation in Aotearoa at the time. Once again, tikanga dictated the

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In minutes of a hui held by The Society where there were representatives of Raukawa, Rereahu, Ngati Maniapoto and Whanganui in attendance, all were in consensus for unity, Mrs Tangihāere recorded as Ngati Maniapoto and later Secretary of The Society, "emphasized very strongly that as a people the jealousies and power hang ups of many individuals and small groups led to severe "back stabbing", resulting in even greater disunity and lack of help being given to the people" (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society, personal communication, 1986).
actions of the TRPO and they continued to persevere on their journey to bring about unity, autonomy and protection of the people and whenua to the Rohe Pōtāe. Through research and expert legal advice the people of Rereahu would continue to seek out alternative options for the betterment of their own whilst upholding whanaungatanga.

**Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Rereahu**

The Rūnanga was to operate as an autonomous committee under the umbrella of The Charitable Trust in the same way The Task Force committee was situated under The Society. The main purpose of The Rūnanga was to take care of the social, educational, employment and welfare needs of the Rereahu people; and to receive any government funding entitlements. At this time there was no other organisation set up to specifically carry out these aspirations. The proposed local Trust Board which was soon to be established precluded the Rereahu whānau (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 13).

**The Economic Base of the Rūnanga**

Initially, The Rūnanga was to implore the government in establishing the organisational structures which would protect and care for the people. They entered requests for Mana and Maces funding, Maatua Whangai\(^{183}\) monies and made it clear that they would also be applying for any other Government Departmental funding available. However, The Rūnanga also planned to establish its economic base as a self-supporting unit. The Rereahu people at that time were fortunate in

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\(^{183}\)Maatua Whangai was a part of Maori Affairs and allocated funding to enable young people to be cared for in their own communities and by their own whānau.
having a strong land based resource area operated by a number of 438 Trusts. The Rūnanga had planned to ask these Trusts to support their endeavours. A possible way of ensuring economic stability for the Trust had been suggested by Mr J. Paki in overtures made toward the Rereahu people in the amalgamation between the Trust he represented and The Rūnanga. Compensation claims and the structural distribution network through The Rūnanga could have provided a very profitable partnership to both parties.

**Boundaries of Operation**

In formalising the organisational structures The Society sought the guidance of Wetere. In correspondence with him, inquiry was made as to the necessity of providing a map of the geographical boundaries The Rūnanga was seeking to govern. Wetere informed them that; "No map has been drawn up and I don't know if it is intended that one be drawn up. Certainly, no other Board, to my knowledge, including the Tainui Board, has a map of its district" (K. Wetere, personal communication, November 11, 1987; Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988). Furthermore, Wetere outlined his reservation of Rereahu having an independent iwi authority referring to boundaries as a reason why. "I do not see a sensible case for you to be separated from Maniapoto, given that the area that you would proclaim is partly in Maniapoto and mainly in Tuwharetoa who would

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184 Section 438 Trusts were created under the Māori Affairs Act 1953 allowing for the facilitation and management of Māori freehold land and customary lands. Any 438 Trusts still in existence when Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 was introduced would have been transferred to being Ahu Whenua Trusts.

185 M. Hepi presented the following message to The Society: "that the Titiraupenga Trust acknowledges that the mountains of Pureora and Titiraupenga are part of the customary lands held by the Ngati Rereahu people; and the Trust further acknowledges that these mountains must be and will be returned to the customary land holders – i.e. to the Ngati Rereahu Tribe" (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society, personal communication, November 23, 1986).

186 The kaíārahi (leader) explained that when he began to revive the Rohe Potae he spoke to his Uncle Sir Hepi Te Heuheu who encouraged him to begin this work with the TRPO (Te Rohe Potae Organisations, personal communication, May 5, 1987).
doubtless oppose your opinion" (K. Wetere, personal communication, February 5, 1988).

This advice was duly noted by The Charitable Trust. In responding correspondence to Wetere, The Charitable Trust recognised the proposed boundaries as wide. To avoid interference to both Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, the specific area within which The Rūnanga was to concentrate operation on was a far smaller piece of the wider area (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 8). The Rūnanga proposed to support any Rereahu tribal member or whānau in need wherever they may reside (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc. &., 1988, p. 8). The wider boundaries would remain for The Society (Ngati Rereahu Trust Board Steering Committee, personal communication, February 6, 1988).

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187 The following motion was passed unanimously at a Ngati Rereahu Trust Board Steering Committee meeting "that to avoid encroaching upon the boundaries of the Tuwharetoa Trust Board and those of the proposed Ngati Maniapoto Maori Trust Board the boundaries suggested in legislation already prepared be condensed into a smaller geographical area. It was felt too that by carrying out such an action the criticism levelled to this effect by the Minister of Maori Affairs in his letter to the General Meeting would be negated (Ngati Rereahu Trust Board Steering Committee, personal communication, February 6, 1988).
Figure 8: "Boundaries of the [proposed] Rereahu-Maniapoto Trust Board" [Adapted from] The take of the Ngāti Rereahu whānau: Submissions Presented to the Maori Affairs Select Committee (p. 63), by Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc. 1988, Te Kūiti New Zealand: Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc. Reprinted with permission.
The Rereahu-Maniapoto Trust Board was proposed by The Society in an attempt to unite the people. It also upheld the name of Rereahu. This provided for a Rereahu voice. The dark line demarcates the proposed border of the Rereahu-Maniapoto boundaries. The lighter internal line indicates the Rereahu takiwā Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua. This was the proposed area of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Rereahu. It was the intention of Rereahu that The Rūnanga govern only this area of whenua.

**The First Take**

The delegation presenting to Wetere was seeking authority in writing giving recognition to:

1. Te Runanga o Ngati Rereahu as an Iwi Authority.
2. The Runanga being entitled to receive and distribute Maatua Whangai Government Departmental funds.
3. The right to receive monies to aid in the establishment of the Runanga.
4. The right to make use of Government directed personnel who could support the whānau development work to be carried out by the Runanga.
5. The right to receive $15, 000.00 to enable an impact study to be undertaken by the Waikato University Maori Studies Department.188

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188 On September 12 1985 a deputation from the Rohe Potae Organisations consisting of Rev. Bob Emery, Bob Crown, Dan Ormsby and Georgina Nankivell, met with the Director of the Centre, R.T. Mahuta, to seek help in putting together a comprehensive report (Rohe Potae Organisations, personal communication, September 12, 1985; Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988). On 4th November 1985 another meeting was held at the University attended by Bob Crown, Rose and George Stockman, Ngatai Hetet, Tutu Ormsby, Dan Ormsby, Georgina Nankivell at which the scope and nature of a possible Ngati Maniapoto Report was explored. This meeting agreed that such a report should proceed and discussed possible avenues of funding. The proposal was supported by many people including the Tainui Trust Board and Professor J. Ritchie of Waikato University (Te Rohe Potae, personal communication, September 12, 1985; Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society, personal communication, December 10, 1985; Te Rohe Potae, personal communication, April 10, 1986; Te Rohe Potae, personal communication, July 20, 1988). The proposed study was comprehensive. The Rereahu-Maniapoto Report proposal was five pages in length (R. Crown & L. Crown, personal communication, 1985; Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., & Te Kauwhanganui o Rereahu, personal communication, August 16, 1988).
6. The right to receive funding to help pay for the trip to Wellington. This was due to the fact that Mr Brown on behalf of Wetere had indicated in a telephone conversation on 21.4.88 that Wetere was committed to travelling to meet the delegation at home (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, pp. 8-9).

**The Structures and the Reasons Why**

Once the people had endorsed the idea of reviving the Rohe Pōtæ concept they then had to employ structures which would achieve mandate. Longevity was seen as important due to the historical events of the Rohe Pōtæ. The original Rohe Pōtæ had become dormant. This had happened because kaumātua who had led the original concept had died. Lack of unity amongst the people prevented the maintenance of the original ideals. Furthermore, the implementation of structures to ensure the continuation of the concept had not occurred (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1986; Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, personal communication, November 30, 1988).

Careful considerations were made as to the necessary components of a structure. It was decided that the structures needed to be firm yet flexible enough to ensure the concept would remain and be able to evolve in order to be relevant in any era. The structure was required to encompass the cultural, economic, social and political areas of society. This would ensure that the concept remained relevant to all aspects of people's lives (R. Crown, L. Crown, & Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society, 1985; Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1986; Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988).
A culmination of the best ideals and structures from the Māori and European worlds was seen as advantageous. This also highlighted the importance of having a bicultural structure that would reflect the nature of the children and future generations into the next century. The structures would have to reflect the family pattern of society both the nuclear and extended. It was decided that the system would provide the people with as much control as possible over their own lives while allowing for collective needs to be met and for individual needs to be satisfied (R. Crown et al., 1985; Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1986).

The system would provide safeguards and protections and a pattern of co-ordination which would ensure the smooth running of the management areas of society. Finally, the structures within the system would have to offer a symbol of area, national and Pacific identity which in years to come would continue to unify the people. All these criteria were considered and all these conditions were met as best they could be when the people decided upon the structures (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1986; Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988).

The Original Concepts of the Rohe Pōtae

The founding concepts of the original Rohe Pōtae reflected the historical conditions of the time period. The issues being faced by Māori in the 19th century were far more threatening, but shared similarities to those being faced by Māori in the 20th century. Therefore, the transferable concepts that The Society identified as being guiding forces in their development of organisational structure were those of; autonomy, unity of the people and protection of the people. The structures implemented met the three themes of 'Autonomy, Unity and Protection' as drawn
from the original Rohe Pōtae (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1986; Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988).

**The Incorporated Society**

The incorporated society structure proved capable of meeting many of the stated criteria. The legislation allowed the members to write the constitution and thereby to govern the areas of community life regarding the needs of the people. This met the concept of unity. A European legal structure with a predominantly Māori value system was utilised. The thinking behind this was to capitalise on the best of both cultures and to ensure the unity of the people was maintained.

By the careful addition of certain clauses in the constitution, protection of the people was upheld. The clauses ensured that at all times the organisation would remain answerable to the majority wishes of the people who were its members. Therefore, the organisation remained flexible enough to alter with the time period while maintaining the three basic concepts already mentioned. As a structure which states that all members have equal ownership or membership rights the European legal structure fitted the Māori concept of whānau and whanaunga (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1986; Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988).

By allowing for honorary membership and by placing the kaumātua in this position, the structure again met the criteria of respect as viewed by both cultures adding further terms of unity to the system. Lastly, by acting as a service organisation and by being placed at the top of the intra-tribal structure, the incorporated society provided a pattern of co-ordination. Through its affiliation principals which would have allowed it to ensure the smooth running of the management areas of society,
it simultaneously maintained the bicultural aspects of unity (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 32).

**The Charitable Trust**

The Charitable Trust legislation like that of the Incorporated Society already fitted the criterion of autonomy in a similar way. The people within the community who were members were given the ability to write and amend their own constitution. This allowed for flexibility to determine the direction within which they wished to head. Consequently, the members were able to continually update the direction so that it remained relevant to the needs and the times in which they found themselves living. By insisting upon The Charitable Trust affiliating to The Society and members from both The Society and TKoRM be included on the Trust Board; the criteria of Unity and Protection as well as the area of effective management were upheld (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 28).

**The Māori Trust Board**

At that time most Māori Land was governed by the Maori Affairs Acts. It was therefore seen as advantageous to include a Māori Trust Board within the structure. The future of the Acts governing the administration of Māori land was unknown. If legislation had changed "Iwi Authorities" may have been found to be of little use. Although the structures could have functioned without a Trust Board it was considered wise to include one. In order to protect the owners of the land the proposed legislation would have seen the power transfer from the office of Minister of Māori Affairs to TKoRM referred to as the people's representatives (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 29). By affiliating this body to the Society and by ensuring that members from The Society were also on the Māori Trust
Board; the criterion of Unity and Effective Management were covered (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 29).

**The Kauwhanganui**

This organisation was largely responsible for ensuring the protection and autonomy of the Māori people in terms of Māori lore. Further to the inclusive nature of the structures it was suggested that perhaps over time Pākehā kaumātua could also have become members of TKoRM. This would have reinforced the unity of all (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 29).

**Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu**

The probable removal of the Privy Council\(^\text{189}\) as part of the Aotearoa New Zealand legal structure was considered. It was recognised that the physical, economical and emotional links with Britain would weaken. Also, that although Queen Elizabeth and her descendants may remain head of the Commonwealth Family, the need for self-determination and defining of a national identity as bicultural was imperative. Recognition of Aotearoa as being a member of the Pacific region was also identified as important. It seemed only pertinent therefore that the figurehead for such national identity needed to be Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu. The Māori Queen was well recognised and respected within Māoridom, Aotearoa and the Pacific. Thus, being representative of Pacific identity and unity.

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\(^{189}\) A Council of people appointed by Her Majesty the Queen and provided judicial functions to Aotearoa New Zealand for over 160 years superceded in 2003 by the Supreme Court of New Zealand.
The Rūnanga was well researched and prepared. The autonomy, unity and protection of their whānau, hapū, iwi, and wider whanaunga was of the utmost importance to them. Their proposals were indicative of such. This ongoing commitment can again be seen in the second *take* presented by the delegation.

**The Second 'Take'**

The second *take* presented to Koro Wetere, the then Minister of Māori Affairs was concerning the issues involved in; the wider region of the Rohe Pōtae itself and in the more specific areas of the Rereahu-Maniapoto segment of the rohe. As discussed in the subsection ‘Presentation of Structures and Submissions’ of this chapter, Koro Wetere had signed a memoriam statement. The signing made promise that he would present to Parliament submissions placed before him by the TKoRM and The Society.

In an extract from the Minutes of a meeting held August 30, 1986 by the Executive Committee of The Society, the people discussed the meeting which took place with Koro Wetere the week prior:

> The general opinion was that we could be quietly optimistic about the promises and support voiced by the Honourable Koro Wetere, although reservations were expressed that the Minister could have gone further in his commitments. Mr Phillips is at present working on our submissions and finalising them for presentation to Parliament by Mr Koro Wetere (Executive Committee Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society, personal communication, August 30, 1986).

In a period of two years the submissions had still not been presented to Parliament. In a letter received from Wetere dated 25 September, 1987
correspondence received by him from The Society he proceeds to individually answer the many points covered. Wetere explains the point regarding the Submissions of the 23 August, 1986:

Submissions of the 23 August 1986 – Since receiving your request to present your submissions to Parliament, I have been looking for ways to carry out your wishes. Unfortunately, under the rules of Parliament, it is not as simple as me receiving your submissions and then tabling them in Parliament. To effect what you want, I think there are two avenues open to you; one by way of a petition to Parliament, and the other via legislation. Rather than try to outline these options to you in writing, I will ask officers from my Department's Hamilton office to call on you at your convenience to explain them to you. Let me say, though, the legislation option I have already started on your behalf and I think you should seek expert legal advice on this question when perusing the drafts (K. Wetere, personal communication, September 2, 1987).

Wetere indicated in writing that he had already begun the "legislative option" on behalf of The Society. Moreover, Wetere read out the draft legislation at a hui held over the period of December 4-6 1987. This prompted yet another letter to be sent from The Society on the January 26, 1988 requesting a copy of such.190 This letter was just one in a long line of correspondence to request this information sent to the then Minister of Māori Affairs.

190 "Would you please send us a copy of the draft Trust Board legislation which you promised in your letter of 25/9/87 would be made available to us for consultation and comment" (T. Karauna, personal communication, January 26, 1988).
Wetere indicated that he would be willing to provide a draft copy of the material and also advised that a lawyer peruse the documents. The Society Lawyer, Mr Phillips had never received such draft legislation although The Society had requested it on numerous occasions. They also continued to seek the support of Wetere by keeping him up-to-date with all important decisions being made by TRPO organisations regarding a Trust Board. This included a letter from the Steering Committee expressing Rereahu's desire to be autonomous and independent by having a Rereahu-Maniapoto Trust Board.¹⁹¹

Wetere responded to this by informing the Steering Committee that he was not in favour of a separate Rereahu Trust Board. He was in favour of a Ngāti Maniapoto Trust Board along the lines proposed at the Maniapoto hui held in December of 1987. He spoke in the capacity as a tribal member of Ngāti Maniapoto who "was not persuaded that Rereahu was anything other than a strong force in the rohe" (K. Wetere, personal communication, February 5, 1988).

This letter was discussed at a hui held at Mangapeehi marae the day after the Steering Committee had received the facsimile from Wetere. Members of the Marae Pact attended this hui to explain the role and structure of the proposed MMTB. The proposed MMTB structure was to have six regions and Regional Management Committees (RMC) of which Rereahu would be one. However, the eight marae originally identified as affiliating to Rereahu were not all contained within the proposed Rereahu boundary. The four Rereahu marae that were situated within the Rereahu RMC were represented at the hui. These four marae were asked if they would support, approve and recognise the establishment of a statutory Maori Trust Board for Ngati Rereahu which is completely separate from and independent of the proposed Ngati Maniapoto Trust Board" (R. Reed, personal communication, February 4, 1988).

¹⁹¹ "Because this matter is of vital importance to our people could you urgently confirm if: You would support, approve and recognise the establishment of a statutory Maori Trust Board for Ngati Rereahu which is completely separate from and independent of the proposed Ngati Maniapoto Trust Board" (R. Reed, personal communication, February 4, 1988).
would support the MMTB individually. Each marae voted no, four unanimous no’s.\footnote{192} A vote was taken on what the people of Rereahu wanted and a unanimous decision was made by all present "That Rereahu form its own Trust Board" (Te Runanga o Rereahu, personal communication, February 6, 1988).

The outcomes of this hui were provided in writing to numerous Members of Parliament, iwi leaders within the Rohe Pōtae, kaumātua not in attendance and the Tainui Trust Board. In considering the lack of support being provided by the Minister of Māori Affairs the whānau decided to seek guidance and support in other areas of Parliament.\footnote{193} Winston Peters the then Opposition Spokesperson for Māori Affairs offered to read a "Question for Written Answer to the Minister of Maori Affairs in the House". The question was as follows:

Did he promise to present to Parliament the submissions by the Kauwhanganui o Te Rohe o Rereahu-Maniapoto and Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society, and did he further promise that the Ngati Rereahu would be given their own Trust Board via legislation, and if so what has he done about fulfilling both those promises? (W. Peters, personal communication, February 24, 1988).

The responses\footnote{194} Wetere provided were obtuse, indirect and misleading. On August 23, 1986 Wetere had only identified there being one or two aspects of the draft

\footnote{192} “Miringa Te Kakara, Te Hape, Te Ihinga-a-rangi, Rereahu” (Rereahu, personal communication, February 6, 1988).
\footnote{193} Kaumātua Mr P Rite stated that the, "Beehive" should sort out any problems as regards the suitability of the legislation and that he could see no difficulty in allowing the opposition to present the bill knowing how Mr Wetere was not in favour of our proposals” (Rereahu Steering Committee, personal communication, March 19, 1988).
\footnote{194} "I did undertake to present to Parliament submissions...I signed a document indicating my support for a basic concept. Subsequent developments over a period of time have now given rise to a definitive basis for legislation which is now receiving consideration. The original document was a concept that did not conform to the business of the house, but it has now been refined to a stage where it can be considered for possible legislation. I stand by my pledge to submit to Parliament,
legislation requiring clarification (Te Kauwhanganui o te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto. & Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Incorporated Society, personal communication, August 23, 1986). By the time the question was asked of him in the House,\textsuperscript{195} seventeen months and, numerous chances to communicate his thoughts through correspondence had passed.

The second take the delegation presented to Wetere sought authority in writing giving recognition to the following:

1. to receive the draft copy of the work carried out on their proposed legislation (as alluded to by Wetere in his correspondence dated 25.09.87).

2. That the submissions\textsuperscript{196} (Ten General and Seven Specific) be presented before Parliament prior to Christmas.

3. That the Government undertake to pay for the research necessary to look into all the matters raised in the submissions.

4. That the government pay a commission to be set up of 7 people. Three of these members may be Government appointees (one a lawyer) and four to be appointed by the Te Rohe Potae organisations (one of which will also be a lawyer). The purpose of the Commission will be to oversee all activities associated with the submissions and any other claims laid about the Rohe Potae, to collate all the findings and to prepare some form of negotiation point regarding compensation entitlements.

\textsuperscript{195} Term used referring to the debating chambers in The House of Representatives.

\textsuperscript{196} The Submissions presented to Wetere in Te Kūiti on August 23 1986.

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effective legislation that will fulfil the aspiration of the people" (K. Wetere, personal communication, March 2, 1988).
5. By way of compensation (in part) the government is to withdraw its Crown Shareholding in all Maori land within the region and return these shares back to the tangata whenua freehold.

6. Where restructuring of these properties is necessary, monies for past compensation is also to be used to re-establish the land blocks as economic units.

7. All Maori Affair's controlled properties are to be handed back to the people.

8. A further submission in the "General Group" is also to be added to the list. It will be number eleven, and will read:

"That airspace within the region is also to be compensated for where any high or low rise buildings of over one storey have been erected anywhere throughout the region, then compensation will be sought for the "airspace" now occupied by such an addition to the landscape.

9. All compensation monies are to be paid out to the relevant Rohe Potae committee (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 70).

Rereahu were hopeful that Wetere would look favourably upon granting these requests, as he had shown great foresight with Ngāti Raukawa. It was their belief that the submissions presented to him on August 23, 1986 not only had historical significance for the people but they were indeed the key to the people's future. It would seem their foresight was right. This foresight will be further discussed in chapter five.
The Maniapoto Māori Trust Board was given an assent date\(^{197}\) of December 21 1988. This signified the fact that the Minister of Māori Affairs had not looked favourably on the requests of The Charitable Trust, The Society, The Rūnanga and the Rereahu marae. Although they recognised that personal feelings were dictating the Ministers biased behaviour, this did not deter the people of Rereahu. The ongoing determination of Rereahu will be discussed in chapters four and five of this thesis.

**The Hurakia Indicator: 'The Coming of Te Kooti'**

Rereahu pūrākau shall be used as indicators in each of the chapters to demonstrate the balance of the content as aligned to Hurakia. The Coming of Te Kooti was representative of the framework component te reo me ōna tikanga. This story signifies the qualities of kawa, wānanga and mātauranga.

Method is apparent in the steps taken by the TRPO in reigniting the Rohe Pōtae concept. Kawa ensured their safety as they consulted with representatives of each original tribe, Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu and the Rereahu-Maniapoto people. The purpose of the TRPO is evident in their mission to uphold the whakaaro of the tūpuna past. Mātauranga would allow the people to realise autonomy, unity and protection. Wānanga took place on many levels throughout the TRPO journey. Booklets prepared on the history of the Rohe Pōtae and proposed structures were presented to the people at wānanga hosted by TRPO. Hui for the people were held. Presentations were made to parliamentarians. A multitude of transparent written

\(^{197}\) This Act shall come into force on the 28th day after the date on which it receives the Royal assent (Maniapoto Maori Trust Board Act 1988).
communication also passed between TRPO and government officials, health and social services, research providers and the people.

These qualities are reflected in the actions of Te Kooti. He surrendered to the kawa of the rohe to grow in mātauranga through wānanga (Crown, 2009, p. 35). This story exemplifies just how important te reo me ōna tikanga is. For these concepts provide safety and guidance through maintaining balance.

The content of this chapter is in keeping with the balance presented by Hurakia and through this Rereahu pūrākau. The methods employed are in keeping with the abovementioned concepts. The data highlights the development of mātauranga through wānanga. It also demonstrates how kawa and tikanga was upheld in order to create balance. Various viewpoints were presented. The research question, 'How has Rereahu been misrepresented?' is answered utilising a number of different materials pertinent to the context of the chapter.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has given brief historical accounts in order to create a context for the research presented. The organisational frameworks of the TRPO show the foresight and willingness to create unity, autonomy and protection for the people. The TRPO were determined to uphold whakapapa through inclusivity. The organisations navigated the constructs of the available legal structures in order to meet the political implications of the Fourth Labour Government. Māori tikanga was upheld and implemented to seek the best outcomes for the people. The harsh realities of paternalistic power did not deter the people of the TRPO. The misrepresentation of Rereahu was seen in the acceptance of one iwi authority excluding the name of the father Rereahu. 'The Coming of Te Kooti' highlights how this chapter maintains
equilibrium by following the concepts of kawa, wānanga and mātauranga through the use of different literature.

The content of this chapter has demonstrated the determination and foresight of a victimised people. As the ‘potent presence of pākehā politics’ perpetuated the cycle of colonisation these people were willing to combat it with its own tools. Therefore, this chapter is but a snippet of the long journey undertaken by the Te Rohe Pōtae Organisations. It is a testament to a people who were fair and just; a people who feared not persecution, but who were determined to honour the eponymous ancestor, Rereahu.
"I envisage all sorts of legal upheavals in ascertaining true ownership to those portions of land removed from our ownership by the state and other people through misrepresentation" (R. Pehikino, personal communication, November 11, 1983).198

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the journey of the Te Rohe Pōtae Organisations in the 1980's. The organisations were a collaborative effort of people from varying hapū and iwi within the Rohe Pōtae/ King Country. Those involved and in support of the organisations stood resolute in their quest for autonomy, unity and protection of the people and land within the Rohe Pōtae. The chapter focused on the people of Rereahu-Maniapoto and the misrepresentation of Rereahu as an eponymous ancestor and as an iwi.

The context of this chapter is set in present times. However, it will highlight how some decisions made under the Fourth Labour Government199 continue to affect the iwi of Rereahu. The stark reflection between now and then will be presented. Decades later, the impetus placed upon Large Natural Groupings by the Crown, and, the Maniapoto desire to preside over the land and people of Rereahu personify the remnants of colonisation.

198 This statement was made by Rereahu kaumātua Ropata Pehikino in a translated book of the Rangitoto-Tuhua Case Book 1898 as part of the evidence provided in the pursuit of reviving the Rohe Pōtae concept.

199 The Fourth Labour Government was in power over the period 1984-1990.
The British concept of divide and rule plays an inherent role in the process of Waitangi Tribunal Claims. Ironically, this strategy has been accepted and applied whereby the oppressed have now become the oppressor. The catalyst of such cannot be that of survival. Here, in 2018 exactly twenty years after the Maniapoto Māori Trust Board Act (Maniapoto Maori Trust Board Act 1988) was introduced into legislation the economic, social and cultural growth of Rereahu-Maniapoto continues to flourish. No, it must be more sinister than that. For what could make a people obscure whakapapa and impinge upon their own the shackles of oppression? How can one iwi justify perpetuating the grotesque colonial relics of forced assimilation and displacement upon their own (including their father)?

With these thoughts in mind, the content of the following chapter will attempt to aid in answering the question: 'How has Rereahu responded to the ongoing threat of colonisation in the 21st Century?' This question is the second of two sub questions considered in the compilation of this thesis. The answers to each will contribute to the overarching question guiding this thesis which is: 'What long lasting effects has colonisation had on Rereahu autonomy?' Methods of misrepresentation have been explored in the previous chapters. Now, the methods utilised by Rereahu in search of self-determination and autonomy will be investigated.

Firstly, 'Back to the Future’ will look backwards in order to see how the Crown enforced modernisation of iwi, has greatly impacted on the current political landscape. Secondly, the concept of 'Contemporising Colonisation' in regards to Rereahu will be interrogated. Thirdly, the contents of this chapter will be evaluated against the Rereahu pūrākau 'Tūtakamoana and Rangi-pare...Tree top lovers'. This story will indicate how the theoretical framework Hurakia has been preserved and equilibrium maintained. Lastly, a conclusion of this chapter will be given.
Back to the Future

The New Zealand Government or Crown are perpetrators of further colonisation on iwi and hapū through a patently discriminatory process. Displacement, sustained marginalisation and cultural-genocide are irreversible prejudices facilitated through Crown dictated policies. These breaches continue to result in tribes being dispossessed of their whenua, taonga tuku iho, and most importantly their identity (Ngati Huarere ki Whangapoua Trust, 2014, p. 2). This section continues on from the following chapter and discusses aspects of the past which have had adverse effects on the future of Rereahu.

The Crown

The Fourth Labour Government in New Zealand held office from July 1984 to October 1990. During this term the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 was amended (Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985). The modifications allowed for breaches of The Treaty of Waitangi (The Treaty) by the Crown to be investigated as far back as the time of the 1840 signing (Andrew, 2008; Hill, 2013). The then Minister of Justice, Geoffrey Palmer, believed this enlarged jurisdiction would solidify race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand. For perhaps the first time since inception, The Treaty was to become a living, breathing document. The Labour Government used The Treaty to leverage reform of the New Zealand Political structure. The principles of the Treaty were woven into legislation orchestrating a new profile for the New Zealand Government (Durie & Orr, 1990; Orange, 2004).

interpreted in the 1980's (Fisher, 2015, p. 30). All were attempts by the Fourth Labour Government to appease the ever growing cohesively resolute voice of Māoridom. McHugh and Ford, (2012, in R. Hill, 2013) suggest that; "politicians do not embark on difficult and costly ethno-cultural healing processes out of the goodness of their hearts. They do it because they are under pressure to act"(p. 2).

The instigator in this case was the Māori Renaissance of the 1970's (Durie & Orr, 1990; Orange, 2004) within which Māori vociferously asserted their beliefs and rights. Protests were organised to bring Māori issues to the forefront of the national psyche. From this stemmed the unprecedented NZMC versus Attorney-General Lands Case (New Zealand Maori Council V Attorney-General, 1987). The New Zealand Māori Council successfully argued that transfer of land from the Crown to State Owned Enterprises without a process to take account of the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi was unlawful (New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General, 1987, p. 6). Māori foresight reigned supreme. The Government under the directive of the The New Zealand Court of Appeal, was under a duty to consult with Māori honestly and fairly and in utmost good faith; in order to negotiate compromises and solutions with Māori leaders that included their concerns (Fisher, 2015, p. 31). Māori were to no longer be beguiled by the government acting in support of Māori aspirations. Nevertheless, this form of staged empathy would later inflict further displacement and poverty.

The Te Rohe Pōtae Organisations (TRPO) were proactive in supplying submissions to each of the statutes mentioned (Te Rohe Potae o Rereahu-Maniapoto

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200 An example of this is the Kōhanga Reo movement.
Incorporated Society, personal communication, August 23, 1986; February 14, 1990). Heeding the lessons of history, the TRPO utilised every avenue possible in order to secure the best for their people. The submissions presented by the TRPO were specific to the themes of each legislation, and pertained to the area of the Rohe Pōtæ, Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua and Māoridom as a whole.

The Tribunal

The year 1975 saw the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal (The Tribunal). Judge Carrie Wainwright described the Tribunal as a "pressure-reducing valve" (as cited in Andrew, 2008, p. 228). In response to the ever flourishing 'Māori Renaissance', the Tribunal was seemingly inactive until 1982. Consequently, it initially received minimal attention from both Māori and the government (Boast, 1993; Durie, 1998). However by 1985 The Tribunal became a body empowered to "propose a bicultural approach to law-making and administration and to the formation and delivery of public policy services" (Durie & Orr, 1990; Orange, 2004).

In May 1989 the Treaty of Waitangi Policy Unit (TOWPU) had become fully operational. Its purpose was to provide strategic policy advice to the Crown regarding the grievances brought forward by Māori (Birdling, 2004, p. 261). The TOWPU set about rapidly researching these past grievances. ‘Settlements of Major Maori Claims in the 1940s: A Preliminary Historical Investigation’ was the first memorandum compiled for Cabinet (Hill, 2013, p. 5). This document was to provide insight into an indigenous perspective, of how a Māori worldview was one

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201 An important acknowledgement by Government that "all was not well" (Andrew, 2008, p. 228).
of uninterrupted fluidity of past, present and future. Hill suggests that it was necessary to present a report which outlined the historical and continual depravation of Māori; in order to, influence the target audience of Ministers and their advisors. The recommendations of that first report were "that ministers should abandon their policy fixation with legislation purporting to be full and final; and further, that the government needed to return both productive and culturally significant land and other resources to tribes" (Hill, 2013, p. 5).

The Crown formulated a process whereby lodged claims reported on by TOWPU could be settled in a culturally appropriate and sensitive manner. This process was released in the form of the 'Crown Proposal for the Settlement of Treaty of Waitangi Claims: Detailed Proposals' (Crown Proposal) in 1994 (Durie, 1998, pp. 188-189). Despite the high level of criticism from Māori the policy was implemented without substantial amendment (Andrew, 2008; Birdling, 2004; Durie, 1998). Jessica Andrew (2008) states:

The proposal was heavily condemned by Maori, not least for the inclusion of the "fiscal envelope" a proposal to set a one-billion-dollar cap on the total available funds for settlement of claims. Much of the criticism focused on the process by which the government developed the policy. It was developed in a 'climate of secrecy and unilateral declaration' which undermined the good faith and partnership foundations essential to a meaningful settlement process (p. 229).

In 2005 TOWPU was rebranded to be what is currently now known as The Office of Treaty Settlements (OTS). The Minister in charge of Waitangi Tribunal
settlements oversees the OTS. This office negotiates all claims on behalf of the
Crown and is tasked with managing the entire claims process.

Rereahu recognised the danger of the Trust Board legislation (Te Rohe Potae o
Rereahu-Maniapoto Inc., 1988, p. 28). As discussed in the previous chapter
Rereahu was to be subsumed under the Maniapoto Māori Trust Board Act. This
would impede Rereahu's ability to negotiate Rereahu interests directly with the
Crown. The Charitable Trust legislation was identified by the iwi as the principal
legislation to meet their aspirations and requirements. Armed with this knowledge,
and the desire to obtain autonomy, Rereahu proposed the formation of Te Rūnanga
o Rereahu.

The Process

The Treaty Settlement process has created a tenuous political environment within
and between hapū and iwi (Fisher, 2015; Joseph, 2005; Mutu, 2017; Poata-Smith,
2016). Traditional autonomous kin-based organisational structures are being
transformed into self-governing corporate bodies; super tribes and modern iwi
(Hopa, 1999; Muru-Lanning, 2011; Poata-Smith, 2016; Van Meijl, 2003). This
process has been widely discussed and contested throughout academic literature.
Additionally, it has met constant disapproval from many iwi and hapū.203 The
negotiations are guided only by a policy statement void of any legislative substance.

203 Mutu (2017) states: “Despite the anger directed at them over treaty claims settlements, the
government still managed to enact legislation extinguishing the claims of Te Aupōuri, Te Rarawa,
Ngāi Takoto, and Ngāti Kurī in the Far North and Ngāti Hineuru in the central North Island” (p.
149). Likewise, Tony Brljevich who is a spokesperson for Hauraki tribe Ngāti Huarere, a tribe
which was endorsed by Hauraki tribal elders said this about the Crown; “They are trying to
ethnically cleanse Hauraki of any tribe which is not part of the 12 tribes and they are trying to
subsume them under themselves to take control of those tribes assets” (Smallman, 2013). On
speaking about the LNG he said it was designed to divide and conquer and that due to this policy
Ngāti Huarere would lose their history and mana. He goes on to state, "They won't even talk to us.
The Crown - as far as they are concerned, we don't exist" (Smallman, 2013).
The current Treaty claims protocols are publicly available in the document produced by OTS entitled; ‘Ka Tika a Muri, Ka Tika a Mua: Healing the Past, Building a Future (Healing the Future)’. The intent of certain key settlement policies outlined in Healing the Future could be seen as somewhat contradictory. The Crown seeks "comprehensive settlement of all claims of a claimant group" to ensure all historical grievances are met. Yet at the same time states, "[t]he Crown strongly prefers to negotiate claims with large natural groupings rather than individual whanau and hapu" (New Zealand Office of Treaty Settlements, 2004, p. 31). Andrew (2008) identifies the three main criticisms of the current process. Firstly, the LNG. Secondly, the establishment of mandating groups. Thirdly, the process employed in dealing with iwi who are not in direct consultation with the Crown and, have overlapping interests with iwi that are in negotiations (p. 232). All three of these issues are examples of the Crown failing Māori. Birdling (2004) goes so far as to suggest that the LNG may also be a breach to the Treaty (p. 259).

The LNG as it is known today wasn't recognised as formal policy until 1995. This widely contested step of the process was applied to the land mark Treaty Settlements of Waikato-Tainui and Ngai Tahu in the early 1990's. Strong internal disapproval mounted in the Waikato-Tainui case.204 The Tainui iwi of Rereahu, Ngāti Maniapoto and Hauraki resisted amalgamation with Waikato-Tainui. All sought to establish autonomous trust boards in order to administer their own assets. Ngāti Maniapoto and Hauraki met the criteria and satisfied the expectations of those

204 Muru-Lanning (2011) provides this example: "On 27 May 2006 The New Zealand Herald ran an article by Jon Stokes titled ‘Competing Claim for Waikato River’. The article reported that representatives of Ngāti Tahu-Ngāti Whaoa, an iwi-like hapū with interests at the southern end of the Waikato River, were distressed by the private discussions between Waikato-Tainui tribal negotiators and the Crown. The representatives were apparently concerned that Waikato-Tainui were trying to obtain rights to a section of the Waikato River historically associated with, and used by, them" (p. 11).
in power at the time. Notwithstanding the set rigours or opinions of those in charge was the iwi of Rereahu;\(^{205}\) who, as was discussed in the previous chapter, were denied their cultural right to political autonomy. This situation is an example of the oppressed becoming the oppressor. Previously Ngāti Maniapoto had faced the threat of being politically subsumed by Waikato-Tainui. Nevertheless, they were now claiming customary rights over the iwi, marae and whenua of Rereahu. Rereahu responded to this situation by decreasing the land area of their claim. Hui proceeded in which Rereahu marae were clearly identified. Resolutions were passed asserting the peoples’ wish to form their own trust board.\(^{206}\) All outcomes were provided through correspondence to numerous members and departments of Parliament. Regardless of all the attempts made by Rereahu, securing political autonomy proved to be unobtainable. Crown domination prevailed in negotiations; in the political iwi environment and; in iwi organisational structures.

**Te Maru o Rereahu Iwi Trust**

On December 9, 2000 at Waitaramoa Pureora a Rereahu hui-ā-iwi\(^{207}\) was held. The establishment of a trust was seen as the vital next step in pursuing the Rereahu WAI\(^{208}\) claim. The hui saw the election of six trustees. The trust sought the mandate from the people to prosecute the Crown directly on behalf of Rereahu. Te Maru o

\(^{205}\) See chapter three, *The Second Take*, in which the then Minister of Māori Affairs shares his opinion through correspondence with the Steering Committee. He, “was not persuaded that Rereahu was anything other than a strong force in the rohe” (K. Wetere, personal communication, February 5, 1988).

\(^{206}\) See chapter three.

\(^{207}\) A gathering of all people who affiliate to a particular tribe. In this case, the people and tribe of Rereahu.

\(^{208}\) WAI Claims are claims to the Waitangi Tribunal alleging that the Crown has breached the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori has suffered prejudice (Waitangi Tribunal, 2018a).
Rereahu Iwi Trust (TMoRIT) was successful in this plight and in 2001 the Trust Deed was approved and filed. TMoRIT was to: seek redress with the Crown for grievances perpetuated against Rereahu; to seek funding to assist with this purpose; hold in Trust and apply all funding and other property associated with the Claim and, to do all such things as are necessary to assist the claim process (Te Maru o Rereahu Trust, 2018). From this time forward, TMoRIT became the vehicle through which all Rereahu interests would be negotiated.

**Contemporising Colonisation**

As if stuck in a vortex Rereahu are perpetually persecuted. Hence they are continually compelled to defend their position in regards to whakapapa, identity and mana. As William Faulkner (2011) so poignantly proclaimed, 'The past is never dead. It's not even past' (p. 17). The ongoing justifications demanded by non-Rereahu for these positions, reflect Western ideologies. These are in stark contrast to culturally appropriate modes of inquisition and can be challenged based on tikanga, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga.

Forced cultural assimilation, confiscation of lands, hegemony and oppression were weapons once yielded by colonial forces. Historically these methods were employed by imperial conquerors to ensure the growth of superior fortuitous empires. Such tools have been unashamedly redesigned for use in modern times. This weaponry is now being used on one's own from one's own. Not only are the initial affects similar as to when they were used by colonisers; but, the hurt and confusion is magnified. The following sections will focus on methods of colonisation that have been used on the assault of Rereahu in a modern context and Rereahu's responses to such.
The Waipa Claim

The Waipa river begins within the region Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua; thus, its inception stems from the rohe of Rereahu. The people of Rereahu have had uninterrupted occupancy of this region since the reign of the eponymous ancestor Rereahu. The significant pathway of the Waipa is described by Phillip Crown in the 'Deed in Relation to Co-Governance and Co-Management of the Waipa River'. Below the English translation is quoted;

The Waipa begins from the spring Pekepeke situated on Maraeroa at the ancient home of Taporaroa at the foot of Rangitoto mountain. It flows on to a place called Para-kiri and on to where it meets the Otamaroa stream. In ancient times stood the marae Tieke-iti and Tieke-rahi at Horokino. It flows on down through the Waipa valley and on its right it is joined by the Okurawhango and on its left joined by the Tunawaea. In times past an ancient pathway travelled by our ancestor named Te Heiuru was here. Flowing on until eventually resting against the natural formation of stone at Hapahapai o Tarapikau before being released to carry on to join the Waimahora Stream. Then flowing on past the home our ancestors called Tangitehau then arriving at Otewa and the house named Te Hokinga mai ki te Nehenehenui. Continuing on you are able to see the homestead Te Kotahitanga on the hill. Shortly after, the river continues past Parewaeono standing on its site at Te Keeti. The Waipa is then joined by the Mangawhero and the Mangapū which carries the essence of the Manga-o-Kewa. Flowing on, the Waipa then arrives at the rocks of Mataiwhetu where stands Tarewaanga marae. Then joined by the Waitomo stream, on to Kahotea then on to Te Koopua where stands the tupuna whare Unu. Here it
is joined by Moa-kura-rua. Carrying on and arriving at Purekireki below the
mountain of Pirongia o Kahu where also stands Whatiwhatihoe, once the
home of King Tawhiao. Then joined by Matakitaki the place of battle with
Ngapuhi. Carrying on arriving at Te Rore followed by Ngahinapouri on to
Te Papa-o-Rotu at Whatawhata where lives Ngāti Mahanga. On to Te
Kowhai past the marae Tangirau known also as Waikeri and the people of
Ngāti Reko. Finally converging with the Waikato at Ngaruawahia the
footstool of the Kingitanga (New Zealand Government, 2010a, p.10).

This description pinpoints the very beginning of the Waipa river. As a significant
highway, the Waipa traverses the histories of many a hapū and marae. Similarly to
the 'Waikato-Tainui Raupatū Claims (Waikato River) Settlement', the people of
Ngāti Maniapoto sought co-governance rights of the Waipa River. This section will
discuss the 'Deed in Relation to Co-Governance and Co-Management of the Waipa
River' and the implications it had on Rereahu.

**Internal Negotiations**

The Maniapoto Māori Trust Board (MMTB) was in pursuit to obtain mana
motuhake over the Waipa waterways. MMTB sought to begin the process of the
claim however, there was much contestation from the people of Rereahu. TMoRIT
on behalf of Rereahu presented their grievances regarding the Waipa to the Crown.
The Crown recognised that Rereahu had custodial and customary interests in the
river. Coincidentally, in keeping with the LNG the Crown advised both MMTB and
TMoRIT of their preference to negotiate the terms of any agreement with one
mandated body. TMoRIT entered into negotiations with the MMTB. Many hui
regarding the true custodians ensued. The people of Rereahu were provided the
opportunity to share their thoughts at information hui delivered by trustees of TMoRIT. A common theme presented itself. The uri of Rereahu could not understand how MMTB would be considered the customary custodians of the awa. In other words, the majority of uri who attended the information hui were supportive of TMoRIT progressing Rereahu's interests in the Waipa river claim.

Negotiations between Te Maru o Rereahu Iwi Trust and the Maniapoto Māori Trust Board were fraught with tension. This is not uncommon in Treaty processes. Margaret Mutu explains that this practice, "causes huge and bitter divisions within and among claimant communities as they fight over who is going to represent them" (Mutu, 2017, p. 147). Both groups were asserting their mana over the river. A dual mandate model was presented by TMoRIT within which the customary interests and aspirations of both iwi could have been recognised and upheld. Creating a space whereby both Rereahu and Maniapoto could influence management over the awa would be in keeping with whakapapa and tikanga.

A dual management model was dismissed by MMTB. Pressure continued to mount. Disagreements between both iwi were many. Rereahu refused support of a unilateral model of governance as prescribed to by the Crown and preference of Ngāti Maniapoto. They perceived this as being a repugnant miscarriage of justice. Furthermore, the Waipa is and has forever been intrinsically connected to the cultural, physical and spiritual landscapes of their world. Relenting kaitiakitanga over the awa conflicts with the belief systems and practices of Rereahu. This was a case of déjà vu. In the 1980's, Rereahu had found themselves in a similar position. In looking after his personal tribal interests, the Honourable Koro Wetere secured MMTB as an Iwi Authority. This resulted in the placement of eight Rereahu marae and the takiwā Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua being under the control of Maniapoto. The
Crown looked favourably upon the MMTB as a legally recognised iwi authority and subsequently as the recognised large natural grouping for this area. A decision was eventually reached in the Waipa claim. The Maniapoto Māori Trust Board received the mandate to prosecute the Crown directly on behalf of Ngāti Maniapoto.

**Waipa River Deed**

On 27 September 2010, the people of Maniapoto under the MMTB and the Crown signed a Deed in Relation to Co-Governance and Co-Management of the Waipa River (the Maniapoto Deed). This Deed marked the beginning of a new era of co-management over the Waipa River. The primary vision is defined as, "The overarching purpose of this deed is to restore and maintain the quality and integrity of the waters that flow into and form part of the Waipa River for present and future generations and the care and protection of the mana tuku iho o Waiwaia" (New Zealand Government, 2010a, p. 16). It is representative of the commitment demonstrated by both Maniapoto and the Crown to implementing co-management and co-governance practices; reflective of Maniapoto cultural practices and scientifically recognised best practise techniques.

**Rereahu Rationale**

Te Maru o Rereahu Iwi Trust, against the wishes of many Rereahu uri eventually supported the MMTB in progressing the claim. The original challenge was withdrawn. Many Rereahu whānau to this day are scathing of this decision. It created much distrust towards TMoRIT. However, it is once again representative of unity. One highly regarded Rereahu kaumātua and TMoRIT trustee provided

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209 In conversation with this particular kaumātua he opined that providing the kōrero of the Waipa and Waiwaia from a Rereahu perspective, Rereahu still featured as kaitiaki. It was important to him that Rereahu kōrero was included and recognised. He disclosed his thoughts in terms of the future. He looked toward the future and in it the Comprehensive Claims were looming. TMoRIT
the historical kōrero given above. This particular kōrero heads the section 'Statements of Significance of the Waipa River'. He also shared the following whakapapa of Waiwaia, the essence of the Waipa, in the following account:

At Pekepeke, it was Kahupekarere that installed the essence Waiwaia

Kahupekarere
Rakamaomao
Kaakati
Tawhao
Turongo
Raukawa
Rereahu
Maniapoto

He also provided the whakatauki: "Ko te mauri, ko te waiora o te Waipa ko Waiwaia" which translated is: "The essence and wellbeing of the Waipa is Waiwaia" (New Zealand Government, 2010a, p. 5). The kōrero provided upholds the mana of Rereahu within the settlement. Although the kaumātua is not listed as Rereahu in the deed, the kōrero allows future uri of Rereahu to understand their connection to the Waipa. Such a connection can never be extinguished.

had fewer resources than MMTB (as it had nearly two decades more time to secure governmental funding) and the claims process was all consuming. In his view, energy and resources needed to be conserved for the Comprehensive Claim. He seemed to be under the impression that MMTB would support a separate or at least dual settlement with Rereahu because of the support TMoRIT showed in the Waipa settlement (P.Crown, personal communication, 2010).

210 This is an English translation to the kōrero on Waiwaia provided to the Crown by Rereahu kaumātua and claimant P. Crown: "Describing the likeness Waiwaia, it was recounted as having an amazing appearance. No person really had the ability to find the suitable words to describe the appearance of Waiwaia. One attempt however talks of the ripples of the water reflecting in the sun under the moonlight as being the penultimate description. Rainbows that appear in the waterfall also portrayed the likeness. But the most important part of Waiwaia was that it was the water itself and without it man could not survive" (New Zealand Government, 2010a, p. 5).
Large Un-Natural Grouping

The LNG was considered in this chapter under the section ‘The Process’. The Crown's obsession with this process has caused wide divisions between and within iwi and hapū. No definitive definition of a large natural grouping has been made available by the Crown (Andrew, 2008, p. 231). Mutu also asserts that the government is inconsistent in applying the LNG further disenfranchising claimants (Mutu, 2017, p. 147). A group of Māori commissioners 211 provided the attributes of an iwi which are as follows:

1. Shared descent from an ancestor
2. Hapū
3. Marae
4. Belonging historically to a takiwā (tribal region, territory or area)

As Mutu alludes, Crown domination usually prevails in the negotiations. There are many examples of this throughout academic literature and OTS reports. 212

211 Webster suggests that the commissioners' definition of iwi stemmed from an inherent need to look after the interests of their own tribal groups (Webster, 2002, p. 351). The commissioners included; Robert Mahuta lead negotiator for Waikato-Tainui; Graham Latimer, the national head of the Māori Council; Matiu Rata, a Northland leader and former Minister of Parliament; and Tipene O'Reagan, a Ngai Tahu leader (Muru-Lanning, 2011, p. 17).

212 The Tāmaki Makaurau Settlement Process report states: "Winners tend to be groups who, relative to other Māori groups, have already had successes. They are led by outstanding people like Sir Hugh Kawharu, they have good infrastructure (communication capability, sound accounting practices and good legal structures), and stable, committed membership. Arguably, though, those most in need of settlements – who may often be the very groups whose Treaty rights were least respected in the process of colonisation– are those who do not fulfil a ‘success’ profile. On the ‘picking winners’ basis, those groups will be last in the settlement queue. When the Crown targets for settlement the most high profile, effective group in a district, and leaves out the other tangata whenua groups, it reinforces the view that they matter less. When the Crown keeps doing it (in Auckland, Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei has now been chosen four times), that implication is even stronger. When the winners are picked out, they feel and act more like winners. This can leave the other tangata whenua groups in the district feeling like losers. They can feel that they have been relegated to a class of also-rans. Suspicion and resentment are the natural result" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2007, pp. 12-13).
Contradictions are common place. Rereahu meets all five of the attributes above. Rereahu is the eponymous ancestor. A list of sixty-four hapū was provided as evidence by TMoRIT to the Crown. Rereahu have eight recognised marae. Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua is the iwi region. Rereahu is recognised as an iwi by other iwi and hapū. Nevertheless, MMTB continues to contest this. Similarly, the case of Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu is of two iwi embattled due to Crown process. As is the case with Ngāti Maniapoto telling their story of Rereahu; the story of Rangitāne was told by Ngāti Kahungunu.213 However Piri Te Tau decided to rewrite the history through a Rangitāne lens. To the disgrace of his mother who had always recognised herself as Kahungunu, Te Tau pursued his aspiration, thus prompting whānau to check their whakapapa. It was at this point many of his detractors realised they were descendants of both iwi, but predominantly Rangitāne (Parahi, 2018). Twenty-six years later in 2016, a virtually forgotten iwi successfully prosecuted the Crown. The story of Rangitāne and Kahungunu go some way to highlight the inconsistencies in the LNG.

Rereahu Response

Te Maru o Rereahu Iwi Trust214 was created in response to this policy. TMoRIT became the mandated body for the iwi. Working tirelessly from 2001 until the present day many successes have been gained through commitment, determination

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213 Robin Potangaroa, the Chairman of Kahungunu ki Wairarapa shares the following kōrero in a Stuff interactive article: "Kahungunu was dominant in the area 150 years before the signing of the Treaty. Both tribes fought each other in the late 1600s and early 1700s, and later intermarried. Potangaroa argues everyone in the district understood Māori customary practices meant they’d won the right of occupation..."So they acknowledged their whakapapa (ancestry) of Rangitāne but the mana (authority) of who they were was Kahungunu and you see it in their writings in the land court.”(Parahi, 2018).

214 L. Crown (personal communication, June 12, 2018) was approached in the initial stages of TMoRIT development. She was asked if Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Rereahu was able to used as the vehicle through which Rereahu could initiate negotiations with the Crown. Unfortunately, by this time The Rūnanga certification had lapsed. This was a direct result of the political atrocities committed against Rereahu in the 1980's and early 1990's.
and personal sacrifice. The many facets and successes of TMoRIT will be discussed in the following and final chapter of this thesis.

The Comprehensive Claim

The Rohe Pōtae comprehensive claim has thus far been a tumultuous ride. Due to the LNG the people of Rereahu Maniapoto have been required to choose between the father and the son. Yet, again, history repeats itself. The information hui facilitated by the MMTB conjured up deep emotions. Memories of past persecution and atrocities committed by their whanaunga inflicted the reopening of old wounds for some Rereahu. Hui were held throughout the motu. One voice remained unchanged. It was that of Rereahu. They were calling for the rightful recognition of their positioning as Father and as customary occupants of Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua. They wished to assert their mana whenua and their mana motuhake.

TMoRIT set to work negotiating with both the Crown and MMTB. TMoRIT urged the iwi to provide submissions in opposition to the MMTB securing the mandate for prosecuting the Rohe Pōtae claim (Te Maru o Rereahu Trust, 2016). Rereahu were in a Rangitāne, Ngāti Kahungunu situation where, the membership numbers were heavily disproportionate. The power resided in the solidarity of one voice. The voice of Rereahu resonated. The Crown was inundated with submissions in

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215 An example of the submission template letter provided to members of Rereahu:
“Maniapoto Maori Trust Board Mandate Strategy - Submission This is to advise that I/we strongly oppose the draft Maniapoto Maori Trust Board Mandate Strategy document that the Crown is seeking submissions on, as our Rereahu Iwi will suffer “Irreversible Prejudice” should it be accepted by the Crown. Furthermore we request that the Crown decides against accepting the Maniapoto Mandate Strategy document in its current form and that it either be amended to provide a pathway for Rereahu to negotiate and settle its own Treaty grievances separate to Maniapoto or that all reference to Rereahu Iwi, Hapu, Marae and Wai Claims be removed from the Maniapoto LNG Mandate Strategy document. Te Maru o Rereahu Iwi Trust (TMoRIT) is the mandated Iwi Organisation for Rereahu and we fully support TMoRIT negotiating a settlement of Rereahu Treaty grievances with the Crown on behalf of Rereahu for Rereahu” (Te Maru o Rereahu Trust, 2016).

216 “Ngāti Kahungunu has 12,000 members compared to Rangitāne’s 3000” (Parahi, 2018).
direct opposition to the proposed mandate. The results of the final vote were somewhat unsurprising. Seventy-one percent of votes were in favour of MMTB progressing the claim. However, just twenty-four percent of eligible voters cast their votes. Nevertheless, Rereahu had been heard. Due to the large number of submissions received by the Crown, MMTB were advised to explore ways to include Rereahu aspirations.

TMoRIT received a letter from the MMTB acknowledging the large number of opposition submissions. The changes recommended by Rereahu were to be included in the draft Deed of Mandate. It was to read:

Response to Submissions:
In response to submissions in opposition received from Rereahu members during the mandate process regarding the area "Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua", the Maniapoto Māori Trust Board will work with Te Maru o Rereahu Iwi Trust and other Rereahu representative groups to ensure that Rereahu interests and customary rights are understood and provided for (Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, personal communication, December 5, 2016).

Conversely, the draft Deed of Mandate known as 'Te Huatahi Agreement in Principle to settle Historical Claims' (AIP) is not reflective of such. Rereahu is placed under the mana of his son Maniapoto (New Zealand Government, 2017a, pp. 72 & 74). Rereahu customary rights were not provided for, as all independent Rereahu claims were also included under the terms and references of the draft Deed. Clause 4.3.10 stipulates:

In particular, acknowledges that Maniapoto had to give up unreasonably large amounts of land to pay for survey costs for some subdivisions within
the Rangitoto Tuhua block...that the Crown’s failure to protect Maniapoto from this burden was a breach of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi and its principles (New Zealand Government, 2017a, p. 10).

This is a direct violation to the agreement made in the letter mentioned above. Aside from this, MMTB have started the process to change the name of the town of Benneydale to Maniaiti. Firstly, Benneydale is located within the Rereahu takiwā Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua. Secondly, the rationalisation provided for this name change is unacceptable. The stories of Maniaiti are not those for MMTB to share. These stories belong to the people of Rereahu. Thirdly, the residents of Benneydale weren't consulted. All three examples align with Rereahu interests and customary rights. This is yet another example of the MMTB disregarding the agreement made in the letter.

Similarly, the MMTB have begun the process of changing the name of the North Island Main Trunk Line. On April 5, 1885 the first "sod of soil" was turned in a ceremony to commemorate the beginning of the North Island Main Trunk line in the Rohe Pōtae. The Crown had successfully negotiated the right to enter the aukatia boundaries. Wahanui suggested that the railway track be given a name. Turongo was the name proclaimed (New Zealand Government, 1885, p. 4). Renaming the piece of the track lying within the region of Ngāti Maniapoto would be the prerogative of MMTB. However, a substantial length of the track lies within Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua. Imposing the name change within this region would show a grave misunderstanding of Rereahu customary rights and interests.

217 Tūrongo was the paternal grandfather of Rereahu and is also the name of a whare that stands on the marae Tūrangawaewae.
Unrelenting Rereahu

TMoRIT continues to engage in negotiations with MMTB. A dual mandate strategy was proposed by Rereahu. A Post Settlement Governance Entity\(^{218}\) (PSGE) that represents both Rereahu and Ngāti Maniapoto interests equally was presented as a fair and just solution to the LNG enforced by the Crown. TMoRIT was under the impression that this was a plausible idea, and that MMTB were open to supporting it.\(^{219}\) A dual model was created to present to the OTS. The Crown had intimated agreement to such a model. However, when TMoRIT presented MMTB withdrew their support in front of OTS. Rereahu has continually expressed their disregard for the unilateral models offered by MMTB.

The two name change cases have been widely publicised in the Waitomo News.\(^{220}\) The greater population has contributed to the discourse through expressing opinions in 'letters to the editor'. Interestingly enough, internal conflict was presented in a condemning letter from representatives of Te Kūiti Pā and members of the Ngāti Maniapoto hapū Ngāti Rora. The writer is highly scathing of MMTB and suggests that providing a Māori name for the Kiwi Rail network construct is a way of glorification. It goes on to suggest: "If you are going to waste money and resources on a Māori name, here is the name Te Kooti gave them – 'Nga Ngara' tape worms which feed off others" (Waretini, 2018, p.2).

Rereahu have also expressed their disapproval through the public forum of The Waitomo News. An iwi member opines that Tūrongo stands at Tūrangawaewae marae beside the tupuna whare Māhinarangi and so it shall remain there. She

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\(^{218}\) A PSGE is an organisation that receives and manages a settlement on behalf of the Large Natural Grouping it represents after the settlement is ratified by the Large Natural Grouping.

\(^{219}\) Kōrero shared at a hui held at Mangapeehi Marae in 2018.

\(^{220}\) Local newspaper serving the wider Waitomo area in the Rohe Pōtae.
provides the response from a Rereahu kaumātua regarding a similar suggestion; if you want to put a name on that road you put your own name and I'll drive my car over you. She goes on to explain; "Rereahu do not put our tupuna on the ground. A substantial amount of track lies within the Rereahu iwi region Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua, laying a tupuna name would go against Rereahu tikanga". Furthermore, "the traditional stories of Benneydale are held by the iwi of Rereahu". Lastly, she suggests that; "there are more effective ways to uphold our identity as Rereahu, and as Ngāti Maniapoto. Rather than plastering our tupuna names everywhere lets educate our people about the stories of our forebearers. Lets allow our individual iwi and hapū to maintain autonomy over the accuracy of their whakapapa, their own assets, their own kōrero, their own taonga tuku iho (Plaister, 2018, p.2).

Rereahu are also in the process of formalising their dispute of the name changes. Submissions are currently being written, in opposition to the proposed changes to, the New Zealand Geographical Board. This body is responsible for issuing names to locations nationwide in Aotearoa.

Rereahu have produced a number of responses to the current issues threatening the continuation of their customary rights over their whenua. They remain steadfast in their plight to retain mana whenua and mana motuhake. To merely survive will not suffice.

**The Hurakia Indicator: 'Tūtakamoana and Rangipare...Tree Top Lovers'**

Rereahu pūrākau shall be used as indicators in each of the chapters to demonstrate the balance of the content as prescribed to by Hurakia. Tūtakamoana and Rangipare...Tree top lovers is representative of the framework component tāngata.
Tāngata are the physical embodiments of the multiple concepts that guide us within te Ao Māori.

The concept of embodiment is evident in the development of Te Maru o Rereahu Iwi Trust. Kaitiakitanga is performed by TMoRIT on behalf of and for all Rereahu. Similarly, Te Wano acted in the capacity of kaitiaki to both Tūtakamoana and Rangipare. He showed understanding for their situation and willingness to speak on their behalf (Crown, 2009, p. 19). The sense of adventure is prevalent in the submission letter TMoRIT prepared for the people opposing the proposed Maniapoto Mandate. Māramatanga urged them to seek an alternative way of presenting the Rereahu voice. Tūtakamoana and Rangipare reflected this in their elopement as they sought an alternative way to be together. Manaakitanga is highlighted in the actions undertaken in the Waipa Settlement. Representation of Rereahu was made a priority and carried out in the most respectful way. This can be seen in the actions of Maniapoto and the tribe as they warmly welcomed their kin back in to the tribe (Crown, 2009, p. 19).

The content of this chapter is in keeping with the balance presented by Hurakia and through this Rereahu pūrākau. The data presented demonstrates how the concepts of kaitiakitanga, māramatanga and manaakitanga were valued by Rereahu. It exemplifies how the embodiment of all these values are important to Rereahu. Showing that Rereahu are enlightened and adventurous in searching for different ways to uphold the mana of their tupuna. Likewise, the research highlights the importance placed upon appropriate representation of the collective.
Conclusion

This chapter has given an overview of the Crown processes affecting Rereahu autonomy. It has provided a background into the political iwi landscape of the 1990's and the impact those past decisions continue to have on modern day Māori society. Te Maru o Rereahu Iwi Trust was briefly discussed in order to link the sections, 'The Crown' and 'Contemporising Colonisation'. This latter one elaborates on the many methods of colonisation impeding Rereahu ability to have their political autonomy recognised. Examples of Rereahu tenacity are evident in the responses provided. Thus the research question; 'How has Rereahu responded to threats of colonisation in the 21st century?' has been answered through varying examples. 'Tūtakamoana and Rangipare...Tree top lovers' highlights the balance maintained throughout the chapter. The concepts of manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga, whakapapa and whanaungatanga are the vehicles for such.

The content of this chapter is a testament to how the people of Rereahu reflect the quality of humility possessed by the eponymous ancestor Rereahu. This iwi need not subscribe to being another for the purposes of settlement. They choose to be who they are. Rereahu seek to maintain mana whenua and mana motuhake over what is rightfully theirs.
UPOKO TUARIMA – CHAPTER FIVE
Resilience and Resistance: Rereahu Remains


Introduction

Rereahu have been practising modes and methods of resilience and resistance for generations. The three previous chapters have been testament to such. Numerous atrocities have been committed against Rereahu mana motuhake. The perpetual persecution, subterfuge and subjugation; as one kui suggested, could equate to 'cultural genocide' (H. Crown, personal communication, August 4, 2018) Nevertheless, Rereahu remains.

This chapter is a celebration of Rereahu. The iwi of Rereahu have retained humility and respect for generations. The iwi personify the balance as represented in Hurakia; the underlying theoretical framework of this thesis. Rereahu are guided by the concepts of wairua: anchored by whenua; implemented through te reo me ōna tikanga; and, encapsulating tāngata. Each of these concepts are dependent upon that of manawa, the centre-post upon which all other ideals stem forth. The aroha, love for the people and a desire for unity, for kotahitanga. Manawa is the very aspect driving the perseverance displayed by the iwi of Rereahu.

Similarly to the previous chapter, exploration of the second sub question: 'How has Rereahu responded to the ongoing threat of colonisation in the 21st Century?' will

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221 This was suggested at a MMTB information hui held at Mangapeehi Marae August 4, 2018.
be carried out. Methods utilised by Rereahu in search for self-determination and autonomy will be investigated further. Additionally, analysis of deliberations regarding the two sub questions will take place. Hurakia will guide this evaluation. Exposition of the main research question and catalyst for this study will be answered. The question being: 'What long lasting effects has colonisation had on Rereahu autonomy?'

Firstly, the section 'Rereahu Remains', will demonstrate many methods employed by Rereahu to ensure the continuation of their iwi identity. Secondly, the section 'Reflection of Rereahungata' will present the analysis of all research findings. It will answer the research question: 'What long lasting effects has colonisation had on Rereahu autonomy?' Thirdly, the material presented in this chapter will be evaluated against the Rereahu kōrero tuku iho 'Miringa Te Kakara'. The balance maintained throughout will be in keeping with the theoretical framework Hurakia. Finally, a conclusion of this chapter will be presented.

**Rereahu Remains**

Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua is the takiwā of the Rereahu iwi who have had uninterrupted occupation of the region since the reign of their eponymous ancestor Rereahu. The iwi has retained rangatiratanga within this context. The maunga and awa within the takiwā are of utmost significance to the people. The belief systems and practices intrinsic to the iwi are reflective of those carried out by Rereahu himself. The many tribal members have followed in the footsteps of their tupuna having held firm to their iwi identity. The previous chapters have outlined many forms of colonisation forced upon Rereahu. Misrepresentation in print, forced assimilation through the Maniapoto Māori Trust Board Act and the threat of
political discontinuation via the Rohe Pōtae Comprehensive Claim are all such examples. To be displaced and disenfranchised from iwi identity and lands is a very real peril facing Rereahu. Nevertheless, Rereahu has employed a number of inter-related Māori and Indigenous approaches, which collaboratively, provide a framework in response to colonial oppression (Penehira et al., 2014, p. 99). Methods of resilience and resistance are the Rereahu responses to be considered.

**Resilience**

Resilience is a proactive (rather than a reactive) mechanism. It requires research into and understanding of the political conditions of a nation. Albeit a traditionally opposing indigenous view of traditional existence; state imposed regulations and requirements have concurrently shaped and formed our worldviews. Our behaviours are all dictated to by the dominant ideology and the dominant force which in this context is, the Crown. The International Collaborative Indigenous Health Research Partnership asserts, “The historical encounters between indigenous peoples and colonisers have led to the development of a range of protective mechanisms that indigenous peoples have deployed in their efforts to assert their sovereignty and self-determination” (2004, p. 1). Colonial conditioning has necessitated Rereahu reinterpretation, reimagining, and regeneration.
Maraeroa Lands

The lands of Maraeroa are nestled within the Rereahu takiwā Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua. Maraeroa was held in reverence and served as 'he kono kai' or a virtual basket of food to many surrounding iwi and hapū. Food sources were in abundance and rich in fish, bird and plant fare. Birds were snared and eels caught. The word 'Marae' can be translated as being 'hospitable' place. Hence, the area was accessible for gathering and harvesting to many (Patete, 2002, p. 8).

In 1887 the Maraeroa Lands were considered for title determination within the wider Taupōnuiatia block. One hundred and two Ngāti Karewa, thirty-two Ngāti Matakorere and fifteen Ngāti Rereahu were included on the ownership list for the block. Initially the Native Land Court (NLC) evidence suggested that the proper

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222 Te Rohe o Maraeroa: “I whanau mai te tangata me tona ake mana Na Io i homai. Ko Mataarangi Ko Mataanuku Na, ka puta ko tooku whakapapa i here au ki te whenua. Ko Tainui te waka Ko Pureora te maunga Ko Rereahu te tununa Ko Maraeora te pataka
The region of Maraeroa: Man is born with dignity and honour bestowed by Io. This source of heaven. This point of earth gives rise to my heritage and binds me to the land. Tanui is the canoe Pureora is the sacred mountain Rereahu is the ancestor Maraeroa is the storehouse of abundant food” (New Zealand Government, 2011a, p. 61).

223 Comprising of the Pureora Forest region in the Central North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand.


225 Matekau provided a list of places where birds were snared and eels caught: "Otaikaka a maire tree a rakau tahere. Pikiariki a miro tree of Manaipoto & Matakorere. Whatawhata-a-Ponga, a mir, Karorauahi-a-Papauma tree a rakau tahere. Te Tuki-apapauma tree. Kaaeaurua a papauma tree. Te Akatea a miro. Wherepapa a tutu a kahikatea tree. Kurahutia a kahikatea a tutu. Te Kopiko a tutu a toatoa. Te Paepae-a-Tamarahe a waitahere (stream). Hewewe a waitahere (stream). Te Roto a waitahere (a pond) Opaku a waitahe, Te Waipuna a waitahe, Te Waioneatea a waitahe, Waipawahekeheke a waitahe, Te Waipohatua a waitahe, and many others. The ara waituhio (troughs), Kahunui, Wharepapa, Nga-kiri-o-Hinetu, Turakeraki, & Orongomaipoho. The troughs are still there, some have fallen to the ground. The eel fisheries are Te Raumawhai where eel pots were set in Waimiha stream. Totara[?]ohoa where eel baskets were set in the same stream, also Pareraurekau. Te Rere in the Ruatakei stream, also Turangarahui, Te Kutuku, Ngahuaharu, Matapua the last three on Kotuku stream. Te Kakaho, & Te Korakuri in Kakaho stream” (Māori Land Court, 1891b, p. 81).

acreage of the block was 39,500 (Māori Land Court, 1891a, p. 234). However, the case was reinvestigated in 1891. At this time some four hundred and fifty owners were identified. Following this, the court ordered that Maraeroa be subdivided into seven blocks. The seven divisions of the Maraeroa Block surveyed in 1891 consisted of approximately 47,975 acres (New Zealand Government, 2011b, p. 11). At this time Maraeroa was still laden with indigenous forest, plants and wildlife.

For the following seven decades Maraeroa lands were to suffer Crown inflicted degradation and displacement. Rereahu continued to contest a plethora of decisions enforced upon their lands by the Courts of the time. Some of which is mentioned in the introduction chapter of this thesis. Occupations and petitions were executed as the decisions readily affected the people, the land and Rereahu identity.

Maraeroa C Incorporation

Reprieve in one form was found in the ‘Proprietors of Maraeroa C Block Incorporation’ which was established on December 18, 1970 under the Māori

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227 An early Government record stated that: “The Maraeroa Plains, at the head of the Waimihā River, comprise sixty to eighty thousand acres of fairly-good open country, though some of it is poor, with pumice lying on the surface. A great deal of the country around here is level and undulating. The bush-land is variable, some of it good and some a light pumice surface” (General, 1884, p. 61). Rereahu kaumātua and tohunga P. Crown, shared the following boundaries for Maraeroa: “the north-east boundary of the block begins at Tapararoa, previously a settlement of Rereahu-Maniapoto, although other hapū groups (for example, those belonging to Te Arawa, Ngāti Raukawa and Tuwharetoa) also resided there. Many of these hapū use this boundary point as a starting point for their respective rohe (for example, Ngāti Raukawa use this point as a starting point over to Wharepuhunga, east of the Rangitoto Range). The urupā, Tukiwhenua, located at Tapararoa, contains many of Rereahu’s ancestors. The ancient pathway to Taupō, Tomotomopariki, passed this way; the northern boundary was the mountain Rangitoto; heading south-west, is the boundary marker, Ngā Turi o Hinetu (otherwise known as Rakau-a-hera, a snaring or tawhero tree); north-east of Te Pakhi, and also along the Hauhangaroa Range is the marker, Tuwharetoa; further north-east, the boundary strikes a ‘prominent’ hill behind Mount Pureroa, called Tahorakarewa(rewa); the boundary then moves onto the hilltop (Te) Weraroa; moving north the boundary strikes Mount Pureroa; and the last boundary marker, located at the foot of Mount Pureroa, is Ngaherenga” (Patete, 2002, pp. 3-4).

228 See introduction chapter.
The provisions included to receive the land asset and to manage the land for the benefit of the descendants of the original owners of the land. The Maraeroa C incorporation (Maraeroa C) administers a block of land 13,676 acres in size. Plantation forestry was and continues to be the core business of the Incorporation. The land is governed by a management committee who are duly elected by shareholders of Maraeroa C. A chief executive and three unit managers supervise the daily interests of the incorporation (Pa Harakeke, n.d-b).

A diversification strategy was approved in 2008 (as per the 10-year Strategic Plan 2008-2018). Achieving sustainable revenue streams and growing the asset base through caring for the lands and the environment have been identified as necessary. Supporting and promoting Rereahutanga, and providing benefits for Maraeroa C shareholders and their whanau have also been identified as strong focuses. These are reflective of and upheld by the guiding principles of the management committee which are:

- Rereahutanga (The preservation of Rereahu reo me ōna tikanga)
- Arahitanga (Planning, organising, implementing, monitoring and reviewing)
- Manaakitanga (Supporting, nurturing, aspiring)
- Whanuangatanga (Communication, consultation, confidence, integrity)
- Aroha (caring, respect, honesty & understanding) (Pa Harakeke, n.d-b).

229 Originally known as the 'land grab act' the amendments were synonymous with the Crown’s aspirations to remove all kinds of legal differentiation between the races with the abolishment of the separate Māori land title system. Nevertheless, the Crown were able to accrue any ‘Māori land’ owned by four or fewer owners as ‘European land’ (Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967). All protection against alienation would cease (Hill, 2010, p. 159). Fortunately Maraeroa C had more than four owners.

230 The majority of the original owners are people of Rereahu.
The Maraeroa C business activities include: Administration and Shareholder Services, Tourism, Ginseng, Bee Keeping and Forest Management. Pa Harakeke and Pure-ora Mountain Ginseng are two examples of diversification. Pa Harakeke is a Rereahu cultural hub nestled beneath Maunga Pureora-o-Kahu.231 It consists of a Visitor Centre complete with gift shop, Conference Room and Coffee Bar. A native plant nursery is also situated there (Pa Harakeke, n.d-c).

The Pa Harakeke Native Plant Nursery was established following significant research which revealed the unique flora and fauna of the Pureora Forest region. The plants grown at Pa Harakeke were first raised in the Nursery and have been planted extensively around the facility for the enjoyment of visitors. Ultimately the plants will be utilised in the making of rongoā.232 Native Plant seeds or seedlings are extracted from the Maraeroa Forest at Pureora and then raised in the Native Plant Nursery. Specific plants are also being raised for the Eco-Planting Carbon Offset program whilst others are available for purchase by customers who visit Pā Harakeke. Customers who are unable to visit Pa Harakeke may purchase a tree online. They will be supplied with Global Tracking System coordinates of their plant so that they can keep in touch with their plant.

A traditional pā is located on site as an example of a traditional living situation. Carvings depicting Rereahu ancestors with story boards illustrating their exploits are strategically placed on the property. Quality accommodation is also available on site. Being adjacent to the expansive Timber Trail,233 Pa Harakeke also offer a

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231 Ancestral mountain of the Rereahu people located in the Central North Island.
232 remedy, medicine
233 A joint venture between the Waitomo and Ruapehu district councils opened by John Key and supported by Tourism NZ.
number of service packages for the vast number of visitors wishing to embark on an adventure (Pa Harakeke, n.d-c).

In 2006 Maraeroa C participated in a Crop and Food New Zealand project trialling the growing of ginseng under pine tree canopy.234 The environmental conditions and geographical location proved to be ideal for the growing of ginseng.235 Pure-ora Mountain Ginseng is grown without the use of fertilisers, pesticides or herbicides. After seven years growing time, the ginseng roots are harvested by hand and processed according to strict health and safety protocols. This product is now available for purchase in selected New Zealand stores as well as online. Other ginseng based products are also being developed (Pa Harakeke, n.d-a). In 2016 the first commercial harvest took place and Maraeroa C currently works with a small number of Chinese distributors and retailers who sell their products around New Zealand and in Hong Kong (Waitomo District Council, 2017a).

Rereahu Chronicles is a publication which is the outcome of a project undertaken by Pa Harakeke with the financial support of Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK).236 Rereahu Chronicles is a compilation of ten stories handed down through the generations of Rereahu people. Recognised Rereahu kaumātua and tohunga Phillip Crown recounted the stories. The stories in this book have been utilised as indicators upon which to measure the content of this thesis against the theoretical framework Hurakia.

234 Between 2002 and 2008 the first rotation of forestry was harvested. The land was then replanted 70% of which is pinus radiata and 30% Douglas Fir (Pa Harakeke, n.d-b).
235 Ginseng is of a short, slow-growing plant with fleshy roots; and, is believed to restore and enhance wellbeing. The history of this plant dates back some five thousand years in China
236TPK the Ministry of Māori Development works within government and communities, to support Māori collective success at home and globally (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018a).
Tirola and Te Hape

The then remote Rereahu land block of Tirola was originally surveyed in the 1890's237 by the NLC. Cutting rights were permitted to mill totara, matai and rimu up until the 1960's (Tirola Te Hape, 2018a). In January 1957 Tirola's fifty thousand acres were covered in light bush and heavy scrub.239 At this stage only twenty six thousand acres had been gazetted. However, predictions suggested that the remaining portion would be the subject of agreement between owners (Craig, 1957, p. 24). For over a decade the lands were administered by the Māori Affairs department. In 1974 the land was returned to the original owners (Tirola Te Hape, 2018b).240

Today the Rereahu Farms, as they are known, consist of Tirola, Te Hape and Wharekiri. These farms make up the largest continuous land area farmed by an individual entity within the Waitomo district.241 This area contains the head waters of the Waipa, Waimihana and Mokau rivers, native bush which is protected under Nga Whenua Rahui covenant (Tirola Te Hape, 2018c)242 as well as stands of Radiata

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237 In an article titled 'Men and Machinery Pave the way for Sheep Farmers at Remote Tirola', Craig (1957) writes, "When Tawhiao and the Tainui tribes were taking refuge in this wild and forbidding region behind the old Aukati Line after the disastrous Waikato war they probably did not envisage the day when Tirola would be farmed...this remote pumice plateau...was hardly inhabited. Indeed the contractors have found practically no sign of human occupation and it is assumed that only the Patupaiarehe...held sway here before giant crawler tractors and bull dozers..." (p. 24).

238 Known as the Rangitoto Tuhua Block.

239 It was said that, "at Tirola all the land as far as the eye could see was Māori land" (Craig, 1957, p. 25).

240 The original Shareholder list for Tirola E shows 149 owners and the Te Hape B list shows there were 176 owners. All of whom are descendents of the eponymous ancestor Rereahu. Maori Land Court records show the establishment of Tirola E Trust occurred on the 21st May 1974 and Te Hape B Trust was the 19th November 1973 (Tirola Te Hape, 2018b).

241 The Waitomo District is situated in the North Island. The district is adjacent to the Ōtorohanga District to the north, Taupō District to the east and Ruapehu and New Plymouth Districts to the south. Te Kūiti is the administrative and main trading centre in the Waitomo District, with approximately 45% of the District population residing in this town (Waitomo District Council, 2017b).

242 The Nga Whenua Rahui Kawenata agreement was signed off by the Trustees in 2010. The Trustees along with the Minister of Conservation agreed to the following objectives:
Pine. There are a number of wāhi within the boundaries of the lands significant to Rereahu. These include Miringa Te Kakara which is mentioned in chapter one of this thesis. Crusader Meats Limited, a privately owned meat processing plant is also situated on the land block.

The Tiroa E and Te Hape B trusts (The Trusts) amalgamated administration in 1990. The Trusts are administered from the same office and are governed by elected trustees. The eighteen and a half thousand acres of effective operations on the farms are overseen by three managers. All farms carry sheep and beef. Wharekiri focuses on the finishing of stock with a large portion provided by Tiroa. The farms continue to have high production output. Along with the stock production, forestry also plays a role in The Trusts economic base (Tiroa Te Hape, 2018d). The harvesting of a twenty-three-acre block has just been completed; with harvesting to begin on a one hundred and sixty-five-acre allotment about to commence. Similarly to Maraeroa C, The Trusts implemented a strategic plan which allows for diversification. This will ensure that the current asset base will continue to grow and develop (Tiroa E & Te Hape B Trusts, personal communication, 2018).

“Protecting and enhancing the natural character of the land with particular regard to the indigenous flora and fauna, their diverse communities and their interactions with the environment that supports them.

Protecting the land as an area representative of a significant part of the natural ecological character of its ecological district.

Protecting and enhancing the cultural and spiritual values associated with the land and its relating water bodies.

Embodying the principles of an equal working relationship between the Crown and the Tangata Whenua with particular acknowledgement to the Manawhenua of the Landowner.

Protecting the historic, archaeological and educational values associated with the land and its related water bodies.

Maintaining the landscape amenity values of the land.

Providing for the Landowner and their Beneficial owners and descendants recreational use and enjoyment of the land to the extent consistent with the above objectives” (Tiroa Te Hape, 2018c).
The Trusts visions and values include employing the skills of shareholders in every aspect of the Trusts, including farming and business. Culturally, upholding and nurturing the traditions of Rereahu, is also of utmost importance. So too supporting the maintenance and development of Rereahu Marae in particular those directly connected to Tiroa and Te Hape. The protection of wāhi tapu and the whenua is also seen as a vital aspect of the vision (Tiroa E & Te Hape B Trusts, personal communication, 2018).

**Rereahu Marae**

Rereahu marae continue to hold pride of place for their people. The eight affiliate marae identify with one another through whakapapa and the eponymous ancestor Rereahu. Each marae is eligible to receive marae grants provided by Maraeroa C and The Trusts. This is to aid in the ongoing maintenance and development of the marae. Tangihanga\(^{243}\) grants are also available to support marae in meeting the requirements of this culturally significant practice. Elected trustees govern the marae ensuring that marae meet the current laws. Many wonderful marae members contribute to the day-to-day running of the Rereahu marae.

Resilience is the ability to survive. Survival requires implementation of proactive mechanisms to ensure the continuation of Rereahu. Maraeroa C, The Trusts and Rereahu marae are examples of Rereahu resilience in this modern day context. Awareness and understanding of the political, economic, cultural and social landscapes have been created through foresight, research and investment by all three examples. The implementation of diversification through strategic planning signifies the Rereahu ability to reimagine. The impetus placed on the maintenance

\(^{243}\) Māori customary mortuary practices.
and promotion of Rereahutanga exemplifies the Rereahu capability to regenerate. The diverse aspects of development which have occurred on traditional lands epitomises the Rereahu capacity to reinterpret.

**Resistance**

Resistance as a proactive method of survival is very closely connected to resilience. Māori show incredible resilience through the techniques exercised in resistance to colonisation (Penahira et al., 2014, p. 101). Conversely to resilience, resistance actively opposes things which negatively impact Māori socially, politically and economically. Annette Sykes (2007) asserts, "We don't simply want to just look at what is happening because of the forces of colonisation but also to look at ways to change that" (p. 122). Methods of resistance are prescribed to by Rereahu. These mechanisms are collectively and consciously applied in order to create a fight-back in the quest for self-determination.

**The Mandated Voice of Rereahu**

As it was alluded to in the previous chapter Te Maru o Rereahu Iwi Trust is the legal entity Rereahu created. This was in response to Rereahu wanting to affect change in the pursuit of self-determination. In 1988 the Maniapoto Māori Trust Board Act received legal recognition. By the year 2000 Rereahu had subsisted under the ruling of the son Maniapoto for over a decade. Prosecution of Treaty claims had made it necessary for Rereahu to form or reignite a legal vehicle through which Rereahu customary interests could be pursued. TMoRIT received mandate from the people of Rereahu to carry out this task. Consequently, TMoRIT became a collective mode of Rereahu resistance against both the Crown and

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244 Refer to chapters three and four of this thesis.
245 Te Runanga o Ngati Rereahu, see chapter three of this thesis.
MMTB. Initially created to prosecute the WAI 630\textsuperscript{246} claim, TMoRIT has represented a number of Rereahu interests. TMoRIT has successfully prosecuted the Crown on historical Rereahu grievances and has consistently resisted MMTB’s incessant need to subsume the iwi. This governance entity has also initiated the regeneration of indigenous birds and facilitates in the translocation of these taonga.

**Maraeroa Deed of Settlement**

In 2002 the Crown approached TMoRIT. Research regarding the Central North Island Forestry Claim (CNI) and The Waikato River claim had commenced. The Crown had identified what they believed to be Rereahu interests or mana whenua rights in the Pureora North Block. Crown communications asserted the belief that Rereahu should be included in the comprehensive CNI. Coincidentally the area which was the catalyst for initiating communications was not in fact the Rereahu side of Pureora. Nevertheless, the Crown affirmed their initial belief that Maraeroa and Rereahu should still be included in the CNI settlement. Rereahu were seemingly caught. Pureora Forest Park which was being included in the CNI did capture areas of the Pureora Block which was Rereahu whenua. For that reason, Rereahu was officially included in the CNI settlement (G. Katu, personal communication, August 6, 2018).

TMoRIT opposed this decision. Due to the small area size of the block in discussion the decision for a separate settlement for Rereahu appeared favourable. TMoRIT requested the removal of this particular block of land from the CNI. Negotiations pursued. TMoRIT had leverage in that the Crown required TMoRIT support in

\textsuperscript{246} A historical Waitangi Triunal Claim containing six pages outlining breaches by the Crown filed by Rereahu for Rereahu interests.
settling the MMTB led Waipa\(^{247}\) river claim. Reluctantly, Minister Finlayson\(^ {248}\) agreed to exclude the block in question from the CNI, in a discreet settlement\(^ {249}\) for the Rereahu Maraeroa A and B Blocks\(^ {250}\) (G. Katu, personal communication, August 6, 2018). The Maraeroa A and B Trust Deed of Settlement was signed on March 12, 2011 at Pa Harakeke. Momentous on many levels this Deed of Settlement provided Crown acknowledgement of Rereahu mana whenua over numerous wāhi tapu.\(^ {251}\)

**Te Awa Tupua Claim**

Hikaia Amohia\(^ {252}\) filed the Wai 167 claim on October 14 1990 on behalf of Whanganui Iwi. This claim included recognition of customary rights in regards to the Whanganui River.\(^ {253}\) Whanganui River Claims\(^ {254}\) Terms of Negotiations was signed on March 6 2003. The intentions of the Crown and Whanganui Iwi in terms of the proceeding negotiations regarding Te Awa Tupua are defined in this document (New Zealand Government, 2003, p. 7). Negotiations lapsed for some time. However, two years after the recommencement of negotiations and some twenty after Amohia filed the original Wai 167 claim, on October 13 2011 the 'Record of Understanding in relation to Whanganui River Settlement' was signed.

Clause 1.2 states (New Zealand Government, 2011c), "Whanganui Iwi view the

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\(^{247}\) For more information refer to chapter four.

\(^{248}\) At this time Chris Finlayson was Treaty negotiations minister. He has been a National Party MP in five consecutive New Zealand Parliaments.

\(^{249}\) Discreet settlement legislation that deals directly with the discrete claims of Māori Land owners rather than all those with an affiliation to iwi (Bradley, 2013, p. 6).

\(^{250}\) Mentioned earlier in this chapter under Maraeroa Lands.

\(^{251}\) Culturally significant Rereahu sites including (a) Pureora o Kahu; (b) Taporaroa Pa centre point; (c) Taporaroa area; (d) Commencement of Waipa River; (e) Tikiwhenua; (f) Tomotomo Ariki; (g) Waimihia o Kahu Punawai; (h) Waimoanaiti; (i) Waitaramoa Pa; (j) Ongarue; (k) Piki Ariki area; (l) Piki Ariki Rakau (m) Karamarama Stream water drawing point; (n) Weraroa; (o) Tahorakarewarewa; and (p) Paruhou (New Zealand Government, 2011a).

\(^{252}\) A kaumātua who was engaged with the Rohe Pōtāe organisations also see chapter three.

\(^{253}\) At 290km in length the Whanganui is the third longest and longest navigable river in Aotearoa.

\(^{254}\) The terms Whanganui River and Te Awa Tupua are used interchangably throughout this chapter.
Whanganui River as a living being, Te Awa Tupua; an indivisible whole incorporating its tributaries and all its physical and metaphysical elements from the mountains to the sea” (p. 3). This clause recognised the many tributaries of the Whanganui River and made provision for those iwi and hapū with over lapping interests in the claim to enter negotiations.

This holistic philosophy enabled TMoRIT to pursue negotiations with the Crown and Whanganui iwi. They sought to be included in the settlement as an iwi with interests in the Whanganui River. Tributaries255 of Te Awa Tupua spring forth from the Rereahu region Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua and so it was deemed as an appropriate and essential undertaking. TMoRIT was successful in their pursuit. On August 5 2014, Rereahu was included as an: "iwi with interests in the Whanganui river" and as an; "iwi and hapū with interests in the Whanganui river”(New Zealand Government, 2014, p. 48). The Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Bill256 had its third and final reading257 in Parliament on March 14, 2017. The New Zealand Parliament voted to pass the Bill. The Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Act 2017258 was provided an assent date six days later on March 20.

Currently, iwi and hapū with interests in the Whanganui River are in discussions regarding how to best support one another in upholding, promoting and utilising the

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255 Including the Ōngarue, Ōhura Otunui and Waimiha as stated by H. Wī in a submission presented to the Waitangi Tribunal on behalf of Te Ihingārangi (Wi, 2016, p. 3).
256 The Bill “gives effect to the Whanganui River Deed of Settlement signed on 5 August 2014” (Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Act 2017).
257 The Minister for Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations, Christopher Finlayson, noted that the passage of the Bill “brings the longest running litigation in New Zealand’s history to an end,” and that “[t]he Whanganui Iwi has fought for recognition of its relationship with the Whanganui River since the 1870’s”(New Zealand Government, 2017b).
258 The Act recognises at Law a set of intrinsic values called Tupua te Kawa – the natural Law and Value system of Te Awa Tupua, which binds the people to the River and the River to the people. The four kawa must be read and considered in conjunction with one another.
Te Awa Tupua status and framework. Te Pā Auroa nā Te Awa Tupua is an innovative legal framework\textsuperscript{259} developed to support Te Awa Tupua as a legal personality. This framework symbolises an extensive, well-constructed model fit for purpose, endures and represents a collective responsibility (Ngā Tāngata Tiaki o Whanganui, personal communication, August 22, 2018). Te Pou Tupua is a single role comprising two persons jointly appointed by the Crown and 'Iwi of the River'. This role gives a face to Te Awa Tupua. The Framework in its entirety allows the overturning of current value setting in planning and decision making from a Pākehā values framework to one based on commonly held Māori values – Tupua te Kawa\textsuperscript{260} - which the community as a whole are required to adopt and adhere to (Ngā Tāngata Tiaki o Whanganui, personal communication, August 22, 2018).

Simultaneously, the processes through which people are identified to fill the necessary offices within the framework are being discussed (Ngā Tāngata Tiaki o Whanganui, personal communication, August 22, 2018). The consensus determined all iwi maintain mana whenua over their specific portion of Te Awa Tupua. All iwi and hapū were to be unified in their approach to protect Te Awa Tupua and, to uphold the four Tupua te Kawa. Rereahu is acknowledged as an autonomous group. They are actively collaborating with members of other iwi and hapū in a sign of unity for the protection of the people and land. In 2018 it seems that the fundamental aspirations of the Te Rohe Pōtæe organisations\textsuperscript{261} have come to fruition; albeit in a

\textsuperscript{259} Chris Finlayson recognises the framework as being, "innovative legal framework recognises the spiritual connection between the iwi and their ancestral river. It also provides a strong foundation for the future of the river which will benefit its communities" (Scoop, 2017, p. para 5).

\textsuperscript{260} The four Tupua te kawa are:
1. The River is the source of spiritual and physical sustenance.
2. The great river flows from the mountains to the sea.
3. I am the River and the River is me.
4. The small and large streams that flow into one another to form one River (New Zealand Government, 2017b, p. 13).

\textsuperscript{261} See chapter three of this thesis.
different context. The foresight of those kuia and koroua in the 1980's is in some way guiding the actions of the people of Rereahu today.

**New Zealand Census**

In 2018 and for the first time in the history of the New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Rereahu was available to select as an iwi option. The Department of Statistics has included the iwi in the updated Iwi Statistical Standard Review. The Standard is a published list of groups with acknowledged iwi status. The list is useful to iwi, government agencies and researchers in the collecting of iwi information. Requirements for inclusion on the list are: existing hapū becoming an iwi; a collection of hapū; or an iwi related group (Waitomo News, 2018). This has no legal implications in terms of recognition from the Crown in the Rohe Pōtāe Comprehensive Claim. Nevertheless, it is liberating for the people of Rereahu to be able to select their rightful iwi.

Resistance as seen in the above examples like resilience is the capacity to survive. However unlike resilience, to resist requires more reactionary methods. Questioning the status quo; redefining spaces and places; determining an alternative future by making something otherwise not thought of; the pursuit of righting wrongs; and, never showing fear or subordination to a larger more powerful entity are strategies effectively executed by TMoRIT and Rereahu. The iwi has and continue to resist further forms of forced assimilation, displacement and marginalisation. No longer will the peripheral be a space inhabited by Rereahu. Self-determination is not a destination it is but a journey.
Reflection of Rereahutanga

This thesis is indicative of such a journey. It is a tool of self-determination and transformation for the people of Rereahu. Hence, this section will consider the overall content presented in its form. Subsequently, the main research question of this thesis will be answered. The question being: 'What long lasting effects has colonisation had on Rereahu autonomy?' The term autonomy in this thesis, refers to Rereahu obtaining recognition and acceptance from the Crown to negotiate and prosecute their own historic grievances pertaining to the iwi region Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua.

On analysis of the preceding chapters the effects are many. They are not isolated to a certain time period. These effects do not discriminate in such fashion. It would appear that you can't assign these effects to a certain human compartment for they encapsulate every facet of human existence. The Treaty of Waitangi, considered as being the founding document of Aotearoa came into existence some one hundred and seventy years ago. Within this time Rereahu autonomy has been continually threatened. NLC records tell tales of Crown enforced land acquisition, milling rights and surveying rights. So too, the establishment of the Rohe Pōtae reserve which included the Rereahu rohe without acknowledgement of Rereahu either in the Rohe Pōtae Compact or the Rohe Pōtae five tribes.262 Nor is there Rereahu representation in the 'Kawenata'263 of Ngāti Maniapoto. Yet they also highlight

262 See introduction chapter and chapter three of this thesis.
263 The Kawenata is considered to be the founding document of Ngāti Maniapoto. It was written under the mana of the iwi of Ngāti Maniapoto on January 1 1904 (Council of Elders of Ngati Maniapoto, 1904). A Rereahu kuia said, "I find it incomprehensible to think that the Rohe Pōtae Claim can be built on a Kawenata that was produced in 1904. It renders the Treaty of Waitangi and Kingitanga agreement null and void. How could that be right? That's not following tikanga. Rereahu isn't represented on that Kawenata it means nothing to us and nothing to how our whenua will be cared for. Maniapoto have the Kawenata and Rereahu have Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua our whenua (No name, personal communication, August 22, 2018).
Rereahu intelligence, resourcefulness and tenacity. The people quickly identified ways in which to assert their mana motuhake. Similarly today, the Treaty Claims Process, MMTBA, Rohe Pōtai comprehensive claim and the Waipa River Deed of Settlement, are reflections of past atrocities which threatened Rereahu autonomy and continue to do so.

Hence, colonisation continues to have many long lasting effects on Rereahu autonomy. As the Rohe Pōtai claim progresses the long lasting effects of colonisation could in fact be the devastation of discontinuation of the iwi. Rereahu could be subsumed by Ngāti Maniapoto, the Crown recognised LNG. This iwi could face absolute assimilation, dispossession and extinguishment. In despite of these horrific prospects, Rereahu maintain their mana motuhake and have approached these current intimidations using techniques of resistance. These resistance proficiencies have warranted a resurgence of Rereahu identity and pride.

As this chapter is a celebration it is important to note that Rereahu is recognised as an iwi in the government statutes, Maraeroa A & B Blocks Claims Settlement Act 2012 and Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Act 2017. Rereahu is also an iwi option on the New Zealand census. However, perhaps most significantly the effects of colonisation have necessitated a relearning of whakapapa, tikanga and te reo o Rereahu. Colonisation has demanded reconnection through the values of whanaungatanga and kotahitanga between both tāngata and whenua. It has dictated to a sense of aroha for people and place. Unsurprisingly, in keeping with Hurakia the theoretical framework underpinning this thesis, the long lasting effects colonisation has had on Rereahu autonomy are both negative and positive. The balance created emanates the intrinsic holistic sense of being, instilled
in the people of Rereahu. Neither the Crown nor Ngāti Maniapoto can unsettle or stake claim to that.

**The Hurakia Indicator: 'Miringa Te Kakara'**

Rereahu pūrākau shall be used as indicators in each of the chapters to demonstrate the balance of the content as aligned to Hurakia. This last discussion chapter is being measured alongside the story of 'Miringa Te Kakara'. A whare wānanga erected on the remote Rereahu lands of Tiroa. The specific location of Miringa Te Kakara holds the blueprint of balance. This land is composed of ley lines connecting itself with other land masses and ultimately the world.

The divine is prevalent in the intuitiveness of the prophecy bestowed upon the people of Rereahu (R. Pehikino, personal communication, February 6, 1979) and the foresight presented by the Te Rohe Pōtæe Organisations; Maraeroa C, Tiroa and Te Hape Trusts and TMoRIT. The strategic planning within these organisations is synonymous with the consultative process undertaken in the building of Te Whetū Mārama o Ngā Tau o Hinawa. It is indicative of the 'trajectory of flow'. Pathways of resilience and resistance were identified and pursued. The intangible can be seen in the people's absolute dedication to upholding tikanga. In every instance this is highlighted.

The balance attained by the whare can be attributed to the innate analytical skills possessed by the tūpuna. Physically, the poutokomanawa was the foundation upon which the whole structure rested. In the context of this chapter the iwi of Rereahu are the foundation. The collective maintain balance through the methods of resilience and resistance they have utilised. The concepts contained within wairua
and all that is intangible shapes and informs the collective shared assumptions of the iwi. These qualities are reminiscent of Rereahutanga.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has asserted that contrary to the many threats against Rereahu autonomy, the iwi maintains mana whenua and mana motuhake. An overview is given on the methods of resilience and resistance prescribed to by Rereahu. These are defined in terms of Rereahu legislature, diversification of assets and Rereahu collateral. The entirety of information presented in this body of writing is reminiscent of Rereahutanga. Collectively, the content answers the research question: 'What long lasting effects has colonisation had on Rereahu autonomy?' The kōrero 'Miringa Te Kakara' exemplifies the equilibrium created by the writing in this chapter. Accordingly, it is a celebration of Rereahutanga. It celebrates a people of resistance and a people of resilience. Through a collective refusal to being repressed, Rereahu remains.
KUPU WHAKAMUTUNGA - CONCLUSION

“Kia hora te marino
kia whakapapa pounamu te moana
kia tere te kārohirohi
i runga ki a ūtōu katoa” (Rangawhenua, personal communication, n.d.)

Introduction

This final chapter provides an overview of the research on 'The Rereahu Journey Towards Autonomy'. It also provides reflections which include a summary of the limitations which were defined in chapter one, and suggestions on 'where to next'. Suggestions are framed in terms of evaluative questions which could guide further research. Recommendations to my own people are also made. The chapter concludes on reflection of the Hurakia indicator and Rereahu pūrākau 'The Birth of Rereahu'.

Overview

The main objective of this thesis was to present 'The Rereahu Journey Towards Autonomy' including the attempts made by the iwi to gain legal recognition. Traditional oral histories, minutes and manuscripts from more recent times, as well as current kōrero were used to illustrate this journey. Simultaneously, references of forced assimilation and marginalisation through Crown enforced policies and law, aid in the weaving together of the numerous threads in this tapestry of

264 The tohunga Hihi Rangawhenua of Ngāti Pāhere a hapū of Rereahu-Maniapoto proffered this inspirational whakatauki to his people as a term of encouragement when facing the dispossession of their land following the Māori Land Wars.
intergenerational persecution. This continued and sustained persecution of the Rereahu iwi is a reoccurring theme throughout the entirety of this thesis.

The introductory chapter provided historical examples of the measures my tupuna went to in order to retain their whenua and whakapapa. The autonomous region known as the Rohe Pōtæ was to be a tool of self-determination for our people. The Rohe Pōtæ was a strategy whereby intentional and beneficial relationships were to be solidified, in order to counteract the aggressive multifaceted approach and tactics of colonial law. However, it had opposing effects for the iwi of Rereahu whose voice was suffocated by that of the Ngāti Maniapoto representatives.

Threats to Rereahu identity continued. This is prevalent in written publications presenting our whakapapa stories through differing lenses. These publications present themselves as authorities of our kōrero tuku iho which continues to have negative implications for Rereahu. Concurrently, widely believed myths and colonial introduced politics continue to disturb and distort Rereahu identity of place and self as discussed in chapter two.

Policies prescribed by the New Zealand Government forced Māori to abandon their traditional cultural groupings in favour of Large Un-Natural Groupings. Chapter three describes how destructive this colonial way of thinking was for Rereahu in the 1980's. Driven by a desire to uphold the foresight of our tupuna the Rereahu iwi developed inclusive frameworks and constitutions which would satisfy both tikanga and law. Unity, autonomy and protection were the identified vehicles of transformation for the people by the Te Rohe Pōtæ Organisations (TRPO). The TRPO intentionally served their people according to the identified needs of the community. Regrettably, the dictates of Crown law perpetuated assimilation at the
hands of the Fourth Labour Government and the then Minister of Māori Affairs, the Honourable Koro Wetere. The outcome was the Maniapoto Māori Trust Board Act 1988, which was completely contradictory to the assertions made by Rereahu.

Rereahu developed further mechanisms to disrupt the continued presence of Crown rule. Te Maru o Rereahu Iwi Trust was established and gained the mandate to be the representative body for the Rereahu iwi in negotiations with the Crown. The Trust faced much adversity. Strategic decision making was required of TMoRIT so that they would hold a strong position in defending Rereahu identity, Rereahu whenua and Rereahu whakapapa. Chapter four describes the lengths to which TMoRIT were prepared to go. This included supporting the very iwi, their whanaunga Ngāti Maniapoto, who are attempting to obtain control over Rereahu whenua.

Resistance and Resilience is practiced by the iwi of Rereahu in many ways. Rereahutanga is alive and well. In order to uphold the teachings and ways of Rereahu the eponymous ancestor, his descendants pursue excellence. Strategic planning, diversification of resources within Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua, continued commitment to transformative action for the iwi as a whole, and identity is practised and maintained. Chapter five celebrates the strength and commitment of the Rereahu iwi.

In conclusion, Crown policy has and continues to perpetuate the trauma and atrocities of colonisation. The Large Natural Grouping Policy re-victimises iwi and hapū who hold a smaller political presence than others. The Rereahu iwi maintain the belief that they are the rightful custodians of Mai Rangitoto ki Tuhua. Therefore, they will continue to provide protection for their people, whakapapa and whenua.
Rereahu committed to retaining autonomy over their tribal lands, resources and whakapapa. Engendering unity and strength amongst their people will continue into the future.

Upholding the mana of Rereahu in an academic context was identified as another purpose of this thesis. This has been achieved through the presentation of Rereahu traditional oral histories. The theoretical framework developed for and applied in this thesis is symbolic of Rereahutanga. The methods utilised in the gathering and implementation of kōrero for this thesis are indicative of Rereahutanga. Maintaining balance throughout the entirety of content is representative of a Rereahu world view. Rereahu pūrākau as indicators have ensured, as the researcher, I have applied a Rereahu-centric lens at all times. Interconnectedness or whakawhanaungatanga is prevalent in the acknowledgement of whakapapa and relationships to our wider whānau. Each chapter is opened by the words of Rereahu tūpuna ensuring the Rereahu voice remains at the forefront of this thesis. Collaboratively these concepts have claimed a space for Rereahu in academia.

Another intention of this thesis is that it becomes a tool of transformation and self-determination for my people of Rereahu. This collection of our kōrero creates a space within which our thoughts, narratives and beliefs go uncontested. It is indicative of how our tūpuna expertly navigated the barriers encircling our ways of being. Interconnectedness was cherished. Unity was crucial. Autonomy was paramount. Protection was obligatory. These were symbiotic notions which in relation to each other maintained the holistic survival of Rereahutanga. This journey is a window through which we can glance at our past in order to comprehend the true setting for our future.
Reflections

Limitations

The limitations of this thesis were identified in chapter one. The time constraint for carrying out this thesis restricted the number of wānanga which took place. Wānanga would have enabled me to better determine what autonomy means, and how important maintaining it is to my people. The directed length of a Master's thesis prohibited more robust interrogation of particular themes covered in this thesis.

Where to Next

On reflection of this thesis journey I recommend that further research be guided by evaluative questions. Framing research around these questions could not only support the people of Rereahu but other indigenous communities facing similar circumstances. Evaluation of this research contribution can be applied to inform positive outcomes for Rereahu. Further research could focus on the impacts retaining autonomy would have on the health and wellbeing of the Rereahu iwi. The evaluative questions I believe that could guide this would be:

How can this research contribute to restorative and beneficial interconnectedness for my people?

How do we maintain the holistic connections to people, place and being?

How do we holistically heal from the trauma of the atrocities committed towards us?

What are the implications of looking back into whakapapa to seek out our futures?

How if at all do gender perceptions vary in terms of the healing pathway forward?
What further strategies can we employ to affect positive and beneficial policy change?

To my iwi of Rereahu I encourage us to:

hear as Rereahu
see as Rereahu
do as Rereahu
be as Rereahu
breathe as Rereahu

and to recognise that collectively we all hold the mana of the iwi Rereahu.

**The Hurakia Indicator – 'The Birth of Rereahu'**

This final chapter embodies the Hurakia framework component of Manawa. Receptiveness congregates here. Content from all chapters come to meet in an act of kotahitanga. Reciprocity is evident in the evaluative questions and completion of this thesis. The words of encouragement and aims of this thesis illustrate the aroha I have for my people, my place, my whakapapa. Balance has been maintained throughout this thesis as guided by the theoretical framework Hurakia.

Our people have been analysing, evaluating and interpreting experiential knowledge since our origins. Abilities such as these were innate to our people. The origin story of the tupuna Rereahu is an example of this. 'The Birth of Rereahu' describes how Raukawa analysed and evaluated the tohu in the sky simultaneously, within the context of the environment and circumstance. Therefore, we must use the signs available to us to guide our strategic planning. We must remain vigilant in recognising the signs. Our future relies upon this. Our environment holds the answers as it did with the birth of our eponymous ancestor Rereahu.

*Ko Tamakaiuru ki te rangi. Ko Rereahu ki te whenua. Tihē Mauriora!*
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Appendix

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