

Mana Wahine reworking the power to name taonga

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Abstract

The capacity of Indigenous peoples to officially name taonga species (flora and fauna) within taxonomy signifies resilience and a reworking of western scientific processes and institutions. This article explores the ways in which Ngāti Kuri women contribute to environmental justice through the naming of taonga species. Ngāti Kuri were the first tribe in the world to install a tribal name into the co-authorship of a nomenclature. The article explores the ways in which Ngāti Kuri women, both past and present, rework environmental relationships and knowledge in both tribal and non-tribal spaces in Aotearoa's most northern region.

KEYWORDS

co-authorship, Indigeneity, knowledge creation, Mana Wahine geographies, representation

1 | INTRODUCTION

Indigenous peoples have been naming species, such as flora and fauna, for centuries. This article highlights the important roles Māori women hold in managing resources and environments for one Aotearoa New Zealand iwi (tribe)—Ngāti Kuri—in the far north. I draw from my doctoral research project (Ringham, 2023), where I consider Ngāti Kuri's nature spaces as layered with political, colonial and patriarchal power relationships which shape 'conservation' and 'science'. Ngāti Kuri lands (Figure 1), islands, waterways and coastlines hold unique ecosystems, some of which cannot be found elsewhere in Aotearoa or the rest of the world. These are also significant cultural, metaphysical and economic sites critical to Ngāti Kuri success and well-being that are overseen by government institutions.

Figure 1 was created for the research to illustrate Ngāti Kuri women's geographies and research locations. Whakawhiti kōrero (research conversations) and wānanga (workshops) were carried out in Ngataki, Te

Hāpua, Kapowairua, Rarawa Beach, Te Rerenga Wairua and Te Paki. The map offers an indigenised view of Ngāti Kuri tribal lands (Pearce & Hornsby, 2020). To many, the map may appear to be upside down, however representing Aotearoa this way is in line with Te Ao Māori. This is a Māori world view of Aotearoa, as the land was approached and discovered by Māori. Representing Aotearoa in this way is an intentional act of decolonisation. It calls 'attention to the power of decolonial movements to transform the map through direct action and the power of mapping to imagine decolonial worlds-in-the-making' (Rose-Redwood et al., 2020, p. 152). Purposefully missing from the map are roads, colonial place names, a north arrow and colonial boundaries (Pearce & Hornsby, 2020).

Ngāti Kuri were the first tribe in the world to be included in an official scientific naming of a species. This is significant not only to Ngāti Kuri but to Indigenous peoples across the globe. It signals the decolonisation of scientific naming and acknowledges the growing autonomy of Indigenous people to name our

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FIGURE 1 Mapping the research. Source: Oulton (2022).

worlds. Ngāti Kuri are contributing to the transformation and indigenisation of taxonomy through naming of taonga species. Naming is a claim to power and control over people, places and resources (Kearns & Berg, 2002; Smith, 2012). In Aotearoa, questions about integrity continue to be asked of scientific communities naming taonga species (Whaanga et al., 2013). Misinterpretation and mistranslation result in the misrepresentation of Māori names given to taonga species.

By way of background, in 2015 the Ngāti Kuri Trust Board¹ (NKTB) began working with research institutions in an official capacity under the Ngāti Kuri Treaty Settlement Deed.² The Ngāti Kuri Relationship Working Group (NKRWG) was established. I was invited to join the group to begin the process of whakawhanaungatanga (relationship building) and research partnerships with Tāmaki Paenga Hira (Auckland War Memorial Museum) and several other research institutions. The purpose of NKRWG was first to frame our working ethic to ensure scientists engaged with us as an equal and valued partner

and then, secondly, to draw from mātauranga o Ngāti Kuri (Ngāti Kuri knowledges) to fill knowledge gaps that colonisation has produced.

In 2019, NKRWG worked alongside scientists to name *Dictyota korowai* W. A. Nelson, J. E. Sutherland & Ngāti Kuri. This is a species of deep ocean seaweed found in the waters around Manawatāwhi (Three Kings Island). The scientific and Māori naming of this species forever connects Ngāti Kuri with the deep ocean seaweed found in our island waters. As co-authors, Ngāti Kuri are acknowledged as experts and knowledge makers (Nelson et al., 2019).

Exploring the ways in which Ngāti Kuri women negotiate the autonomy to name our world within scientific institutions requires a deep critique of colonial and gendered power. This article therefore discusses the misinterpretation and misrepresentation of Indigenous naming within the creation of conservation knowledge. Reclaiming the power to name taonga species is a form of decolonisation that facilitates environmental justice (L. T. Smith, 2012).

Geography has a long and dubious relationship with colonisation that is crucial to acknowledge and unpack (Coombes et al., 2014; Johnson, 2012; Murphy, 2019; Parsons et al., 2017; Sioui, 2021). Indigenous women's experiences and autonomy in conservation spaces has received very little academic attention (Radcliffe, 2022; Simmonds, 2014). Consequently, there is a knowledge gap pertaining to the way these spaces are negotiated and navigated by Māori women (Greensill, 2005; Simpson, 2014; Whyte, 2020).

In what follows, I first briefly discuss theories and methodologies that guide the research and analysis. Kaupapa Māori, Mana Wahine and pūrākau (storywork) shaped the research, ensuring that the ethics, praxis and analysis allowed for a unique Ngāti Kuri women's methodological framework to be developed. Methods used to collect participant thoughts and experiences are introduced in this section.

Second, I introduce the pūrākau of Moehau, an important ancestress of Ngāti Kuri, before presenting an analysis of media releases pertaining to the rare tree rātā Moehau. This section examines the ways in which Māori women's identities and pūrākau are often excluded and marginalised through the creation of conservation knowledge. Participants' knowledge is woven throughout the discussion, offering an intimate view into the experiences, challenges and pūrākau of Ngāti Kuri women. This section concludes with an exploration into the ways in which Ngāti Kuri are reclaiming the power to name taonga species.

2 | HE TOHU O NGĀTI KURI: METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

At the centre of this research is mātauranga o Ngāti Kuri. In line with Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wahine, the approach to collecting information and analysis was configured to meet the research community's aspirations (Simmonds, 2014; G. Smith, 2020). The resulting methodology galvanised the principles and authority of Ngāti Kuri women within the research. Methodologies were designed to honour and understand the ways in which Ngāti Kuri women's identities and relationships are guided by tūpuna wahine (ancestresses) and te taiao (natural environments).

Pūrākau in this research is used as a robust theory and methodology that centralises Māori women's experiences. When pūrākau intersects with research, they become sovereign stories that activate a strengthening of Indigenous epistemological and ontological constructs (Portillo, 2017; Simmonds, 2014). Pūrākau can encompass both contemporary and traditional stories, providing a pathway to better understanding our past, present and future (Lee, 2009; Mikaere, 2005;

Murphy, 2019). In line with Kaupapa Māori, the practical components and conceptual foundations of utilising storywork in research are dependent on the cultural protocols of the research community (L. T. Smith, 2012). Pūrākau are an invaluable and transformational methodological tool for analysis and decolonisation (Campbell, 2019; Lee-Morgan, 2017; Pihama, 2021; Seed-Pihama, 2017).

The pūrākau of Moehau was discussed and negotiated initially with three women and one man, each a participant in this research. The pūrākau was written and then rewritten and then discussed again during a wānanga with seven women to ensure Moehau's pūrākau was a dynamic representation of Ngāti Kuri women's roles, responsibilities and relationships.

A critical analysis of media releases concerning rātā Moehau explored the ways in which conservation knowledge about taonga species can, at times, misinterpret, exclude and marginalise Māori women's identities. Nine media releases were examined under a Mana Wahine lens. Mana Wahine reaches beyond feminism to embrace Kaupapa Māori and the intersections of ethnicity, power and discourse (Simmonds, 2014). Mana Wahine enables Indigenous researchers to analytically explore the complex and at times adverse intersections of colonisation, race and gender (Campbell, 2019; Pihama, 2001). This enabled the research to expose the ways in which the creation of conservation knowledge in mainstream media fails to engage with mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledges) in meaningful ways (Ens et al., 2021; H. Smith, 2020).

Empirical material was also collected through wānanga (workshops) and whakawhiti kōrero (research conversations). Between 2018 and 2019 a total of 21 Ngāti Kuri—19 women and 2 men—shaped this research alongside me. Participants, whether formally or informally, contributed to the mauri (life essence) of the research. All participants, including myself, shared whakapapa (a layering of ancestry) with Ngāti Kuri. Research participants did not merely participate; they drove, mobilised and theorised about the topic and the methodology.

To wānanga is to practice an inherited tradition of learning and deliberation that centres place and Māori ways of knowing (Mahuika & Mahuika, 2020). Three wānanga were held in the tribal lands of Ngāti Kuri: two in Ngātaki and the final wānanga was held at Te Ara Whanui,³ Te Pahi. As a research method, wānanga encourages a collective deliberation and production of knowledge and shared learning (Simmonds, 2014) and is a 'dynamic living tradition that has developed across generations' (Mahuika & Mahuika, 2020, p. 369).

Whakawhiti kōrero are research conversations that invite participants to tell their stories, voice their

concerns and aspirations (Pihama et al., 2019). Whakawhiti kōrero occurred separately to wānanga allowing for participants to voice their thoughts privately. Eleven women and two men took part in whakawhiti kōrero. All 13 whakawhiti kōrero were conducted in the homes of participants. Six homes were in Ngataki, four in Kaitaia and one each in Te Hāpua, Ahipara and Whangarei.

3 | REWORKING THE POWER TO NAME OUR WORLD

Across the globe Indigenous peoples continue to name their worlds and are increasingly infiltrating scientific communities and co-authoring the names of taonga species that scientists claim to discover (Kearns & Berg, 2002; Ringham & Nelson, 2021; Whaanga et al., 2013). In doing so, the colonial power to name Indigenous worlds is destabilised. Interjecting Indigenous names into 'official' scientific taxonomy is a decolonial strategy that requires clever negotiation of institutions and systems (L. T. Smith, 2012).

Here I pause to consider the power of Moehau, tupuna wahine (ancestress), tohunga ahurewa (expert, healer, advisor) and kaitiaki (custodian, guardian, caregiver, steward) of Pārengarenga Harbour. Moehau's name was given to the extremely rare tree, 'rātā Moehau',⁴ an endemic species discovered in the tribal lands of Ngāti Kuri in the 1970s. The naming of rātā Moehau highlights and honours the value and positioning of Māori women pre-colonisation and the reclaiming of that positioning in contemporary times. Moehau holds and shares many messages that inform Ngāti Kuri's understanding of women's past and contemporary identities.

Moehau's sacred knowledge and ability to communicate across all dominions meant that she held great authority that guided the resilience of Ngāti Kuri. Moehau practiced kōrero hinengaro (telepathy) to converse with the many beings within te taiao. Moehau received more-than-human messages that flowed constantly between physical and metaphysical worlds. Her obligation and capacity to nurture the interrelationships between te taiao and Ngāti Kuri was an important and valued role. She shaped daily life for the tribe through influencing tribal decision-making, resource use and management.

Moehau's pūrākau is an example from which to explore the contemporary experiences of Ngāti Kuri women working with and for te taiao (Lee-Morgan, 2017). Seed-Pihama (2017, p. 75) argues 'pūrākau make the actions of tupuna into teachable moments'. Telling Moehau's pūrākau and discussing the naming of rātā Moehau is an act of resistance and a reworking of Ngāti Kuri women's identities. When I tell Moehau's story, I re-story the landscape, both physical and political.

Stories like Moehau's should be proliferated. These stories are good to tell This could inform the undercurrent of our kaitiakitanga and all our work so that it's productive in the future. Pūrākau are living documents that we can keep adding to—we can add to our kōrero through a reading of science (Vonni, Pūrākau wānanga, 27 April 2019).

Moehau's significance is noted by Vonni, calling for the pūrākau to inform Ngāti Kuri kaitiakitanga (inherited guardianship) and tikanga (customary systems, protocols). Vonni considers Moehau's pūrākau a 'living document' that can enhance a reading of science. In line with Mana Wahine, Vonni feels the story should be 'proliferated', giving voice to and acknowledging the authority of Māori women (Pihama, 2021). The 'living document' is a Mana Wahine story that can be activated to resist and transform the colonial and patriarchal creation of conservation knowledge (Ens et al., 2021; Lee-Morgan, 2017; Pihama, 2021; Wehi et al., 2019). Participants noted that they invoked Moehau by telling her pūrākau in a variety of spaces, including marae (meeting place), ūrupa (burial sites), nature spaces that are culturally significant, museums, archives, research institutions, tribal boardrooms/offices, tribal tourist sites, homes, boats and buses. In telling Moehau's pūrākau, Ngāti Kuri women position themselves as they once were: a governing force in the daily lives of the tribe pre-colonisation (Lee-Morgan, 2017; Pihama et al., 2019; Simmonds, 2014).

3.1 | Lingering gate keeping and misrepresentation of Moehau

The multiple relationships and perspectives that Ngāti Kuri navigate can be revealed through an examination of the ways in which Māori concepts and identities are represented and interpreted (L. T. Smith, 2012). This examination not only helps to identify who and where power is held, but also helps to identify how and where to aim our responses (L. T. Smith, 2012). A discussion of representation through a Mana Wahine framework highlights the challenges and possibilities for Indigenous women as they work towards decolonisation and the reclamation of ancestral names (Seed-Pihama, 2017).

In this section, the power to represent and interpret Ngāti Kuri naming of taonga species is analysed through an investigation of the ways in which conservation knowledge is created through conservation networks. The intention is not to chastise attempts to interpret Māori naming but rather to alert conservation and scientific communities

to the importance of engagement, reciprocity and integrity when collaborating with Indigenous peoples.

For Ngāti Kuri, naming taonga species is a powerful way to inscribe tribal identity and mana motuhake (sovereignty) (L. T. Smith, 2012). But what happens when naming is mistranslated and misinterpreted by others? Scientific and colonial naming of place, people and the natural world has been a devastating and effective tool that set-in-motion the systems that denied Indigenous access to tribal identities, lands and relationships with taonga species (L. T. Smith, 2012; Szászy, 1993). Naming articulates the historical, political and cultural identity of those in power (Kearns & Berg, 2002). Using Te Reo Māori (Māori language) to name newly discovered taonga species is becoming increasingly more common. As noted by Whaanga et al. (2013, p. 80), some naming practices that apply Te Reo Māori has been haphazard and 'hybridisation is prevalent'. There is also a lack of understanding around Māori naming practices and the significance of names gifted to taonga species (Whaanga et al., 2013).

Rātā Moehau is one of Aotearoa's most threatened trees. In 1975, John Bartlett, an Auckland school teacher and amateur botanist, stumbled across a large white flowering tree while looking for liverworts in bush areas around Te Paki (de Lange, 2016). The accidental finding of this tree was labelled a 'discovery' and in 1985 the tree was given the taxonomy *Metrosideros bartlettii* and Bartlett's Rātā as a common name. John Bartlett's name is forever embedded in the tree's 'official' and 'common' name (de Lange, 2016). Ngāti Kuri elders, in 1975, named the tree 'rātā Moehau' to honour our tūpuna wahine, Moehau.

The New Zealand Plant Conservation Network (NZPCN) published an article about rātā Moehau in 2010.⁵ The media release shows the interpretation of the name rātā Moehau in the title: *Rātā Moehau: The big rātā asleep on the hill (aka Bartlett's) gets going* (Collings, 2010). 'Bartlett' remains as an alternative name. Here NZPCN creates and disseminates scientific and conservation knowledge about flora and fauna found in Aotearoa with the aim to promote environmental protection and education.

The article boasts positive engagement with Ngāti Kuri and describes an example of iwi participation within the conservation of rātā Moehau. The translation in the title, however, reveals misinterpretation and a lack of meaningful collaboration. The pūrākau and significance of naming the tree 'Moehau' are not featured in the article. The result is that the transmission of Indigenous women's identities and knowledges was silenced within mainstream conservation (Lee-Morgan, 2017; Pihama, 2021; Simmonds, 2014). The name rātā Moehau is incorrectly translated and interpreted in the title. This example

reveals that the creation of conservation knowledge remains a gendered process where Indigenous women's names, knowledges and identities are excluded from the landscape, while accidental discovery by men continues to be pushed to the forefront of conservation media releases.

Giving the tree Moehau's name was a strategy Ngāti Kuri employed to strengthen tribal identities and positioning within conservation. While the NZPCN discussed iwi participation in the 'initial efforts to boost up the population' (Collings, 2010, np), Ngāti Kuri were neither present at the creation of this conservation knowledge nor involved in the interpretation of the name *rātā Moehau*.

The article failed to identify the significance of the name 'Moehau' as tohunga ahurewa, kaitiaki and Mana Wahine. With respect to this flawed interpretation, Sheridan raises several concerns, noting that:

My issue with this is that others (conservationists) are constantly talking about us but not with us when they tell our stories or talk about our taonga because it's always through a different lens. Because there are decades, decades prior to this when our people signalled the decline of rātā Moehau. No one was listening (Sheridan, Findings wānanga 2 July 2022).

Sheridan's statement identifies the issue quite clearly: 'others are constantly talking about us but not with us' and 'no one was listening'. Ngāti Kuri women have never been silent when protecting lands, waterways and taonga species.⁶ Sheridan also understands that the lens and the perspectives used in mainstream conservation are different to her own.

The article has also failed at a literal translation of the name Moehau.⁷ While 'moe' means to sleep, it can also mean to have sex, to be born, to die or to dream. As a verb, 'hau' can mean the vital essence of a person, to be heard, to exceed or the ceremonial offering of food. As a noun, 'hau' can be wind, breath or air. 'Hau' can also be used to describe 'prestige' in which case relates to the valued status of a kaitiaki such as Moehau. There is no link to a hill in a literal translation of the name. A literal translation of the kupu (word) 'Moehau' is dependent on the context in which the word is used. 'Moehau', however, is not just a word. It is a name for a revered tupuna wahine. For Ngāti Kuri, the name Moehau articulates and communicates the essence and prestige of Moehau and her power to sustain, protect and breathe life into people, landscapes, seascapes, flora and fauna.

When thinking about interpreting the name of Moehau we can identify her as influential. The kupu that make up her name sends messages to future generations

that Indigenous women can be imagined as a mediator between birth and death; a decision-maker; speaker; translator and communicator of dreams; and the regulator of ceremonial offerings and resources. Ngāti Kuri's intention in naming the tree *rātā Moehau* was to propel this perspective and the *tūpuna wahine* into the future across their tribal lands, *taonga* species and conservation.

By no means is *Moehau* asleep. Instead, she lives on through each Ngāti Kuri woman working with, in and for *taiao*. The NZPCN article title raises many questions for me, such as if NZPCN was collaborating with Ngāti Kuri how did they get the interpretation of *rātā Moehau* so wrong? Were they listening and taking in the information being shared with them or was their engagement tokenistic? The article quoted Wayne Petera, who was one of the participants in my thesis. I sent the article to Wayne and asked for his thoughts, asking 'are they even aware of the significance of the name?'. Wayne elaborates:

That this wasn't discussed with Ngāti Kuri, well not to my knowledge, is indicative of how NGOs and individuals take license and apply it at their whim. It brusses me off! I understand what they are trying to say and do, but this doesn't appeal to me, in fact it detracts from applying our *tupuna wahine* name to this *rākau* (tree) completely. For us [Ngāti Kuri], it marks a relationship to us and also marks the huge value that we place with our *tupuna wahine*. That others don't acknowledge or accept is no-never-mind to me and shouldn't be to all of us Our people have begun to again form intimate relationships with this *rākau*. We are taking steps to protect it through enhancing its value to us (Interview with Wayne, 29 August 2017).

Here Wayne acknowledges how NGOs take 'licence' and, with that, the power to interpret Māori names given to *taonga* species. In taking licence to interpret the naming of *rātā Moehau*, they have diminished the meaningful application of *Moehau*'s name. Wayne is unconcerned with the acknowledgement of others. His focus is the future and how we can again form an intimate relationship with the tree and *Moehau* (L. T. Smith, 2012).

In 2021, over 100 *rātā Moehau* trees were returned to the territories of Ngāti Kuri. This has been an important step in the regeneration of *rātā Moehau*. It also goes some way to returning those *taonga* species that were taken from the region in the name of science and conservation. *Rātā Moehau* has received attention because of past difficulties in propagation and recent successes.

NZPCN are not alone in the exclusion of Ngāti Kuri women's *pūrākau* and identities. In a number of media websites, the name *rātā Moehau* is defined as the Māori name of the tree. Ngāti Kuri are rarely mentioned alongside *rātā Moehau*. In a desktop investigation analysing nine media releases, it was found that five websites included the name *rātā Moehau* and four did not. One suggested a new name—the floral *kakapo*—after an endangered bird (Boyack, 2019). Two renamed the tree the Cape Reinga *rātā* (Greenleaf Nurseries, 2017; Tawapou Coastal Natives, 2017) and one suggested calling it the New Zealand Christmas tree, due to its white flowers representing snow (Stuart, 2011).

3.2 | Ngāti Kuri drivers of change

The NKTB and NKRWG are in search of possibilities, potentialities and openings (Pihama, 2021). Naming species is part of that work. Māori have a process and system for naming *taonga* species that is 'founded on whakapapa relationships and *tikanga* that incorporates, amongst other things, many deities within Māori cosmology and the natural world as well as relationships between species' (Whaanga et al., 2013, p. 79). Ngāti Kuri women are contributing to those processes. This set the precedence for the work of Tira Mā te Wā. Since 2015, the group has partnered with scientists to name ocean species found around Manawatāwhi, Rangitāhua (Kemadec Islands) and the northern coastline of Aotearoa. Five seaweeds have been officially named to date (D'Archino et al., 2020; Heesch et al., 2021; Kessel et al., 2022; Nelson et al., 2019; Nelson et al., 2023).

As noted earlier, Ngāti Kuri were the first to instal tribal name into a taxonomy. Through partnership and co-authorship with science partners, Ngāti Kuri are transforming, indigenising and decolonising the Code of Nomenclature, the science community and the academy. The capacity of Indigenous peoples to officially name *taonga* species within taxonomy signifies resilience, resistance and a reworking of western scientific processes and institutions (MacLeavy et al., 2021).

With each naming and scientific article published, each name given to *taonga* species is discussed and interpreted by Ngāti Kuri. This ensures that narratives underline the intention and purpose of the names given from a Ngāti Kuri perspective. Ngāti Kuri people who contribute to the naming and narratives are identified as co-authors of the article; others are thanked in the acknowledgements. This ensures the Ngāti Kuri can track our knowledge and are forever linked to the *taonga* species; in this way, scientists and future readers are unable to ignore our presence, narrative and naming.

Ngāti Kuri and our current science partners are transforming the capacity of Indigenous peoples to engage and contribute to knowledge making processes. There have been several positive outcomes for Ngāti Kuri and science partners. High trust has been developed and co-authorship continues. Relationships and partnerships have been strengthened. Learning is a two-way knowledge exchange. As allies, our science partners remind and encourage other scientists to partner with Ngāti Kuri. This has led to several other naming opportunities. Tira Mā te Wā is continuously growing and stretches across genders, generations and spaces uniting Ngāti Kuri kaumātua (elders), rangatahi (youth), women and men. Each person brings their skills, perspective, knowledge and creativity. The work of NKRWG and Tira Mā te Wā has created an opening that has transformed the possibilities and potentialities in reach of Ngāti Kuri.

4 | CONCLUSION

Ngāti Kuri is an iwi located in Aotearoa's most northern region. Our tribal territory stretches across one million square kilometres of lands and ocean. As a coastal people with a land mass estimated at around 33,000 hectares, the Pacific Ocean is a crucial part of our cultural, physical, metaphysical and economic territories. The pathway to tino rangatiratanga (self determination) for Ngāti Kuri women has been mapped out by ancestral women such as Moehau. Contemporary Ngāti Kuri women continue to be leaders and drivers of change within science and conservation, creating opportunities to collaborate and co-author the naming of taonga species. Through a critical examination of who is mobilising dominant discourses in the creation of conservation knowledges, this research reveals the intersecting realities of Māori women.

In this article, I have considered resistance, resilience and reworking through a Mana Wahine critique of the ways in which Māori women's identities, voices and bodies continue to be excluded from the landscape. The pūrākau of Moehau and the misinterpretation of the naming of rātā Moehau provide examples from which to explore the contemporary experiences of Ngāti Kuri women. The Ngāti Kuri naming of rātā Moehau has been pushed to the background in media releases from conservation NGOs, as evidenced in the analysis above. Late and accidental 'discoverers' by non-Māori men are honoured and recorded over and over. Power, ownership and control is maintained through representation, naming and claiming of rātā Moehau as Bartlett's rātā. Ngāti Kuri women are, however, pushing at the gates that exclude them from naming taonga. They are resisting and

reworking representation. Ngāti Kuri women remain resilient and powerful drivers of change through the indigenisation of conservation knowledge creation.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ NKTB is a tribal organisation that strives to move beyond a state of grievance due to breaches of Tiriti o Waitangi. Post-settlement, they aim to mobilise iwi into a mind-set of development, success and governance, and in doing so they are met with many challenges and opportunities.
- ² Waitangi tribunal deed of Settlement Claim documents a full and comprehensive record of the Aotearoa New Zealand Government's breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The deed documents claimants' (iwi and/or hapu) historical grievances against the New Zealand Government. The claim is negotiated, then acknowledged and documented in the Deed of Settlement. These documents hold iwi histories, experiences and relationships with the New Zealand Government since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
- ³ Te Ara Whanui Research Centre was once a place where the Department of Conservation (DOC) Far North Headquarters was located and from which Te Pahi Sand Dunes and surrounding conservation lands were administered. Through the Deed of Settlement and the work of Sheridan Waitai, Ngāti Kuri have secured occupation of the site. Te Ara Whanui is now a site where iwi conservation, research and science initiatives are administered and actioned. Te Ara Whanui Research Centre was officially launched on 9 November 2022.
- ⁴ Rātā Moehau is a rare tree endemic to Ngāti Kuri tribal lands. It is listed as an at-risk species. By 1990, only 10 trees were located across two Te Pahi sites and Unuwahao forest near Kapowairua. A closer inspection revealed that there were 34 surviving wild trees by 1992 (de Lange, 2016). In 2007, however, DOC monitoring found that seven trees at Unuwahao had died from possum browsing and several more had been seriously defoliated. Scientific research, data, seeds, propagation and conservation of rātā Moehau has been ongoing and, with the signing of the Ngāti Kuri Deed of Settlement (2014), these institutions are required to give effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and partner with Ngāti Kuri.
- ⁵ <https://www.nzpcn.org.nz/nzpcn/news/rata-moehau-the-big-rata-asleep-on-the-hill-aka-bartletts-gets-going/>

⁶ In 1991, Saana Waitai-Murray and others lodged the Wai262 claim. This claim was developed from Māori concerns regarding research, collection, use and commodification of flora and fauna, resources and knowledge (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). Saana's work is continued today by her granddaughter Sheridan Waitai and other Ngāti Kuri women.

⁷ It is possible that the NZPCN has looked to a mountain named Moehau located in the Coromandel region for their translation. The mountain's full name is 'Te Moengahau-o-Tamatekapua'. I make no attempt to translate or interpret the name of another iwi's mountain. Tamatekapua was the captain of Te Arawa waka.

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