



**Te Whare Wānanga
o Awanuiārangi**

OTARAUUA E! RECLAIMING HAPŪ KNOWLEDGE AND IDENTITY

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He Mihi

He puna aroha e maringi nei ki a rātou kua rere ki tua o te pae,

E kore a puna aroha e mimiti.

Heke iho ki ngā waihotanga o rātou mā, ngā uru Tarata o Otaraua,

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Abstract

Ko Taranaki te mounga

Ko Waitara te awa

Ko Ngātiawa te iwi

Ko Otaraua te hapū

Since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, six generations of Otaraua descendants have endured conditions that fragmented and disrupted traditional Otaraua knowledge and knowledge systems. This research explores the extent of this marginalisation, identifies the gaps in knowledge, and proposes solutions to revitalise and restore traditional knowledges of Otaraua.

My approach elevates Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua as an autonomous body of knowledge, engaging Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua as the methodological framework. Otaraua descendants' narratives and perspectives are centred, and I employ fundamental Otaraua principles and tikanga. Narratives are collected through kōrerorero, pūrākau through photovoice and through engagement with whānau members. The review and analysis of literature, legislation, and policy through chronology, reveals the marginalisation of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua.

My research highlights the resilience and determination of the descendants of the hapū of Otaraua and contributes to the development of Indigenous research methodologies and the reclamation of hapū identity and knowledge. A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology reclaims an Otaraua identity that has been subsumed by larger grouping identities such as Māori and iwi in the political space.

As a testament to the resilience, determination and enduring spirit of descendants of the hapū of Otaraua, the thesis reflects the hope for a brighter future where Otaraua descendants stand tall, confident, fully embracing mātauranga and identity. The call is for the return of heritage, a restoration of narratives, and a revitalisation of a prosperous, resilient

Otaraua hapū. It is my hope that through the process of this research, the narratives and aspirations of the whānau that are shared and captured will re-invigorate Otaraau identity and capture the essence of what it means to be Otaraau for generations to come.

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Glossary

Te Aka online Māori Dictionary

ahikā	burning fires of occupation, continuous occupation - title to land through occupation by a group, over a long period of time. The group is able, through the use of whakapapa, to trace back to primary ancestors who lived on the land. They held influence over the land through their military strength and defended successfully against challenges, thereby keeping their fires burning.
atua	ancestor with continuing influence, often translated as 'god.'
awa	river, stream, creek, canal, gully, gorge, groove, furrow.
hapū	kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe. It consisted of a number of whānau sharing descent from a common ancestor, usually being named after the ancestor, but sometimes from an important event in the group's history. A number of related hapū usually shared adjacent territories.
iwi	extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory.
kai	food, meal
kaikōrero	speaker, narrator
kāinga	home, address, residence, village, settlement, habitation, habitat, dwelling.
Karakia	incantation, ritual chant, chant, intoned incantation, charm, spell - a set form of words to state or make effective a ritual activity. Karakia

	are recited rapidly using traditional language, symbols and structures.
kaumātua	adult, elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man - a person of status within the whānau.
kawa	marae protocol - customs of the marae and wharenui, particularly those related to formal activities such as pōhiri, speeches and mihi.
kotahitanga	unity, togetherness, solidarity, collective action
kōrero tuku iho	history, stories of the past, traditions, oral tradition
kōrerorero	dialogue, conversation, discussion, chat
kui	grandma, old woman, elderly woman
mahi raranga	to weave, plait (mats, baskets)
mana atua	sacred spiritual power from the atua
mana motuhake	separate identity, autonomy, self-government, self-determination, independence, sovereignty, authority - mana through self-determination and control over one's own destiny.
mana tūpuna	power through descent
mana whenua	territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land or territory, authority over land
manaakitanga	hospitality, kindness, generosity, support - the process of showing respect, generosity, and care for others.
mate-Māori	Māori sickness - psychosomatic illnesses attributed to transgressions of tapu or to māku.
mounga	mountain, mount, peak

mouri	life principle, life force, vital essence, special nature, a material symbol of a life principle, source of emotions - the essential quality and vitality of a being or entity. Also used for a physical object, individual, ecosystem or social group in which this essence is located.
murū	confiscation
māra	traditional garden
mātauranga	traditional knowledge
ngeri	short haka with no set movements and usually performed without weapons.
Otarauatanga	Otaraua knowledge and practices
pā	fortified village, fort, stockade, screen, blockade, city (especially a fortified one)
patupaiarehe	fairy folk - fair-skinned mythical people who live in the bush on mountains. Although like humans in appearance, the belief is that they do not eat cooked food and are afraid of fires.
piharau	lamprey is popularly known as the lamprey eel. It looks like an eel with no backbone. A highly regarded food source for Māori
poutokomanawa	centre pole supporting the ridge pole of a meeting house.
puna	spring (of water), well, pool
pūrākau	myth, ancient legend, story
rangatira	esteemed leader
rangatiratanga	self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, domination, rule, control, power

raupatu	conquest, confiscation
reo	Māori language and customary system of values and practices that have developed over time.
rongoa	natural remedy, traditional treatment, Māori medicine.
te ao wairua	the unseen spiritual realm
te taiao	environmental ecosystem
tikanga	correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention, protocol - the customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context.
wai	stream, creek, river
waiata	expression using traditional song.
waiata tawhito	traditional chant
wairua	spirit, soul - spirit of a person which exists beyond death. It is the non-physical spirit, distinct from the body and the mauri.
wairuatanga	spirituality
wakapapa	relationships, connectedness, lineage, descent, genealogy
wakaparu	traditional structure used for catching piharau or lamprey eel.
whakairo	carving representing traditional knowledge and narratives.
whānau	extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people - the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society. In the modern context the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members.

whanaungatanga	relationship, kinship, sense of family connection - a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging. It develops as a result of kinship rights and obligations, which also serve to strengthen each member of the kin group. It also extends to others to whom one develops a close familial, friendship or reciprocal relationship.
wānanga	tribal knowledge, lore, learning - important traditional cultural, religious, historical, genealogical, and philosophical knowledge.

Chapter One

Introduction

The enduring impact of the Crown's suppression of hapū authority, particularly during historical treaty settlement negotiations in Aotearoa-New Zealand (referred to as Aotearoa for the rest of this thesis), such as those involving the hapū of Otaraua thirty-two years ago, continue to significantly affect the well-being of hapū descendants today.

As a teenager, I witnessed the Te Tiriti o Waitangi settlement negotiations on behalf of the hapū of Otaraua alongside my whānau. During this process, I observed the frustrations and hopelessness experienced by whānau leaders as they navigated the complexities of Crown systems and processes. Reflecting on this experience, it became clear that during these proceedings, the struggle to preserve cultural identity deeply rooted in Otaraua knowledge and traditions prevailed. My experience of these negotiations sparked a curiosity that led to an exploration of the underlying reasons behind the anguish felt by whānau during this tumultuous period. While engaging with whānau for my thesis research, I uncovered expressions of pain resulting from internal divisions within the whānau caused by the impact of Crown systems during the settlement negotiations. Whānau lamented their inability to exercise mana as descendants of Otaraua and the lack of acknowledgment of traditional hapū knowledge systems.

Otaraua whānau, despite the challenges, continue to commit to safeguarding Otaraua land and autonomy. My grandmother, Molly Taingarue Hunt (nee O'Carroll), exemplified this dedication by confronting a local Council rates collector with an axe in the 1960s. He arrived to collect payment for Council rates on her ancestral Otaraua land of Rohutu. There are many examples of acts of resistance undertaken by our ancestors and current generations to uphold the authority and mana of Otaraua. Today, the metaphorical 'axe' of hapū self-determination to maintain an Otaraua connection to the land and to protect Otaraua identity

from further subjugation is carried by descendants who remain resolute in their position to protect what little remains in the hands of Otaraua.

This chapter positions the thesis within the context of a whānau (family) group within the hapū (sub-tribe) of Otaraua in Northern Taranaki, Aotearoa. The objectives, overarching research questions and significance of the research emphasise the motivation behind the thesis and outline how the thesis contributes to hapū research. Furthermore, a discussion on the importance, privilege, and responsibility of being an insider researcher is included. Common expressions and terminology relating to the Treaty settlement process of Aotearoa are also explained, as well as the scope and limitations of the research.

Background to the study

The hapū of Otaraua, located in northern Taranaki, is central to this thesis. A hapū is a group of descendants connected by lineage or wakapapa that traces back to a common ancestor. Otaraua lineage traces back to the ancestor Toroa, the captain of the voyaging waka of Mataatua and his grandson, Awanuiārangi II of the iwi (tribe) of Ngātiawa. Awanuiārangi II migrated from the east coast to the west coast of the North Island, where, through seven generations, his descendants Uenuku and Te Kura established the hapū of Otaraua. Before 1840, Otaraua was an autonomous and self-sufficient community of hapū living in kāinga or established communities. These kāinga were fortified by Pā or protective structures and located along the banks of the Waitara River and the seacoast, facilitating collaboration with other whānau and hapū intergenerationally. Otaraua pā were built as strongholds beside kāinga, strategically positioned along the Waitara River to defend against potential invasions. Today, while some Otaraua descendants remain within traditional boundaries, many have moved away because of migrations southwards and to seek work. The Otaraua hapū focal point is Mangaemiemi Marae, situated alongside the Waitara River. Also known as Te Ahikāroa, it is a traditional māra or horticultural centre of Otaraua. The land represents the

fragmented remains of traditional Otaraua lands, now administered by Te Tumu Paeroa, the Crown Māori land trustee. The trustees are whānau of Otaraua who utilise the land as a communal meeting area for Otaraua. The region is rich in natural resources, including coastal reefs, fishing grounds and the Waitara River, which historically sustained the well-being of the Otaraua whānau. However, land confiscation has significantly reduced access and connection to these resources and the environment.

Since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Otaraua has faced overwhelming and formidable challenges that fragmented the unity of the hapū and alienated them from traditional lands and marginalised their identity. This thesis examines narratives detailing the experiences, knowledge and identity of Otaraua across three generations of a single whānau. Hapū research provides a whānau perspective within Otaraua and aims to share their understanding of the remnants of Otaraua knowledge and identity and their aspirations for the future.

Despite the challenges faced, Otaraua descendants are resilient and are actively working to re-establish 'pā' and 'kāinga' on ancestral lands. Activating a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua decolonising research methodology, my research aims to rebuild and reclaim traditional knowledge and knowledge systems of Otaraua that have been marginalised through acts of colonisation including land confiscation, imposed legal systems, and the Crown's Treaty settlement processes.

Aim

The aim of my research is to contribute to the reclamation of Otaraua knowledge and identity by raising awareness of how Crown legislation and policy have contributed to the marginalisation of Otaraua identity and culture. This research seeks to enhance understanding among Otaraua descendants about the historical and contemporary processes that have reshaped hapū identity. Additionally, the research aims to identify methods for reclaiming

and sharing Otaraua narratives for future generations. To accomplish this, the research will review historical contexts, assess the current state, and propose solutions to support the reclamation of Otaraua knowledge and identity.

Significance

This study is the first to engage a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology. In doing so, the research contributes to the progression of the Kaupapa Māori research space by building on the strong foundations laid by previous researchers in this area.

Hapū research is emerging from hapū - affiliated researchers. For example, Winiata and Luke (2022) describe their tribal development strategy; Postlethwaite (2016) examines the engagement of her own tribal concepts of spirituality in research; and Kukutai et al. (2022) explore the place of colonial mapping in hapū and iwi identities. This growing body of research also focuses on revitalising hapū identity and reclaiming autonomy by engaging methodologies that serve hapū to reclaim knowledge. My own thesis aspires to contribute to an emerging body of research that elevates a lesser-understood and known hapū worldview. I also hope that my research will benefit other marginalised Indigenous peoples seeking to reclaim their identity away from imposed homogenous identities. The hope for this research is to connect with others who strive to reclaim identity and re-indigenise as survivors of colonisation.

This thesis is also significant for the whānau of Otaraua. The sharing and gathering of narratives from Otaraua and whānau on this scale has not occurred since 1991, when whānau narratives were shared to provide evidence for the then-pending Treaty settlement. No known research has been produced through a unique Otaraua worldview to support the reclamation of Otaraua knowledge and new knowledge creation.

Inside researcher

My research is an insider study of subjugation by the Crown and the resistance of tūpuna and descendants of Otaraua. As a wahine, proud to be descended from Otaraua, it is a privilege and a responsibility to represent the experiences and aspirations of whānau. As an Otaraua hapū descendant, I am accountable beyond the boundaries of this research to the whānau for a lifetime and beyond.

Integrity to engage in this space lies with wakapapa or relationship links to the hapū and relationships with the whānau. Wakapapa connects a hapū researcher to the whānau and to the kaupapa. Whanaungatanga through wakapapa is critical to engaging with whānau where matters of mana or authority, wakapapa and mātauranga are concerned. This research engages a multi-generational whānau-centred approach, underscored by the lived knowledge of three generations. Intimate knowledge of how the whānau communicate, share and retain knowledge has been crucial to the sharing of narratives by the whānau for this research. Stepping into the role of a hapū researcher is a position of privilege and responsibility. Otaraua descendants are the only ones who can capture and tell Otaraua narratives.

Decolonising research

My research maintains that as Indigenous epistemic agents, Otaraua whānau members should be empowered to share their narratives in familiar and comfortable ways. A critical part of reclaiming identity is elevating hapū narratives by being the storytellers through an insider researcher lens. Normalising others' narratives about us contributes to undermining hapū narratives and is detrimental to our future generations. Epistemic injustice affects Indigenous voices and narratives, as researchers often share Indigenous experiences through the lens of the researcher rather than that of the community.

Decolonising research aims to move beyond the Western research paradigm, which often prioritises discovering and interpreting facts. From an Indigenous standpoint, the

research process encompasses the perspectives, emotions and encounters of the people with the natural world, culture and spirituality (Porsanger, 2004; Smith et al., 2016; Wilson, 2008). Reclamation of knowledge and connections to the land and the spiritual realm create a research space where our language, practices and wakapapa are interlinked. Those cannot be separated from one another as they are the dominant threads that weave the narrative of Otaraua together.

My thesis supports whānau of Otaraua to express and share direct experiences from all perspectives. In doing so, it reclaims and celebrates Mātauranga-ā-hapū and all traditional knowledge and identity marginalised through colonisation.

Research questions

Ka hoki mai ana ki te take a taku moe.

Ki te papa kāinga aue!

E hoe ana au taku waka i te puaha o Waitara

Ka pākia! Whakarunga, taku waka e te ngaru teitei o te Moana nui a Kiwa

Oho ana taku mauri i taku waka e rere ana ki uta i te ripo o te ia o waho.

Patuki ana taku haere ki nga kopikotanga o te awa

Kia pukairaro tonu i te tirohanga o Pukerangiora

He kupu whakairi

Te whakarere hautanga o Otaraua ko Mangaemiemi i a ratou ma

ko Mangaemiemi tonu tenei ra ko matou nga putanga

Aroha mai ki a matou e tuitui e rapu nei i te whānautanga i roto i te kotahitanga o Otaraua

e te tūpuna o Otaraua

E te tūpuna

Otaraua e!

My thoughts return once more to the purpose of this dream -our papakainga!

*As I paddled my waka across the shallow waters at the mouth of the Waitara
The prow of my canoe was slapped by a mighty wave, completely engulfing me. My alertness
was reawakened because my waka was being flung back up the river with the surge and force
of the current from the open sea, reminding me as I was being tossed against every bend in
the river finally to rest beneath the vantage point of Pukerangiora.
There is a saying that Mangaemiemi became a sheltering refuge for the Otaraua iwi.
Today, that is still the case because our land was taken in confiscation.
We here today stand as those descendants.*

Return our heritage to us, which is rightfully ours (Otaraua Hapū, 1991)

The closing statement of the Otaraua Waitangi Tribunal presentation, written by Lou MacDonald, provides an appropriate narrative to frame the guiding questions for my thesis. The narrative refers to the traumatic past experienced by the whānau of Otaraua from the impact of acts of colonisation resulting in land confiscation. Secondly, the narrative relates to the place currently representing the centre of belonging, Mangaemiemi. It is only a fragment of the ancestral whenua left by the Crown. The narrative concludes that all that has ‘been lost’ must be returned to secure a future where Otaraua descendants thrive. This section presents the questions that frame the structure of this thesis.

Question one: How has the construct and identity of Otaraua been shaped and reshaped since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi?

The closing statement reveals the devastating impact of colonisation, likened to the uncontrollable sea force. The devastating impact of the acts of colonisation on ancestors and subsequent descendants of Otaraua has created inter-generational trauma. This question explores the impact of colonisation and land alienation on the identity and well-being of the whānau of Otaraua.

Question two: What is the current state of Otaraua knowledge and identity? How have the conditions that have shaped and reshaped Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua impacted the knowledge base and identity of Otaraua today?

The closing statement also describes the impact of land confiscation and the need for descendants of Otaraua to seek refuge at Mangaemiemi so that all Otaraua descendants can reside there. Land confiscation resulted in the re-distribution of this whenua by the Crown back to Otaraua to centralise hapū activities. A mere fragment of the traditional lands of Otaraua remains for descendants. In addressing Question Two, the thesis captures the experiences of three generations of a whānau of Otaraua, their understandings of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua, and their aspirations for the future. It was also important to evidence the degree to which Otaraua hapū has been marginalised, specifically through a Crown Treaty settlement process, by examining the current position within the identity of Taranaki whānui. The current position and identity of the hapū is quite different to a pre-1840 position.

Question three: How can Otaraua revitalise the narratives and ways of intergenerational transmission so that they are restored and embedded within the whānau of Otaraua?

Finally, the closing statement motivates Otaraua descendants and the Crown, to re-imagine a future where they stand tall and confident as Otaraua. Implementing a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology aims to support the reclamation of ‘our heritage which is rightfully ours’ by developing an indicative framework to reclaim Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua.

These questions are designed to help us understand the past, increase our awareness and understanding of the traumatic conditions endured, and determine our current state so that we can move forward.

Scope and Limitations

My study involves a qualitative non-representative sample of Otaraua narratives from one Otaraua whānau. As such, the perspectives of this whānau may differ from those of other

whānau of Otaraua. Therefore, this study is limited to only a small multi-generational group within the hapū.

I have chosen to focus predominantly on the First Nations peoples of Canada to provide a contrast to this study of the impact of colonisation on the identity of smaller groupings such as hapū in Aotearoa. Initial scoping for this thesis included Metis and Inuit peoples of Canada as all are equally important to this thesis; however, as a small, unfunded doctoral study, the capacity to provide a full contrast and comparison with these three groups became limited.

This research initially desired to create an Otaraua hapū-centric framework to support the reclamation of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua. Due to time limitations, an indicative framework is included as an example.

As part of the methodology, I briefly delve into the history of Otaraua origins by acknowledging connections to ancestors; however, the primary focus of the thesis is the period between 1840 and 2023.

Conventions

Definition of iwi and hapū

According to Mead (2021), hapū are formed on a foundation of agreed-upon whenua (land), comprising several whānau (family groups) centred around a place of identity and congregation. hapū descendants can trace origins back to a common ancestor and employ a shared decision-making process while maintaining self-sustainability, which also includes safeguarding the interests of the hapū.

Definition of iwi

Debate exists about the origin of the term ‘iwi,’ as well as the body of knowledge that informs the construct and function of an iwi. Mead (2021) explores the origins and growth of the amount of iwi groupings in recent decades and refers to characteristics of iwi as

determined by the first draft of the Runanga iwi Act. Iwi were called ‘an enduring, traditional and significant form of social, political and economic organisation for Māori’(p. 239). In describing the process of drafting the criteria for iwi, Mead provides an example of the Crown’s need, even in the early 1990s, to provide parameters by which iwi would be identified heading into the beginning of the Treaty settlement process. Iwi have been described as centralised confederation of hapū constructed in response to the Treaty settlement process to address grievances (Muru-Lanning, 2011; Sissons, 1984; Webster, 1975).

Reo-ō-Otaraua

Acknowledging and embedding te reo or our language is reclaiming and exercising mātauranga. Reo from whānau documents supports critical aspects of this thesis. This thesis supports the revitalisation and reclamation of reo by elevating and incorporating the language of tūpuna of Otaraaua and Taranaki. Macrons are a commonly used convention within Taranaki writing. In words such as ‘wakapapa’, in keeping with the Taranaki dialect, the ‘h’ is dropped. A glossary at the front of this document includes a list of all reo terms used in this thesis. Traditional Otaraaua place names are referred to in this thesis whenever possible, taking precedence over English place names. Many traditional place names have disappeared, superseded by names introduced through colonisation and subsequent invasion. In exercising the retained knowledge, the significance of our narratives is elevated and, more importantly, kept alive.

Concepts

Terms to describe an Otaraaua hapū research methodology and the body of knowledge specific to Otaraaua are Kaupapa-ō-Otaraaua, which describes an Otaraaua decolonising methodological research approach. Mātauranga-ō-Otaraaua describes an Otaraaua body of

knowledge and knowledge systems. Additionally, Kaupapa-ā-hapū is used to describe hapū research methodology as an evolution of Kaupapa Māori.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi and implications for this thesis

These introductory comments provide a background of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Waitangi Tribunal and the Crown Treaty settlement processes. This background is pivotal to understanding the subjugation of hapū identity and knowledge in Aotearoa and, more specifically, Otaraua.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi), signed in 1840 between the British Crown and Rangatira, or heads of hapū, is the foundational document for modern Treaty Settlements in Aotearoa (Kawharu, 1989; Orange, 2015).

The Crown

The term 'the Crown' is used commonly throughout this thesis. In Aotearoa, the term "the Crown" refers to the collective authority and institutions of the government, representing the monarchy and the state. It symbolises the legal embodiment of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government. Aotearoa is a constitutional monarchy, with the Crown's authority exercised on behalf of the monarch, who is the head of state (Joseph, 1993).

The Waitangi Tribunal

The Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975 established the Waitangi Tribunal, a permanent commission of inquiry, which is required to investigate claims made by Māori against the Crown and make recommendations on claims relating to the practical applications of the principles of the treaty (Stokes, 1992). The Waitangi Tribunal is limited to making recommendations to the Crown on claims. Claimants can then either go directly to the Crown to begin pre-negotiations or go through the Waitangi Tribunal Claims process as follows:

1. Claimant groups first need to register their claims with the Waitangi Tribunal. At this point, no mandate is required.
2. The Crown or the Crown Rental Forestry Trust conducts research, pulling together relevant research on the claim.
3. The Waitangi Tribunal holds a series of hearings to identify areas of concern between the Crown and the claimants and to facilitate resolution around mandate issues.
4. Tribunal and claimant evidence is submitted with Crown evidence before all claimants with closing submissions.
5. The evidence is gathered and presented in a report that provides recommendations on whether the claimants should proceed with pre-negotiations with the Crown. This process could take three to four years (Waitangi Tribunal, 2023).

The Crown is not bound to accept or give effect to the recommendations of the Waitangi Tribunal.

The Treaty settlement process

The Treaty settlement process is a Crown process designed to settle grievances and reach an agreed settlement between claimants and the Crown. The Crown constructs the Treaty settlement process to provide redress for the injustices that iwi and hapū descendants suffered because of colonisation and the subjugation of traditional rights and authority as guaranteed by the Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The Crown prefers to settle with large natural groupings or communities with common ancestry. These can consist of a single tribal entity or iwi, a group of tribal entities or a collection of hapū from the same area. This process marginalises the autonomy of individual hapū, who become subsumed into a more extensive and often newly established grouping. The process consists of four stages:

1. Preparing claims for negotiations includes Waitangi Tribunal hearings and gathering of evidence.

2. Pre-negotiation –claimants (iwi and hapū) seek a mandate from their people to represent them in negotiations. The Crown and representatives of iwi or hapū sign the Terms of Negotiation.
3. Negotiation – A final Deed of Settlement is negotiated. The claimants must agree to this.
4. Ratification and Implementation—The Settlement becomes law, and the claimants create a post-treaty settlement entity that ensures that all agreed-to terms are implemented in partnership with the Crown (Waitangi Tribunal, 2023).

Chapter Four explores the Treaty settlement process, which is pivotal to understanding the subjugation of the identity of Otaraua.

Thesis organisation

A summary of each chapter is as follows:

Chapter Two introduces a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology grounded in Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua, as evidenced by the narratives of the whānau, Taranaki researchers, and supported by Māori and Indigenous researchers. The foundational principles of te taiao, te ao wairua, te reo-ō-Otaraua and wakapapa are presented alongside the tikanga that this methodology follows. Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua examples support and ground this methodology and methods in Otaraua knowledge and knowledge systems. This chapter also examines the literature about Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous theory.

Chapter Three: Indigenous knowledge and mātauranga stems from ancestral beliefs, customary practices and knowledge systems. This chapter explores the meaning of mātauranga through an Indigenous, Māori, iwi and hapū lens. This chapter identifies Mātauranga-ā-hapū as a distinct body of knowledge based on hapū epistemology, connected to Indigenous bodies of knowledge. Current and emerging hapū methodologies and methods discussed in this chapter provide examples of the reclamation of Mātauranga-ā-hapū.

Chapter Four: Understanding the impact of colonisation on the identity of Otaraua and hapū is crucial to understanding the processes by which mātauranga has been marginalised and identifying any gaps to support reclamation. This chapter delves into the impact of colonisation, legislation, and policy on the marginalisation of Otaraua knowledge and identity, exploring the adverse effects experienced.

Chapter Five: The whānau voices of Otaraua are represented using the methods of purākau through photovoice and kōrerorero to provide an understanding of the current state of a whānau view of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua and aspirations. These narratives contribute to understanding Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua through the lens of three generations. The resulting findings provide perspectives of lived Otaraua experiences and an understanding of the impact of colonisation on knowledge retention and identity as Otaraua, of this whānau.

Chapter Six: This chapter amalgamates the insights derived from the whānau voice, literature reviews, and an understanding of how colonisation has marginalised the knowledge and identity of Otaraua descendants. The findings share the extent to which Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua has been marginalised, where gaps exist, and what actions need to be taken to reclaim and restore it once again. This chapter also identifies the critical components of an indicative framework to support the reclamation of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua.

Chapter Seven: This thesis culminates with concluding remarks and reflections concerning the research aims.

My thesis privileges the voice of Otaraua whānau, the wider hapū, and the narratives of tūpuna. In reclaiming Mātauranga-ā-hapū, Otaraua knowledge is embedded in each chapter. The voice of Otaraua is represented through anecdotal and historical evidence and the voices of whānau who participated in this research.

Conclusion

To summarise, my thesis presents the enduring struggles and resilience of a whānau within Otaraua. The research questions frame the study by examining the past, assessing the present and envisioning an Otaraua future. A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodological approach aims to decolonise research, centralising Otaraua voices and mātauranga. Throughout the journey, the connection between land, language, spirituality, and cultural practices within Otaraua are all interlinked and crucial for restoring Otaraua identity. The bonds of whānaungatanga and wakapapa facilitate the sharing of narratives and ensure Otaraua voices hold a principal place in the discourse.

The research is a tribute to the resilience and spirit of the Otaraua hapū, contributing to Indigenous research methodologies and the reclamation of hapū identity. It connects Otaraua whānau and others on a journey of survival and restoration. It calls for the return of heritage, a restoration of narratives and the revitalisation of a prosperous and resilient hapū.

Chapter Two: Methodology and methods

Introduction

This research contributes to Indigenous methodologies by introducing and implementing a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua decolonising research methodology. This approach is deeply rooted in the values and customs of Otaraaua, distinguishing it from other methodologies.

This chapter outlines the critical principles and values of Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua and how the methodology frames this research. A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology advances Kaupapa Māori decolonising methodologies and Indigenous methodologies as smaller Indigenous groups like hapū mobilise to reclaim identity and traditional narratives impacted by colonisation. Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua extends on the preceding groundwork of Kaupapa Māori researchers by privileging a hapū worldview. The naming of Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua privileges hapū knowledge and is firmly rooted in the values and customs of Otaraaua, emphasising its vital role in this research methodology.

Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua plays a pivotal role in guiding the methods used to uncover and to gather evidence of the marginalisation and subjugation of Otaraaua knowledge and identity. This includes the collection of Otaraaua whānau voice regarding their experiences concerning identity and the connection to traditional hapū knowledge. These methods, which include engaging with poutokomanawa (key senior whānau members), kōrerorero, purākau through photovoice, literature review(s), and the use of chronology to examine legislation and policy are designed to elevate and reflect the whānau voice in ways that align with the guiding principles of Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua.

Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua – An Otaraaua hapū research methodology

Pihama (2016) writes that Kaupapa Māori has paved the way for Māori researchers to conduct research that implements methodology based on Māori worldview, values, and cultural practices with clear cultural and political intent and where our struggle becomes our

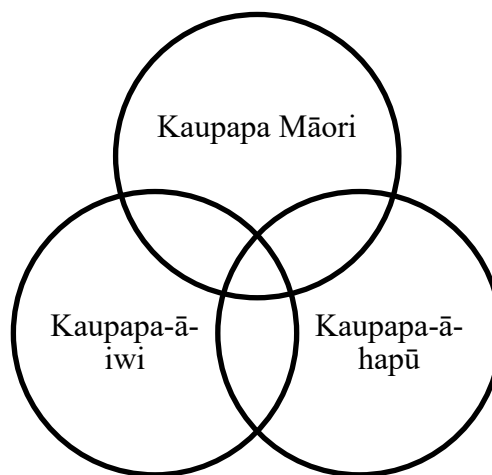
theory. This aspect of Kaupapa Māori recognises the struggle and the journey to reclamation as methodology which empowers iwi and hapū researchers to work from within their communities to recognise and engage their methodologies and methods. A range of literature explores the struggle for Indigenous worldviews to be recognised as methodology (Smith 1999; Pihama, Cram & Walker 2002; Smith, Maxwell, Puke & Temara 2016; Lee 2009; Hiha 2016; Smith 2017). Smith (2019) acknowledges that ‘despite Indigenous peoples deeply methodological and artistic ways of being in and making sense of our world, the notion of methodology has been captured by Western research paradigms and duly mystified’ (pg.1). Smith encourages researchers to ‘look to our own artistic practices and ways of being in the world, theorizing our methodologies for research from our knowledge systems to tell our stories and create “new” knowledge that will serve us in our current lived realities’ (pg.1). Reclaiming Otaraua knowledge requires a decolonising methodology led by hapū researchers alongside their whānau, informed by Otaraua principles and values. This empowerment of hapū researchers is a significant step towards reclaiming identity and traditional narratives impacted by colonisation.

Positioning of Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua within Indigenous research methodologies

Kaupapa Māori, iwi and hapū researchers in Aotearoa have and will continue to lead the way in creating and implementing an evolving framework that supports the reclamation of identity and the pursuit of justice for hapū descendants. This is evidenced in the work of several Māori, iwi and hapū researchers who have developed methodological approaches derived from Māori community and iwi and hapū values and principles (Doherty, 2010; Mocaraka-Harris et al., 2016; Postlethwaite, 2016; Taiapa, 2022). This research contributes to this niche as Kaupapa Māori research diversifies, embracing a reorientation of Māori back to iwi and hapū identities. The development of Indigenous decolonising methodologies such as Kaupapa Māori and Kaupapa-ā-iwi have held space for marginalised groups such as hapū

in Aotearoa. As hapū groups begin to reclaim identity, the development of Kaupapa-ā-hapū supports hapū to engage in research that reclaims ancestral practices and knowledge system. This model (Figure 1) suggests that these methodologies have distinct world views of framing and structuring Indigenous research while interconnected through common tikanga and values, acknowledging the evolution of Kaupapa Māori in Aotearoa. As hapū groups strive to reclaim identity, the development of Kaupapa-ā-hapū supports hapū to engage in research that reclaims ancestral practices and knowledge systems that are unique and specific to communities subsumed by homogenous identities such as Māori and iwi. Kaupapa-ā-hapū research views the world through a hapū lens as the specificity of the struggle for hapū to retain autonomy and identity becomes the methodology. The role of Kaupapa-ā-hapū in reclaiming ancestral practices is to and engage and support hapū descendants to lead hapū research.

Figure 1: *Kaupapa Māori, Kaupapa-ā-iwi, Kaupapa-ā-hapū*

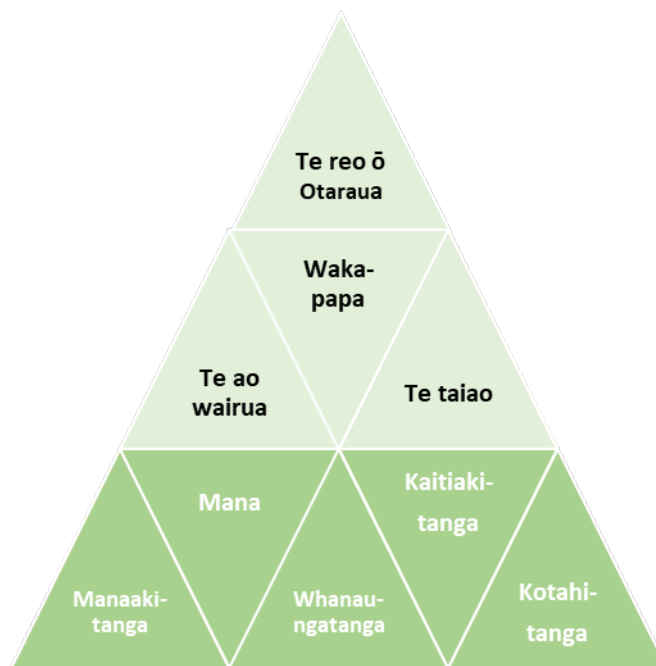


Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua principles and elements

Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology is grounded in principles of wapakapa, te taiao, te ao wairua and te reo ō Otaraaua, and underpinned by the tikanga of manaakitanga,

mana motuhake, whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga and kotahitanga as these are known and experienced by Otaraua. These principles and tikanga are inextricably connected and cannot exist in isolation (see Figure 2). They are present in the lived experiences of Otaraua descendants, as evidenced in the narratives of Otaraua hapū descendants in Chapter Five.

Figure 2: *Kaupapa-o-Otaraua research methodology - Principles and tikanga*



Miraculously, these principles and tikanga have survived -in part- despite the impact of colonial oppression. Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology draws inspiration from the practices of tūpuna (ancestors), and with its core principles rooted in tikanga, serve as the cornerstone of my study. Tikanga plays a pivotal role in ensuring that the research remains aligned with the aspirations of hapū descendants, thus enabling hapū researchers such as me to capture the narratives and aspirations of Otaraua effectively. This methodology is enriched by the narratives of the whānau, historical whānau documents and mātauranga that has withstood colonisation challenges. What follows are the fundamental principles of a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology and the guiding elements that shape this research.

Principles

Wakapapa.

Wakapapa is at the heart of a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology; experienced through traditional relationships with the environment, the spiritual realm and amongst whānau. For example, Keenan (2000) describes the importance of wakapapa in the northern Taranaki context as a 'critical method of tribal recall and history telling, despite the 'denied acts of colonisation' penetrating the underlying sources of customary knowledge, such as the land' (p.45). The emphasis on wakapapa underscores the crucial role it plays in preserving cultural heritage and identity.

Preserving wakapapa within Otaraaua whānau occurs through various means, including oral tradition, written family records created by ancestors, songs, and other sources such as Waitangi Tribunal research and the work of Taranaki historians. This section will present a view of wakapapa from our whānau perspective within Otaraaua that informs this methodology. This includes narrative that positions Otaraaua as descendants of the iwi, Ngātiawa.

Ko Mataatua te waka i haere mai i Hawaiiki

Te tangata o runga, ko Toroa

Ko nga iwi kei raro i a Toroa, kua tu hoe a katoa puta noa i ona rohe katoa (Whānau wakapapa source).

Whānau wakapapa evidences whānau origins and connection to Ngātiawa through the tūpuna Toroa and his great-grandson Awanuiarangi II. This opening statement describes the extent to which the descendants of Toroa spread through the phrase 'i ona rohe katoa' (widespread across the land) in Wakapapa 1. This phrase recognises the extent to which the descendants of this tūpuna disseminated across the North Island from the East Coast to the

West Coast. Toroa, who captained the voyaging waka of Mataatua, is recognised here as one of the primary ancestors of Ngātiawa.

Wakapapa 1: Toroa

Toroa

I

E Ua i hongā

I

Taahinga oo te raa

I

Awanuiārangi II

Toroa and Awanuiārangi II are descendants of Awanuiārangi I, the eponymous ancestor of Ngātiawa. Whānau wakapapa documents the lineage of Awanuiārangi II eight generations back to his tūpuna, Awanuiārangi. The post-settlement Treaty entity of Ngāti Awa, located on the North Island's East Coast, describes the connection of Awanuiārangi I to Te Atiawa.

‘Awanui-a-rangi I, Rauru Na Toi, ka puta ko Rauru ki mua, ko tona whaea ko Huia-rei; whai muri ko Awanui-a-rangi I, ko tona whaea ko Te Kura-i-monoa. Ko nga uri whakaheke o Awanui-a-rangi I, ko Ngāti Awa ki Te Moana o Toi-te-huatahi ratou ko Te Ati Awa o Taranaki’ (Ngāti Awa Deed of Settlement p. 4).

This demonstrates a wakapapa connection between those who remained on the east coast of the North Island and those who traversed the west coast to the Taranaki region.

Riwaka (2000) demonstrates the relationship between Ngātiawa in Taranaki and those originating in Whakatāne by writing that,

‘the occupation of Taranaki by the descendants of Awanuiārangi dates back almost 850 years to around 1150. Their relationship with the Awa people living at Whakatane was close and, despite there being differing traditions about how they

came to occupy Taranaki and Whakatane, they still acknowledge their common descent from Awanuiarangi' (p.7).

Wakapapa has a pivotal role in providing a sense of belonging and identity for the descendants of Otaraua. Whānau repositories are engaged for this research to share this view of identity determined by past generations.

Ngātiawa or Te Ati Awa

The naming and renaming of hapū within Aotearoa impacts identity. After the landing of the waka of Mataatua, much literature describes versions of the journey of Ngātiawa from Whakatane to Northland and down to northern Taranaki (Keenan, 1994; and Riwaka, 2000). Documented accounts written by Riwaka (2000) also provided evidence of the settlement of Ngātiawa in North Taranaki in the early 1800s. The narratives of the origins of Otaraua through Awanuiārangi II differ from other descriptions of the origin of the iwi of Te Atiawa. Identifying hapū as belonging to Ngātiawa or Te Atiawa is a subject of debate, with varying perspectives. Otaraua wakapapa determines that Otaraua are descendants of Awanuiarangi II and are people of the awa, as previously discussed. As discussed in Chapter four, the Treaty settlement process elevates a different narrative to the one determined by several whānau of Otaraua that directly impacts the identity of Otaraua descendants.

A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology celebrates and elevates the narratives we hold about our identity. Evidence of the identity of Otaraua as Ngātiawa is reflected in the correspondence of Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke, a descendant of Otaraua and rangatira (leader) of the Manukorihi hapū. Originally known as Whiti Te Rangitāke he adopted the name Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke upon baptism (R. Doorbar, kōrerorero, October 7, 2022). This significant rangatira upheld the mana of hapū as a signatory to the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi during the period of invasion and illegal confiscation of land by the Crown. Legislation and policies imposed by the Crown created confusion, especially for hapū, whose

wakapapa determined their connection to whenua. Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke steadfastly opposed the Crown's acquisition of hapū land, protecting the mana and wakapapa relationships of his people.

Riwaka (2000) mentions Te Rangitāke referring to Ngātiawa in his correspondence with the Government in the 1860s. Additionally, he references a report of Watene Taungatara, an Otaraua youth, who called Ngātiawa the 'big tribe.' The wakapapa linking Otaraua to Ngātiawa predates the emergence of the modern Te Atiawa name. Otaraua continue to identify as Ngātiawa as determined by wakapapa.

Otaraua emerges.

Extending from Awanuiarangi II, through a further eight generations to the Otaraua ancestor of Uenuku, the hapū of Otaraua emerge. Prominent tūpuna, descendants of Awanuiarangi II, settled, married, and developed a collection of whānau. These tūpuna were Uenuku, who married Kura and then had Tuitimoengaroa and Tahuwharerangi. From these tūpuna came the hapū of Ngāti Kura, Ngāti Tuiti and Ngāti Uenuku. The two brothers of Tuitimoengaroa and Tahuwharerangi proved astute at establishing and maintaining political alliances and protecting their hapū. Otaraua is known as 'of them' or 'of the brothers' (B. Ngaia, kōrerorero, June 2022). This next progression of wakapapa sourced from family documents passed down through generations, shows the emergence of the tūpuna Uenuku and Tuitimoengaroa of Otaraua as seen in Wakapapa 2.

Wakapapa 2: Awanuiārangi II

Awanuiārangi II

I

Toka Tupu

I

Toka Haere

I

Ape-nui

I

Ape-roa

I

Mango-taki-ora

I

Tai-mata-nui

I

Tamawhakatarā

I

Uenuku = Kura

I



Tuitimoengaroa Tahuwharerangi

Coupled with wakapapa evidence, Otaraua descendants at the Waitangi Tribunal Hearing for the Treaty Settlement for Te Atiawa in 1991 describe a flourishing group of hapū known as Otaraua. This evidence also speaks to the dynamics of a self-determining hapū identity impacted by invasion and colonisation.

‘After establishing themselves along the banks of the Waitara River and coastal areas, pre-1840 Otaraua were a collection of many hapū. The hapū of Otaraua were autonomous, self-sufficient, and worked collectively to thrive intergenerationally. Before the invasion and the confiscation of land in 1860, Otaraua was a culturally dynamic and politically diverse hapū approaching iwi status in its own right. Before 1860, there were several other hapū that existed within Otaraua, but which have since disappeared. At that time, Otaraua was economically self-sufficient and capable

of defending its land interests. As a political entity, it exerted and maintained the Tino rangatiratanga of all the taonga within the rohe’ (Otaraua Hapū, 1991).

The hapū of Otaraau include Ngāti Tuaho, Ngāti Hineuru, Ngāti Uenuku, (sometimes known as Ngāti Ue) Ngāti Tūiti, (the eponymous ancestor who links Otaraau and Manukorihi hapū) Ngāti Kura, Ngāti Rangi, Ngāti Hinetaha, Ngāti Hinga, Ngāti Moeau and Ngāti Tamaewa (Otaraua Hapū, 1991).

In addition, the Otaraau Hapū 1991 presentation during the Waitangi Treaty settlement hearings for Te Atiawa commented on the fact that each hapū had ‘been a distinct political unit bound by kinship under the umbrella of Otaraau’ (Otaraua Hapū, 1991).

Exercising their wakapapa connections, the whānau of the hapū came together under Otaraau as a mechanism to withstand the devastating impacts of the illegal confiscation of land.

Impacted by the imposition caused by the policy, legislation, and land confiscation, several of these hapū have dissolved. The memory of these smaller hapū within Otaraau remains today although they are not as active as pre-1840.

Wakapapa is a vital connection for Otaraau that bridges the present and future generations with tūpuna and fosters bonds within whānau and hapū affiliations. Wakapapa is a cultural and structural cornerstone for the organization of whānau, hapū and iwi (tribal) entities. Kruger et al. (2004) emphasise that wakapapa is the foundational premise upon which Māori identity at various levels, including whānau, hapū and iwi, is established. Specifically regarding hapū, Mead (2021) writes that,

‘Whakapapa legitimises participation in hapū affairs and opens doors to the assets of the iwi. It provides a right to be buried in the local urupā, a right to succeed to land interests of the parents and a right to claim membership of the hapū’ (p. 47).

According to the literature, wakapapa holds the utmost significance in affirming a hapū descendant's identity. In the context of this research, wakapapa forms an essential principle of

Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua, as it profoundly influences how Otaraaua perceives and conceptualises relationships.

Kaupapa Māori-driven researchers are more critical of the Western researcher and historians' interpretation of wakapapa and how this can impact the identity of hapū descendants. In support, Mahuika (2019) writes that 'Māori genealogy did not fit or belong within Western frameworks of history and thus to understand and better use wakapapa, it is necessary to situate it within its Māori epistemological roots' (p. 9). The fact that the understanding of wakapapa remains within whānau repositories is evidence of the crucial role of wakapapa in retaining and preserving relationships within and across the hapū of Otaraaua. Despite being overlooked and reinterpreted, wakapapa still exists to transmit knowledge. Western researchers often translate the term wakapapa to mean lineage or genealogy. When applied to the concept of wakapapa, this westernised notion reduces the cultural value of a hapū worldview. Wakapapa extends far beyond a hierarchical structure of descendants.

Wakapapa is relational with the environment and te ao wairua and is multi-dimensional. As explained by Hond (2013) '... the human element of the environment is inherently connected with physical elements such as stars, mountains, coastlines, flora, fauna and water, as well as with nonphysical elements such as mauri (life principle), sacredness, mate (spirit of ancestors beyond death) ...' (p. 135). Hond demonstrates that wakapapa extends beyond the realms of human relationships and to those beyond physical beings and into surroundings and the spiritual world. This explanation also demonstrates that the interconnectedness of the principles in the methodology is pivotal to identity and understanding of place of belonging, both spiritually and physically.

The identity and relationality determined by wakapapa are integral to a Kaupapa-ō - Otaraaua methodology and support the reclamation of hapū narratives. Otaraaua has a wakapapa that is traced back to the ancestor Awanuiarangi and beyond to the realms of the

Atua (deity), Tamarau, which is central to identity. Mahuika (2019) discusses the importance of wakapapa as a connector as it ‘chronicled evolutions from the beginning of time and explained Māori social and political organisation to each other and the natural and spiritual world’ (p. 3). Acknowledging this identity legitimises the worldview of the hapū as determined by those that wakapapa through ancestral ties to the spiritual realm. Wilson (2008) writes that successful research in an Indigenous paradigm depends on the quality of relationships. It is through wakapapa that Graham (2009) explains that ‘the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things legitimates a Māori worldview, which is at the heart of Māori knowledge, Māori ways of knowing and Māori ways of acquiring new knowledge’. Methodology framed by wakapapa authenticates Māori epistemology and indigenous research methodology, as Graham (2009) writes,

‘a research methodology framed by whakapapa not only authenticates Māori epistemology and its rightful place among research traditions, it also supports the notion of whakapapa research methodology throughout the indigenous world; Indigenous peoples researching among their Indigenous communities worldwide’ (p. 1).

Including wakapapa within Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology further reinforces the embedding of mātauranga within Otaraua research. Wakapapa is a founding principle that guides relationships and is a fundamental element of Otaraua in expressing one’s identity, particularly about origins and the ability to self-determine identity in a political climate that redefined Otaraua identity. It is a fundamental principle that connects descendants through place and time, expresses identity and creates belonging.

For the disconnected, wakapapa connections for whānau, hapū and iwi descendants support transformation and provide opportunities to heal the severed connections. Pihama et

al. (2020) describes the criticality of engaging with wakapapa and whānau connections to heal by writing:

‘Whakawhānaungatanga and whakapapa as process is seen as critical to all engagements for Māori with Māori. Both connectedness and making connections enable us to consider our relationships within whakapapa and whanaungatanga as a means of grounding ourselves in any healing journey.... This includes the need to reconnect with our lands, our people and in doing so to come to connecting and healing ourselves’ (p. 72).

Not all hapū descendants are connected to the support mechanisms that a whānau and hapū traditionally provided. Reconnection through activating wakapapa relationships is crucial to reclaiming identity (Denzin et al., 2008; Gilchrist, 2017; Ngawhare, 2019; Riki Tuakiritetanga & Ibarra-Lemay, 2021).

Wakapapa layers evolve, new layers are added as new relationships emerge, and new generations are born. The lineal colonised view of wakapapa is negated as Māori and other Indigenous peoples reclaim mātauranga and engage their own research methodologies. Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research values all relationships and connections established through the principle of wakapapa.

Te taiao.

‘The first was that the settlers would take no land other than that which Māori had cleared and would not tackle the bush, while Māori would not forgo their ancestral improvements, homes and sacred sites. The second was that Māori were not simply Māori; they were divided into separate hapū holding different areas. The lands the New Zealand Company sought would have left some hapū landless’ (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996, p. 34)

In a post-settlement Treaty context, Otaraua is alienated from other hapū and most of the ancestral Otaraua lands. Crown legislation and policy led to the confiscation of over 1.2 million acres of land in the Taranaki region. The connections to the environment which are not as strong as they once were, are unknown to many of the younger generations of Otaraua. However, the knowledge of the relationship with the taiao and of sacred and significant places remains within whānau repositories. Te taiao and a connection to the whenua are critical to a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology. The ongoing impact of land confiscation on the hapū of Otaraua underscores the need for continued research and action. Otaraua identity is deeply connected to all aspects of the environment. The information for this section is sourced primarily from whānau anecdotal records and the 1991 Otaraua Raupatu me te Muru Waitangi Tribunal Report.

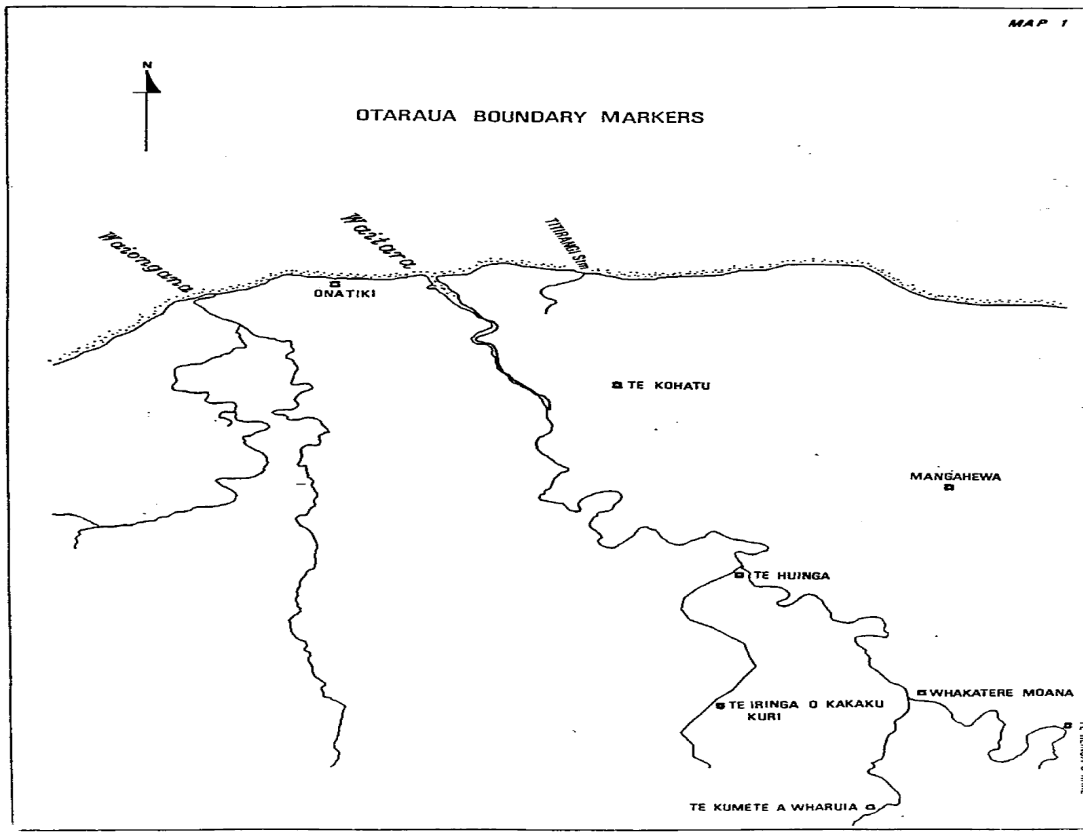
Traditional Otaraua boundaries

The traditional, pre-colonial definitions of boundaries differ from what they are today. Land confiscation and subsequent imposed land tenure systems have resulted in the renaming and rezoning of ancestral Otaraua lands. Land areas are now referred to as districts defined by local and central Government. Traditional place names have been erased, replaced, and renamed by Crown, settlers, and their descendants.

Traditional hapū boundaries refer to the geographic areas and the people belonging to a hapū. Natural landmarks such as rock formations, tributaries and caves provide boundary markers. Maintaining these boundaries is not just a matter of tradition, but essential for establishing traditional authority and responsibility over the environment for the hapū. hapū boundaries have changed over time due to migration, changing political alliances, the influence of rangatira and because of colonisation. Nonetheless, recognising and maintaining hapū boundaries is crucial to hapū identity and the exercising of authority over lands and resources. This example (Map 1) of the hapū boundaries as presented to the Waitangi

Tribunal in 1991 shows a simplified version of the positions of several markers significant to Otaraua identity.

Map 1: Otaraua boundary markers (Otaraua Hapū, 1991).



Other boundary markers that support this assertion are documented within whānau repositories, which were captured in the early 1900s. The names of significant markers to Otaraua within the description reflect an essential connection to the environment, acknowledging rivers, caves, rock formations, traditional homelands and sacred pā sites. The narrative covers several areas in different stages. The generalised boundary, transcribed in the early 1900s and located in our whānau repository, is recognised as,

‘The boundary begins at the Onaero River, at the rock Rongo-mai-tu-ao. Continue up the Onaero River to Anapoto (a cave) and follow the stream of Mangohehewa until Ngahaumarangai is reached. Progress to Waka tere moana (a large stone in the river) and from there to Mangaone. Follow the stream to Kohanga-weka and then on

to Kumete o Wharuia. Follow the ridgeline to Iringa o Kakahu and on to Kakahu kuri. Turn down the river of Manganui and on to Ngahuinga (the meeting of two rivers), where it meets the Waitara River, on to the Waitara Valley, past Pukerangiora and out to Onatiki on the coast’ (T. Hunt, kōrerorero, June, 2022).

The significant names of the places in Otaraua contain narratives of actions and notable events that occurred during the time of the ancestors of Otaraua. The overlay of the narratives of settlers and the Crown has impacted on the visibility of traditional places of importance to Otaraua, particularly on maps. The hapū boundaries of Otaraua are ancient and are still remembered in oral traditions and through genealogy. These boundaries were fluid and changed as relationships across hapū and whānau changed.

Pā

Otaraua, a rich ecosystem of pā and kāinga sites was a physical landscape and a living history. Contained in whānau transcripts are names of pā and significant kāinga sites, including the connection to Otaraua and other hapū such as Ngāti Hine.

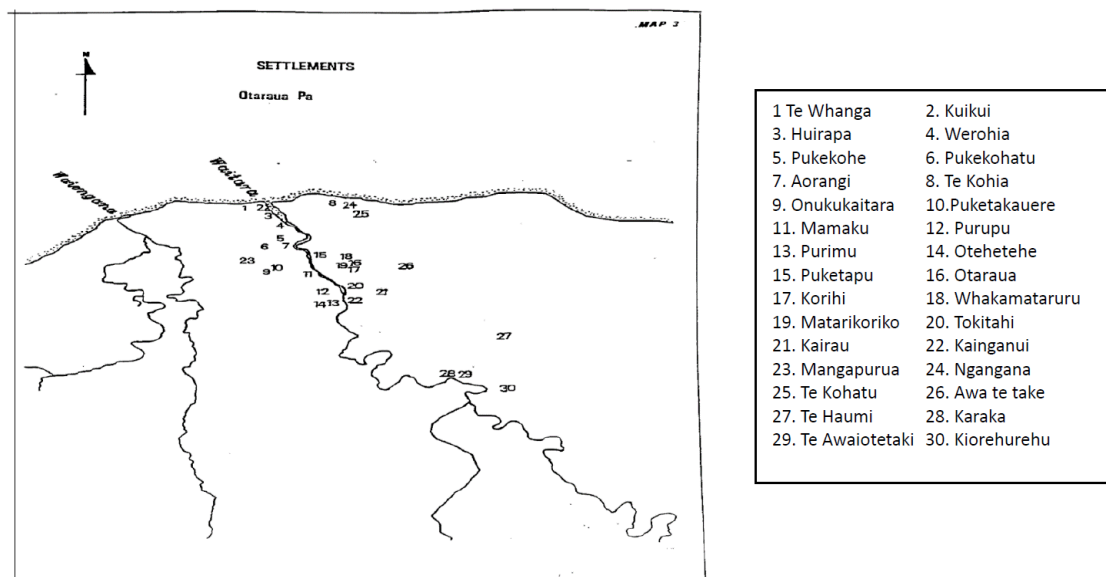
Pā sites carry significant importance in the history of Otaraua, as they reflect our traditional ways of life and safety afforded our communities. Otaraua pā held prominence as a central stronghold for the Otaraua community. hapū of Otaraua were connected through wakapapa and would work together to use the pā along the river for protection. The pā overlooked strategic lookouts that required all hapū to garrison Otaraua pā during times of conflict. For example, Manukorihi pā, Otaraua pā and Ngangana pā (see Map 2) were strategically placed along the river to protect from invasion from southern Taranaki iwi.

Historical records indicate that tūpuna of this whānau of Otaraua, Ani and Kuru resided on Otaraua pā, situated near the Waitara River. This excerpt from O’Carroll whānau narrative describes the occupation of tūpuna on the ancestral pā site of Otaraua,

‘Ani and Kuru lived on Otaraua Pa which is located at the bottom of Faull Rd near the Waitara River. At the time, this was the centre of Otaraua life and was a traditional fortified pa. Its remains are still clearly visible in the paddocks near the riverbank today and is protected as an archaeological site. It is also described in various episodes of the Taranaki wars and in some of the literature is also known as the "pinchgut" pa. Kuru and Ani would have been living there when our land was confiscated by the Government in 1865’ (O’Carroll Whakapapa, 2023).

Otaraua had become well established through twelve generations until the early 1900s. The range of permanent settlement types included pā and kāinga. Thirty pā (see Map 1) were identified by whānau for the Waitangi Tribunal Otaraua submission 1991. Otaraua was known as the main pā.

Map 2: *Otaraua Pā (Otaraua Hapū, 1991).*



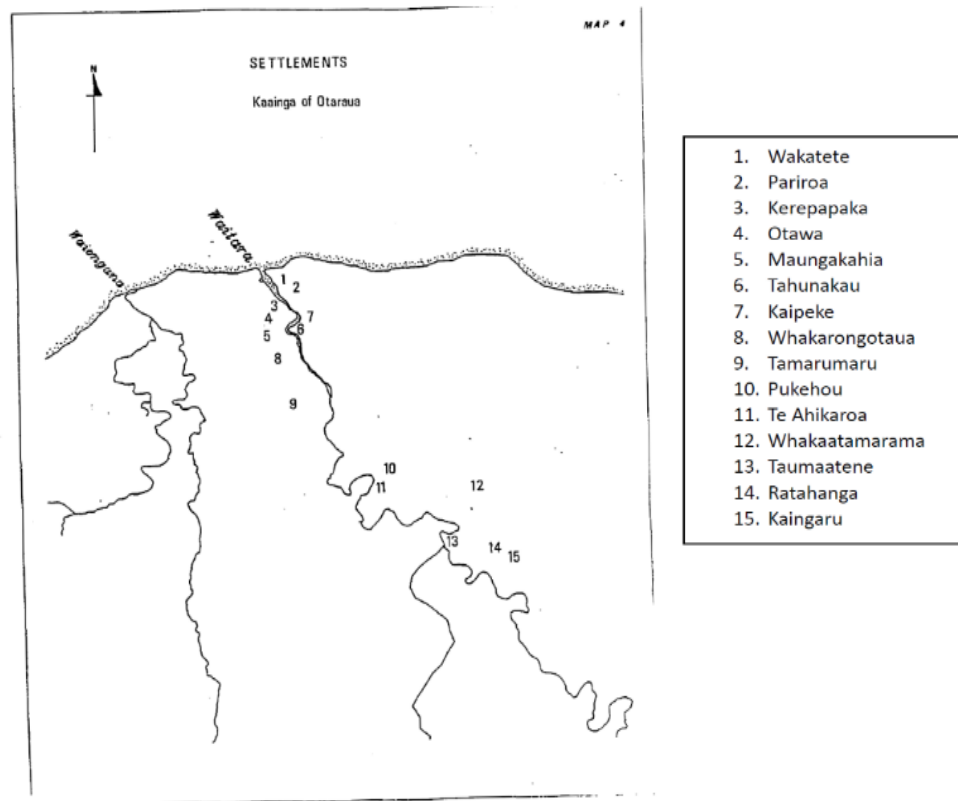
Te Kohia pā (Photograph 1) was the ‘L-shape pā’ built by Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke in response to the unlawful surveying of Otaraua land by Crown surveyors. Te Rangitāke adamantly opposed the selling of land to the Crown, who wanted to purchase fertile land in Waitara. The construction of this pā was a clear message from Te Rangitāke that he would not sell any land and would protect it. On the 17th of March 1860, British troops took umbrage to the overnight construction of a pā by firing into Te Kohia pā, signalling the beginning of the invasion of Taranaki and the instigation by the Crown of the Taranaki land wars

Kāinga

Photograph 1: Te Kohia Pā



There was also a range of temporary and permanent kāinga (home fire signalling residence) used to gather seasonal resources, particularly along the coast and the river. Kāinga of Otaraua are located along the Waitara River (Otaraua Hapū, 1991), see Map 3. Kāinga are places where whānau are connected closely to sources of water, access to food sources and transport from the river to the sea. The kāinga significant to the whānau featured in this research are Pukehou and Te Ahikāroa.

Map 3: *Otaraua Kāinga*

Pukehou is significant to the whānau engaged in this research as the place where our great-grandparents resided and are buried. Te Ahikāroa (the long burning fire) is now the site that is the central gathering place for descendants of Otaraua. Importantly, seasonal shifts between kāinga were commonplace. A kāinga was not permanently occupied and would remain under the guardianship of the hapū. Leaving kāinga to seek natural resources such as fish on the coast was necessary for survival. This practice came into conflict with a Western system of land ownership with the development of permanent settlements for the incoming settlers who set up residences and towns.

The coastal areas were also a source of sustenance and well-being. These were significant places of identity and well-being, including the Waitara River and the coastal areas that were a source of traditional kai, healing and resources. Whānau identified several traditional practices and connections to the environment, including the sourcing and growing food, engaging with sacred spaces, acknowledging, and respecting burial grounds and

significant historical spaces, and using sacred springs for healing and well-being. Chapter Five will discuss these in further detail when exploring participant voices.

Mead (2021) discusses the land as a source of identity as direct descendants of Papatuānuku (Earth mother), thereby seeing ourselves ‘not of the land, but as the land’ (p. 299). This reinforces the idea that without the connection to whenua as determined by wakapapa, iwi and hapū would not exist. Mātauranga linked to the taiao is crucial to the identity of Otaraua, created by knowing the mountains, rivers, and prominent landscape features and the associated narratives as demonstrated in a version of a whānau Pepehā seen below:

Ko Taranaki te mounga

Ko Waitara te awa

Ko Ngātiawa te iwi

Ko Otaraua te hapū

Ko Te Ahikaroa te kāinga

Taranaki is the Mountain

Waitara is the river

Ngātiawa is the iwi

Otaraua is the hapū.

Te Ahikāroa is where the home fires burn.

The identity of Taranaki mounga is synonymous with the identity of all iwi and hapū connected within the area. Taranaki, the mountain, is a living entity that Otaraua descendants are connected to spiritually. He is a sacred landmark that is significant to all iwi and hapū surrounding him. The Crown confiscated the mounga in 1865 using the 1863 New Zealand Settlements Act, which enabled the Crown to confiscate land from natives deemed rebellious. This led to a physical disconnection from the Mounga. However, the spiritual connection

prevails amongst descendants. Recognition by the Crown through Te Pire Whakatupua mō Te Kāhui Tupua/Taranaki Mounga Collective Redress Bill of 2022, in the recent redress to eight iwi of Taranaki has resulted in the Mounga achieving legal person status in legislation, honouring the longstanding knowledge and knowledge systems of all hapū that acknowledges the environment as a living entity. The Awa is a source of sustenance and healing, and it is itself a living entity. There are two version of the origins of the name of the awa. Waitara, he tara te wai (extremely cold water) named by Turi and Te Whaitara-nui-ā-Wharematangi-i-te kimi-i-tana-matua-i-ā-Ngarue, named after the journey of Ngarue in search of his father. (R. Doorbar, kōrerorero, May 2023). Significant landmarks such as Taranaki Mounga, and the Waitara River hold rich knowledge confirming our identity as Otaraua.

Hapū stories are inter-connected and embedded within the whānau and relationships with the environment, including the narratives shaped by the confiscation of land and the trauma that this has inflicted. Many descendants experienced a forced disconnection from their whenua because of unlawful land confiscation. Forcibly removed from whenua, the trauma experienced by Otaraua tūpuna continues intergenerationally today. Mead (2021) discusses that the importance of the relationship with the land ‘is about bonding to the land and having a place upon which one’s feet can be placed with confidence’ (p. 289). The connection of whenua to waka-papa also reinforces the interconnectedness of the principles of a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology.

Whānau were guardians, from generation to generation, each taking responsibility for caring for Papatuānuku. Raising awareness about how these oppressive systems have affected traditional methods of land stewardship and nurturing of the land is crucial to mitigate the impact of the Parliamentary Acts and the Native Land Court. The onslaught of British colonisation and the escalation of forced land alienation in the 1800s devastated hapū and its communities. The imposed legislation and invasion changed power relationships which

resulted in warfare over control of natural resources and subjugated customary land authority.

Hond et al. (2019) write that,

'Land confiscation was a key legislative instrument used by the Settler Government to force Māori communities who resisted off their land under the guise of punishment. This was particularly the case in the Taranaki Region (West Coast of the North Island) where initially all Māori land, 526,000 hectares, was confiscated. In 1884, 103,000 hectares were returned as Native Reserves under government control. But by 1976 only 22,000 hectares remained' (p. 46).

The relationship with the taiao directly conflicts with the Crown's definition of connection to the land. Muru-Lanning (2011) in writing about the effects of the Treaty Settlement process on the identity of hapū and whānau, refers to Ballara (1998) and Belgrave et al. (2005), who state that 'Māori assert their rights in lands and resources through their descent group identities, their memberships in these groups being based on genealogy'(p. 10). Regarding the Waikato River Claim, Muru-Lanning connects the identity of whānau and hapū with environmental factors, such as significant places and events along the river, which sustained well-being. Muru-Lanning argues that the Treaty settlement process has usurped the voices of the whānau and the hapū in favour of large iwi entities, who have their authority over land and other significant landmarks such as rivers, lakes, and forests. At its heart, the environment is inextricably linked to hapū, and the relationships must be viewed through the hapū lens.

The environment has its own story to tell through the hapū of Otaraua. Mātauranga-ā-hapū or traditional Otaraua knowledges, languages, cultural practices, and oral traditions are all connected to the natural environment. This includes the hapū response to land confiscation and the resulting warfare and legislation that subjugated the guardianship relationship that hapū has for the environment. Otaraua has mobilised to respond to the desecration of sources

of traditional kai and rongoa and, in doing so, reassert their intimate connection as kaitiaki. In 2003, Otaraua hapū led the development of a Kaimoana Survey Guidelines for hapū and iwi to support hapū in leading the surveying of traditional seafood in their traditional fishing areas. The guideline introduction describes a traditional Otaraua hapū approach to protection and guardianship to maintain sustainability over traditional food sources.

‘Our people have always collected kaimoana for the table, providing a staple and essential source of nourishment. We learned the ways of the sea, the influence of the weather, when it was safe to gather kai and when it was not. To ensure the stability and sustainability of kaimoana stocks, our tūpuna monitored kaimataitai reefs and developed management techniques, understanding the necessity for a sustainable supply. Active kaimātaítai reef management has always been integral to our kaitiaki responsibilities. These management ways were localised, recognising, and balancing the needs of the mana whenua, the mana moana, our communities and our environment. In extreme cases, temporary rahui (gathering bans) were applied as a means of halting stock depletion and the consumption of contaminated kai’ (Ministry for the Environment, 2003).

Otaraua has longstanding traditional systems of protection and care for the environment. The inability to exercise these customary practices has resulted in the depletion of food sources. In recent years, Otaraua hapū members have been initiative-taking in activating these traditional practices.

In another example of working to protect the environment and identity, Otaraua hapū members protested Greymouth Petroleum drilling for gas on an Otaraua wāhi tapu. The Awatetake Pā was wāhi tapu and held great significance and cultural relevance (Maetzig & Palmer, 2009). The issue centred on the mana of Otaraua, where drilling was seen as an action that would take the mauri out of our wāhi tapu (Maetzig & Palmer, 2009). More

commonly, hapū across Aotearoa are mobilising to protect and revitalise the environment that once sustained their well-being in an intricate balance of relationships between people of the land, each other, and the whenua. The well-being of the hapū is connected to the well-being of the environment. A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology allows for the stories of the whenua to be told by the hapū; this includes how we strove to maintain autonomy and kaitiakitanga while navigating a myriad of legislation, climate change responses and the impact of globalisation. Supporting the connection of whenua to the identity and well-being of whānau and hapū, Hond et al. (2019) write,

'Land-based community development is essential to Māori health promotion. Māori groups, in the form of whānau (extended family), hapū (sub-tribes) and iwi (tribes), maintained an identity (and authority) before European contact that continues to function as a foundation for Māori land-based community. In building connection to the whenua through the development of maara kai, 'It connected communities with their ancestors who had maintained authority over their lands. Land remains a fundamental source of identity and spiritual connection that establishes a grounding for well-being beyond individual aspirations and needs' (p. 44).

Restoration of land-based practices of hapū and whānau in the Taranaki region is recognised through the work of Hond et al. (2019), whose research team comprises Taranaki-based and affiliated researchers committed to understanding the practices of creating and maintaining 'māra' in Taranaki and the role of 'māra' in enhancing the health and well-being of whānau. This traditional practice of planting, nurturing, and cultivating traditional food for whānau was prevalent in the Taranaki region before confiscations and upheaval. The research discovered that the motivation for groups who had established 'māra' were to grow healthy and nutritious food for community, to connect to mātauranga tūpuna and to grow cultural capacity and as an act of passive resistance, a known strategy of Taranaki descendants. Hond

et al.,(2019) provide a critical summarising comment that gives insight into the power of land-based strategies to reclaim and revitalise traditional communities and mātauranga by stating that, ‘Māra offer an alternative and pragmatic response (alongside wider initiatives to address determinants) to historical land loss and marginalisation’ (p. 50). This example from several Taranaki collectives underscores the benefits of re-connecting whānau and hapū to the whenua through working the land where all can benefit.

Land is central to Indigenous people’s well-being. Despite dispossession, Otaraua are still connected to whenua through wakapapa, mana tūpuna and mana atua. Working towards re-occupation of land is a crucial driver for the whānau of Otaraua. Mana whenua and te taiao are central to a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology approach to reclaim Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua and well-being.

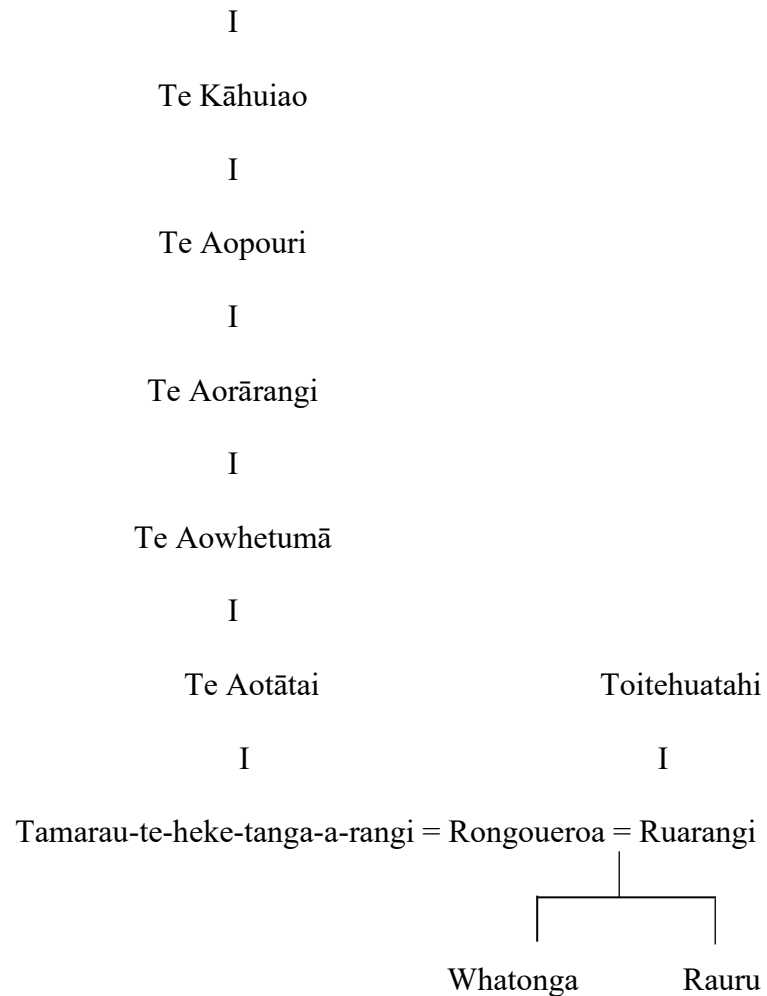
Te ao wairua

Te ao wairua and wairuatanga (spirituality), a cultural cornerstone, was and continues to be central to the well-being of Otaraua whānau and central to a Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua methodology. Otaraua descendants connect to te ao wairua on many levels, a connection that is deeply rooted in Otaraua cultural heritage. This connection has been maintained and has survived despite the efforts of Crown-imposed legislation, policy and the impact of Western religions that sought to impose a monotheistic belief system that was not synonymous with those of the hapū. As an integral part of a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology, connections with the practices and beliefs about wairua are woven into identity.

Within the wakapapa connections of Otaraua, whānau acknowledge lineage to Tamarau-te-Heketanga-a-rangi, an atua or spiritual entity from the tenth heaven, whose wakapapa is as follows as cited in the unpublished manuscript of Sonny Waru:

Wakapapa 3: *Tamarau-te-heke-tanga-a-rangi*

Ranginui – Papatūānuku



Sonny Waru describes the wakapapa implicit in the carvings in Te Ikaroa a Maui, the traditional meeting house at Manukorihi Pā as follows.

‘Tamarauteheketangarangi, was the Whatukura, or guardian of the Tenth Heaven who came down and watched Rongoueroa bathe herself and baby Rauru and he embraced her and before returning to the Tenth Heaven, he said to her ‘If our child is a boy, name him Awanuiarangi,’ which she did. (And) Awanuiaarangi begat Ngāti Awa of Whakatane, Te Ati Awa of Taranaki, Te Ati Awa of Waikanae Wellington and Te Ati Awa of Picton’ (Waru, n.d.).

The wakapapa connects descendants of Ngātiawa and Te Ati Awa to the spiritual realm through the conception of the eponymous ancestor Awanuiārangi from a deity and mortal. This narrative is also captured in the ngeri, or short haka composed by Ruka Broughton.

Tamarau no Runga i Te Rangi

Heke iho ki raro ki te whakamarimari te tatari ai

Ki te hurahanga i te tapora o Rongo-ue-roa

Taku kuia e! Taku kuia e!

Te Ara o taku tūpuna o tohia ai au

Ko Te Āti Awa no Runga i Te Rangi

Te toki te tangatanga e te ra

Taringa mangō, ko to kete nge

Ue ha! Ue ha!

Tamarau from the heavens above

Came down to make love and waited.

until he could have Rongo-ue-roa to wife

She is our kuia! She is our kuia!

This therefore is the consecrated pathway of my ancestors.

Te Āti Awa from the heavens above

The adze (of Tamarau)

which can remove the very sun from its axis (Ritai, 1991, p. 6)

This ngeri acknowledges the inter-connected relationships and lineage between the spiritual realm of the gods, ancestors and current descendants. Otaraua links to te ao wairua through this narrative of Tamarau and Rongoueroa are evidence of the connections between the spiritual realm and hapū descendants.

The te ao wairua aspect of identity is interwoven throughout the narratives and sacred practices that provide sustenance and guide descendants towards the pathway to well-being. Through the revitalisation and reclamation of mātauranga regarding te ao wairua and wairuatanga, Otaraua descendants are empowered to acknowledge, engage, and learn about

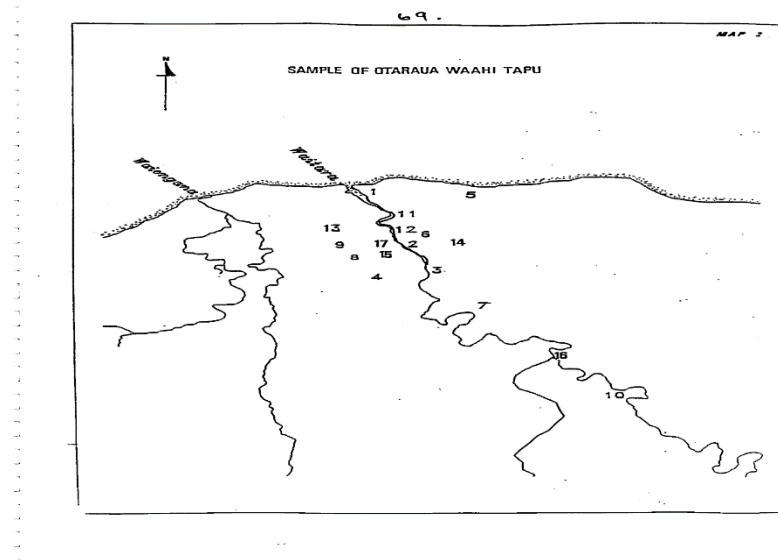
their knowledge which colonisation has suppressed. Winiata (2001) describes hapū health and well-being indicators as ‘the depth and strength of the wairuatanga of the hapū or iwi’ (p. 51). There is no doubt that land confiscation has impacted the well-being of the ‘wairuatanga’ or spirituality of Otaraua. The following section includes a collation of parts of ‘wairuatanga’ of Otaraua that the hapū has chosen to share publicly. Some practices and expressions of wairuatanga remain protected within whānau.

Wāhi tapu

Traditionally, hapū established their right to the land by occupying it and demonstrating an intimate knowledge of the wāhi tapu or sacred sites on it. Wāhi tapu were those places in the territory that had become special because of a significant event in the past. ‘An intimate knowledge of these stretching back over a period proved to other hapū and iwi that the residence of the local hapū had been there a while and had established a relationship with the land which cemented the claim to it (Otaraua Hapū, 1991).

Wāhi tapu within Otaraua (see Map 4) are the connection between ancestors, land and the spiritual realm. Within the boundaries of Otaraua, a myriad of wāhi tapu were identified by the research for the historical research conducted for the Waitangi Tribunal hearing for the Te Atiawa Treaty settlement claim in 1991. This resulted in the reluctant sharing of the protected knowledge of several wāhi tapu. The motivation to share such privileged information was to ensure that evidence of the presence of Otaraua, expressed through the connection to te ao wairua and the land, was recognised.

Map 4: *Otaraua wāhi tapu (Otaraua Hapū, 1991).*



Wāhi tapu included urupā or sacred burial sites, pā sites and sites for gathering kai, more specifically ‘wakaparu.’ Wakaparu are used to catch piharau, a traditional eel that transitions from the sea to the Waitara River to spawn. Different whānau had a responsibility to look after wakaparu. Each wakaparu has mouri or life force, protected by Otaraua descendants and is a practice that exists among Otaraua whānau today. The report also indicated that many wāhi tapu have been desecrated through confiscation of land and the subsequent occupation of Otaraua lands by others. Wāhi tapu are a testament to the occupation of the whenua and holds the narratives of past events and connections to te ao wairua. This research will share two well-known wāhi tapu significant to Otaraua: Rohutu and Manaiti. The first example illustrates how Mātauranga has been impacted by the use of Crown land tenure systems through City Councils.

Rohutu

Rohutu is a significant wāhi tapu and one of the oldest in the Otaraua region. Once a pā, Rohutu is considered a highly sacred site, as evidenced by Otaraua descendants’ description for the Waitangi Tribunal Claim 143 as ‘probably the most important wāhi tapu in

Otaraua - certainly one of the oldest' (Woodley, 1995, p. 2). The claimants described Rohutu as a pā that is the burial place of Ngarue, a significant ancestor who,

'married a woman from Kawhia named Uru te Kakara but soon resolved to return to Waitara, leaving his pregnant wife behind with instructions that a male child was to be named Whare Matangi. In due course, Whare Matangi sought out his father with a believed magic dart which pointed to Waitara. Traditions have survived of this journey in the form of three large boulders on the western end of the Taioma reef, near Waitara. These boulders lie in the form of a dart, visible at low tide and collectively known as Oakura o Waeroa. In commemoration of the journey of Whare Matangi, the river was later named "Whaitara nui a Ngarue"' (Woodley, 1995, p. 2).

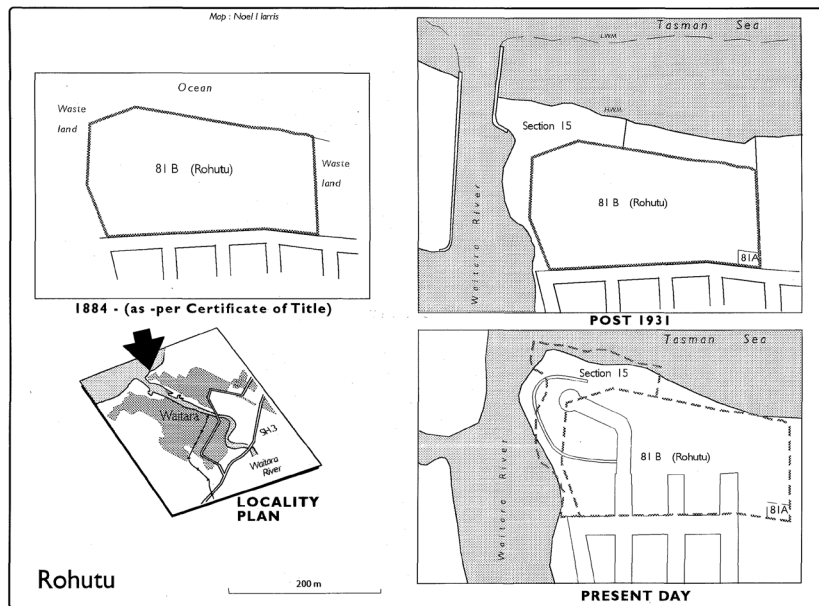
Otaraua claimant Shane Hunt who was born at Rohutu recalled that in the early 1950s representatives of the township came to collect rates. Shane Hunt's mother grasped an axe to prevent this happening "such was the feeling of tapu at that time that still prevails today". To Shane Hunt's knowledge no rates were collected (Woodley, 1995, p. 2). Shane Hunt is a whānau member interviewed for this research and still resides at Rohutu today.

During the Waitangi Tribunal Taranaki hearing held in April 1991 at Owae Marae, Waitara, claimants presented evidence of Otaraaua hapū, including significant urupā or sacred burial grounds and settlements. The historical record of the Rohutu block's ownership and partition indicates that it received its initial grant from the Crown in 1884, pursuant to the West Coast Settlement North Island Act of 1880 and the West Coast Settlement Reserves Act of 1881. The block was '22 acres (8.9 hectares) in size when the Crown grant was first issued in 1884' (Woodley, 1995, p. 1). The block's owners were listed.

There was an unsuccessful attempt to acquire Rohutu by the Waitara Borough Council for a recreation reserve in 1944. The land was partitioned in the 1950s, with one portion sold to the Waitara Golf Club. In 1960, a Section 438 Trust was established for the remaining portion,

allowing for potential subdivision and development while preserving cultural sites. Section 15 (Map 5) was acquired by the Waitara Harbour Board and is thought to have been retained by the Crown before 1910. The Te Atiawa Treaty Settlement claim disputed this and pursued the return of this portion of the land

Map 5: Rohutu.



(Woodley, 1995, p. 3)

Overall, the evidence presented during the hearing emphasised the cultural, historical and spiritual significance of Rohutu to the Otaraua hapū, reflecting connections to the land and efforts to protect and preserve this wāhi tapu. The land tenure systems of local councils continue to allow for the desecration of wāhi tapu through the unauthorised occupation of the whenua by people without traditional wakaapa-based connections or land acquisition by local councils. Crown Land tenure systems also saw the fragmentation of shares of Rohutu allowing for partitioning or land sales. A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology centres the narratives of injustices seen and felt by descendants and ensures they are shared and heard.

Manaiti

Manaiti is another significant wāhi tapu to Otaraua, located along the Waitara River amongst traditional Otaraua pā sites. The urupā is a burial place used for victims of the 1918

influenza epidemic. It was eventually designated as Māori Freehold land with five owners who wakapapa to Otaraua (Waitara East District Pt Rural Lot 48 Blk V). The block was succeeded by whānau who wakapapa to Otaraua in 1878 through the Native Land Court under the imposed land tenure system. The urupā is significant in that it represents the connection of Otaraua to ancestral heritage and the whenua through the continued utilisation of this wāhi tapu to the present day. An ancient section of the urupā remains in traditional form, with no headstones or identifiers. Despite the lack of markers, whānau can still identify where ancestors are located.

After a period that spanned two generations, the decision by the whānau to reassert mana whenua came in 1999 with the first burial in over thirty years of a whānau member at Manaiti. Manaiti has since been resurrected as a burial place through a willingness of the whānau to return to this urupā, restoring mana whenua and a connection to te ao wairua by exercising customary practices

Connections between te taiao and te ao wairua

Our great-grandmother Te Matewhiu was a healer, well-known for her skills and practices. Many whānau have shared memories of her home, filled with people who had come to be supported through illness and in dealings with ‘mate Māori’ or spiritual sickness. Te Matewhiu was known for using rongoa (natural healing medicines) and practices associated with healing; a skill set passed down through the female line in the family.

Engaging with the spiritual realm includes the understanding or noticing of signs the environment communicates to us. The whānau believes in the warnings or messages that a ruru or owl may bring as a warning of pending danger. A tirairaka or fantail may arrive, signalling coming news. Pig hunting was avoided in foggy conditions to prevent being lured away by mischievous patupaiarehe or spirits. These connections to te taiao and te ao wairua, amongst others, are commonly known within an older generation.

Protection and spiritual healing, harnessed from water and the karakia (prayers) associated with it is a traditional practice that is still practiced today. If one is troubled or feeling heavy, the practice of ‘going to the wai’ is often drawn on to lift spirits and relieve burdens. Puna or freshwater springs are located along streams the whānau of Otaraua has used for generations to sustain well-being. The power of wai (water) to connect to te ao wairua is central to well-being within the whānau. Water use for healing is deeply intertwined with spirituality, culture, and a holistic understanding of well-being across Indigenous peoples, including Otaraua women. These practices emphasise the interconnectedness of all living beings and the environment, with water serving as a vital element in pursuing physical, emotional, and spiritual well-being. Within the whānau, Otaraua women are known for their connection to the water and the ability to protect and harness the energy for healing. In reclaiming roles and responsibilities as guardians and leaders, Indigenous women reclaim and exercise mana by engaging in traditional healing practices.

Whānau draw strength from knowing that these practices kept their tūpuna safe and continued to protect subsequent descendants. When engaging in Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research, understanding the connection of the whānau to te ao wairua is imperative. These practices occur as a part of everyday life and are depended upon by whānau for well-being.

Kaupapa-ā-hapū researchers are responsible for ensuring that this less-described aspect of reality and well-being is elevated and given equal consideration in the methodology as we aim to decolonise thinking and reclaim mātauranga. Kaupapa-ā-hapū researchers understand that wairua is essential to well-being and is connected to how hapū descendants understand the world. In demonstrating the connection of the physical world to the spiritual world, Best as cited in Mead (2021) describes the following characteristics of wairua:

1. it is part of the whole person and is not located at any particular part of the body
2. it is immortal and exists after the death of the person
3. it has the power to warn the individual of impending danger through visions and dreams
4. it is subject to attack (Mead, 2021, p. 60)

A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology seeks to elevate and give voice to expressions of identity, including spirituality or matters of the spirit.

The essence of wairua is embedded across many Indigenous communities globally. Many Indigenous ways of knowing accept physical and non-physical realms as critical to identity and well-being. In accepting the non-physical, one must accept that reality cannot always be quantified (Lavallée, 2009). The challenge in this space is to ensure that this voice is given the space and position to be expressed in its entirety, regardless of the constraints of Western research. Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology is a vehicle to elevate what is considered normal practice for whānau of Otaraaua.

Wairua is linked to an Otaraaua relationship with the environment and each other. It is embedded in tikanga and often guides everyday lives. If the ability to sustain the wairua of whānau is impeded, the well-being of the individuals, whānau and hapū is adversely affected. Being disconnected from ancestral whenua directly impacts well-being of wairuatanga. As Durie M (1994) explains, ‘it implies capacity to have faith and be able to understand the links between the human situation and the environment. Without a spiritual awareness and a mauri (spirit and vitality) an individual cannot be healthy and is more prone to illness and misfortune’(p. 283). Being shifted off ancestral lands has disrupted the spiritual connection to the environment and impacted the ability to sustain wairuatanga for many descendants of Otaraaua.

Te reo ō Otaraua

‘Ka ora te reo o Taranaki

Ka ora a Taranaki tangata’

If the language of Taranaki is flourishing, so will the people (Hond, 2013).

In his abstract to his thesis titled ‘Matua te Reo, Matua te Tangata’, Ruakere Hond speaks to the returning of our language to communities in the face of a threat to well-being. Intergenerational transmission is critical to ensuring the survival of reo and that there are strong reo-speaking communities in Taranaki. The impact of invasion, land confiscation and upheaval of hapū and whānau in Taranaki gravely affected identity and well-being. Fragmentation of whānau and hapū resulted in the loss of strong, reo-speaking communities, connected to their traditional whenua.

The Taranaki dialect with its unique mātauranga expressed through language, place names, song, genealogy, and guiding prayers is a powerful symbol of identity and ancestral connection. Te Puni Kokiri (2008) acknowledges the survival of the uniqueness stating,

‘During the late 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century, the vast majority of Māori in Te Taihauāuru lived in traditional hapū communities. Māori was the principal language of home and community affairs and was used to transfer old and new knowledge from generation to generation. There were and still are, unique features of Māori language knowledge and use that distinguish each of the three regions that make up Te Taihauāuru (Taranaki, Whanganui and Manawatū). These features include differing colonial experiences and structural differences of the language – such as accent, sentence structure and vocabulary, which contribute to a sense of regional identity’ (p. 2).

In 2013 Te Whata reported that only ‘14.5% of Te Atiawa (Taranaki) under the age of 15 speak te reo Māori’ (Te Whata: Te Ati Awa Taranaki Reo Usage, 2023). This stark statistic

underscores the pressing need for whānau to ensure that the Taranaki dialect is firmly embedded in the lives of the younger generation for Otaraua communities to thrive once more.

Hond (2013) defines language ‘revitalisation’ as ‘restoring language vitality’. To ensure that this happens, the principles and conditions needed to ‘revitalise’ the language for Otaraua hapū descendants should include a hapū decolonising methodology to address and revitalise language lost because of the impact of colonisation. Revitalisation is described by Hond (2013) through a Māori paradigm lens as ‘an authentic expression of identity and culture. Language revitalisation seeks to establish the capacity of language appropriate to convey content and context relevant to that paradigm’ (p. 261). Restoring our language to its ‘vitality’ once again is crucial for identity and well-being as Otaraua. Mutu (2005) explores the importance of expressing identity through genealogy and language in a pepeha that grounds a person in the key landmarks of their homeland and the connection to her people of Ngāti Kahu. One example of hapū revitalisation and reclamation of reo, wakapapa and identity is the initiative the whānau Moana have worked on to support their hapū members to stand and say, ‘Who am I confidently.’ This simple expression of identity through language requires connectedness, the ability to express oneself in te reo Māori, and knowledge of wakapapa. Mutu writes ‘the required information can only be properly preserved in the language of the culture to which it belongs’ (Mutu, 2005, p. 118). For the descendants of Otaraua, reclaiming and practicing te reo in homes, among whānau, and in traditional places of significance, is crucial to reclaiming Mātauranga-ā-hapū.

A part of the loss of identity imposed by Crown regimes such as land alienation policies, is inextricably linked to the loss of language. The 1867 Education Act made education compulsory for Māori children, solely through the english language medium. Language suppression was one step towards assimilation, alongside land alienation policy

and policy, forbidding the practice of beliefs. The impact of forbidding the use of te reo in the colonial education system has resulted in inter-generational trauma across the hapū and wider Taranaki region. The effects of displacement, urbanisation and driving pressures to relocate to earn a living combined with compulsory schooling in English saw the decline of a critical mass of fluent speakers of te reo. With this displacement, came the breakdown of hapū and whānau constructs because of moving away to find work. The intergenerational transmission of reo and mātauranga was put at risk as natural groupings were eroded. English became the dominant language of communication, with the Māori language surviving in rural areas across the country. Intergenerational transmission to younger members declined as the language neared extinction. Despite these imposed conditions, the use of te reo has endured as evidenced by transcripts of our great-grandmother Te Matewhiu who was fluent. Thanks to the support of her husband, who was Irish and became proficient in the Māori language, her thoughts and knowledge were recorded in written form for current generations to access.

Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology plays a crucial role in the revival of the Taranaki dialect for the hapū. By ensuring that language is not just acknowledged but embedded as a fundamental principle in conducting Otarauna research, this methodology actively contributes to the reclaiming and revitalising of mātauranga. A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology honours the struggles and commitment of previous generations and reaffirms that Te reo-ō-Otaraua is central to identity of a hapū descendant.

Tikanga

Tikanga engaged for this research are mana motuhake, kotahitanga, manaakitanga kaitiakitanga and whanaungatanga. These tikanga are interconnected and central to the experiences of Otarauna descendants. Their origins are in the creation stories and the actions of tūpuna. They are practised in places of belonging and identity, including Otarauna papa kāinga, marae settings and everyday life within whānau.

Manaakitanga

Mead (2021) describes manaakitanga as ‘nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being very careful about how others are treated (p.33). Manaakitanga supports the researcher in being mindful of the need to travel with good intent and to nurturing the essence of those who share their narratives and engage with the researcher. The journey revealed unexplainable and unexpected outcomes as narratives were shared. For example, the re-surfacing of painful memories inflicted by political issues that had created division across whānau or sharing memories of those who have passed from this world. Caring for those we work with ensures that we care for their spiritual, physical, and mental well-being. It is essential to recognise that the trauma resulting from colonisation continues to manifest in acute ways and leaves a lasting impact on whānau today.

We have practices to protect and care for whānau, such as karakia, sharing of kai, kōha and mowing the lawns at the urupā (burial ground). These acts are spontaneous and experienced daily among whānau as they engage with each other. Manaakitanga acknowledges mana and the impact of colonisation on the mana of whānau and hapū. Restoration and continuation of practices of manaakitanga are fundamental to a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodological approach.

Mana

The reclamation of mana for descendants of Otaraaua was a key driver for this research. Marsden and Royal (2003) write of three key forms of mana: mana atua, mana tūpuna and mana whenua, which refer to authority derived from gods, authority derived from ancestors and the authority that comes from exercising one’s territorial rights, respectively. A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology asserts and recognises the mana derived from our tūpuna or ancestors and the mana that comes from exercising our territorial rights upon our lands, as determined by mana atua. Reclaiming and reasserting our mana through research is

a mechanism for working toward mana that is enduring and will take us – in new ways - into the future.

Kaitiakitanga

Otaraua descendants are kaitiaki or guardians of our whenua, traditions, cultural practices, knowledge, and knowledge systems. A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology draws on the practices of kaitiakitanga or guardianship. Whānau are intergenerational, and kaitiakitanga is evidenced in how generations engage and look after one another. Otaraūa has many ancestral practices for kaitiakitanga that they use to care for the environment. These include the traditional practices of protecting and nurturing food sources, wāhi tapu or sacred places, māra or growing areas and healing practices. The whānau actively engages as guardians of the environment, hapū heritage and each other. Painfully, the forced removal of tūpuna from ancestral lands has limited the ability of Otaraūa descendants to fulfil responsibilities as kaitiaki. In 1865, the Crown confiscated approximately 400,000 acres including most of the Te Atiawa rohe, through enforcing legislation such as the New Zealand Settlements Act of 1863 that provided for the confiscation of land if Māori were deemed to be rebellious against the Queen (Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement, 2014). However, the commitment to looking after the environment, regardless of whether Otaraūa owns the land, is seen today in the practices of Otaraūa environmental groups, who still carry the responsibility to care for confiscated lands across the northern Taranaki region. In a hapū research methodology such as Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua, kaitiakitanga also extends to how a researcher cares for the kaupapa of the research by, as an example, elevating and honouring the guardianship practices of Otaraūa.

Kotahitanga

Kotahitanga is a foundational Māori concept referring to unity, collective solidarity, and working together toward a shared purpose. Historically, Kotahitanga emerged as a

political movement in the late 19th century where iwi sought to assert tino rangatiratanga or self-determination through Te Kotahitanga, the Māori Parliament, as a means of resisting Crown authority and land alienation (Walker, 1990; Orange, 2011). In contemporary contexts, Kotahitanga continues to signify interdependence, collective unity, and collaboration across education, governance, and community development (Durie 1998; Mead, 2003; Smith, 2003).

Within the Taranaki context, Kotahitanga was historically mobilised to bring together those who had been dispossessed of their whenua through Crown confiscations, most notably at Parihaka in the 1880s (Riseborough, 2002). In contemporary times, this principle continues to guide collective action, as seen in the formation of post-settlement governance entities such as Te Kotahitanga o Te Atiawa Trust, which was established to manage the iwi's Treaty settlement with the Crown (Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement, 2014). Kotahitanga reflects a deeply relational Māori worldview, one that underscores the enduring strength and resilience of whānau, hapū, and iwi when acting together in unity.

Traditionally, survival depended on the strength of a unified whānau and hapū. Otaraua pā symbolised the unity of a network of hapū all along the Waitara riverbanks. This was a network of whānau, linked to hapū, connected and strengthened by wakapapa. Prior to 1850, Otaraua comprised ten hapū that worked together to provide unity and protection of ancestral lands. The 1860 invasion of colonial troops, land confiscation, and subsequent imposed colonial land tenure systems have weakened and divided Otaraua hapū (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). Land confiscation and, more importantly, land retention, created divisions. The whānau who accepted confiscated land back from the Crown became known as loyalists, and those who did not were called rebels. The Crown made provisions for confiscated lands to be returned to compliant descendants, who were determined by the Native Land Court to be able to own land. Often, the land blocks were isolated and unproductive. Many Otaraua

descendants remained resolute in their stance against accepting the return of confiscated land that was often not traditional Otaraua lands. Crown invasion created fragmentation amongst hapū as hapū leaders endeavoured to retain kotahitanga once an individualised land tenure system was introduced, compounded with the adverse effects of land confiscation. Otaraua became divided between those who accepted the return of pockets of confiscated lands and those who didn't. The continued fragmentation among Otaraua hapū whānau can still be observed today.

During the Treaty settlement process for Te Atiawa, which began in 1990 and culminated in the Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement in 2014, the tikanga and practice of kotahitanga were instrumental to whānau. Otaraua whānau drew on kotahitanga to build strength to fight a Crown process aimed at subjugating their hapū authority. Treaty settlement meeting minutes and whānau documents recorded the processes by which decisions were made using the tikanga of kotahitanga. Wānanga or whānau strategic meetings were held to consider complex issues and would often continue into the early morning as whānau worked to ensure they presented a united front. The Treaty settlement process, a pivotal moment in the history of Otaraua, saw a divided Otaraua head into negotiations with the Crown. This process did not respect the ability to exercise tikanga to achieve consensus for fair representation of Otaraua. Otaraua whānau were torn between following a tikanga-informed process to achieve a consensus for deciding representation and an imposed democratic process that required a majority vote. In this way, Crown legislation and policy significantly impacted kotahitanga and hindered the ability of a united Otaraua to engage in negotiations.

A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology elevates the practices of tūpuna by ensuring that the principle of kotahitanga guides the research to an outcome that is representative of all views, and most importantly, proposes outcomes that unify rather than divide the Otaraua collective.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga underpins the significance of relationships and support networks, fosters, and maintains a deep sense of belonging for Otaraua descendants. Whanaungatanga derives from wakapapa, connecting descendants through birth to a fundamental core social unit of whānau and ultimately, who become hapū (Mead, 2021, Smith, 1999). With reference to Kaupapa Māori, whanaungatanga consists of relationships between ourselves and others, and is central to ensuring research is conducted according to a Māori cultural context that consists of multiple layers of whānau relationships that are fluid and dynamic (Smith, 1999). An Otaraua view of whānau includes multiple generations, wider community members and lineage to ancestors all contributing to a robust sense of identity and belonging..

Whanaungatanga connections within Otaraua consist of many large whānau connected by wakapapa. Wakapapa is traced to the tūpuna of Tuitimoengaroa and Tahuwharerangi, and these genealogical relationships connecting descendants or whānau. Whānau members move fluidly between each group as needed, caring for each other's children and older whānau members. Support as a collective is a strength of whanaungatanga. The practice of whanaungatanga ensures that new generations learn customary practices and narratives through rich whānau relationships.

My research captures the worldview of one whānau within many Otaraua whānau. In doing so, I draw on the experiences and expertise of three generations of my whānau. Inter-generational knowledge and aspirations are valuable insights into Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research. Each level of the whānau provides different perspectives. Understanding how whanaungatanga is valued and expressed by whānau is critical to the success of any hapū research.

Methods

Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research considers Otaraaua values, traditions, and knowledge integral to the methods employed. The research methods enable an authentic Otaraaua worldview to be expressed and honoured. Engaging whānau with methods that they were familiar with was imperative to discovering how whānau and hapū make sense of the world through a hapū lens. Some of these methods (and the tikanga underpinning these) are customary practice in hapū and whānau meetings, wānanga, traditional hui such as tangihanga or burials and working bees. The methods used for my research were selected because they best align with how the whānau interact, share stories, and create a space of spiritual, physical, and mental well-being in their daily lives. The literature review(s) and the chronology of Crown legislation expose the devastation that impacted Otaraaua identity and well-being. The following methods (underpinned by guiding tikanga) were engaged to inform this Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research.

Te Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua	Adapted Methods
Kōrerorero Poutokomanawa	Literature Review(s) Chronology of legislation and policy Participant voice Pūrakau -Photovoice
Underpinning Tikanga Mana (self-determination), Manaakitanga (giving selflessly), and Whanaungatanga (meaningful relationships) Kotahitanga (engaging collectively) and Kaitiakitanga (guardianship).	

Literature reviews - Articles, books, hapū and whānau meeting documents

The literature review approach critically analysed the available writings that examined the imposed re-categorisation of Māori in Aotearoa as a large homogenous group and the implications this has had on iwi and hapū identity and definitions. Regarding the reclamation of hapū knowledge and identity, various Indigenous, iwi and hapū responses were analysed, specifically focussing on methods of intergenerational transmission of knowledge. This was also an attempt to explore the literature to see if Mātauranga- ā-hapū could be distinguished from Mātauranga Māori and to determine what the impact of pan-Māori identity, if any, on the reclamation of mātauranga ā hapū has been.

The preliminary literature review revealed a small amount of written research on the reclamation of hapū knowledge and hapū methodologies when searching for these key words. Further information was found in other areas, including environment revitalisation, creation models of addressing inter-generational trauma, models of language revitalisation and Mātauranga-informed models of learning. During the literature review there was a distinct lack of visibility of specific Otaraua and hapū narrative related to the research questions. Through engaging with whānau members, more in-depth information specific to Otaraua and the hapū was retrieved.

The literature review method was engaged first to understand what hapū research already exists in Aotearoa, identify any gaps in the field and then broadened to identify similar research conducted by other Indigenous researchers. Secondly, the literature review method was employed to ensure that the process across the entire research project was connected to past and present thinking around the reclamation of mātauranga from a hapū perspective. The study delved into relevant literature that explored strategies for advancing Indigenous self-determination initiatives of First Nations peoples in Canada to provide contrast to the marginalisation of traditional knowledge of smaller Indigenous groupings. If

the articles and books did not contribute to addressing the research questions or exposing gaps, then the literature was discarded.

Searches for peer-reviewed and published articles and reports were made using the free open-access Google Scholar search engine, and Google. Search terms were derived from the study's three research questions which were:

- Question 1 How has the construct and identity of Otaraua been shaped and reshaped since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi? How is the hapū positioned within the iwi and other iwi across the Taranaki landscape?
- Question 2 What is the current state of Otaraua mātauranga and identity?
How have the conditions that have shaped and reshaped Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua impacted the mātauranga base and identity of Otaraua today?
- Question 3 How can Otaraua revitalise the narratives and ways of intergenerational transmission so that they are restored and embedded within the whānau of Otaraua?

Search terms were as follows:

Land AND confiscation AND “large natural groupings” AND Māori AND hapū OR iwi AND reclamation AND “hapū methodology” AND Te Tiriti OR Treaty AND “Otaraua origin” AND Mātauranga OR ‘Indigenous knowledge’ OR “First Nations knowledge” OR “Metis knowledge” AND Government AND policy AND intergenerat* AND colonisation AND whenua AND wairua OR spirit AND kaitiaki* AND rangatiratanga OR sovereign* OR self-determination AND Mana OR authority AND tūpuna OR ancestor AND well-being AND sustain* AND “kaupapa Māori” AND research * AND Indigenous AND “nation building” AND Canada

Articles were searched that were published between 1975 and 2023. The rationale for the search period was the 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act which established the Waitangi

Tribunal and gave Te Tiriti o Waitangi legal recognition in legislation and policy. The Waitangi Tribunal's recommendations and the Crown's response had a determining effect on the hapū and knowledges of Otaraua and other hapū and iwi across Aotearoa. Regarding Indigenous Canadian research, I limited my searches to First Nations research about land, knowledges, and well-being because this is a small unfunded doctoral study. Unfortunately, I had to set aside publications by Inuit and Metis researchers.

The first stage involved searching abstracts for peer-reviewed published articles and reports using search strings. The second stage required a close reading of articles and reports for relevance. Articles and reports were discarded if the content was irrelevant, or if the articles or reports focused on relevant topics but had a much broader scope. Literature produced by Taranaki Māori, by Māori and by First Nations authors from Canada were privileged, but literature by non-Māori and non-Indigenous Canadian authors were also included.

A small review of Kaupapa Māori research, methodologies, and methods was also undertaken as part of developing the methodological approach for this research. Articles published from 1990 to 2023 were searched. The rationale for the search period was to locate articles, reports, and books that addressed the foundational work done by Kaupapa Māori researchers in the 1990s.

Lastly, historical documents and books were reviewed to understand the socio-historic context of the Crown's subjugation of Otaraua and whānau documents and minutes of hapū and iwi hui from the 1990s onwards were reviewed to determine the response of Otaraua to Crown legislation and policy.

Ensuring that the sources of information privileged the voice of hapū and contributed to the elevation of the Otaraua narrative was a priority. Literature by Taranaki iwi and hapū researchers who have contributed to the reclamation of Mātauranga-ā-hapū and the

revitalisation of a hapū relationship with the environment was a priority. Reviews of secondary sources from Treaty settlement documents, theses written by Taranaki whaanui descendants and Otaraua hapū documents provided responses to Question One of my research. Literature from the Māori Land Courts, Waitangi Tribunal Claims Reports and twenty-six years of settlement documents were analysed to understand the Treaty settlement process and the impact on identity. Publications of historians of Taranaki descent have grown over the past twenty years. However, the most significant information for this research – at least from my perspective - comes from the whānau of Otaraua.

Poutokomanawa

A poutokomanawa is the central support pole that provides structural stability and supports the roof of a whare tūpuna or traditional meeting house. Three key members of the whānau were engaged as poutokomanawa to fulfil the role of support for this research. In many Indigenous communities, senior whānau members are often leaders who guide and support the younger generations. For Otaraua, senior whānau members are respected and valued for their knowledge and experience. The intergenerational support by the leadership of the whānau members is integral to whānau well-being, as seen in the way in which this research has been conducted. Including elder members of the whānau in all aspects of decision-making is a natural way of being within the whānau. There are many examples of where kaumātua have guided processes, informed whānau about tikanga and provided a cloak of safety from which hapū and whānau operate within. The role of Poutokomanawa was pivotal to the success of this research.

The poutokomanawa engaged in this research were three senior whānau members, who were raised as Otaraua, on Otaraua land. Their deep knowledge of the mātauranga o Otaraua gained through their lived experiences within the strong whānau and hapū context, was invaluable to this research. Their insights into the impacts of colonial oppression on the

whānau and Otaraua were particularly enlightening. Linked by wakapapa, they were raised locally and actively took part in the Te Atiawa Treaty settlement negotiations of the 1990s. Their shared experiences enriched the aims and integrity of this research.

This group of the whānau preferred to meet face to face, or kanohi ki te kanohi. This was stipulated as being very important, particularly where matters concerning wakapapa, te ao wairua and politics was concerned. We met at their homes, which meant travelling two hours each way. A whole day would be set aside to connect, chat and ultimately engage in wānanga and kōrerorero.

The success of Māori and Indigenous community research results from the experiences of research participants, advisors and others who play active roles in the research. In Canada, First Nations researchers often engage Elder Advisory Groups or 'Traditional Knowledge Keepers' to support the implementation of Indigenous frameworks for research within communities (Chiblow, 2020; Marsh et al., 2015; Sasakamoose et al., 2017). Elders hold a central and invaluable role within Indigenous communities in the preservation of cultural knowledge, guidance and wisdom, cultural protectors, spiritual leaders, storytellers and oral historians, intergenerational bonding, and cultural revitalization. Chiblow (2020) shares that, 'Elders are considered the backbone of the communities, for they are the wisdom keepers, the keepers of the language, possess cultural knowledge and simply because they have lived long lives. They have knowledge and stories to assist people in their lives' (p. 6).

Poutokomanawa played a crucial role as a 'filter ensuring that the information gathered, truly reflected the voice of the whānau and Otaraua. This provided me, as the researcher, with the confidence that the final product would be one that would be beneficial to the whānau and would honour their voice. Confirmation of the thesis topic by Poutokomanawa was a pivotal step in determining the potential benefits of this kaupapa for

the whānau. They all recognised the necessity of this kaupapa for future generations and fully endorsed this research. From the poutokomanawa perspective, I was aware that they viewed the researcher position as a kaitiaki of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua that should be shared with the whānau. The groups review of outcomes at critical stages ensured that the voice captured was truly representative of an Otaraaua view and a whānau perspective and was safe to share.

The process of co-construction of the aim of this research, with the poutokomanawa group provided confidence that this research would be purposeful and well-informed by those it intended to serve. The group's clear views about the types of information that should be drawn on and the preferred researchers that should be engaged, particularly concerning wakapapa and Otaraaua narratives, were instrumental. Their overarching safety ensured that the integrity of Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research was upheld during all stages of the research.

A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology ensures that the voices of those who are experienced and knowledgeable in the research topic are included in the design and throughout the process. Traditional whānau structures in Otaraaua have always had heads of the whānau who supported and directed guidance where needed. This research is guided by poutokomanawa, who are well respected and recognised as being experienced, committed and loyal to an Otaraaua 'way of life.'

Kōrerorero

Kōrerorero the preferred method of the whānau for sharing personal stories and narratives. The term kōrerorero means to have a reciprocal conversation. This method is applied widely in Kaupapa Māori research settings. This section will explain why this method was used and how it was engaged for this research.

This study aimed to answer key research questions by gathering the narratives and experiences of whānau of Otaraaua about positive and negative incidents, that they felt had most impacted their identity and sense of belonging. Through kōrerorero across three

generations of whānau, a range of experiences, aspirations and memories were shared. Through kōrerorero, Otaraua whānau narratives and their essential understandings and experiences about Mātauranga-ā-hapū, such as wakapapa, connection to whenua, te ao wairua and tikanga were captured. Through kōrerorero, whānau also had the opportunity to gain experience from each other.

Within this whānau, rich conversations are often off to the side and away from formalities. Kōrerorero which is a method of remembering, retaining and re-living history and experiences through conversations that share and build one another. A topic may trigger memories not shared before, or lead onto other memories that begins to create new stories. To support Tipene-Matua et al. (2009) write about the ways in which co-construction of new stories through conversation provides the space to exercise old ways to have new conversations. This is a method that the whānau naturally engages in when sharing stories. When the whānau are together and relaxed in familiar surroundings, the stories flow, often triggered by a memory or experience. From experience at whānau wānanga, there were many of these types of kōrero over cups of tea after breakfast or when someone visited. Kōrerorero also occurred when the whānau gathered to strategise or problem-solve any issues that affected the well-being of the whānau or hapū. The challenge is capturing these stories as they arise without formalising the occasion. Awareness of the gold in these often-spontaneous conversations is crucial to the gathering of narratives or stories. Kōrerorero occurred within familiar whānau settings such as the urupā (while mowing the lawns), in whānau homes, or at kāinga.

Engaging in kōrerorero is essential for several reasons. Firstly, kōrerorero is relational and an expression of whanaungatanga, and as hapū researchers, wakapapa is the connector required to engage meaningfully with whānau. Secondly, kōrerorero enables the hapū researcher to reconnect to shared everyday experiences, often created over long periods.

These shared experiences were usually the foundation for conversations that brought together the perspectives and views of the whānau engaged in this research. Through engaging in this way, new understandings emerged as shared experiences became the basis for new learning. This was observed as the older generation began to openly share their experiences of growing up. Each had their own stories and perspectives, linked by their shared experience of growing up together. Thirdly, kōrerorero is always and related to a shared purpose. All kōrerorero I have been involved in with the whānau contribute to keeping memories of events and ancestors alive and keep the sharing of Mātauranga and interest in the well-being of the whānau and hapū to the fore. This could be anything from sharing funny memories of whānau members to vigorously debating political matters. Bishop and Glynn (1999) write that,

‘In Indigenous research contexts, rather than the kōrerorero being a research tool primarily used by the researcher to gather data for subsequent processing, kōrerorero should be developed to position the researcher within co-joint reflections on shared experiences and co-joint constructions of meanings about these experiences, a position where the stories of the research participants merge with that of the researcher to create new stories’ (p. 25).

The narratives captured through kōrerorero were often spontaneous. Kōrerorero always took place in a setting that was comfortable to the participant and followed a process guided by the questions in Appendix C. For the scope of this research, kōrerorero involved whānau who were a part of the settlement process and those who were knowledgeable about the experiences of Otaraua from 1840 onwards. Some kōrerorero were guided by the research questions two and three. Most kōrerorero were informal and organic.

Kōrerorero were recorded and conducted with the whānau in comfortable spaces, sometimes while doing the lawns at the urupā or burial grounds! The approach was intended

first to capture how the whānau felt about the effects of the settlement process, and then to confirm the tikanga they engaged in everyday life as an Otaraua descendant.

The research questions, aligned with the overall research objectives, guided the development of questions provided to kaikōrero before conducting the conversations. These questions were integrated into the evolving kōrerorero to ensure a natural flow. The discussions were informal, adhering to several whānau traditions such as allowing others to join as observers and concluding with a shared meal.

The depth of information shared was influenced by the researcher's relationships with the kaikōrero, rooted in shared wakapapa connections. While it is challenging to ascertain whether kaikōrero would have been as open with others, the assumption is that the connection through wakapapa held significant value. The questions served as guides and prompts for kaikōrero and the emerging narratives often intertwined memories, experiences and stories deemed important by the kaikōrero.

Listening to these narratives was a privilege as the researcher, contributing to my growth in Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua and fostering a greater appreciation for an older generation and their Otaraua worldview. The guiding questions were categorised into four areas aligned with the research questions (see Appendix C):

1. Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua
2. Intergenerational Transmission of knowledge for Otaraua descendants
3. Future aspirations for Otaraua
4. Positionality of Otaraua

Engaging with kaikōrero began by gauging their interest in the kaupapa individually, with background information provided to assist in their decision-making process. Once permission was granted, convenient times and dates were scheduled for face-to-face kōrerorero sessions at their homes, aligning with the customary practice of the whānau. These

conversations typically took two to six hours, with flexibility to allow for more time if needed. During these conversations, other whānau members were present, going about their daily lives. In two instances, kaikōrero were joined by first cousins, providing mutual support and facilitating deeper discussions. Conducting kōrerorero sessions allowed for natural conversations in familiar settings and ways. Additional information was also sought to clarify proposed methodology principles and strengthen insights.

Analysis

The findings were analysed using thematic analysis that aligned with the four broad areas of questions (see Appendix C). These open questions were designed to align with the broader research questions. Responses were grouped across all responses from kaikōrero with the thematic analysis identifying patterns or themes in the data relevant to the research questions by coding the key themes. Themes were then organized into categories and subcategories identified through keyword similarities. The process followed was:

1. Become familiar with the data and check for accuracy in the transcriptions
2. Assign codes to the data (words, phrases) to identify themes
3. Search for patterns or common language across the transcripts, recordings and notes
5. Complete the summary of the findings with examples from kaikōrero

For this analysis, quotes from the conversation transcripts of kaikōrero have been included verbatim to ensure that the key insights are supported.

Kōrerorero were also conducted informally with the whānau participants who were engaged using the Pūrākau- photo voice method. To extend this method, technology was used as a tool to connect and facilitate kōrero. The ability to connect participants who geographically live apart was a challenge. Participants expressed that they valued the

opportunity to connect and engage in this way with whānau who lived away. These kōrerorero were conducted online at their request in a private group facetime space.

Pūrākau through photovoice

Pūrākau are stories told by our ancestors, descendants, and by current generations that convey our experiences through our cultural perspective. Pūrākau are crucial to sharing mātauranga from one generation to the next. In times of prosperity for whānau and hapū, pūrākau were transmitted intergenerationally (Pihama et al., 2019). Lee (2009) writes extensively on the validity of our narratives in describing and sharing stories by writing, ‘our own cultural narratives also offer legitimate ways of talking, researching and representing our stories’ (pg.8). This method is combined with the use of photography to produce pūrākau of young Otaraua descendants about their thoughts on Otaraua identity, inter-generational transmission of knowledge and their aspirations for the future. The creation of pūrākau through photovoice, is engaged in this research to support Otaraua descendants in sharing their narratives which provides information for research question Two.

Indigenous researchers have begun to engage with photovoice as a method of ‘storytelling’ through visual expression (Mark & Boulton, 2017; Tanner et al., 2022; Victor et al., 2022). Victor et al. (2022) incorporated photovoice to ‘explore how arts-based work grounded in Indigenous values and practices illuminated First Nations youths’ sense of well-being. This is a valuable example that supports the use of this method to gather Pūrākau about well-being aspirations and experiences about identity for Otaraua youth.

The engagement of photovoice within kaupapa Māori research in Aotearoa includes the work of Kaupapa Māori researchers Mark and Boulton (2017), who advocate for ‘research that is inclusive of Māori cultural values such as collectivity and storytelling’ (p. 303). Mark and Boulton (2017) also found that using photovoice in their research in exploring patients’ perspectives on rongoa Māori was a culturally appropriate research

method for Māori and stating that, ‘this meaning-making process is a form of pūrākau creation, and this change in methodology was made to ensure that the participant maintained the power and control over the photo taking and subsequently, the photo meaning-making process’ (p. 298).

Photovoice is an approach that incorporates photography with participatory action (Wang & Burris, 1997). The photovoice process presents a distinctive way to understand individual perceptions of an issue. The method is also structured as a mechanism that engages participants in group discussion about their images and to present them in public forums (Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). More recent examples of the use of photovoice have been ‘in the fields of education, disability studies, public health and refugees, indicating its vast applicability’ (Sutton-Brown, 2014, p. 169). Wang and Burris (1997) outlined that three critical aims of photovoice are ‘to enable people to record and reflect their community's strengths and concerns, to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important community issues through large and small group discussion of photo-graphs and to reach policymakers’ (p. 369).

The normalisation of visual technology and the increased accessibility to the technology make photovoice attractive to a wide range of participants, particularly youth. The resulting narrative, supported by the captured images, provides a rich understanding of the first-hand experiences that have been shared. In social justice, narratives are elevated and shared to voice concerns about injustices experienced and inform policy change. The ethical considerations of a photovoice project ‘revolve around capturing a person’s image and include protecting privacy and anonymity, not intruding into personal space and not placing someone in a false light’ (Goodhart et al., 2006, p. 55). The ethical considerations were discussed with the participants in this research, who understood the need to gain permission to present photos with whānau either living or who had passed away. To ensure the privacy

of others and obtain permission from whānau members in their photos, whānau participants agreed to a photovoice kaitiaki agreement. As a result, all photos with whānau in were all members of the same whānau. All participants also wished to remain anonymous.

A pūrākau, using the photovoice method and kōrerorero, empowered young Otaraua descendants, aged between 25 and 35 years, to share their perspectives on Otaraua identity. The opportunity to capture photos that representing young Otaraua descendants' worldview appealed to this group. Communication was conducted in a private online forum exclusively for whānau participants including posts, video calls and messaging as needed. The online platform was also used to host two online wānanga or discussions facilitated through an online platform. During these sessions, participants shared photos and the written narratives they had prepared. In the initial online wānanga sessions whānau participants discussed the process and asked questions. Once they agreed to participate, participants were given three prompts to guide them in capturing photos that depicted their experiences as Otaraua and their aspirations for a prosperous Otaraua future:

- What are your experiences of being from Otaraua?
- What would you like to know about being from Otaraua?
- What are your aspirations for the future for you and your whānau and your/their connection to our hapū?

Guidelines and background information about the approach (see Appendix B) were discussed with participants. Whānau participants had two months to capture their photos, with two follow-up points for support and assistance as needed. Individual follow-ups were also conducted for additional support. After completing the photo capture of their experiences whānau participants joined online wānanga to share kōrero and discuss any questions they had. They shared pūrākau using the provided prompts about their sense of belonging to Otaraua and ideas for maintaining or strengthening their connection to Otaraua.

The sharing of pūrākau about the photos and the discussions related to the prompts led to rich kōrero among the participants. This sparked the recollection of memories, firsthand experiences and aspirations. The conversation was documented in notes that were grouped and sorted according to the affinity method, to extract insights. Additionally, whānau participants contributed written statements to support their photos with some providing broad statements encompassing multiple photos while others wrote individual statements. These statements were also used in the affinity mapping process. The pūrākau are shared in Chapter five. Combined with the kōrerorero method, the creation of pūrākau through photovoice brings to life a powerful and rich narrative as determined and led by the participants.

Insights Analysis – Affinity Mapping

The affinity mapping method, commonly known as the KJ method, is a powerful tool for organising and synthesizing large volumes of qualitative data. Developed by Japanese anthropologist Jiro Kawakita, this method facilitates the identification of patterns and relationships within complex datasets (Kawakita, 1982). It provides a structured approach that fosters a respectful and inclusive environment, enabling all participants to contribute their perspectives collaboratively. During the affinity mapping process, participants individually generate ideas, which are then collectively organized based on shared themes or affinities. This collaborative sorting encourages diverse viewpoints and promotes a comprehensive understanding of the data (Beyer & Holtzblatt, 1998).

This method was chosen because it acknowledges that all pūrākau (narratives or stories) are significant and interconnected. By recognizing these interconnections, affinity mapping aligns with Indigenous epistemologies that value relationality and interconnectedness, ensuring that no perspective is marginalised and that every contribution is honoured (Smith, 1999).

In an affinity exercise, individuals generate ideas in response to a prompt and, in this case, the photos that the Otaraua descendants took. The ideas are posted where all participants can view them, and then they are arranged by participants in groupings in which items have an affinity to one another. Wang and Burris (1997) advocate that the practice of analysis as guided by participants, can enhance their capacity for critical self-reflection, thereby augmenting their awareness of their own lives.

Affinity mapping was used in a focus group setting to support Otaraua descendants in sharing their knowledge, experiences, and ideas to find answers to questions two and three of this research. Otaraua descendants expressed their insights in their own words and categorised them. The affinity mapping method was used to theme the insights that came from the experiences of hapū and whānau members about their identity as Otaraua, their aspirations for the future of hapū descendants and how mātauranga could be transferred from one generation to another. The insights were shared with the group, who then discussed how they might group the statements into themes.

The process to gather and draw the insights used was as follows:

1. Whānau participants shared their photos and the narrative that described how the images had captured answers to the questions posed
2. The researcher recorded all information and shared it back with whānau participants
3. Whānau participants were also invited to send written explanations
4. All statements and feedback were written on post-it notes (one idea per post-it note)
5. The whānau participants grouped ideas according to themes that emerged

Furthermore, collaborative analysis is a crucial aspect of the affinity mapping approach. Both the researcher and the participants collaboratively analyse and interpret the affinity map, giving participants an active role in shaping the research findings. Affinity

mapping also embodies a decolonial approach to research by providing the space for Otaraua descendants to lead the process and to collaborate with one another. The researcher supports the facilitation of the conversations. This approach can challenge traditional power dynamics seen in Western research where research is done ‘too’ rather than ‘with.’ This method can contribute to a more equitable research practice, countering the historical legacy of extractive and exploitative research in Indigenous contexts.

In summary, the affinity mapping method is a useful tool for organising and categorizing ideas or information in a visual and collaborative manner. By fostering whānau engagement and facilitating meaningful participation, this method enabled the sharing of whānau participant knowledge by supporting insights to be expressed naturally as a conversation. This method promotes collaborative analysis by ensuring that both researchers and participants contribute to the interpretation of findings, with the participants agreeing to the final version. Additionally, this method embodies a decolonial approach by challenging traditional power dynamics in research and by ensuring cultural sensitivity and ethical conduct for Otaraua whānau participants by including the relational and collaborative approach to building new knowledge in a safe environment.

Chronology of legislation and policy impacting Mātauranga-ā-hapū

Chronology as a method, can help to identify the impact of colonisation for Indigenous peoples (Havemann, 1999). A chronological approach organized by historical and contemporary policy periods provides a comprehensive framework for identifying the systemic and destructive impact of colonial legislation and policies upon hapū. By mapping the timeline of legislation and policies that contributed to the loss of land, resources and cultural practices, as well as the subjugation of Mātauranga -a-Hapū, the research offers a comprehensive understanding the impact that such policies have had on the well-being of whānau of Otaraua. Additionally, the chronology helps to maintain what I have termed an

‘Otaraua line of sight,’ centering the historical and contemporary push-back or resistance of Otaraaua against the Crown and local government in the Taranaki region. The chronology method is valuable because it highlights pivotal events that impacted Mātauranga-a-hapū and Otaraaua well-being across identified policy periods.

My research uses the chronological approach to significantly address the gap in the literature concerning the direct influence of Crown legislation and policy on Mātauranga-ō-Otaraaua. The structure of the chronology also aids in making sense of the chaos created when two vastly different systems collide. Several Indigenous researchers have engaged in the use of chronology for similar purposes. Reid, et al. (2017) applied a chronological method in a report that discusses the trauma experienced by Ngāi Tahu whānau because of settler colonialism and land alienation. The report examined the history of Aotearoa's colonisation, its impact on the tribal grouping of Ngāi Tahu, and consequent trauma that was created as a result.

In considering the limitations of the approach, Reid et al. argue that 'attempting to divide any history up into neat sections is problematic, particularly true of a period of intensive settler colonisation, where two worlds collide in an uneven and chaotic fashion' (pg. 30). To generalise the diversity of the experiences and impact experienced by all whānau, hapū and iwi at the time is not ideal because of the risk of oversimplifying complex and varied responses by Māori. However, Reid et al. (2017) concludes that dividing history into sections can clarify where trauma occurs at significant times.

Similarly, another chronology focussed on policy periods of the Crown is evidenced in the work of Armitage (1995), who describes phases of legislation and policy imposed on Māori, involving assimilation, adaptation and integration. Armitage (1995) describes five policy periods that affected Māori as being:

(1) the period of initial contact, 1769-1840.

- (2) the period of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi, 1840-6.
- (3) the assimilation period, 1847-1960.
- (4) the integration period, 1960-; and
- (5) the period of Māori resurgence, 1975- current day (p. 1).

Durie (2005) identified social policy periods that provide insight into the gradual stripping away of autonomy and identity through policy. These periods give insight into the latter years when space for more autonomy for Māori and iwi is reached. This colonising ideology, as described through the coloniser's lens, is a valuable perspective that exemplifies the insurmountable task for hapū descendants to reclaim and revitalise identity.

Contemporary Social Policy Eras

State Ideologies	Years	State Aspirations for Māori
The Welfare State	1935-1960	Freedom from wanting access to benefits; urbanisation: reduced poverty
The interventionist state	1960-1984	Government intervention through New Zealand Māori Council and Department of Māori Affairs
The devolved state	1984-2000	Greater autonomy of tribes and urban authorities, settlement of Te Tiriti o Waitangi claims

Source: Durie (2005, p. 167).

The impact of state policy on Māori is described by Durie (2005) as being designed for ‘efficiency gains’ and only resulted in further alienation from lands through further land legislation. The devolved state idealised the collectivisation of Māori into large groupings to settle Treaty claims that would provide perceived autonomy. The reality for hapū was quite different, and many found themselves marginalised through a Treaty settlement process. The chronology engaged for this research highlights ‘the devolved state’ as a policy period that had implications for Otaraua.

In providing a chronology of the comparison between policy impacting on the subjugation and revitalisation of Māori and other Indigenous peoples in Saskatchewan, Canada, Green (2018) adapts the final policy period to self-management and commodification. Concerning Indigenous knowledge, Green (2018) writes that the adaptations are,

‘to draw attention to problems that arise when Māori, First Nations and Métis aspirations for self-determination and self-government of their knowledges, are downgraded and redefined by neoliberal governments to the lesser practice of self-management. The second reason is to highlight the impact of neoliberal government policies for commodification upon Māori, First Nations and Métis knowledges’ (p. 123).

The work of Armitage, Green and Durie and their alignment to the specific impact on the hapū of Otaraua has informed the policy periods below.

The five stages below identify the key legislation and policy that contributed to the marginalisation of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua:

1. Te Tiriti and inundation (1840-1860): this period is defined by the signing of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840. First, land alienation by the Crown in Taranaki begins. Hapū self-determination and mana are unrecognised and usurped.
2. Invasion and dispossession (1860-1870): Unlawful invasion of Otaraua lands and the creation and enforcement of legislation and policy that alienated Otaraua hapū from ancestral lands.
3. Extensive land alienation, assimilation and disempowerment (1870-1945): Characterised by the large-scale alienation of Ngātiawa and Otaraua land. This period also saw the establishment of Crown agencies, such as the Native Land Court and The Public Trustee, which alienated Otaraua hapū members from ancestral lands through individualising ownership. This period is also characterised by assimilationist legislation and policy that sought to strip traditional knowledge and knowledge systems by enforcing a compulsory schooling system, and the abolition of reo and well-being and spiritual healing practices.
4. Integration (1945-1975): this period is defined by the government's efforts to integrate Otaraua descendants (and all Māori) into the Aotearoa workforce and economy, with continued suppression of reo and identity through a compulsory education system.
5. Self-management and commodification (1975-present): defined by the commodification of Maori lands and resources so that these become a part of the neoliberal marketplace. Devolved autonomy is seen under the direction and legislation determined by the Crown through Treaty settlements, with pressure on iwi and hapū collectives to self-manage while constrained. This directly impacted identity of Otaraua, who became subsumed into Te Atiawa.

The data for the chronology required extensive reading of historical documents including Waitangi Tribunal reports, Māori Land Court minutes and Otaraua hapū minutes. Chapter 4 completes further analysis through the application of the Chronology method.

Kaupapa Māori and Indigenous theory

Kaupapa Māori theory and Indigenous theory inform and support the development of other Indigenous methodologies such as Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua. Pihama (2010) argues that Kaupapa Māori theory is informed by its Indigenous underpinnings and is defined and controlled by Māori' (p. 6). For this research topic, this understanding also extends to the hapū and whānau worldview. Doherty (2010) discusses the vital connection between Kaupapa Māori and Mātauranga-ā-iwi. He writes, 'Kaupapa Māori theory provides the bridge to allow a different set of applications for the principles and values in mātauranga Māori to occur in Mātauranga -a-iwi' (pg.68).

Smith (1999) shares that 'whānau is one of several aspects of Maori philosophy, values and practice which are brought to the centre in Kaupapa Maori research' (p. 187). Whānau, as a methodology, can be considered as a way of organising a research group. Whānau is an epistemological tradition that frames how whānau see the world, organise themselves in it, ask the questions and seek solutions. This research identifies whānau as the core group of participants intricately linked by wakapapa across three generations, all descended from the same tūpuna or ancestor. The whānau base is fundamental within the wider Otaraua hapū construct. It is through this lens, that this research is presented.

Kaupapa Māori theory aligns with other Indigenous theoretical frameworks based on Indigenous epistemologies. Denzin et al. (2008) explored the intersect between critical and Indigenous theory and the formation of Indigenous qualitative research. Findings showed that the intersect involves critically examining research methodologies to ensure that they respect Indigenous perspectives, challenge colonial frameworks and empower Indigenous

communities within the research process. Their work highlighted the importance of recognising and addressing power imbalances and colonial legacies concerning research within Indigenous communities. This journey itself showed that the reclamation and assertion by Indigenous peoples of traditional methodologies should be fundamental foundations for qualitative and quantitative research with Indigenous peoples.

Similarly, Wilson (2008) presents an insight into the balancing act of operating in the research paradigm through an Indigenous lens. From an Opaskwayak Cree perspective, Wilson challenges researchers to see research through an Indigenous lens. Wilson refers to Indigenous research as being based on an accountability to the relationships with those involved in the research and honouring of shared narratives. The idea that relationships are the Indigenous reality or a ‘ceremony,’ is presented as fundamental to ensuring the quality of the research. At the heart, Wilson writes that it is critical to ensure that the methods used to gather data, analyse and present information in research, seeks to honour the participants. Wilson argues that in the context of ceremony, research should be a daily practice, providing an insight to see others life experiences through their own eyes and through developing relationships with the ideas, participants and communities.

Hapū ‘research’ can be a daily practice in the form of meaningful relationships and the narratives that arise from the conversations and interactions. Similarly, it is important to apply a critical lens over the methodologies and methods engaged in Indigenous research, as Indigenous researchers should work to question whether methodologies [are] ‘simply new technologies of cultural assimilation, of governance and the disciplining of knowledge or are they expanding the known worlds of IK [Indigenous Knowledge] mātauranga for the well-being of Indigenous Māori people?’ (Smith et al., 2016, p. 133). A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua informed methodology supports descendants of the hapū to see themselves contributing to the reclamation of Mātauranga -ā -hapū.

Bringing Indigenous knowledges into Western research can present epistemological difficulties. Lavallée (2009) writes ‘the relational nature of Indigenous epistemology acknowledges the interconnectedness of the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual aspects of individuals with all living things and with the earth, the star world and the universe’ (p.23). The combining of the relational nature of Indigenous epistemology into Westerns research poses challenges due to fundamental differences in worldview and methodology. Indigenous epistemology emphasizes interconnectedness, reciprocity and relationality with the environment, ancestors and community whereas Western research often prioritises objectivity, individualism and linear thinking. Western research methodologies often prioritise written documentation and empirical evidence which may not capture oral traditions, storytelling, and experiential knowledge central to Indigenous epistemologies. Hikuroa (2017) emphasizes the integration of mātauranga Māori with scientific research, advocating for approaches that respect and incorporate Indigenous perspectives. Hikuroa writes ‘While many similarities exist between mātauranga Māori and science, it is important that the tools of one are not used to analyse and understand the foundations of another’ (p.9). Stevens et al. (2021) examine the intersection (putahitanga) of oceanography and mātauranga Māori and suggest that the intersection be framed as mātauranga supported by the tools of Western science’, with a focus on growing the intersect (p. 250). Suggestions include the renaming and reclaiming names of prominent seascape and landscape features and the development of Maori sourced and owned data. The challenges faced are due to epistemological differences, methodological conflicts, cultural misunderstandings and power dynamics and imbalances. The work of Stevens et al., and Hikuroa examine the intersect possibilities by addressing and exploring these challenges.

To centre Indigenous epistemologies at the heart of Indigenous research, Wilson (2008) compares a Western methodology based on ontology, epistemology, methodology and

axiology and reframes these through an Indigenous lens that elevates an Indigenous worldview and concept of relationality. In exploring epistemology, Wilson goes beyond the Western idea of thinking and knowing, to an Indigenous focus on the researcher's relationship with what community member know. Through the Indigenous lens of axiology, relationships extend far beyond what is valid, right, or wrong, to gaining enlightenment and fulfilling roles within the relationship of the ceremony. Henry and Pene (2001) also challenge Western research paradigms by arguing that 'kaupapa Māori is both a set of philosophical beliefs and social practices' (p. 237). They explore the 'tikanga' of whanaungatanga, kotahitanga, wairuatanga and kaitiakitanga which inform 'Māori ontology' and drive 'Māori epistemology. From this perspective, Indigenous methodology is focussed on raising consciousness by being respectful, reciprocal and responsible.

For Māori, iwi and hapū researchers to carve out methodologies for iwi and hapū advancement, it is important to understand the paradigm being fought for. The paradigm that is relevant to Otaraua is the elevation and reclamation of traditional knowledges which have been impacted by colonisation. In reclaiming Mātauranga-ā-hapū, useful research methodologies must support hapū to elevate the values of their mātauranga internally and externally as an expression of an autonomous way of being. Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology support the creation and implementation of hapū-centric models. With regards to the reclamation of Mātauranga-ā-hapū that is Otaraua-centric, I have developed a methodology with this purpose in mind.

Conclusion

A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology is a transformative research approach that supports the reclamation and revitalisation of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua by conducting research through the lens of the principles and traditions of Otaraua. This methodology places a distinct focus on Otaraua and employs the methods of engaging poutokomanawa,

kōrerorero, pūrākau through photography, literature review(s) and chronology of legislation and policy to elevate and represent the whānau and hapū voice throughout the research process. Pūrākau through photovoice helps younger generations to reconnect with cultural heritage, while literature reviews provide insights from various Indigenous, Māori, iwi and hapū research. Historical data and evidence provide context, with a focus on a hapū perspective. The research aims to empower hapū members to revitalize mātauranga and raise awareness of the impacts of colonisation through a process of identity reclamation. This qualitative methodology is grounded in the social, cultural, historical and geographical contexts of Otaraua, emphasising the viewpoints of the Otaraua whānau. The methodology represents an important step towards reclaiming Indigenous knowledge and identity, by contributing to the well-being and empowerment of hapū members.

Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua Methodology aligns with Kaupapa Māori decolonising methodologies and Indigenous research methodologies, recognizing the unique worldview of hapū. As hapū-specific research frameworks continue to emerge, this approach supports the reclamation and revitalization of hapū identity and mātauranga through empowering researchers and descendants with a new framework to reclaim Mātauranga-ā-hapū. Guided by Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua principles and informed by Otaraua narratives, this methodology contributes to the evolution of Kaupapa Māori decolonising methodologies and Indigenous research methodologies by focussing on hapū concerns and acknowledging the unique worldview of hapū.

In summary, this Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology contributes to the evolving landscape of Indigenous research methodologies, particularly for smaller marginalised groups like hapū. The methodology aims to empower Otaraua hapū descendants, supporting them to take control over the research process and outcomes, with a

focus on reinvigorating mātauranga and hapū identity to improve the well-being of Otaraua descendants.

Chapter Three: Mātauranga and Indigenous knowledges

Introduction

'Here we are the descendants seeking a way, searching for a way to unite all of our relations once again within the unity of Otaraua so we may once again stand tall and proud among our people' (Otaraua Hapū, 1991).

This statement expressed in the opening address of the Otaraua Waitangi Tribunal presentation in 1991 conveys the desire of Otaraua descendants to stand proud and confident as Otaraua. The statement also reflects a loss of confidence and pride experienced through 150 years of subjugation and marginalisation of hapū identity. The reclamation of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua and knowledge systems through implementing a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology seeks to support the aspirations espoused in this statement.

This chapter presents a view from the literature that examines the meaning of mātauranga /Indigenous knowledge from the viewpoints of Māori, iwi, hapū and First Nations groups in Canada. The intention is to compare these perspectives and provide a broader context for understanding the shared and unique elements of mātauranga and Indigenous knowledges.

Furthermore, this chapter examines the literature regarding the distinction of Mātauranga-ā-hapū, from Mātauranga-ā-iwi and Mātauranga Māori and in doing so, demonstrates a re-orientation of hapū to reclaim knowledges that are synonymous with identity and distinguished from iwi and Māori knowledge and identity.

This chapter will also investigate the historical and ongoing marginalisation of mātauranga by examining how colonial policies and societal attitudes have undermined and devalued the knowledge systems and identity of Māori, iwi, and hapū.

Additionally, the chapter details initiative-taking strategies employed by hapū to reclaim and revitalize mātauranga such as community-led educational initiatives, legal

frameworks advocating for Māori and Indigenous rights, and the integration of traditional knowledges into contemporary practice.

Insights are primarily drawn from literature authored by Māori, Taranaki, and Indigenous researchers with a sub-focus on First Nations researchers from Canada.

Mātauranga Māori and Mātauranga-ā-iwi

How Mātauranga Māori is defined within our communities and society is varied. What is important to this chapter is how Māori choose to define what constitutes Mātauranga Māori and how we choose to identify and name ourselves as people. Mātauranga Māori is often described as a body of knowledge (Mead, 2021; Royal, 2012; Smith, 1997). Mead (2021) writes that ‘the term ‘Mātauranga Māori’ encompasses all branches of Māori knowledge, past, present and still developing’ (p. 337). Smith et.al 2016 suggests that Mātauranga Māori is ever evolving and comes from a time before colonisation. Mātauranga Māori through an epistemological view can be described ‘as wakapapa (interconnectedness with each other and the environment), respect for the environment, kaitiakitanga or guardianship and processes for intergenerational transfer of knowledge’ (Hardy et al., 2015, pp. 48–49). To extend beyond a universal view of Mātauranga Māori as a single body of knowledge, Hudson et al. (2020) refer to Mātauranga Māori as the overarching concept that embraces the diversity of whānau, hapū and iwi knowledge by writing,

‘Mātauranga Māori is the shared intellectual capital generated by whānau, hapū and iwi over multiple generations. It is community knowledge embedded in lived experience and carried in stories, song, place names, dance, ceremonies, genealogies, memories, visions, prophesies, teachings, and original instructions, as learnt through observation and via other community members. Mātauranga Māori is a dynamic, innovative and generative system of knowledge constituted from mātauranga-ā-whānau, mātauranga-ā-hapū and mātauranga-ā-iwi’ (p. 42).

This view of Mātauranga Māori encompassing whānau, hapū and iwi knowledge highlights the diversity of knowledge within what is often described as Mātauranga Māori.

In Aotearoa, Mead (2021) noted that ‘over the last few decades, the term “Mātauranga Māori” has become increasingly important as more and more people are engaged in efforts to understand what it means’ (p. 237). Royal (2012) writes

‘The phrase matauranga Maori does not refer explicitly to any particular kind of methodology or a set of explicit actions and goals, as is the case with kaupapa Maori theory. Rather, Mātauranga Maori is a modern phrase used to refer to a body or a continuum of knowledge with Polynesian origins, which survives to the present day albeit in fragmentary form’ (p. 33).

To extend beyond the definition of Mātauranga Māori as a body of knowledge, Mead (2021) writes that Mātauranga Māori is.

‘not like an archive of information, but rather is like a tool for thinking, organising information, considering the ethics of knowledge, the appropriateness of it all and informing us about our world and our place in it’ (p. 338).

In locating Mātauranga Māori in an autonomous space, away from education institutions, Mataamua, as cited in Tahau-Hodges (2021) describes it as ‘Māori knowledge systems and systems of knowing that are by Māori, for Māori, about Māori and are from a Māori context’ (p. 49). Mātauranga Māori is a way of thinking, acting and doing, as determined and guided by spiritual connections, ancestor actions, and the environment that pre-existed the onslaught of colonisation and has continued to grow and evolve. In describing the evolution of Mātauranga Māori, Winiata (2001) as cited in Mead (2021) said,

“A body of knowledge that seeks to explain phenomena by drawing on concepts handed down from one generation of Māori to another. ... mātauranga Māori has no beginning and is without end. It is constantly being enhanced and refined. Each

passing generation of Māori make their own contribution to mātauranga Māori” (p. 238).

In reclaiming mātauranga it is important to note that mātauranga evolves over time as each generation seeks to build on the legacies of ancestors. Mead (2012) notes that ‘critics of Mātauranga Māori assume that it only belongs to the era before colonisation’ (p. 10). The imposition of a new Western knowledge system, values and worldview forced changes to ancestral Indigenous systems of making sense of the world. Therefore, the parameters within which Mātauranga Māori existed and still exists have impacted on what has been remembered. McGregor (2004) supports this by noting ‘that Indigenous understanding of our relationship to Creation did not start with the arrival of newcomers: there were already well-developed philosophies or conceptual frameworks, ethics, and values that had flourished for thousands of years’ (p. 6). For Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research, the task ahead is to gather and reclaim mātauranga whilst simultaneously creating new mātauranga or knowledge.

Mātauranga Māori has become a part of a response to colonisation, as ways to revitalise and reclaim Māori identity are explored. Royal (2019) describes the value of Mātauranga Māori as,

‘... a vehicle for the tangata whenua/indigenous worldview in the New Zealand setting. Contained within this worldview are a wide range of perspectives on life and existence - such as the nature of right and wrong, of life and death, of knowledge and knowing, the purpose of life and more. This is the value of mātauranga Māori - as a vehicle for the indigenous worldview in the New Zealand setting’ (p.2).

Mātauranga-ā-iwi

Mātauranga-ā-iwi refers to the collective knowledge, wisdom and cultural understanding held by a specific iwi. About Mātauranga-ā-iwi, Doherty (2010) writes:

‘Mātauranga Māori hosts the core values and principles that apply to all Māori. While the core values and principles are located here, their application is not. The application of these values and principles are filtered through Mātauranga -a-iwi. Each iwi has their own specific sense and use of these core values and principles that link them with their particular environment. This tribal application cannot be applied to another tribe, as they will have their own application that links them to their environment and iwi’ (p. 67).

Pre-colonial Māori society was often described in terms of natural groupings such as iwi and hapū. Walker (1990) writes that these groupings were central to tangata whenua identity, with iwi being the dominant political and social units during and after the signing of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Walker describes iwi as the largest effective political grouping consisting of several hapū descending from a common ancestor.

Discussing Mātauranga-ā-iwi inevitably involves exploring the evolution of iwi identity. In the 1950s, few Māori identified with an iwi, as noted by Kukutai (2004). However, by 2001, the New Zealand census indicated that 604,110 people identified with at least one iwi, and this number rose to 668,742 by 2013 (Stats NZ - Te Tatauranga New Zealand, 2013). The Te Atiawa iwi groupings population increased from 10,152 in 2001 to 15270 in 2013, with 51.6 percent of individuals identifying with more than one iwi. This growth is partially attributed to the Kaupapa Māori movement in the 1970s and the Treaty Settlement claims process that provided cultural and social benefits that encouraged iwi identification (Kukutai & Webber, 2017; Muru-Lanning, 2011). This resurgence has contributed to the growth of a Mātauranga-ā-iwi body of knowledge across Aotearoa, including the revitalisation of te reo-ā-iwi (tribal dialects) and different tikanga or protocols between iwi, local narratives histories tied to particular landscapes and events of iwi.

A key distinction between Mātauranga Māori and Mātauranga-ā-iwi lies in the direct connection to the environment. Mātauranga-ā-iwi, unlike the broader and more generalised

Mātauranga Māori, is intrinsically linked to specific landscapes, ecosystems, and resources unique to the territory of an iwi. Mead (2021) describes an iwi as ‘a social group that claims an estate or rohe and defends it ...’ emphasising the territorial aspect and the stewardship responsibilities of iwi over their lands (pg. 233).

Doherty (2010) further elaborates on this connection noting that ‘mātauranga Māori and Kaupapa Māori theory, both with their roots in mātauranga -a-iwi, must ultimately be understood as a relationship between the tribal environment and its people’ (p. 3). This perspective highlights how the knowledge systems, practices, and cultural values within Mātauranga-ā-iwi are deeply intertwined with the specific natural environments that iwi inhabit. These environments shape and are shaped by iwi customs, traditions, and identity.

In addition, the specific knowledge systems of each iwi, including traditional ecological knowledge, land management practices, and resource use, are developed in response to the unique challenges and opportunities presented by their local environments. Challenges and opportunities include understanding of seasons, flora and fauna, waterways, and weather patterns, all of which are vital for the sustainability of the community. Such localised knowledge not only aids in the practical management of resources but also contributes to a spiritual and cultural relationship with the land, reinforcing the identity and continuity of the iwi.

Therefore, while Mātauranga Māori provides a broader cultural and philosophical framework shared by all Māori, Mātauranga-ā-iwi is a specific, localised expression of this knowledge, deeply rooted in the distinctive environments and experiences of the individual iwi. This distinction is crucial for understanding the diversity among iwi and hapū, and the importance of place-based knowledge in sustaining iwi and hapū identities.

Indigenous knowledge

Mātauranga Māori is a subset of Indigenous knowledge and is described as the New Zealand-centric version (Smith et al., 2016). Indigenous knowledge encompasses the unique knowledge systems, practices, beliefs, and worldviews developed and passed down through generations within Indigenous communities (Smith, 1999; Smith, 2003). Castellano as cited in Hudson et al. (2020) describes Indigenous knowledge as having been,

‘... handed down more or less intact from previous generations. With variations from nation to nation, it tells of the creation of the world and the origin of clans in encounters between ancestors and spirits in the form of animals; it records genealogies and ancestral rights to territory; and it memorialises battles, boundaries and treaties and instils attitudes of wariness or trust toward neighbouring nations. Through heroic and cautionary tales, it reinforces values and beliefs; these in turn provide the substructure for civil society’ (p. 43).

Battiste (2005) further emphasises that Indigenous knowledge is.

‘an adaptable, dynamic system based on skills, abilities and problem-solving techniques that change over time depending on environmental conditions. How Indigenous peoples express this knowledge is unique to each one, however the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the environment remains at the heart’ (p. 6).

Wilson (2008) asserts that ‘Indigenous knowledge recovery is an anticolonial project (p. 359). Indigenous knowledge recovery arises from the devastating impact of colonial efforts to systematically erase unique perspectives, ways of life, and relationships with the world. The restoration of Indigenous knowledge is a conscious effort to re-evaluate what has been devalued and revive what has been obliterated. Reclamation of Indigenous knowledge is a

focus on restoration of traditional ways that once enabled Indigenous communities to live in spiritual harmony and maintain sustainable livelihoods on ancestral lands.

In this thesis, Indigenous knowledge refers to all bodies of knowledge intrinsic to the identity and well-being of Indigenous peoples, demonstrating the profound relationship between people and the environment. The journey to reclaim identity through traditional knowledge is a universal and shared experience, acknowledging variations in social and historical contexts. This concept transcends borders and time periods, reflecting the fundamental need to reconnect with and understand ancestral heritage, while preserving the wisdom and traditions of all ancestors.

Indigenous knowledge – decolonising the research.

Scholars and Indigenous communities hold divergent perspectives on Indigenous knowledge within academic discourse. From an Indigenous perspective, Battiste (2005) writes that ‘the recognition and intellectual activation of Indigenous knowledge today is an act of empowerment by Indigenous people’ (p. 1). Smith et al., 2016 describes the emergence of Indigenous knowledge as ‘a discrete academic discourse’ (p. 132). These Indigenous researchers position Indigenous knowledge as a field that has grown with the reclamation of self-determination by Indigenous peoples across the world. In agreement, Battiste (2005) writes that ‘for as long as Europeans have sought to colonize Indigenous peoples, Indigenous knowledge has been understood as being in binary opposition to “scientific” “Western” “Eurocentric” or “modern” knowledge’ (p. 2). Knopf (2015) writes that this body of knowledge has been subjected to ‘a legacy of colonial and neocolonial relations, where Indigenous social and political structures, knowledges, religions, and worldviews were seen as inferior, insignificant and even barbaric by the Western world’ (p. 180).

Acknowledgement of the conflict between the perspectives of non-Indigenous researchers studying Indigenous communities and the expanding body of knowledge being advanced by

the increasing presence of Indigenous researchers is important. The application of re-discovered and re-membered methodologies and methods further validate an Indigenous worldview, although not always valued or recognised in the Western academic world.

In examining the barriers that exist within the academic system that impact Māori to express self-determination through mātauranga Māori, Smith et al., (2016), share that there is an expectation - if not a requirement - that Indigenous knowledge must 'fit normative academic definitions and criteria' (pp. 135- 136). This leads to inequity and discrimination of Indigenous knowledge and those practitioners of Indigenous knowledge. There is a lack of recognition and an inability to accept the value, relevance, academic integrity, and equality of Indigenous knowledge and Mātauranga Māori.

As much of the literature indicates, Indigenous knowledge exists within a holistic paradigm that is often dismissed or subjected to tokenism, particularly in education systems. Battiste (2005) notes that,

'As a concept, Indigenous knowledge benchmarks the limitations of Eurocentric theory -- its methodology, evidence and conclusions --reconceptualizes the resilience and self-reliance of Indigenous peoples and underscores the importance of their own philosophies, heritages and educational processes. Indigenous knowledge fills the ethical and knowledge gaps in Eurocentric education, research and scholarship' (p. 2).

There is a danger of Indigenous knowledge being re-defined by the academic system through its practices and procedures that change the Indigenous narrative to fit criteria of acceptability and academic rigour. A goal of decolonising research is to break free from the Western paradigm of research that is often more focused on the discovery and interpretation of facts. From an Indigenous perspective, the research process must be inclusive of the peoples'

views, feelings, and experiences with nature, culture and spirit (Porsanger, 2004; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008).

Marginalisation of Indigenous knowledge, hapū knowledge and the impact on identity

The reclamation of Mātauranga-ā-hapū is a response to the marginalisation of traditional knowledge and systems of hapū due to colonisation and the imposition of Western systems on Indigenous well-being. Mokaraka-Harris et al., (2016) note that,

‘prior to colonisation, individuals identified themselves by their decentralised hapū affiliations. Colonial legislation ignored these identity constructs and instead conceptualised ‘Māori’ as a race. This colonial legacy is further evident in the artificial construction of the more centralised contemporary iwi (confederation of hapū) identity to address colonial grievances’ (p. 251).

My research identifies Mātauranga-ā-hapū as a distinct body of knowledge based on hapū epistemology. For Otaraua this includes expressions of mana tūpuna, rangatiratanga and mana whenua. The transition from a hapū identity to an iwi identity for political purposes has led hapū descendants to re-shape their identity and therefore their mātauranga, to survive within the systems imposed by Crown legislation and policy. For example, Crown strategies such as the naming of ‘Taranaki Māori’ as a group in the Taranaki Maori Claims Settlement Act of 1944 by-passed any acknowledgement of hapū. In more modern contexts, the Crown Treaty settlement processes prefer to deal with ‘large natural groupings’ that force hapū such as Otaraua to identify and collectivise under the umbrella of a newly formed iwi’ grouping, namely Te Atiawa, rather than the traditional identity of Ngātiawa as is determined by wakapapa.

Re-claiming identity

Reclaiming Mātauranga-ā-hapū is centred around how hapū define themselves and how their identity has been shaped by external forces. This research focuses on whether

Mātauranga-ā-hapū is distinct from Mātauranga Māori and explores the implications of this distinction. The redefining of groupings such as whānau, hapū, and iwi as a large homogenous grouping as Māori, directly impacted the traditional identity groupings as determined by traditional knowledge and systems. The terms Māori and iwi used to collectivise for political purposes, has marginalised the authority of hapū to exercise self-determination in ancestral ways. This section draws on the insights from the research about re-claiming hapū identity.

Successive governments have failed to recognize hapū as traditional, self-determining entities. By redefining whānau, hapū and iwi into a singular, homogenous Māori grouping, they reshaped external perceptions of Māori, and subsequently influenced how Māori came to perceive themselves. The imposition of colonial social and economic systems - enforced through military invasion - clashed with the traditional authority of hapū as determined by tūpuna and wakapapa. As colonial legislation and policies dictated land tenure, hapū were coerced into aligning with larger groupings which undermined their traditional authority and self-determination.

For Māori and other Indigenous peoples, identity is deeply affected by legislation designed to marginalise and suppress Indigenous self-identification. Palmater (2011) highlights the struggle for Indigenous ‘peoplehood’ and identity in Canada where federal legislation like the Indian Act imposes restrictive and discriminatory criteria such as blood quantum and gender to categorise descendants. According to Palmater's (2011) research, the registration provisions in the Indian Act will result in the disappearance of First Nations as legal and constitutional entities. The existing status criteria employ descent-based rules like blood quantum and gender which Palmater describes as discriminatory and colonising. The impact of legislation and policy on the identity of Indigenous nations, including hapū in Aotearoa, is deleterious. The Indian Act of 1876 and Section 35 of the 1982 Constitution Act

in Canada exemplify how federal policies have controlled and constrained Indigenous identity, undermining Indigenous autonomy and well-being (Palmater, 2011). This global issue of legislative suppression and its impact on identity is mirrored in Aotearoa where the power dynamics of the Crown asserted dominance and control over others.

Efforts to reclaim identity and ancestral knowledge are evident in Canada and New Zealand. Indigenous peoples globally, including those affected by colonisation, share experiences of dispossession and disconnection across diverse cultural and geographical contexts. Cardinal (2007) describes this subjugation of First Nations people as Europeans seeking to, ‘possess the exclusive power to determine who was and was not Indian; who was entitled to inhabit Indian communities; and who could or could not be entitled to receive state services and recognition’ (p. 68). The use of legislation to accelerate assimilation involved attempts to strip identity by ‘aggregating power’ to rename and to continue to re-identify First Nations peoples.

The marginalisation faced by smaller groups like hapū that have often been at risk of being rendered invisible, is severe. In Canada, Andersen (2014) describes how colonial policies were designed to ‘disappear’ Indigenous peoples; a process that employs the colonial notion of mixed heritage to separate Metis peoples from First Nations and Inuit peoples.

Resistance by hapū to subsummation under a broad iwi umbrella for political purposes such as Treaty Settlements (Birdling, 2004; Lashley, 2000; Mutu, 2018) highlights a growing effort to revitalise Mātauranga-ā-hapū. This thesis argues that Crown legislation and policy in Aotearoa has re-defined and fragmented Mātauranga-ā-hapū by imposing a homogenous Māori identity that disrupts traditional knowledge and practices. Smith (2015) writes that ‘the pan- Māori approach to all things Māori [which] was an identity imposed externally upon all Māori people’. Adding to this Doherty (2010) writes,

‘There is a danger that an assumption may be drawn from mātauranga Māori that Māori are a homogenous body, and Māori knowledge is one set of ideas and practices. Mātauranga Māori provides Māori with a platform to speak generically. As the deep esoteric explanations of concepts reside with tribal knowledge, mātauranga Māori needs Mātauranga-ā-iwi’ (p.67).

My research contends that Crown legislation and policy in Aotearoa have significantly redefined and fragmented Mātauranga-ā-hapū by enforcing a unified Māori identity. The Treaty settlement process in particular has compounded this issue by consolidating Māori into ‘large natural groupings’ thereby impacting iwi and hapū identity and directly undermining the retention and survival of traditional knowledge for hapū groupings.

The realisation of the impact of the creation of single entities to represent smaller groupings by the Crown; constructs such as Rūnanga, Māori Land Councils and Treaty settlement entities, have subjugated the identity of Otaraua. John Rangihau (1992) asserted that the creation by the Crown of large iwi entities would result in a loss of identity and Rangihau discussed the notion of ‘iwitanga’ in his paper ‘Being Māori’. Sir Tipene O’Regan (2003), recalls the influence John Rangihau had on his perception of tribal identity. O’Regan noted that Rangihau ‘...made the point that the concept ‘Māori,’ (p. 25) as it is applied to people, is a Pākehā invention. The only need to distinguish a group of people as Māori came with the arrival of another group. Prior to that, we were Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Whatua, Ngai Tahu....’. The survival and reclamation of mātauranga continues to evolve as hapū reorientate to reclaim identity away from large collective groupings, primarily constructed by the Crown for convenience through imposed legislation and policy.

Identifying Māori as a homogenous group for hapū and iwi is a tool for colonisation and as a result, has reshaped and redefined hapū identity. Poata-Smith (2004) writes that ‘the

claims process and current models for allocating and distributing the benefits of Treaty Settlements, have impacted first, on contemporary Māori understandings of the place of iwi, hapū and urban communities with Māori society and second, on Māori conceptions of collective identity, notions of belonging and relationships with other Māori' (p. 175). Reclamation of Mātauranga-ā-hapū for Otaraua is a reorientation away from an imposed pan-Māori and iwi identity.

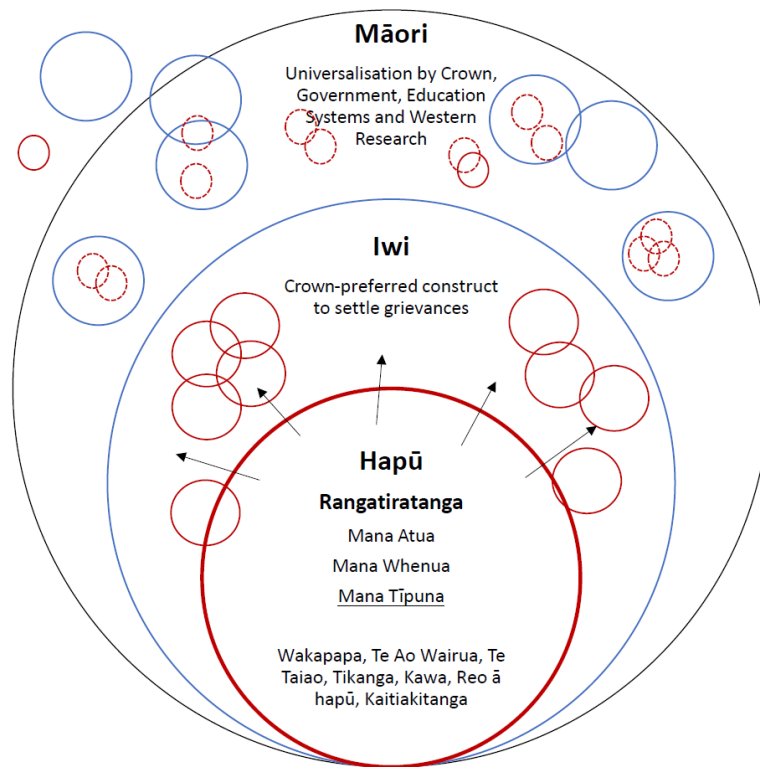
Fearing the development of a new 'Māori' identity, John Rangihau often commented on the need for hapū and iwi descendants to remain strong as an act of resilience, to hold onto hapū and iwi identity. Joseph and Benton (2021) share a similar perspective of Maori identity when they wrote

'although Māori identify themselves primarily through hapū and iwi affiliations, most other New Zealanders usually see things the other way round, with "Māori" being the principal group from which hapū and iwi are derived. The term "Māori" (normal or ordinary) was originally used by tāngata whenua (people of the land) to differentiate themselves from the newcomer "pākehā" or foreigners when Aotearoa was first colonised by the British' (p. 859).

Reclamation of identity through reclaiming narratives is a response to the marginalisation of identity by Crown and Government constructed mechanisms.

Hapū are autonomous and were self-sufficient communities. Dispossession of land and suppression of culture and language challenged hapū autonomy. Mātauranga-ā-hapū is fragmented by subsuming traditional hapū knowledge into iwi and Māori identity and knowledges. Collectivising as a strategy to retain or gain land resulted in the identity of Otaraua being absorbed into Te Atiawa, challenges our ancestral links to our iwi of Ngātiawa. Figure 3 captures the subsuming of hapū identity by larger groupings determined by Crown and government legislation, policy.

Figure 3: *Universalisation of mātauranga*



Within the colonial paradigm, hapū are challenged to maintain authority and autonomy in a system that favours dealing with ‘large natural groupings’ (Birdling, 2004). This marginalisation of hapū identity is evident where such groupings are elevated and used to influence and control decision-making within dominant systems. Long-standing relationships between closely connected hapū are diminishing as boundaries and identities are redefined through the Crown’s Treaty settlement process.

Otaraua for example, has become isolated, striving to retain identity in complex political environments that require Otaraui descendants to identify with the broader Te Atiawa iwi when engaging with Crown and other government-controlled initiatives. The iwi construct has become the dominant and preferred model, responsible for distributing resources to hapū through Treaty settlements. As highlighted by the voices in Chapter Five, many whānau remain resolute in maintaining their identity and autonomy, even though this

requires them to exist on the fringes. Others choose to engage directly with iwi entities to access resources that support the reclamation of their identity.

The Impact of Treaty settlements on identity and mātauranga retention

In Aotearoa, the struggle to reclaim and revitalize hapū identity and Mātauranga-ā-hapū continues amidst the pressures of imposed iwi identities. Historical policies have profoundly impacted the identity and rights of both First Nations peoples in Canada and Māori in Aotearoa, leading to marginalization and cultural disruption. The Treaty settlement process, while aimed at redressing historical wrongs, has contributed to the redefining of hapū identities to align with iwi, affecting the retention and survival of Mātauranga within traditional whānau, hapū and iwi groupings.

Literature indicates that the position of hapū within Māori identity has been marginalised by Treaty settlements and will impact generations who have been born during this process. As the settlement process has evolved, the Crown ‘has unilaterally decided to seek settlements solely with large natural groups defined by the Crown as iwi, or amalgamations of hapū, groups (Birdling, 2004). Birdling also argues that the large natural groupings policy may breach Te Tiriti and contribute to the subjugation of hapū authority and Mātauranga-ā-hapū. Despite compelling evidence that the original natural groupings were organised along hapū lines rather than large clusters, the Crown continues to favour dealing with clusters of hapū or iwi. This preference is exemplified by Sir Douglas Graham, the Minister for Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations in 1993, as cited in Birdling (2004). Graham remarked that negotiating with individual hapū would be an endless process, saying ‘if we were to negotiate with hapū individually, it could take a thousand years, with ongoing disputes over hapū boundaries. It’s already challenging enough at the iwi level, which presents its own set of issues’ (Birdling, 2004, p. 259).

Decades after the Treaty settlement process for the Te Atiawa Settlement began, Otaraaua is still dispossessed of land, and unable to exercise rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga as they once did in a healthy, vibrant, and self-sustaining ecosystem. The narratives of the whānau participants highlight the importance of connection to whenua and a desire to reclaim it. The Treaty settlement process, while providing opportunities for redress, often clashes with tikanga, creating tension not only with the Crown but also within the hapū.

In the Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement in 2014, the Crown acknowledged and apologised for historical injustices. The Crown expressed unreserved apologies for the destruction of property, hardship, and loss of life resulting from the Taranaki Wars in the nineteenth century. The Crown further acknowledged the indiscriminate and unjust nature of land confiscation, deeply regretting the harm such actions caused to the Te Atiawa economy and society. The Crown also apologised for unjustly imprisoning Te Atiawa people involved in peaceful resistance campaigns and for exiling individuals far from their homes, causing grief to their families and descendants (Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement, 2014).

Furthermore, the Crown expressed deep regret and unreserved apology for its unconscionable actions at Parihaka and acknowledged the damage caused to the community and Te Atiawa residents there. Lastly, the Crown expressed remorse for its failure to uphold the Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which undermined the social structures, autonomy, culture and well-being of Te Atiawa and solemnly apologized for all breaches of the Treaty and its principles (Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement, 2014). However, the apology did not explicitly address the restoration of mana and rangatiratanga, the essential aspects of hapū identity. In this respect, addressing the usurping of the mana and rangatiratanga of hapū leaders as guaranteed by the Te Tiriti o Waitangi, is far from settled. The Waitangi Tribunal enabled the grievances of whānau to be heard, the colonial injustices and the effects to be published, and there were opportunities for redress. The settlement processes, however, were debated fiercely within the

hapū as documented in this thesis. The hapū remains virtually landless, unable to exercise traditional practices and customs and be self-sustaining. By tūpuna standards, well-being has diminished and requires healing.

Otaraua leadership represented by the Otaraaua hapū management Committee Inc, Pukepapa Marae Trust, Otaraaua hapū Trust and Ngā Ringawera Otaraaua Inc remain steadfast in their opposition to the outcomes of the Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement. In a decision to accept marae distribution from Te Kotahitanga o Te Atiawa after ten years of settlement, Otaraaua expressed that in accepting the distribution, they did not ‘acquiesce to the Te Atiawa iwi Authority Deed of Settlement (T. Hunt, kōrerorero, May 10, 2022)’. Taken together, the Crown’s actions in the nineteenth century and the recent Deed of Settlement have led to the loss of the remaining ancestral estates of Ngātiawa and fly in the face of the words left by forebears. The settlement is not full and final and does not compensate for breaches of Te Tiriti and the subsequent impact. Otaraaua leadership demonstrated that they understood the deleterious impact of the Treaty settlement by declaring the terms by which they will accept settlement funds.

A primary motivation for this research is to begin to heal the trauma endured by whānau during the Treaty settlement era. Healing will require acknowledging that grievances and trauma persist. The enduring act of resistance against colonisation by whānau and hapū in Taranaki is significant and longstanding (Hond, 2013; Keenan, 1994; Riseborough, 2002). Transitioning from deep trauma to transformation requires support for healing. Indigenous peoples are increasingly aware of the historical injustices and ongoing challenges resulting from colonisation and ongoing marginalisation (Battiste, 2000; Palmater, 2011; Smith, 1999). By becoming conscious of the systems (conscientisation) that subjugate, Indigenous communities challenge dominant narratives that have historically justified colonisation and oppression. The concept of ‘conscientisation’ as developed by Paulo Freire (1972) empowers

Indigenous communities to actively shape futures and advocate for rights. Conscientisation also serves as a powerful tool for preserving Indigenous cultures and languages marginalised by colonial forces, by fostering a deeper understanding of cultural heritage and its significance in the reclamation process. Through conscientisation, Indigenous communities unite, engage in constructive dialogue and plan collective actions to address crucial issues like land rights, self-determination, and social justice (Freire, 1972). Embracing conscientisation provides Otaraua descendants with a powerful framework for self-awareness, cultural preservation, empowerment, and collective action, enhancing their capacity to address the complex challenges posed by colonisation.

The influence of Crown policy in promoting the universalisation of mātauranga has had a significant effect on sidelining Mātauranga-ā-hapū. Government policy that drives collectivising through large natural groupings has caused Mātauranga Māori and Indigenous knowledge holders to struggle to retain their identity. Universalising hapū knowledges into iwi groupings or Māori knowledge, impacts on the narratives of tūpuna and their descendants that will be told and remembered. Universalising diverse hapū and Indigenous tribal knowledges into single entities can render these more susceptible to government control through Treaty settlements.

Reclaiming Mātauranga-ā-hapū and the generation of new Mātauranga-a-hapū

Mātauranga-ā-hapū is a rich and intricate body of knowledge specific to each hapū, encompassing their unique knowledge systems, practices, and perspectives which are vital to hapū cultural identity and heritage. This includes traditional teachings, oral histories, spiritual beliefs, customary practices and ecological wisdom passed down through generations. Mātauranga-ā-hapū reflects a deep connection between hapū and our ancestral lands, fostering a sense of identity, belonging and stewardship over their territories (Mead, 2021).

Reclaiming Mātauranga-ā-hapū is pivotal for restoring identity. This process involves navigating the complexities of recovering lost knowledge while also addressing the impacts of colonial legislation and policy that have impacted traditional practices. For the Otaraua descendants in this study, the revival of traditional knowledge is crucial. Mātauranga-ā-hapū is rooted in a deep connection with the land and with knowledge intricately linked to the environment and the natural world. Several hapū are actively creating their own models of wellbeing through collaboration with researchers. For instance, Ngāti Maunga has explored the use of rongoa (traditional healing methods) to achieve their wellbeing goals (Diamond, 2019). Similarly, Ngāti Kurī has developed a restorative model ‘to improve the health of whenua, moana (ocean) and the health and well-being of whānau’ (Wakefield et al., 2006). This model was based on the relationship between atua, whenua and tangata. These examples illustrate how some hapū are actively reclaiming and practicing Mātauranga-ā-hapū, demonstrating a commitment to return to traditional knowledge and its application in contemporary contexts.

Despite the imposition of western systems and concepts of land ownership and authority, some fragments of Mātauranga-ā-hapū, as a distinct body of knowledge and systems, persist. In 1997, Arohia Durie noted that ‘the term Maori is one that attracts debate today because of the tendency to use it as a homogenising term for all the tribal groups and thereby obscure the distinguishing facts of each’ (Durie, 1997, p. 142). To effectively reclaim Mātauranga-ā-hapū, it is essential to develop autonomous methodologies that reinforce hapū identity. This knowledge, though challenged by colonial injustices, endures within whānau practices and stories about land, waterways and the environment. Penetito (2001) emphasised that there is no single definition of Māori knowledge it is specific to whānau, hapū and iwi. Therefore, in reorienting toward Mātauranga-ā-hapū, it is crucial to consider both the reclamation of knowledge and the traditional systems of decision-making and daily life.

For Otaraua whānau, terms like Mātauranga Māori, Mātauranga-ā-iwi or Mātauranga-ā-hapū are relatively unfamiliar, as explored in Chapter Five. Instead, their lived experiences reflect a unique way of engaging with each other, the environment, and the spiritual realm. While the specific academic terms may be less known, the principles and tikanga of Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua are deeply endorsed by their narratives.

Mātauranga-ā-hapū-led research.

The emergence of hapū-led research over the past decade has marked a significant shift in the study and application of Mātauranga-ā-hapū. This body of research, encompassing diverse fields such as hapū data sovereignty (Kukutai et al., 2022), the Mauri of Wai (Hopkins, 2018) and environmental restoration (Forster, 2011), underscores the central role of Mātauranga-ā-hapū in enhancing well-being and addressing colonial impacts. These research works offer valuable insights into the importance of building upon existing Mātauranga-ā-hapū while highlighting the gaps that require further exploration, as identified by the hapū themselves. Hapū are also developing repositories of knowledge that contribute to evidence as recent hapū claims - Waitangi Tribunal 2002 Wai 220; Waitangi Tribunal 2022 Wai 1040 - come to light. However, these accounts in the past were not gathered by iwi or hapū researchers, rather non-Māori often conducted this research. It has only been more recently that hapū researchers have been resourced to conduct research on behalf of their people for Waitangi Tribunal claims. As breaches of Te Tiriti continue to affect the well-being and identity of contemporary generations, the reclamation of hapū knowledge systems is gaining recognition as a distinct and vital body of knowledge in the political sphere.

Mātauranga-ā-hapū is crucial for revitalising decision-making processes, governance structures and sustainable practices at a localised level in Aotearoa. It embodies the collective memory of the hapū and serves as a dynamic, living system that has evolved over time and provides a source of strength and resilience for future generations. In reclaiming mātauranga,

it is essential to also restore the associated processes and tikanga that are integral to everyday life of Otaraua, alongside the knowledge itself. With reference to the proposed research questions, the discussion delves into the possibility of revitalizing and rekindling the expression of self-determination and Mātauranga within the hapū setting and offers current examples as illustrations. In more recent years, there has been an emergence of hapū that are striving to reclaim their identity through reconnecting to whenua and reviving old knowledge, while carving out new pathways for hapū to create new mātauranga.

Mātauranga-ā-hapū frameworks

The development of hapū centric curriculum or marautanga reflects the reclamation of narratives that shape intergenerational learning within hapū and whānau. As hapū mobilise to capture their narratives, new and old marautanga are emerging.

In the context of a Whanganui iwi and the hapū of Ngāti Ruakā, Haami (2018) examines the preservation of hapū waiata and oral taonga through the decolonisation of Western frameworks. Haami's research highlights the concerns of the hapū members regarding the protection, transmission, and pedagogy of the mātauranga contained in these taonga.

Ngāti Tamainupo embarked on a reclamation journey with the development of their Te Ahokura o Tamainupō Mātauranga Framework (2022). Their framework is a collective vision of whānau of Ngāti Tamainupō 'towards growing the knowledge, mindsets, capabilities and skills that we want everyone one of our uri to have so they can flourish as Ngāti Tamainupoo citizens' (Te Ahokura O Tamainupo - Ngāti Tamainupoo Mātauranga Framework, 2022). The framework is founded on the traditional methods of sustainable gardening and connection to the ancestral environment of Ngāti Tamainupō. Both are intrinsically linked to the Ngāti Tamainupō identity. The framework is informed and guided

by principles and values of mana motuhake, rangatiratanga, maataatoa, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga, rangimārie, whakaponono and aroha.

Ngāti Hauā reclaim Mātauranga through their Hauā Reo, Hauā Tangata strategy which has several key principles.

- Ko te reo, kia Hauā – maintaining a strong focus on promoting and raising awareness of te reo that is distinctively Ngāti Hauā and in a Ngāti Hauā way in context.
- Ko te tangata, kia Hauā – maintaining the perseverance, tenacity and fighting spirit of our tūpuna Hauā in our pursuit to revitalise Te Reo o Ngāti Hauā.
- Ko Hauā reo, ko Hauā tangata tonu – the language is the people. Fostering a culture where the language and its people are one, where each is recognised as a representation of the other and where value for te reo growth and preservation sits at the heart of every uri of Ngāti Hauā.
- Inā hauā te reo, ka hauā hoki te tangata – a language thwarted is a people crippled. Reinforcing the interdependence between a language and its people; without one the identity and uniqueness of the other will not survive. (Hauā Reo, Hauā Tangata)

Ngāti Hauā value the importance of Ngāti Hauā reo in ensuring that tūpuna identity, uniqueness and adversity endure for current and future generations.

Activating the principle of kaitiakitanga, the whānaunga hapū of Ngāti Tāwhirikura, are reclaiming mātauranga and healing in a post-Treaty settlement phase. The whānau of Ngāti Tāwhirikura hapū strive to revitalise traditional gardening practices with the revitalisation of Te Reo-o-Taranaki. Ngamata Skipper, Chairperson of Ngāti Tāwhirikura writes,

‘All of our volunteers, our whānau, we are reclaiming old skills and our families’. By working together as family units, kaumātua, pahake, and tamariki, comes the true

value of whanaungatanga. And with the giving of kai, we're enacting the true value of manaakitanga' (Te Puni Kokiri, 2019).

The principles and values engaged across all three examples from these hapū indicate the reclamation of hapū knowledge and systems. Within the large iwi context of Ngāti Raukawa, He Iti naa Mōtai: Te Hono ki Raukawa (Winiata, 2019) is an Oral Histories report, which collates and presents the narratives from hapū across Ngāti Raukawa, stating that,

'the traditional takiwā of the hapū; important waka-papa lines, tūpuna and pepehā; sites of significance, wāhi tapū, locations of food gathering sites and natural resources (past and present); former and present locations of marae, kāinga, ara and populations; defining events, oral history and marae stories; and biographies and photos of leaders and rangatira' (p. 6).

One significant section of the report analyses the mātauranga of the Ngāti Raukawa Confederation from the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries. The report explores the 'hapū driven, marae-based' approach of Te Hono ki Raukawa, including the emergence of new hapū. The recent report celebrates the diversity of hapū identity within a large construct such as Ngāti Raukawa.

These examples of Mātauranga reclamation demonstrate a vibrant revitalisation of Mātauranga-ā-hapū. The examples highlight the possibilities that exist within large iwi groupings to acknowledge and support the reclamation of Mātauranga-ā-hapū after post Treaty settlements as described by Ngāti Tāwhirikura.

Conclusion

Indigenous knowledge encompasses unique knowledge systems, beliefs, and practices passed down through generations in Māori and Indigenous communities. Knowledges reflect the relationship between people and the environment and holds spiritual and ecological significance. My research addressed the marginalisation of Indigenous knowledge with a

specific emphasis on the subjugation of hapū identity and knowledge due to the historical and more recent Treaty settlement processes.

Mātauranga Māori is the collective knowledge of whānau, hapū, and iwi passed down through generations. Mātauranga Māori is dynamic and shaped by community experiences and traditions, both negative and positive. The concept emerges as a response to colonisation's impact on Māori identity and serves as a tool for organising, preserving and understanding Māori ways of life. Mātauranga Māori evolves with each generation contributing to its growth. Mātauranga-ā-iwi extends on Mātauranga Māori by focusing on specific tribal knowledge and connecting people to their environment and cultural heritage. Mātauranga Māori also represents a reclamation of traditional knowledge systems and identity.

My research focuses on the importance of reclaiming the knowledge systems or Mātauranga-ā-hapū that is specific to individual hapū. This chapter explored the concept of mātauranga from a Māori perspective and traces the shift towards Mātauranga-ā-hapū as a distinct body of knowledge, and an extension of Mātauranga Māori and Mātauranga-ā-iwi. The chapter also discussed current initiatives aimed at reclaiming hapū traditional knowledges. Despite colonial injustices, some fragments of hapū knowledge remain within whānau practices and narratives about the land and environment. Mātauranga-ā-hapū is deeply connected to the land, reflecting ancestral ties, spirituality, and ecological wisdom. Recent studies emphasize the gathering of hapū data sovereignty and well-being. Various hapū-led initiatives highlight the reclamation of this knowledge, offering insights into their unique identities and sustainable practices.

Chapter Four: Colonisation and the impact on the identity and knowledge of Otaraua

Introduction

‘The boundary of the land which is given for us is at Mokau. These lands will not be given by us into the Governor’s and your hands, lest we resemble the seabirds. which perch upon a rock, when the tide flows the rock is covered by the sea and the birds take flight, for they have no resting place. ‘I will not give the land to you’ (New Zealand Parliament, 1860a).

Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke, paramount rangatira of Ngāti Kura, Otaraua, and Manukorihi hapū, articulated his strong opposition to the Crown’s forced land tenure policies in as cited in this letter to the Governor on April 25, 1859. His writings reveal deep concerns about the erosion of Ngatiawa land rights, the Crown’s disregard for customary ownership, and the broader implications of these policies on Ngatiawa autonomy. The resistance led by Te Rangitāke exemplifies his profound understanding of the disarray caused by the coloniser's strategies and employed by the government to acquire land for an expanding settler population. These strategies included the implementation of individualised titles and the disregard for traditional systems of land kaitiakitanga and hapū leadership.

Governor Browne and Chief Land Purchase Commissioner Donald McLean failed to recognise the mana of Te Rangitāke as a rangatira and protector of his hapū, thereby violating the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, to which Te Rangitāke was a signatory nineteen years earlier (Orange, 2015; Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). Despite the Crown's efforts to seize land, Te Rangitāke remained steadfast in his commitment to protect it, viewing land as a vital element of heritage and cultural identity, sustenance and spiritual well-being for the hapū. By stating, “It is

an old word; and now I have no new proposal to make, either as regards selling or anything else” in his letter to the Governor on April 25, 1859, Te Rangitāke reaffirmed the authority of his ancestors and directed all Ngātiawa hapū to uphold their sovereignty over hapū land (New Zealand Government, 1859, p. 6). In the face of this challenge, the people of Waitara, led by Te Rangitāke, responded with humility and peaceful resistance. When confronted by a new adversary in the British Crown, the leadership of Ngātiawa rapidly adapted to counteract a system which was designed to disrupt Māori and Indigenous communities world-wide.

This chapter will examine how Crown legislation, policies and practices have led to the marginalisation of Otaraua and Ngātiawa identity and knowledge. By combining Otaraua narrative accounts, literature review and chronological analysis, this chapter will identify the acts of colonisation that have impeded the self-determination of Otaraua descendants with regards to their hapū lands. The analysis begins with an Otaraua perspective through an Otaraua ‘line of sight’ and then proceeds to examine Crown policy and legislation chronologically.

A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology is engaged to highlight and elevate the resistance and opposition of Otaraua descendants and other Taranaki hapū to colonial impositions. The injustices faced by the whānau of Otaraua and Ngātiawa are captured and re-presented through an Otaraua lens, amplifying an Otaraua narrative. This evidence is supported by researchers and advocates for the reclamation of identities marginalised by colonisation.

The overarching themes for this chapter are as follows:

1. Mana tūpuna, rangatiratanga, mana whenua and kaitiakitanga (authority and leadership)
2. Mō ngā wahine pouaru, me ngā tamaiti pani (resilience and response)
3. He taunga anu (Reclamation)
4. Impact of Crown legislation and policy

Otaraua line of sight

Otaraua tūpuna

titiro aroha mai.

Tenei matou nga putanga e tuitui

e rapu nei i te whanaungatanga

I roto i te kotahitanga o Otaraaua.

Kia tu tangata ai waenga iwi

Hei kupu whakaoti ake

ka piki i te wai awa pikitū

Piki rere, piki takina atu ra.

Nga kokonga me nga tahataha

Kia rere tonu atu ki te puaha

koropupu ai kia ruakina atu ai ki te Moana nui a kiwa

Otaraua is our hapū. Look upon us with compassion.

Here we are the descendants seeking a way,

searching for a way to unite all of our relations

once again within the unity of Otaraaua

so we may once again stand tall and proud among our people.

Like the rise and fall of the flowing river waters,

our cause for justice for our people is forever a battle,

no matter how much progress we make forward over the crests,

we seem to slip into a deep trough like the dip between each wave,

then thrown into a whirlpool of uncertainty,

*to flounder there indefinitely having gained nothing,
to be disgorged into the vast emptiness of the great ocean of Te Moana nui a Kiwa*
(Otaraua Hapū, 1991).

In this section, the term ‘line of sight’ refers to an Otaraaua perspective on the injustices faced by descendants of Otaraaua caused by colonisation. This viewpoint is encapsulated in an old waiata that formed part of the opening statement of the Otaraaua hapū Waitangi Tribunal submission for the Te Atiawa Treaty settlement claim in 1991. The waiata highlights the plea of Otaraaua descendants for unity and justice that was made one hundred and thirty years after Crown’s 1860 invasion of Otaraaua lands. This section explores the experiences and responses of Otaraaua and Ngātiawa to the devastating impact of colonisation that led to the marginalisation of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraaua.

Historically, the accounts of the experiences of Otaraaua and Ngātiawa have been documented by researchers and historians without wakapapa to Otaraaua or Ngātiawa, or by Crown and government officials. This section employs a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraaua methodology which recognises and amplifies the voices of hapū descendants. The narratives of Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke are engaged to provide a historical perspective and the narratives of whānau who participated in the preliminary Treaty settlement negotiations during the 1990s are also included. Whānau accounts were drawn from whānau records, meeting minutes, letters, and personal communication. Where relevant, additional literature is used to support and contextualise whānau narratives.

In 1859 Te Rangitāke wrote a letter to Governor Thomas Gore Browne protesting the British Crown's negotiations with Te Teira Manuka, a lesser known rangatira who agreed to sell six hundred acres of Ngātiawa land at Waitara that is known as the Pekapeka Block. The

agreement ignored the traditional authority and leadership structures of the hapū which required land-related decisions to be made by a senior rangatira. Instead, Te Teira and the Crown engaged in a negotiation that usurped the traditional system of hapū leadership which compelled Te Rangitāke to respond with the following,

‘...I will not agree to our bedroom being sold (I mean Waitara here), for this bed belongs to all of us; and do not you be in haste to give the money. Do you hearken to my word. If you give the money secretly, you will get no land for it. You may insist but I will never agree to it. Do not suppose that this is nonsense on my part; no, it is true, for it is an old word; and now I have no new proposal to make, either as regards to selling or anything else. All I have to say to you O Governor is that none of this land will be given to you, never, never, till I die. I have heard. It is said that I am to be imprisoned because of this land. I am very sad because of this word. Why is it? You should remember that the Māoris and Pakehas are living quietly upon them. Pieces of land and therefore do not you disturb them. Do not say there is no one so bad as myself. There is another word to you, O Governor. The land will never, never be given to you, not till death..... (New Zealand Parliament, 1860b, p. 6).

The letter highlights the contrasting perspectives of the Crown and the hapū worldview of authority or mana tūpuna (ancestral authority) and rangatiratanga (authority to self-determine). Te Rangitāke emphasised his responsibility as rangatira to protect the whenua (land) that was entrusted to him through his lineage and was exercised through the concept of mana whenua. His role included safeguarding traditional systems of land distribution and leadership for the well-being of present and future generations. He made it clear that no monetary compensation could

replace the loss of land, setting a precedent for the resistance of Otaraua to land confiscation and defence of their authority and traditional knowledge systems.

The Crown's disregard and misunderstanding of mana tūpuna and rangatiratanga severely affected the ability of the whānau of Otaraua to maintain guardianship of the land and their identity as Otaraua. Te Rangitāke highlighted breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. As a signatory to Te Tiriti, he understood that Te Tiriti o Waitangi was an agreement of partnership that allowed each partner to exercise authority and care for their own. Otaraua continues to assert the breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi within their narratives while actively working to reclaim traditional knowledge systems.

What follows are examples of the efforts of Otaraua to uphold mana tūpuna, rangatiratanga and mana whenua as acts of resistance against colonisation that sought to alienate the hapū from their land and had no regard for hapū leadership. The narrative is shaped by the key points made by Te Rangitāke in his statement and also draws from whānau sources.

Mana tūpuna

Otaraua are descended from eponymous ancestors of Uenuku, Kura and Tuiti, tracing their lineage back to Awanuiārangi II, who carried the mana of Awanuiārangi I. These tūpuna were voyagers, explorers, conquerors, and leaders, embodying the prestige and prowess that Otaraua draws upon as mana tūpuna. The hapū identifies through the names of these prominent ancestors, who were skilled and knowledgeable in the mātauranga required to sustain whānau and hapū.

Before the arrival of settlers, Otaraua had long been established in Northern Taranaki inhabiting the entire length of the Taranaki coast and its inland areas. There were many hapū who occupied this area, interconnected through a complex network of relationships bound by

wakapapa to land and to each other. Tūpuna connected hapū through genealogical links which were acknowledged and maintained in traditional narratives and customary practices. As wakapapa expanded amongst whānau, new hapū emerged and relationships across these groups ensured everyone occupied land and managed resources collectively whilst adhering to principles such as kaitiakitanga.

The arrival of colonisers disrupted the natural order and structure of hapū by failing to engage with them in their traditional state. The inter-connected system of hapū and whānau, which was constantly evolving, was destabilised. Mana tūpuna was upheld through the boundaries they had established and maintained by ancestors, the authority they held, and the relationships they nurtured. The dismantling of the traditional ecosystems of Otaraua led to chaos and upheaval, displacing descendants from familiar surroundings and disconnecting them from the 'known.' In such imposed and unfamiliar environments, it was challenging to uphold the mana of tūpuna.

The Crown's blatant disregard for the inherent authority or mana tūpuna was evident in their imposition of foreign systems of authority and encroachment upon traditional ancestral lands. The usurpation of tūpuna authority disregarded the responsibility of hapū to protect everything within their domain. They were the custodians of the land entrusted to them through mana atua or spiritual ancestors. The Crown's lack of recognition and understanding of tikanga and the knowledge systems inherited by hapū descendants diminished the mana that had been upheld by tūpuna over generations. As a consequence of colonisation, the mana or authority of tūpuna was usurped, plunging hapū into chaos and turmoil.

Rangatiratanga

Rangatiratanga is a concept that refers to the inherent rights of Māori to self-determination, as expressed through mana atua, mana whenua and mana tūpuna. Royal, (2003) describes it as ‘the natural heritage of every Māori’ (p.154) while Smith (1999) defines it as the ‘the ability or right to determine our own destinies (p. 173). This concept is embedded in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, particularly in Article Two, which grants hapū the authority to control and manage their own resources within their territory (Royal, 2003). However, the process of colonisation marginalised hapū rangatira and whānau from exercising their inherent right to mana tūpuna, mana whenua and rangatiratanga.

He Whakaputanga – The Declaration of Independence.

Before 1840, Otaraua and surrounding hapū exercised rangatiratanga over traditionally determined hapū territory. Hapū were inter-connected with other whānau and hapū through whakapapa, mutual understandings, and strategic alliances that ensured protection and well-being. That way of life was facilitated by discussions and wānanga regarding territorial boundaries, alliances, migration, and inter-marriage (Mead, 2021; Walker, 1990).

In the 1830s, the arrival of settlers in Taranaki brought conflicting interpretations of mana, driven by land companies and British Crown representatives, which sought to undermine the authority of hapū (Mutu, 2019). He Whakaputanga o te rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni (The Declaration of Independence) was signed in 1835 by thirty-four Northern rangatira, and an additional eighteen rangatira signed by 1839. Te Whakaputanga asserted that Aotearoa was an independent Māori state, with full authority residing with Māori, and foreign powers were prohibited from making laws or exercising authority over Māori (Mutu, 2004; Royal, 2016). The

United Kingdom officially recognised He Whakaputanga o te rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni in 1835, which affirmed Māori sovereignty on the global stage (Mutu, 2004).

The Declaration's four articles established Aotearoa as an independent nation under the 'Tribes of New Zealand,' affirmed Māori sovereignty, and sought the protection of King William IV of England to prevent foreign encroachment (O'Malley, 2017). Clause One declared that Māori collectively constituted an independent nation called the United Tribes of New Zealand and affirmed that Māori retained full sovereignty and authority over their lands, resources, and internal affairs. Clause Two acknowledged the need for a central governing body to maintain order and protect the independence of the Māori nation. Clause three emphasized that the Māori nation would have the exclusive right to establish and enforce laws within their territory. Foreigners, including British subjects, were therefore prohibited from making laws or exercising authority over Māori. Clause four requested King William IV of England to become the protector of the Māori nation. The request aimed to seek assistance from the British Crown in preventing any attempts to undermine Māori independence, particularly against foreign powers (Mutu, 2004).

The Declaration was a response to concerns about potential British annexation and sought to preserve Māori autonomy. The Declaration marked the beginning of collective efforts by hapū and leaders to respond to the influx of settlers and the establishment of new systems.

He Whakaputanga (the Declaration) not only acknowledged Māori independence but also highlighted their desire for an equal partnership with England. As noted by Moana Jackson and cited in Mulholland and Tawhai (2010), declarations of independence can either assert a desire for freedom from external control or remind the world of an existing independent system of governance. The signing of He Whakaputanga in 1835 by rangatira laid the foundation for hapū

to maintain rangatiratanga according to ancestral tikanga. Recognizing and upholding the 1835 Declaration of Independence continues to be a crucial aspect of maintaining Māori self-determination and is recognised by Otaraua hapū today.

Breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and impact for Otaraua.

The breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi by the Crown had a profound impact on the hapū of Otaraua by undermining hapū rangatiratanga, mana tūpuna and mana whenua.

In a recent letter to Te Kotahitanga o Te Atiawa – also known as the post-Treaty Settlement entity - Otaraua organisations expressed their stance on these breaches. The letter written by the Otaraua Hapū Management Committee Inc, the Pukepapa Marae Trust, the Otaraua Hapū Trust, and Ngā Ringawera Otaraua Inc outlined conditions for accepting a marae distribution from Te Kotahitanga o Te Atiawa eight years after the Te Atiawa Settlements Act. The letter highlights the Crown's historical and contemporary breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the persistent disregard for the rangatiratanga of Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke and his father Reretawhangawhanga. The letter clearly states that Otaraua believes that the Crown's actions and those of successive governments have failed to preserve the authority of Otaraua descendants over their lands,

'.. the New Zealand Land Wars instigated by the Crown in Waitara in 1860, denied for over 161 years the rightful tangata-whenua occupants of Ngātiawa lands the "undisturbed possession of their lands and estates" that the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi had guaranteed us. The spirit of the exchange of kawanatanga for the protection of tino rangatiratanga embodied in Te Tiriti o Waitangi has been thoroughly denied us. Both Ariki and rangatira of Ngātiawa signed the Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 and in doing so preserved the sovereign right of their descendants to these lands. The Crown politicked

amongst our hapū, enacted martial law and War, knowingly pursued colonial practices that alienated us as the Tiriti partner from our ancestral lands’ (Otaraua Hapū, 2022).

As already noted, before 1840 Otaraaua was a self-determining hapū collective, exercising kaitiakitanga over lands defined by agreements with whānau and other hapū. The hapū, alongside others such as Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Hinetuhi, Kaitangata, Te Kekerewai, Ngāti Hineuru and Ngāti Tama migrated south to Waikanae on Te Heke Mairaro or the second migration from Taranaki in 1824, as noted by Riwaka (2000). Te Rangitāke and his father, led whānau and hapū of Ngātiawa south, leaving some whānau behind as ahikā (long term residents) on the land at Waitara.

Te Rangitāke and his father signed Te Tiriti at Waikanae on the 16th of May 1840. The mana of those rangatira was paramount and they signed Te Tiriti in good faith and on behalf of their descendants. As Mutu (2010) describes it the Treaty was intended as a ‘a treaty of peace and friendship, one that promised what the rangatira had asked for: acknowledgement and respect for their absolute power and authority throughout their territories, while relieving them of responsibility for lawless British immigrants’ (p. 4). Te Rangitāke often asserted this authority or rangatiratanga in correspondence with the Crown, particularly while defending lands at Waitara from 1858 to 1860.

Te Rangitāke witnessed nineteen years of colonisation, beginning with early land transactions like the Ngamotu Deed in 1839 with the New Zealand Company, and culminating in the dispute over the Pekapeka block at Waitara in 1859. Just days before the signing of Te Tiriti, the Ngamotu Deed demonstrated the Crown’s clear intent to breach Te Tiriti and acquire land. During the 1830s and 1840s, Ngātiawa faced immense pressure to sell land to the New Zealand Company and the Crown. The New Zealand Company's claim to land in Taranaki as described in

the "Nga Motu" or Ngamotu deed, was investigated by Crown-appointed Lands Commissioner William Spain. In June 1844, Spain recommended granting 60,000 acres to the New Zealand Company, a decision that faced strong opposition from Ngātiawa, including Te Rangitāke and his father. The authority of Te Rangitāke and other hapū rangatira was dismissed and their role as guardians was not recognized by the Crown.

In 1848, upon learning of the impending take-over of their traditional lands, Reretawhangawhanga directed Te Rangitāke to return home to assert mana whenua as was guaranteed by Te Tiriti o Waitangi. However, the Crown's response was to vilify the mana of Te Rangitāke as a rangatira. The Crown ruled that absenteeism of Ngātiawa tribal members nullified their land ownership rights, arguing that they had only returned to the land after threats from Waikato subsided. Meanwhile, the New Zealand Company had sold this land to settlers in the absence of Ngātiawa (New Zealand Parliament, 1860c).

Driven by capitalist and imperialist ideologies, the New Zealand Company purchased large tracts of land without fully informing the rangatira of the implications of these transactions (Keenan, 1998). The Crown also engaged in land transactions with hapū representatives under the guise of securing military or strategic sites, often without obtaining full and informed consent from hapū. As Walker (1990) notes, Governor Browne announced during the Pekapeka Block land purchase at Waitara in 1859, 'that any individual who wished to sell land would be able to sell as an individual without the consent of chiefs' (p. 113). Walker wrote that Browne's announcement marked a significant and wrongful departure from the standard practice of gaining the consent of rangatira. The Crown's colonisation agenda was furthered by the individualisation of land titles which enabled a lesser known 'minor' to agree to the sale of land and in doing so undermined the authority of rangatira.

The relentless pursuit of land acquisition by the Crown resulted in the unprovoked invasion of Te Kohia pā in Waitara in 1860. The invasion centred around the question of authority and ownership of the Pekapeka Block. This blatant breach of Te Tiriti o Waitangi was incomprehensible to rangatira who believed in the possibility of co-existence with new settlers based on mutual agreements. However, their vision for co-existence was never realised.

Mana whenua and kaitiakitanga

‘Since the lands of most hapū had been taken during the invasion, any standards of fairness and justice and the post-war relief had to be swift. In fact, for over a decade Māori did not know what lands, if any, would be theirs, while that beneath their feet was continually being allocated to settlers’ (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996).

The traditional concepts of kaitiakitanga and mana whenua and the Crown’s failure to acknowledge and respect these principles require examination. The systematic alienation of Māori from their whenua and the introduction of colonial land tenure systems severely marginalised the identity of hapū. Marginalisation disrupted traditional leadership structures, kinship ties, political alliances, resource sharing, and traditional methods of dispute resolution. A 1996 Waitangi Tribunal report found that the confiscation of land from many hapū during the invasion of Taranaki was unjust and had devastating effects. Many hapū lost most of their customary lands, even in areas untouched by war (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). Today, identity is often defined by physical boundaries imposed by Crown systems as expressed by Marsh (2010) who refers to the extent to which the identity of Ngāti Rahiri, a neighbouring hapū of Otaraua, has been impacted by the imposition of Crown systems and the confiscation of traditional Rahiri lands. Imposed boundaries such as Provincial regions and Council boundaries, do not recognise the traditional boundaries of Otaraua which nowadays is preserved in our family histories and

not acknowledged by local, regional and national entities (Otaraua, 1991; New Plymouth District Council).

The land invasion in Taranaki which began in Waitara on Otaraaua and Manukorihi lands, was a deliberate effort to control hapū identity through land confiscation. Te Rangitāke opposed the new system of individual land titles introduced by the Crown, advocating instead for traditional collective ownership. The shift from collective mana whenua to individual land titles and enforced by the Crown, continues to impact the identity and well-being of Otaraaua hapū. The Crown's aggressive pursuit of land, including from Te Teira who had accepted the individual title system, undermined the traditional leadership system and devalued the mana of the principle rangatira, Te Rangitāke. Governors Browne and Grey's relentless land acquisition efforts for settlers further eroded the traditional leaderships authority.

The ancestral relationship between the hapū and the whenua was characterised by kaitiakitanga whereupon it was the collective that managed and conserved resources. Rights to occupy land were established through acquisition, lineage, or gifting, but with the consent of rangatira and whānau. These rights included hunting, cultivation, and fishing within hapū territories. Mead (2021) describes mana whenua as established over time by populating the land, naming significant places, sharing narratives, creating pepeha, and developing skills to sustain whānau and hapū.

The relationship between the whānau of Otaraaua and their whenua involved cultivating the land, gathering food from the Waitara river and coast, and maintaining knowledge of wāhi tapu and pā sites passed down through generations as detailed in Chapter Two. These narratives along with traditional song and memories are preserved in family repositories, with many still awaiting rediscovery. The practice of ahikā, where whānau lived permanently on or frequently

returned to the land was the practice used to maintain one's authority as kaitiaki. However, the forced confiscation of land deeply fractured this way of life. Keenan (2000) echoes this experience,

'issues of mana whenua were important to Māori where the establishing of histories of customary occupation was concerned. These histories were preserved over time to enhance the mana of the tribes of the north Taranaki area. Later claims by Māori to mana whenua reinforced for each tribe the sense of a history anchored within a specific locality. In the end, these substantiated a tribe's sense of mana, as experienced in the landscape and as recorded in the wahi tapu found across that landscape' (p. 50).

In 1848, Te Rangitāke expressed his determination to prevent the alienation of traditional land in Waitara. He returned to the area at the request of his dying father. In April of that year, Te Rangitāke led six hundred Ngātiawa people back to their ancestral lands in Waitara from Waikanae. By November of the same year, Ngātiawa, including the Otaraua whānau, had returned to live on their ancestral lands. This marked the beginning of ten years of political manoeuvring and character defamation against Te Rangitāke, a staunch opponent of the Crown's efforts to take control of the fertile ancestral lands of Ngātiawa in Waitara (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996).

The marginalisation of hapū and the dispossession from lands during this period set a precedent for further land confiscations and marginalisation in the following decades. In the mid-1850s, the Crown's efforts to buy land from individuals had resulted in conflict and hostility among Ngātiawa due to the confusion caused by the imposition of a colonial land tenure system. The clash of two systems resulted in misunderstandings between hapū, particularly those of Otaraua and Puketapu. The conflict primarily arose due to land disputes and control over

resources, fuelled by the Crown's rapid implementation of a foreign land tenure system. The ambiguity and lack of understanding created by the Crown actions led to tension within hapū. Confusion across hapū leadership about how to respond to land sale propositions was exploited by the Crown that seized the opportunity to promote individual land sales and disregarded the hapū authority or mana whenua (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996).

In 1854, rangatira or chiefly leaders from Taranaki including Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitāke, met at Manawapou to discuss the impact of colonisation and agreed that selling the land was unacceptable. Collectively they agreed to protect the whenua and not sell and expressed their position through the saying 'tangata tōmua, whenua tōmuri' (land takes precedence over life) as depicted in the karakia o te maungārongo, (prayer of peaceful intentions) of a renown warrior and Te Atiawa rangatira, Hapūrona (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). During this time, strategy was crucial to combat the impact of colonisation. The leadership of iwi and hapū of Taranaki sought to uphold the ancestral rangatiratanga over whenua, but the Crown continued its relentless pursuit to find individuals willing to sell.

In 1853 and 1854, the Crown finalized agreements for the Waiwhakaiho and Hua blocks which encompassed a significant portion of traditional Ngātiawa and Otaraua lands. However, the Crown did not secure the unanimous consent of all rangatira and hapū in these areas as a result of failing to respect the mana whenua of the rangatira and ignoring the strong opposition voiced by some hapū members (Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement, 2014). The negotiations for the Waiwhakaiho purchase included undisclosed payments to individual Māori which led to considerable tension among neighbouring Ngātiawa hapū. By 1855, this tension escalated into armed conflicts involving various Ngātiawa individuals and groups in response to further Crown land acquisitions.

By 1859, the Crown claimed ownership of all Ngātiawa land south of the Waitara River. Out of the total 59,378 acres purchased, only 4,604 acres were set aside as reserves for Ngātiawa descendants (Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement, 2014, p. 13). In response, in 1859, Te Rangitāke, reasserted the traditional boundaries over which he and his people claimed authority to the Governor. The traditional markers are as follows:

‘The boundary commences at Waitaha, thence along the boundary of Tarurutangi to Mangoraka, thence on till it reaches, Waiongana.; it there ends again it proceeds along the course of the Waiongana stream till it reaches the boundary of Paritutu, where it ends. Again, it commences at the river mouth of the Waitaha, thence along the coastline in a Northerly direction of Waiongana, Waitara, Turangi, Waiau, Onaero, Urenui, Kaweka, Kupuriki, Waiti, Paraeroa, Karakaura, Te Kawau, Poutama and Mowhakatino. The boundary of the land which is for ourselves is Mokau. If you hear of anyone desirous to sell land within these boundaries which we have here pointed out to you, do not pay any attention to it, because that land selling system is not approved of ...’ (New Zealand Parliament, 1860d, pg. 43).

Sir William Martin’s account in ‘The Taranaki Question’ supporting papers reveals, that the Crown had received advice on traditional Māori principles of land custodianship or kaitiakitanga. It was understood that ‘a man's land is not like his cow or his pig, that he reared himself; but the land comes to all from one ancestor’ (New Zealand. Parliament, 1861, p.2). Additionally, the Crown was informed in further correspondence about the traditional structure and complexity of hapū and whānau relationships described as,

‘Each of the original tribes (iwi) of the Māories has in course of time broken up into a great number of sub-tribes or families (hapū), which have from time to time planted

themselves in separate villages on different parts of the common territory; each family retaining the name of its ancestor or founder. Such sub-tribes are exceedingly numerous. Sometimes it has happened that inter-marriages for many generations between such sub-tribes have so blended them together as to render it impossible to draw any distinction between them for any practical purpose' (New Zealand. Parliament, 1861, p.1).

Despite having received this advice, the Crown disregarded this information and failed to acknowledge the assertion of mana whenua by rangatira such as Te Rangitāke. Instead, the Crown undermined his authority by prioritising the interests of Te Teira (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). The following statement exemplifies the mindset of the Crown and reflects the legislation and policy,

'The opposition of Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke to the sale of Teira's land has been uniformly based by him, not on any unsatisfied claim on the said land of his own, or of any other member of the tribe, but on his pretensions, as Chief to control the sale of all lands belonging to his tribe. The exercise of such an authority, with the consequences necessarily flowing from it, is incompatible with Her Majesty's Sovereignty in this colony and most fatal to the interests of both races' (New Zealand Parliament, 1860e, p. 43).

The statement made it clear that in 1860 the concepts of mana whenua, mana tūpuna and kaitiakitanga were viewed as 'incompatible' with the Crown's policy objectives and were seen as threats to the Crown's singular sovereignty. On March 17th, 1860, Te Rangitāke organized a peaceful act of resistance against the surveying of the Pekapeka block in Waitara, with kui or matriarchs removing survey pegs to signal the disputed status of the land. The Crown, however, deemed this as an act of rebellion. This led to the declaration of martial law on February 22nd

1860, despite the insistence of Te Rangitāke that he had no desire for war but intended to hold the land (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996).

On March 17th, 1860, the Crown initiated hostilities against Ngātiawa by firing the first shots on Te Kohia pā. In the wake of land confiscations, Ngātiawa were unjustly labelled ‘rebels.’ Across Aotearoa, hapū and iwi began uniting against this new enemy, and supporters of Te Rangitāke faced vilification and eviction from their ancestral lands (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996).

The New Zealand Settlements Act of 1863 provided the Crown with the legal means to confiscate lands for acts of rebellion (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). The Act distinguished between Ngātiawa the ‘rebels’ and Te Atiawa, ‘loyalists,’ with the latter receiving Crown Grants of land, though not always within their traditional hapū areas. This period marked the forced removal and displacement of whānau from their homelands where rebels were granted peppered lots of whenua left after whenua had been given to loyals (R. Doorbar, kōrerorero, May, 2022).

The Suppression of Rebellion Act of 1863 further empowered the Government to declare martial law in districts experiencing hostility, and the Act allowed for the punishment of rebels without standard legal procedures. Prominent rangatira such as Tohu Kākahi, Te Whiti o Rongomai and Titokowaru were among those targeted. In the newly established Province of Taranaki, Governor Grey pursued land confiscation aggressively by ‘declaring a relatively restricted area, designated Middle Taranaki, to be a district under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863’ (Riseborough, 2002, p. 29). Re-districting was a process used to overlay traditional hapū boundaries and signalling a systemic effort at confiscation and erasure.

Conflict persisted through 1863 and 1864, resulting in property destruction and loss of life within the Ngātiawa region. By 1865, the Crown had confiscated 1.2 million acres of

Taranaki land confiscated, including all the Ngātiawa area. The confiscations were indiscriminate and stripped ‘loyal’ and ‘rebel’ Māori of owning and using their lands. In 1866 the Compensation Court began the process of returning confiscated land to ‘loyal’ Māori, but much of the arable land in northern Taranaki had already been allocated to European settlers’ (Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement, 2014).

In the early 1880s, the West Coast Commission investigated Māori grievances, including the unfulfilled compensation awards (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). While they returned a small portion of land to Ngātiawa, land was returned in the form of individual property titles which was contrary to traditional practices. Much of the returned land was rough or inaccessible and the reserves were not fully returned to Ngātiawa but were instead placed under the control of the Public Trustee who sold or leased large area to settler farmers. By 1880 most of the Compensation Court’s awards to Ngātiawa individuals had remained unfulfilled. The Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement recorded that, ‘the compensation process created uncertainty and distress among the people of Te Atiawa about where they were to live, and whether they had security of title, all of which caused distress among Ngātiawa about living conditions and land security (Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement, 2014). To reclaim their identity and well-being, tūpuna attempted to collectivise and retain their land, recognising the profound impact of disconnection on well-being.

Mō ngā wahine pouaru, me ngā tamaiti pani – resilience and response

Following the instructions of his father’s dying wish, Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke, returned to Waitara from Waikanae to protect and preserve ancestral lands which was encapsulated in the last words or kupu ohāki, mō ngā wahine pouwaru me ngā tamaiti pani, for the widows and the orphans (R. Doorbar, kōrerorero, May 2022). This kupu ohāki underscored

the importance of safeguarding Ngātiawa lands for vulnerable people. Otaraua and Ngātiawa descendants acted to protect those dispossessed and uplifted from their ancestral lands.

Otaraua descendants have always been strategic in protecting the safety and well-being of whānau. During the invasions, tūpuna showed resilience and grit, asserting ancestral authority over mana whenua, mana tūpuna and rangatiratanga. The peaceful actions of tūpuna emerged as an act of resilience amid the invasion of Taranaki which began at Waitara in 1860. In 1868 as legislation enforced further displacements, many Otaraua descendants fled with other hapū and iwi. Seeking refuge at Parihaka, they found leadership under Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi. Parihaka became a symbol of autonomy and self-determination.

The significance of Parihaka lies in its role as a haven for those affected by the invasion. The shared time at Parihaka is a reminder of the value of collective support across Taranaki and Aotearoa during hardship. The ‘mamae’ or trauma experienced is expressed in a waiata tawhito ‘Waitara, e kore pouri tonu’, composed to acknowledge the resistance of descendants of the hapū of Northern Taranaki to the invasion of Waitara. The waiata tawhito commemorates the bravery of a young girl who signalled the invasion to the Southern Taranaki whānau by lighting a fire on Te Iringa Niu, the highest peak of the Kaitāke Ranges. The signal relayed to Taranaki iwi and hapū was that invasion had begun. The waiata encapsulates the vision of Tohu Kākahi and Te Whiti o Rongomai in resisting invasion.

The ability to connect through wakapapa strengthened the collective response to invasion and displacement from ancestral lands. The ongoing alienation of land perpetuated by legislation was met with peaceful resistance, including the symbolic ploughing of land across Taranaki, notably by tūpuna who removed survey boundary markers on Otaraua land at Tikorangi on the 16th of March, 1860 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996).

Between 1879 and 1880 Māori demonstrated passive and peaceful resistance against the harsh realities of colonisation. The Māori Prisoners Trial Act of 1879, led to the imprisonment of many Ngātiawa for obstructing land surveys. Participants in the peaceful resistance campaigns at Parihaka were arrested and exiled to prisons in the South Island where they endured harsh conditions. Some were held beyond their court-imposed sentences, and some died while imprisoned (Scott, 1975; Riseborough, 2002). In November 1881, the Crown's pursuit of land culminated in the invasion and dismantling of Parihaka by over 1,500 troops, resulting in the displacement of Ngātiawa and the arrest of two hundred descendants who were detained without trial and imprisoned in the South Island (Scott, 1975; Riseborough, 2002).

Upon returning home to Waitara after the invasion, Ngātiawa and surrounding hapū strategised to navigate a fragmented, traditional land tenure system, settling wherever they could despite being unable to assert mana whenua. The Native Land Act of 1873 fragmentated collectively owned land (held by hapū and iwi), transferring it into individual ownership and facilitating its transfer to settlers during the absence of Ngātiawa (Riwaka, 2000).

In response to these challenges, several hapū and iwi of northern Taranaki united under Te Atiawa Nui Tonu to consolidate their resources, coordinate efforts, and negotiate with the Government. The confederation of Te Atiawa Nui Tonu included Ngātiawa (Otaraua, Pukerangiora, Puketapu, Ngāti Rahiri), Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Maru and Ngāti Tama, centralised at Manukorihi pā in Waitara. The transition to Te Atiawa Nui Tonu marked a strategic name change in the pursuit of redress from the Crown. Today, The confederation of Te Atiawa is a collection of seven hapū of Ngāti Rahiri, Otaraaua, Ngāti Te Whiti, Pukerangiora, Puketapu, Manukorihi, and Ngāti Tawhirikura (Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement, 2014).

The next phase of collectivisation came in response to the Crown's Sim Commission Report of 1928, which attempted to investigate redress for land confiscation grievances. The 1930 Cabinet agreement led to the establishment of the Taranaki Māori Trust Board under section 20 (3) of the Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act 1928. The Board became the mandated entity to receive compensation from the Crown for unlawful land confiscation. Board representatives were chosen from iwi across Taranaki. The shift, by the Crown, to working with what were described as large natural groupings such as the Taranaki Māori Trust Board had the effect of elevating iwi over hapū in the settlement and redress processes (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). The Waitangi Tribunal (1996) recognised the autonomy that hapū had, particularly in Taranaki where central leadership was only enforced and supported by hapū. Unity was common when resistance and resilience was required as seen during the invasion of Waitara and the collectivising at Parihaka. However, as the Tribunal states that 'the riddle of Taranaki unity is that it lies in the autonomy of its segments' (p. 301). The Government had created a centralised pool of funding, with hapū expecting a distribution.

Keenan (1994) notes that the establishment of the Trust Board laid the groundwork for distinctions between hapū and iwi and led to the modern configuration of eight tribes. The chosen iwi representing the interests of Taranaki Whaanui were: Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Maru, Te Atiawa, Taranaki, Ngāruahine, Ngāti Ruanui and Ngā Rauru.

In 2019, the Trust Board received a \$20.8 million settlement from the Government as a buyout of annuities. The Waitangi Tribunal (1996) highlighted the need to reassess the Trust Board's role, by questioning whether the Board should lead the hapū, or if hapū should self-govern. The report stated, 'the board has fulfilled an important function in the past in representing the interests of all Māori in Taranaki, but there is now a question of whether the

board should drive the hapū or whether the hapū should drive themselves’ (p. 306). Furthermore, the report criticised the Crown for not providing the necessary legislation and failing to index the compensation annuities which did not meet the ‘standard expected of an honest and honourable partner in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi’ (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996, p. 306). The Crown created a central funding agency, and the Report criticised the Crown for not meeting hapū needs. The first funding claim was filed by the Taranaki Māori Trust Board in 1987.

Over time the collectivisation of hapū in Taranaki has evolved significantly as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1: *Collectivising of hapū in Taranaki*

pre-1840	Ngātiawa - collation of hapū including: Otaraua - Ngāti Tuaho, Ngāti Hineuru, Ngāti Tuiti, Ngāti Kura, Ngāti Uewenuku, Ngāti Rangi, Ngāti Hinetaha, Ngāti Hinga, Ngātimoeau and Ngāti Maewa, (Otaraua Hapū, 1991)	Ngātiawa a collective of hapū including Otaraua (a collective of at least 10 hapū), exercising mana whenua, mana tūpuna and kaitiakitanga.
1880s	Atiawa (Otaraua, Pukerangiora, Puketapu, Ngāti Rahiri, Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Maru and Ngāti Tama) collectivised as Te Atiawa nui tonu.	Atiawa renamed to represent a collation of four hapū - alongside four iwi. Signals the change of hapū collectivising as iwi. Hapū became absorbed within iwi, a new way to exert mana whenua.

1930	Te Atiawa: Taranaki Māori Trust Board (Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Maru, Te Atiawa, Taranaki, Ngāruahine, Ngāti Ruanui and Ngā Rauru Kītahi).	Hapū subsumed by iwi. The Taranaki Māori Trust Board, through Crown legislation, becomes a centralised funding agency, criticised by hapū for not supporting their needs.
2014	Te Atiawa: a collective of seven hapū of Ngāti Rahiri, Otaraua, Ngāti te Whiti, Pukerangiora, Puketapu, Manukorihi and Ngāti Tawhirikura.	Te Kotahitanga o Te Atiawa becomes the post-Treaty settlement iwi entity, responsible for operationalising the Te Atiawa Settlements Act, 2016 on behalf of seven Te Atiawa hapū recognised by the Crown.

(Keenan, 1994; Otaraua Hapū, 1991; Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement, 2014; Waitangi Tribunal, 1996).

As Table 1 demonstrates, the collectivisation process over time has significantly influenced how hapū identify themselves and are recognised by the Crown. While collectivisation was a strategy to pool resources and seek compensation for grievances, collectivisation often marginalised hapū. The emergence of iwi identities in response to colonial injustices has led to confusion, particularly between Ngātiawa and Te Atiawa. The Crown's policy of dealing with 'large natural groupings' (Birdling, 2004) accelerated the shift from hapū to iwi representation and influencing the landscape of identity and governance for hapū in Taranaki. The shift reflects the complex dynamics of identity, governance, and resistance among hapū, and iwi of Taranaki and the challenges faced by hapū in maintaining their distinct identities and equitable recognition and support from the Crown.

Post 1900 - 1990

The period after 1900 brought several challenges that negatively impacted the well-being of Otaraua whānau. The trauma of invasion, imprisonment, displacement, and alienation from their land was compounded by the Spanish Flu epidemic and a heavy loss of life among Māori communities (Harris, 2020). Many victims of the epidemic were buried in unmarked graves at Manaiti, an Otaraua wāhi tapu. The onset of World War One in 1911 which followed the Land Wars that began in 1860, saw the conscription of men into the army and the young Otaraua men experienced pressure sign up and fight for a government that had invaded their homelands fifty years earlier. The Great Depression of 1929 to 1939 and the World War Two from 1939 to 1945 further affected whānau who were already impoverished and landless. Many whānau members served in World War One and World War Two and died, were injured, or suffered mental anguish (Soutar, 2018).

By 1915, the extensive mana whenua of Otaraua was reduced to a 2.4-hectare land block called the Pukepapa 3 Block that was partitioned by the Public Trustee (New Zealand Gazette, 1965). Under the West Coast Settlement Reserves Amendment Act of 1913, the Pukepapa land block was vested in the 'iwi' but remained under the control of the Public Trustee. In 1965, the same block was designated as Māori freehold land for 'a Māori reservation and sports ground for the common use and benefit of the Otaraua hapū and is known as Mangaemiemi or Te Ahikāroa. The land serves as the principal location for Otaraua to conduct business, hold wānanga and maintain cultural identity, though it represents a significant reduction of land compared to the extensive territories managed by Otaraua 150 years earlier.

The fragmentation and confiscation of whenua increased urbanisation with many Otaraua whānau relocating to cities like Waitara and Wellington. Whānau became increasingly dependent

on the State to survive. Despite the displacement whānau made efforts to stay connected. In 1975, descendants of two tūpuna, Felix and Te Matewhiu O’Carroll, set up a club to strengthen family ties. The Pukehou Sports Club (1975) decided the objective was to ‘unify the descendants of Kui and Koro by way of social and sporting activities and any other matters which related to the unity of the family’. Membership was intergenerational and involved whānau who lived locally, nationally and overseas encompassing descendants and their immediate families. The had regular fundraising and other whānau events. Later the Club expanded to include a cultural group that meets regularly to compose and perform pieces focussed on revitalising mātauranga and honouring ancestors. Items like piupiu and tipare, purchased through fundraising efforts, still exist today. Despite the adversity faced by the whānau and their descendants, their unity and pride persists, demonstrating resilience and a commitment to cultural preservation.

1991- 2018

This section focuses on the experiences of Otaraua hapū descendants in the 1990s, leading up to the Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement Act in 2016. It explores how the settlement process and interactions with the Government regarding land confiscation grievances led to divisions within the hapū, contributing to the marginalisation of Otaraua identity and affecting tikanga and identity practices.

The Motunui Case, brought before the Waitangi Tribunal in the 1980s was significant to shaping the way in which iwi and hapū in Taranaki would decide how they would approach the Treaty settlements process. Te Atiawa hapū united to contest the pollution of ancestral reefs along the coastline. The Tribunal’s response affirmed the Crown’s obligation under the Te Tiriti o Waitangi to protect Māori fishing grounds. The findings stated that:

- (a) That the reefs and river referred to in this claim constitute significant and traditional fishing grounds of specific hapū of the Te Atiawa people.
- (b) That the hapū are prejudicially affected in that the reefs and associated marine life suffer from various degrees of pollution and that those near to the mouth of the Waitara River are badly polluted and stand to be polluted further.
- (c) That certain reefs near Motunui are likely to be deleteriously affected by the construction of the proposed ocean outfall associated with the synthetic fuels plant (Waitangi Tribunal, 1983, p. 1).

The case highlighted the kaitiakitanga and mana of hapū over traditional food sources, contrasting sharply with the Governments plans to discharge waste into the Tasman sea. The Tribunal supported the holistic environmental view of the hapū, emphasising the importance of Māori customary law and knowledge over purely scientific evidence. The Motunui Case (Waitangi Tribunal, 1983) catalysed a broader conversation about differing values and responsibilities toward the environment between Māori and the Crown. It also marked the beginning of a shift away from the collective identity under the Taranaki Māori Trust Board, with individual iwi starting to engage in the Treaty settlement process independently.

The Crown's policy of negotiating with 'large natural groupings' for Treaty Settlements (Birdling, 2004) rather than individual hapū influenced how grievances were addressed. This policy pressured hapū to depart from traditional social structures based on mana whenua and mana tūpuna. Additionally, the settlement process's time constraints often conflicted with tikanga, discussed further in this chapter. Despite these challenges, Otaraua and five other hapū worked strategically within the system to ensure that their voices were heard and their mana was respected. The 1995 statement from the Crown expressed a preference for dealing with iwi rather

than sub-iwi groups in settlement negotiations. This position forced whānau within the Otaraua hapū balance the need to achieve a settlement with the desire to uphold ancestral tikanga and connections.

During the pre-negotiation phase of the settlement journey, the process was guided by the Crown's wish to deal with iwi rather than hapū. In December 1989, the introduction of the Runanga Iwi Bill marked the presentation of a framework for devolution that recognized the lasting traditional significance and importance of iwi. The Bill proposed the establishment of legally incorporated Runanga, which would serve as the administrative bodies for the tribes. The resulting Act met with much resistance from academics concerning the usurping of rangatiratanga within the ways iwi would have to administrate and report to the Crown. The Runanga o Te Atiawa, established in 1995, represented the five hapū of Ngāti Rahiri, Ngāti te Whiti, Otaraua, Manukorihi and Puketapu.

In 1997, Otaraua representatives expressed concerns about Te Runanga o Te Atiawa speaking on behalf of Otaraua with local authorities. Minutes from a Runanga hui held that year reveal that these representatives felt that consultations about the Pekapeka Block by the Runanga compromised the rangatiratanga and standing of Otaraua with local authorities (Te Runanga o Te Atiawa, 1997). The manager of the Runanga was accused of making unilateral and inappropriate decisions without consulting the hapū. The fundamental view of Otaraua was that the Pekapeka block should be returned, but the manager is noted as stating that the return of the land as being ‘unrealistic as it is private land’ (Te Runanga o Te Atiawa, 1997).

Otaraua was also concerned about the lack of engagement from local authorities and the hapū in managing natural resources such as the river and its ecosystem. The preferred engagement channel for councils and local authority was through the newly established

Runanga. At the time, Otaraua began engaging with several local agencies, environmental organisations and energy companies. Clear identity and defined parameters for the hapū strategy and communication were crucial. The draft copy of Te Kawa o Otaraua hapū outlines the key objectives of the hapū, aiming to be the authorised voice of Otaraua, uphold and enhance the mana of Otaraua, and ensure representation in Treaty matters while adhering to Treaty obligations. Te Kawa also defined membership as being through wakapapa links and stated that ‘no member of the hapū can be expelled’ (Otaraua Hapū, 1992).

The minutes of the March 23, 1997 ^{hui} highlighted two fundamental issues. Firstly, a collective body like Te Runanga o Te Atiawa, constrained by legislation could not speak on behalf of the hapū on critical matters or assume the rangatiratanga of any hapū. Second, there was a division over whether to seek the return of land or accept compensation, leading to further dissention among hapū members. The role of the Runanga was in question, especially with the concurrent establishment of the Te Atiawa iwi Authority, as they approached settlement.

The ideological split between democratic and tikanga based decision- making models contributed to internal misunderstanding during the pre-settlement negotiations phase. For Otaraua whānau, adherence to tikanga was paramount. As described by Joseph and Benton (2021) they describe the difference between ‘tikanga’ based systems and the colonial legal system as lies in their foundations:

Māori society did not possess a formal legal system with independent courts and supporting bureaucracy, as was developed over centuries in England and then transplanted into New Zealand. In the absence of such a system, Māori customary law has developed in the Māori community through hui held on marae and discussions involving wide sections of the community which are guided by kaumatua and kuia (elders) and rangatira

(leaders). Group discussions highlight a series of fundamental principles that form the agreed standards and guidelines necessary to protect the welfare of individuals, whānau, hapū, and iwi. Appeals to these principles result in decisions that are agreed to, or at least accepted, by members of the community, rather than being imposed by an independent and superior person sitting as judge (p.865).

The settlement process created tension within the hapū over whether to follow a 'tikanga' led process or a Crown imposed process, especially around the matter of seeking mandate for representation of the hapū for the Treaty settlement. Several documented minutes emphasised the importance of the application of tikanga to reach consensus. The Otaraua Action committee, in discussing the appropriate selection process for the mandate to represent Otaraua and Te Atiawa stated:

'It is essential that the mandate is secured in a lawful and proper manner.

Representation must be in accordance with tikanga, constitutional objectives and the principle of openness and transparency. Time while a factor, does not represent a threat to the validity of the Te Atiawa Iwi Authority and neither does it pose a threat to the Te Atiawa iwi claim. It can be strongly argued that time has worked in favour of the claimants, not the government' (Hunt, 1997).

Regardless, the Claims Progressions Team advised advancing the settlement process rapidly, which caused confusion and concern among many hapū members. The Otaraua Action Committee through Hunt noted that,

'creating a sense of confusion and concerns in the minds of many of the iwi....it is not a new factor so there is no need to progress the claim at a speed that is faster than the majority of the iwi can keep up with'. With reference to the speed at which the claim was

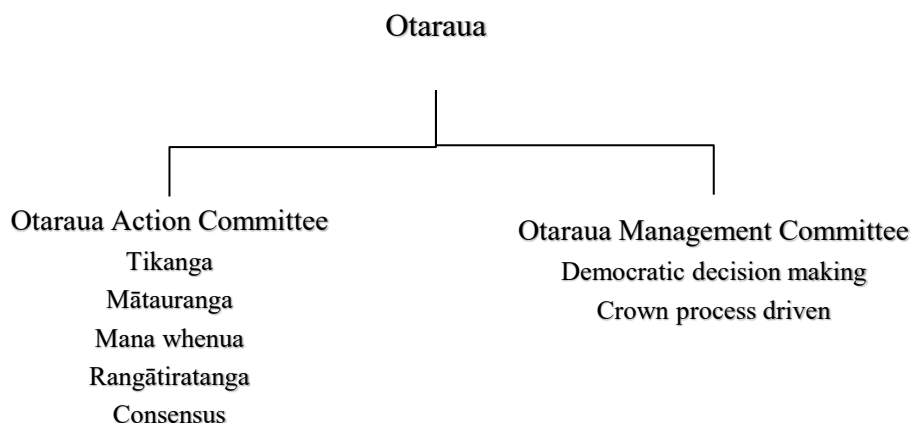
progressing it was also noted by the Otaraua Action Committee that, ‘when a process has been studied, refined and adopted, there needs to be a period during which it is practices ensuring it works as required’ (Hunt, 1997).

The Claims Progression Team, tasked with gathering the information and research required of the settlement process, faced pressure from the Crown to establish mandate across four iwi. This pressure, centred on haste, affected all parties within the hapū. There was a need to slow down to understand the process and to ensure fair representation of all the hapū. Issues experienced by hapū during this process included pressure on hapū to mandate a Te Atiawa iwi Authority to secure a collective four iwi (Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Mutunga and Atiawa iwi); a lack of transparency or communications to hapū to make informed decisions; disputes involving recognition of hapū and dispute over allocation of resourcing to hapū.

Time constraints in the process increased pressure on everyone involved. Puketapu sought a separate settlement, but was declined by the Minister, who expressed a ‘preference for dealing with iwi rather than hapū’ (Kai Tohu Tohu O Puketapu Hapū Inc v Attorney-General & Te Atiawa Iwi Authority, 1999). The inclusion of Ngāti Tawhirikura to join the Te Atiawa Iwi Authority was opposed by Ngāti Te Whiti (Ngāti Te Whiti Chair, 1997). The Otaraua Action Committee, concerned about the exclusion of hapū, warned that such exclusions could lead to further marginalisation. They believed no-one had the authority to usurp the mana of other hapū within the settlement process and were committed to ensuring that no-one would be excluded, and that the mana of all hapū relationships would be upheld. These concerns were often dismissed as ‘stalling’ and ‘indecisiveness.’ The process to acquire mandate to represent Otaraua on the Te Atiawa iwi Authority was problematic, leading to internal debates and factions within

Otaraua. (see Figure 4). Ultimately, the Otaraaua management Committee members were mandated to represent Otaraaua on the Te Atiawa iwi Authority.

Figure 4: *Settlement process impact on Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua*



Today, Otaraaua entities (Otaraua Hapū management Committee Inc, Pukepapa Marae Trust, Otaraaua Hapū management Trust and Nga Ringawera Otaraaua Inc) assert that the Te Ātiawa iwi Authority appointed negotiators without the support of the Otaraaua collective of hapū and others. This group entered a full and final settlement with the Crown relinquishing ancestral lands up for fiscal gain and accepting a disputed, ‘agreed historical account, acknowledgement and apology’ (Otaraua Hapū, 2022).

The settlement led Otaraaua descendants to question traditional hapū inter-connectedness and wakapapa, the tikanga by which tūpuna made decisions and the duty of care to all those who have been subjugated. The Crown and its processes created to ‘settle’ grievances and provide ‘redress’ were perceived as adversaries. The Claims Progression Team faced the challenging task of uniting fragmented hapū affected by over 150 years of colonisation. The journey of addressing entrenched trauma and disconnection was difficult, with power remaining in the hands of the Crown which preferred group to settle with iwi rather than hapū.

Throughout this process, the representation mandated through a Crown process led some Otaraua members to identify as Te Atiawa iwi. This co-operation with the Crown created conditions where hapū members, willing to adapt their identity, could access the benefits of the devolution of Crown funds and restoration of historical sites.

He taunga manu - reclamation

How might the ‘manu’ or seabird in the opening quote of this chapter find a place to rest, reconnect and thrive? Fragments of Mātauranga-ā-hapū have survived despite the loss of self-determination on ancestral whenua. The challenge lies in understanding how Otaraua can once again exercise self-determination by revitalising these fragments of knowledge for current and future generations.

The well-being and revitalisation of ancestral knowledge for Otaraua are closely tied to reconnecting with the land. The ongoing struggle is evident in the opposition by whānau to the New Plymouth District council (Waitara Lands) Bill in 2016, which sought to allow leasehold lands to become freehold. The Waitara Lands Act, passed in December 2018 and enacted on 17 March 2019 enabled leaseholders to purchase their leasehold land. Descendants of Otaraua made four submissions against the Bill, demanding the return of whenua to Otaraua, as expressed by a whānau member.

“I totally oppose the Waitara Land Bill for many reasons. Most importantly because during the time that I spent with my grandmother I was always made aware of the fact that our land was stolen and that somehow or other we would do whatever we could to get it back My grandmother died in 1949. Both my mother and father spoke of the return. somehow or other. We must get our land back. My mother died in 1969 and my father in 1981. I am the next generation alive as are my sons’ grandchildren and great

grandchildren. They have been taught of the theft and loss of our Waitara land, we will never go away, we will never stop at whatever chance to have our land here in Waitara returned to us. Otaraua and others, the rightful owners of Waitara. This is the first chance since 1860 that we have even been close to having this land returned, please don't take this opportunity away from us. Once the land is made freehold it will be lost to us forever" (Doorbar, 2016).

The submissions expressed absolute opposition to the proposal, viewing it as a new form of land confiscation by the Crown through the local council system. Allowing leaseholders to purchase land from the council further alienated Otaraua lands from descendants. Similarly, Leonie Pihama's submission emphasised the importance of returning land to hapū to restore rangatiratanga as guaranteed by Te Tiriti o Waitangi. She stated,

"So, if I could do anything today, it would be to have the Waitara lands returned to the hapū. For me, it's about self-determination and seeing hapū rangatiratanga that was guaranteed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi become embedded in this country.

The current Treaty settlement process is missing something significant because it's been dominated by the Crown's definition of whose voices get to be heard. That's not to say that iwi aren't doing a good job. But, as hapū and whānau, we are marginalised, and we will remain so until hapū are brought into the definition of who gets to experience rangatiratanga" (Pihama, 2020).

Pihama also stated that,

"The return of the lands will also enable the hapū and iwi to work to heal both the lands and the people of Waitara. This will include a process of understanding the historical

trauma experienced and the developing pathways for healing that is grounded within ensuring connectedness to the land, sea and river of Waitara” (Pihama, 2020).

This opposition to further land alienation underscores the importance of connectedness to the land for reclamation of identity and well-being for descendants of Otaraua. The illegal confiscation of the ancestral lands of Otaraua severed this link to well-being. The struggle to reclaim identity, particularly through the return of whenua is fought in political arenas, including engaging with local Council authorities and within Treaty settlement processes. The Crown has made it impossible for land to be returned, hapū are forced to buy it back.

As a result of negotiations with the Council over three years, the resulting New Plymouth District Council (Waitara Lands) Act 2018 stipulated that the establishment of Te Kowhatu Tū Moana Trust (TKTM) set up for Otaraua and Manukorihi hapū to receive funds from the sale of land, and the return of identified land blocks. Both hapū supported the outcome who benefit from the sale of leasehold properties to the New Plymouth District Council, with a fund set aside for the trust to purchase properties on behalf of their hapū. Devanney (2019) reported that Otaraua hapū Chairperson, Rawiri Doorbar expressed the need to seize an opportunity to reclaim whenua through the purchasing of land stating, “We must rebuild. This is the beginning of not fading away, this is the beginning of not disappearing”.

Otaraua remains resolute in pursuing land reclamation as it is integral to the well-being of current and future generations. The Taranaki Report (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996) acknowledges the process of raupatu ‘as standing on two major foundations, land deprivation and disempowerment, with the latter being the main. By ‘disempowerment,’ we mean the denigration and destruction of Māori autonomy or self-government (p.5). The landing place for the manu is still being fought for while protecting what little remains under the kaitiakitanga of Otaraua.

Understanding of the impact of Treaty settlement processes on Otaraua descendants is crucial for navigating the complexity and politics of the intersections between hapū, iwi and the Crown. Jackson (2010) emphasises the need for a critical understanding and the ability to politically analyse the systems that affect all aspects of hapū well-being. The position of Otaraua within the literature on the Waitangi Claims leading up to the Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement is minimal. The final document barely mentions Otaraua only acknowledging it as a hapū within the Te Atiawa collective, without representing its rich identity and narrative. The Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement (2014) signed on the 9th of August 2014 states that,

‘Prior to colonisation, there were some ninety-six distinct Te Atiawa hapū, each with their own defined whenua and rohe. However, the number of hapū has condensed over time through the combined effect of interaction and warfare with other iwi, migrations to other areas of Aotearoa, the arrival of British settlers in the 1840s, Crown land purchases, the Taranaki Wars of the 1860s and the Taranaki Raupatu. Today, the hapū of Te Atiawa are Ngāti Rahiri, Otaraua, Manukorihi, Pukerangiora, Puketapu, Ngāti Tawhirikura, Ngāti Tuparikino and Ngāti Te Whiti’ (p.6).

A critical awareness of the journey towards settlement is vital for Otaraua descendants to learn from the process and move towards reclaiming and repossessing knowledge systems. The challenge is to support whānau in reinstating a foundation to reclaiming traditional knowledge and well-being.

Section Summary

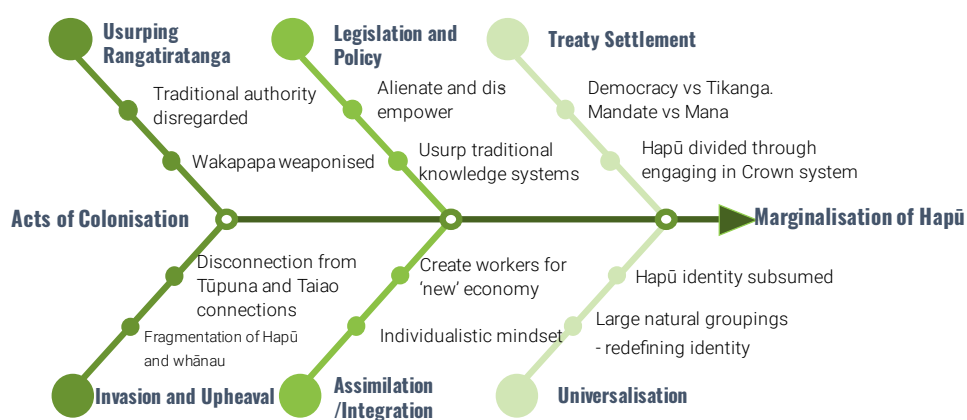
This section provides an Otaraua perspective on the injustices faced due to colonisation, emphasising the struggle to unite relations and regain self-determination on ancestral lands. It begins with a plea for unity and strength among Otaraua people, highlighting the historical

context of colonisation and its impact on land alienation and oppressive systems affecting hapū identity and well-being. This section summary expresses the importance of critical understanding and political analysis of colonisation systems to navigate the relationships between hapū, iwi and the Crown.

Through examining the consequences of colonisation from the perspective of Otaraua descendants involved in Treaty Settlement negotiations in the 1990s, a distinct Otaraua viewpoint emerges. This approach, combined hapū centred literature and historical records, offers a comprehensive understanding of the hardships endured. This evidence forms the foundation for emphasizing the significance of hapū efforts to reclaim mātauranga.

The impact of colonisation on traditional knowledge systems and knowledge is summarised and represented in Figure 5. Naming the acts of colonisation that affected a hapū context, helps us understand the current state and identify what needs to be reclaimed and revitalised.

Figure 5: *Marginalisation of hapū*



Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology places an Otaraua 'line of sight' at the focussing on key principles of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua like mana whenua, mana tūpuna and rangatiratanga. This

perspective emphasises the ongoing struggle of Otaraua hapū to find a place to settle, reconnect with ancestral lands, and prosper, despite the challenges posed by historical injustices and the complex contemporary political landscape.

Chronology of legislation and policy marginalising Mātauranga-ā-hapū

This chronological account details the impacts of colonisation, including policies, legislation and events, on the hapū of Otaraua and across Taranaki. This account specifically focuses on the systemic and destructive colonial legislation and policies that subjugated Mātauranga -a-hapū, the resistance against these forces, and the pivotal events that affected identity and marginalised mātauranga.

Examining events over time reveals factors contributing to the marginalisation of hapū identity and mātauranga through government actions. Organising events chronologically helps identify patterns, trends and cause-and-effect relationships, insight into the impact of legislation and policy on mana whenua and mana tūpuna.

This approach categorises colonisation into policy eras, focusing on the most relevant policies and legislation as follows.

- Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Inundation (1840-1860)
- Invasion and dispossession (1860-1870)
- Extensive Land alienation, Assimilation and Disempowerment (1870-1945)
- Integration (1945-1970s)
- Self-management and commodification (1970s-present)

The chronology identifies how legislation and policy alienated Otaraua from the land, impacting Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua and marginalising mātauranga. This section argues that these imposed measures created disconnection from whenua and subjugated customary knowledge of Otaraua

Chronology

<i>Year</i>	<i>Policy, Legislation and Events</i>
<i>Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Inundation (1840 - 1860)</i>	
1840	<p>Te Tiriti o Waitangi Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke and his father Reretawhangawhanga both signed the Treaty at Waikanae. ¹</p> <p>15th February 1840 - Ngamotu Deed actioned. ²</p>
1841	<p>The New Zealand Land Claims Ordinance. This ordinance gave statutory recognition to a Crown right of pre-emption by assuming the right to determine whether land was occupied in accordance with Crown. ³</p>
1844	<p>Native Trust Ordinance ‘An Ordinance for appointing a Board of Trustees for the Management of Property to be set apart for the Education and Advancement of the Native Race’. ⁴</p>
1846	<p>Native Land Purchase Ordinance Crown right of pre-emption reinforced. Penalties were put in place for anyone purchasing or leasing land from Māori. Crown asserted the right to buy land. ⁵</p>
1856	<p>Native Reserves Act Commissioners had power to sell or lease without owner’s consent. First NZ Government established. ⁶</p>

¹ *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, 1840 (N.Z.).

² *Ngamotu Deed*, 15 February 1840 (N.Z.).

³ *New Zealand Land Claims Ordinance*, 1841 (N.Z.).

⁴ *Native Trust Ordinance*, 1844 (N.Z.).

⁵ *Native Land Purchase Ordinance*, 1846 (N.Z.).

⁶ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

1858	The Native Schools Act This Act established Native schools for the education of Maaori children focussed on teaching European language and customs. ⁷
<i>Invasion and Dispossession (1860-1870)</i>	
1860	Pekapeka Deed signed 24th February Te Teira sold six hundred acres of Ngātiawa land to the Crown. Attack on Te Kohia pā signalled the beginning of the invasion of Taranaki. ⁸
1862	Native Lands Act Removed the Crown's right of pre-emption. The Act created the Native Land Court (renamed the Māori Land Court in 1947) to identify ownership interests in Māori land and to create individual titles in place of customary communal ownership. This change made sales of Māori land easier and saw the beginning of fragmented ownership interests in Māori land. The Act also allowed for up to 5% of Crown-granted Māori land to be taken for public works without compensation. ⁹
1863	

⁷ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

⁸ Walker, 1990, p.114

⁹ *Office of the Auditor-General*, 2011 (N.Z.).

The New Zealand Settlements Act December Legislation to confiscate land for acts of rebellion leading to the eventual confiscation of 400,000 acres of Otaraua lands. This empowered confiscation of Māori land in any district where a “considerable number” of Māori were believed to be in rebellion. This assisted the further confiscation of three million acres.

10

The Suppression of Rebellion Act¹¹ The act authorized the government to declare martial law in any district where there was an outbreak of hostilities and allowed for the trial and punishment of Māori rebels without the usual legal processes.

1864 **Public Works Act¹²** This gave the government power to take Māori land for public works, without consent from Māori owners.

30 January Governor Grey declared the Middle Taranaki district a military settlement and issued proclamations for the confiscation of land
1865 belonging to Māori who were deemed to have rebelled against the Crown as per the 1865 New Zealand Settlements Act. This included the confiscation of the mouna Taranaki¹³.

1 October 1865 **The Native Lands Act** This Act replaced the 1862 Act and reflected a stronger push toward individualising Māori land title and fragmented

10 *New Zealand Settlements Act 1863*, No. 2, 1863 (N.Z.).

11 *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

12 Marr, C, 1997

13 Adds, P. 2017

ownership. For example, certificates of title could be issued to no more than ten owners. The Act also expanded the ability to take 5% of Crown-granted Māori land for public works without compensation to include all Māori-owned land.¹⁴ This legislation initiated the transition of land ownership from tribal to individual title. Up to ten owners could be listed for land titles under five thousand acres. Once titles were issued, land became available for sale or lease by anyone.

2 September 1865	The Governor declared two further large confiscation districts, named the “Ngātiawa” and “Ngātiruanui” districts covered approximately 400,000 acres including most of the Te Atiawa rohe ¹⁵
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1867	The Native Schools Act is amended to allow for the establishment of denominational schools for Māori.
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Extensive Land alienation, Assimilation and Disempowerment (1870-1945)

1873	Native Land Act Under this Act, title could no longer be held by iwi or hapū. All individuals with an ownership interest had to be named in the title. Individual Māori received blocks of land that were partitioned and repartitioned into uneconomic parcels of land. Fragmentation and loss of land continued. ¹⁶
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¹⁴ *Office of the Auditor-General*, 2011 (N.Z.).

¹⁵ Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement 2014

¹⁶ Marr, C, 1997

1877:	The Native Land Court Act established, with the aim of facilitating the transfer of Māori land to European-style individual ownership. ¹⁷
1879-1880	Māori Prisoners Trial Act Continued imprisonment of Māori until a date was set for trial. ¹⁸
Response to	
Parihaka	Maori Prisoners Act Passed to dispense with trials of Maori
Passive	imprisoned. ¹⁹
Resistance	West Coast Settlement Act enabled any Armed Constabulary to arrest anyone without warrant deemed to be interfering with surveys, engaged in ploughing, or fencing. ²⁰
1879 - 1880	West Coast Commissions The first West Coast Commission was established in 1879 to investigate grievances of Māori related to land confiscated by the Crown. However, it was focused on specific compensation court awards and promises and did not investigate the fairness of the confiscation and compensation process. ²¹
1881	West Coast Settlement Act 1881 Any Māori in Taranaki could be arrested without a warrant and jailed for two years with hard labour if they built anything in any way hindered the surveying of confiscated land. ²²

¹⁷ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

¹⁸ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

¹⁹ Riseborough, 2002, p.93

²⁰ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

²¹ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

²² *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

1892	The West Coast Settlement Reserves Act vested all West Coast reserves in the Public Trustee in trust for the Māori owners and provided for perpetually renewable leases. This created permanent European settlements on the reserves. ²³
1900	Māori Land Administration Act This Act provided for the formation of Māori Block Committees to investigate customary land ownership. Māori Land Councils were established to decide what land was enough to support every individual owner (papa kāinga). These inalienable reserves were set aside for individuals to encourage productive use of the land. Māori lost control of non-papa kāinga land because it had to be vested in the Māori Land Councils responsible for administering land for settlement purposes. ²⁴
Between 1900 - 1905	The title to all remaining pre-1860 reserves was vested in the Public Trustee and brought under the operation of the West Coast Settlement Reserves legislation. By 1900, at least 90% of the land reserved from the pre-1860 purchases of Te Atiawa lands were alienated.
1905	Land Settlement Act This Act modified the Māori Lands Administration Act 1900. It renamed Māori Land Councils to Māori Land Boards. Board members were nominated rather than elected. Māori

²³ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

²⁴ *Office of the Auditor-General*, 2011 (N.Z.).

	"surplus" land was to be vested in the boards, which were required to set apart inalienable reserves and then lease the land for settlement. ²⁵
1907	Tohunga Suppression Act Prohibits the practice of traditional Māori healing and spiritual practices. ²⁶
1909	Native Land Act This Act consolidated sixty-nine existing Acts and introduced private dealing in Māori land with provisions for decisions on sales and leases to be made by majority shares. ²⁷
1913	The West Coast Settlement Reserves Amendment Act amended the West Coast Settlement Reserves Act 1892 to allow for the conversion of leases of Māori land from perpetually renewable leases to leases of up to 42 years and allowed for the leasing of land in perpetuity to local bodies for the purposes of public works, without any requirement for the consent of the Māori owners. ²⁸
1913	Native Land Amendment Act 1913 This Act increased powers of the Native Land court to easily convert Maori land into freehold land, which could be then sold or leased. ²⁹
1927	The Royal Commission on the Native Land Tenure System the Sim Commission was appointed in 1927 to investigate the Native Land Act

²⁵ *Office of the Auditor-General*, 2011 (N.Z.).

²⁶ Walker, 1990

²⁷ *Office of the Auditor-General*, 2011 (N.Z.).

²⁸ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

²⁹ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

	1909 and the administration of Māori land by the Native Land Court. The Commission confirmed that the court's procedures were complex and biased towards Europeans and leaseholders, resulting in the loss of Māori land. ³⁰
1928	Public Works Act The Government were authorised to take land for forestry, airports, roading, land development and subdivision. ³¹
1933	Native Purposes Act resulted in reduced income for Māori landowners. ³²
<i>Integration (1945-1970)</i>	
1947	Department of Education states that all Māori children must speak English.
1948	Report of Royal Commission of Inquiry established to investigate the management of the West Coast Settlement Reserves. The Commission concluded that the Māori had "suffered a grave injustice" due to the West Coast Settlement Reserves Act of 1881 and subsequent amendments, particularly the Native Purposes Act of 1935. ³³
1953	Māori Affairs Act 1953 The Māori Affairs Department was set up to function as Māori Land Purchase Agent for the government. Māori land deemed "uneconomic" could be compulsorily purchased at state

³⁰ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

³¹ Marr, C, 1997

³² *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

³³ Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into and Report Upon the Operation of the Law Relating to the Assessment of Rentals Under Leases of the West Coast Settlement Reserves, Report of Royal Commission (1948).

valuation. ‘Anyone who could show the Māori Land Court that a good piece of Māori land was not being used could apply to have it vested in trustees. Māori whose shares in land were of low value were forced to sell them to the Māori Trustee’.³⁴

The Māori Trustee Act The Māori Trustee Act 1953 established the Māori Trustee, whose role was to manage Māori land and assets on behalf of Māori owners. The Māori Trustee had the power to lease, sell and develop Māori land, as well as to invest in other ventures. The Act also established the Māori Trustee Office.³⁵

1955

The Māori Reserved Land Act the Māori Reserved Land Act 1955 had a significant impact on Taranaki hapū in North Taranaki. The Act continued the system of perpetual leases that had been established under the West Coast Settlement Reserves legislation, which meant that land held in Māori reserves could be leased to non-Māori tenants. The Act also empowered the Māori Trustee to acquire and sell land, leading to further alienation of Māori land, often to non-Māori buyers.³⁶

1961

Report on Department of Maori Affairs– JK Hunn Report advising to shift from Assimilation to Integration.³⁷

³⁴ *Office of the Auditor-General*, 2011 (N.Z.).

³⁵ *Māori Trustee Act 1953*, Public Act No. 42, 1953 (N.Z.).

³⁶ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

³⁷ J. K. Hunn, *Report on Department of Maori Affairs: with statistical supplement*, 24 August 1960.

1967	<p>Māori Affairs Amendment Act This allowed for Māori freehold land with fewer than five owners to have its status changed to general land. This enabled the land to be sold or mortgaged.³⁸</p> <p>Rating Act This enabled local bodies to lease or sell Māori land where rates were outstanding.³⁹</p>
<i>Self-management and Commodification (1970-present)</i>	
1975	<p>Treaty of Waitangi Act established The Waitangi Tribunal, allowing any Māori to make a claim if they felt disadvantaged by any Crown legislation, policy, or practice since the signing of the Treaty in 1840. The Tribunal has the power to hear and make recommendations to the government on these claims, which can relate to any period from 1840 up to the present day. However, the Waitangi Tribunal cannot enforce its recommendations into law.⁴⁰</p>
1978	<p>Mt Egmont Vesting Act invested the Mouna into the Taranaki Maori Trust Board and by means of the same act, it was immediately passed back to the government. There is no evidence that this action was agreed to by the hapū or iwi of Taranaki.⁴¹</p>
1982	<p>Motunui-Waitara Claim -Wai 6 Report found that the reefs and river referred to in the claim were significant and traditional fishing grounds of</p>

³⁸ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

³⁹ *Rating Act 1967*, No. 6, 1967 (N.Z.).

⁴⁰ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

⁴¹ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

specific hapū of the Te Atiawa people, who were prejudicially affected by pollution of reefs and rivers.⁴²

First Kohanga Reo opens in Wainuiomata

1986	State Owned Enterprises Act This provided for the transfer of Crown land to state-owned corporations. ⁴³
1987	Māori Language Act recognition of te reo Māori (Māori language) as an official language of New Zealand in 1987 and the establishment of the Māori Language Commission to promote its use and revitalisation. ⁴⁴
1988	Office of Treaty Settlements formed an office of the Crown, set up within the Ministry of Justice and tasked with negotiating settlements in accordance with Crown legislation and policy associated with historical breaches of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
1989	Māori Fisheries Act Legislation reduced exclusive Māori ownership of fisheries to a cash payment and 10% of the country's total allowable fish quota. Distribution of the quota to tribes is controlled by government appointees to a Māori Fisheries Commission. ⁴⁵
1990	Education Amendment Act Inclusion of wānanga as tertiary education institutions. ⁴⁶

⁴² *Waitangi Tribunal*. (1983). *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Motunui-Waitara claim* (Wai 6). (N.Z.).

⁴³ *State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986*, Public Act No. 124, 1986 (N.Z.).

⁴⁴ *Māori Language Act 1987*, Public Act No. 118, 1987 (N.Z.).

⁴⁵ *Māori Fisheries Act 1989*, No. 99, 1989 (N.Z.).

⁴⁶ *Education Amendment Act 1990*, No.53, 1990 (N.Z.).

1991	Resource management Act requires local authorities to consult with iwi (Māori tribes) in matters relating to the environment and natural resources. ⁴⁷
1992	Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claim) Settlement Act This act extinguished Māori commercial fishing rights in exchange for a cash settlement of \$150 million to purchase part of Sealord Products Ltd, plus 20% of new species quota. ⁴⁸
11 June 1996	The Taranaki Report: Te Kaupapa Tuatahi – Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 143) The Taranaki Report (Wai 143) is a report of the Waitangi Tribunal, which was released in 1996. The claimants alleged that the Crown breached the principles of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi that guaranteed undisturbed possession of lands. The Tribunal found unjust confiscation of land following the 1860s invasion, unjust impact on social and economic well-being for Taranaki descendants, and the undermining of traditional structures, autonomy and leadership by Crown policies and actions. ⁴⁹
2011	Ko Aotearoa tenei: Waitangi Tribunal Report on Wai 262 Claim An all of Government Report recommending reforms to laws and policies affecting Maori culture and identity and acknowledges the responsibility

⁴⁷ *Resource Management Act* 1991, No. 69, 1991 (N.Z.).

⁴⁸ *Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act* 1992, No.143, 1992 (N.Z.).

⁴⁹ *Waitangi Tribunal*, 1996 (N.Z.).

of iwi and hapū to preserve and protect iwi and hapū knowledges important to identity.⁵⁰

Marine and Coastal Area (Te Takutai Moana Act) 2011 and Ngā Rohe Moana o Ngā hapū o Ngāti Porou Act 2019 (Takutai moana legislation) provides for recognition of customary interests of iwi, hapū and whānau in the common marine and coastal area of New Zealand and its offshore islands. The takutai moana legislation also provides for the right of all New Zealanders to access and use the common marine and coastal area (subject to any lawful restrictions, including for the protection of wāhi tapu and wāhi tapu areas)⁵¹.

1985 - 2016

Te Atiawa Claims Settlement Act 2016 The Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement is enacted into law through the passing of the Te Atiawa Claims Settlement Act 2016, providing financial and cultural redress to Te Atiawa hapū of Otaraua, Puketapu, Manukorihi, Ngaati Rahiri, Ngaati te Whiti, Ngaati Tawhirikura and Pukerangiora. Establishment of Te Kotahitanga oo Te Atiawa Post Treaty Settlement entity responsible for the distribution of resourcing to tribal members.⁵²

2016

Ture ā te Reo Māori Language Act purpose is to affirm the status of the Māori language as the Indigenous language of New Zealand; and a

⁵⁰ Waitangi Tribunal. (2011). *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei: A report into claims concerning New Zealand law and policy affecting Māori culture and identity* (Wai 262). (N.Z.).

⁵¹ *Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act* 2011, No. 3, 2011 (N.Z.).

⁵² *Te Atiawa Claims Settlement Act 2016*, No. 2, 2016 (N.Z.).

	<p>taonga of iwi and Māori; and a language valued by the nation; and an official language of New Zealand; and to provide means to support and revitalise the Māori language.⁵³ Establishes Te Mātāwai as an independent Statutory body on behalf of iwi and Māori.⁵⁴</p>
2018	<p>New Plymouth District Council (Waitara Lands) Act enables the leaseholders of Otaraua and Manukorihi hapū lands in Waitara to be able to purchase land to become freehold. The Te Kowhatu Tu Moana Trust is established to receive funds from the sales of leasehold lands for Otaraua and Manukorihi to administer.⁵⁵</p>
2019	<p>Te Arawhiti established A Crown Agency focussed on post-settlement phase of moving from grievance to partnership. Also tasked with overseeing the Office of Treaty Settlements; the Marine and Coastal Area Unit; the Settlement Commitments Unit; and the Māori Crown Relations Unit.⁵⁶</p>
2020	<p>Education and Training Act Requires school boards to give effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi by ‘working to ensure that their plans, policies and local curriculum reflect local tikanga, mātauranga Māori and te ao Māori,</p>

⁵³ *Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori 2016*, No. 1, 2016 (N.Z.).

⁵⁴ *Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori 2016*, No. 1, 2016 (N.Z.).

⁵⁵ *New Plymouth District Council (Waitara Lands) Act 2018*, No. 1, 2018 (N.Z.).

⁵⁶ *Te Tari Whakataū*. (2025). About Us. Retrieved from <https://www.justice.govt.nz/maori-land-treaty/te-tari-whakatau/>

	taking all reasonable steps to make instruction available in tikanga and te reo Māori and achieving equitable outcomes for Māori students' ⁵⁷ .
2023	Education and Training Amendment Act 2023 The Act establishes an enabling governing framework for wānanga that better recognises the unique role that wānanga play in our tertiary education system ⁵⁸ .
2023	Redress for Taranaki Mounga – Te Ruruku Putakerongo: Taranaki mounga is declared a legal person in the legislation and is referred to as Te Kahui Tupua. Mt Egmont National Park renamed Te Papa-Kura-o-Taranaki. \$35mill awarded. ⁵⁹

The impact of colonisation on the hapū of Otaraua, viewed through the lens of policy periods provides insight into the trauma experienced by descendants today. Understanding the impact of land alienation and the effect of imposed systems subjugating traditional knowledge systems is empowering. By naming the acts of colonisation and understanding the impact, we are positioned better to reclaim and repossess. The following section provides insight into each of the periods, with an analysis of the implications for re-claiming hapū identity and knowledge.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi and inundation (1840 - 1860)

Colonisation led to the loss of Māori sovereignty and self-governance. The signing of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, while meant to protect Māori and hapū rights, was misinterpreted and violated, resulting in the erosion of Māori authority over lands and affairs.

⁵⁷ *Education and Training Act 2020*, No. 38, 2020 (N.Z.).

⁵⁸ *Education and Training Amendment Act 2023*, No.15, 2023 (N.Z.).³

⁵⁹ Ngā Iwi o Taranaki & New Zealand Government. (2023). *Te Ruruku Pūtakerongo: Taranaki Maunga Collective Redress Deed*.

This period is defined by the British Sovereignty designating New Zealand as a colony, to be administered under a Crown representative, Governor Hobson. Te Tiriti o Waitangi, signed in 1840 did little to placate the insatiable appetite of the New Zealand Company and the Crown to secure land for incoming settlers. Taranaki whānau and hapū were overwhelmed not only by the influx of settlers but also by the implementation of legislation of a colonial justice system, which established the political and economic structures of the settler state, as well as the colonial discourse that denigrated hapū culture and identity.

The usurping of the mana tūpuna and rangatiratanga of key leaders occurred directly after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, with the actioning of the Ngamotu Deed. This was a complete disregard of the constitutional rights of hapū to their undisturbed possession of their lands and estates. As Walker (1990) writes, ‘without land a chief’s mana and that of his people are negate’ (p. 93). The pursuit of the acquisition of land created the conditions that incurred the disconnection from whenua and therefore marginalisation of the mana of hapū leaders. In this period, the Crown enacted legislation to ensure they had exclusive land (pre-emption) purchase rights, asserting power and control over lands to then on sell. This also created the centralisation of power over the purchase and sale of land with the Crown. The first land claim ordinance enacted allowed the Crown to also confiscate land categorised as 'wasteland,' marking the commencement of utilising presumed authority to dispossess hapū of land. This signalled the intentions of the Crown to overthrow traditional customary knowledge systems in this first phase of asserting dominance. This was further evidenced by the Native Trust ordinance that saw the beginnings of the Crown using confiscated land to build schools to progress assimilation.

Colonial perspectives of land ownership clashed with the concept of kaitiakitanga, which saw unoccupied land as waste. Otaraua, among other hapū traditionally migrated between

homelands and southern areas. The concept of ahikā enabled hapū to be transient, while maintaining a home fire. This triggered defiance, resistance, and a plea to safeguard the traditional bond and duty of land stewardship by Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke and other hapū leaders. The relentless pursuit of Governor Grey to acquire more land, saw the confiscation of 3,500 acres to establish New Plymouth. Land commissioners were given authority to sell or lease land without owner's consent as the first New Zealand Government was sworn in.

Amongst the upheaval and disorder, the Crown introduced Māori education policies to accelerate assimilation of Māori. This move aimed to transform traditional hapū knowledge systems. The push to civilise Māori through education and the imposition of Crown control over land purchases set the stage for significant disruption and chaos for hapū in this period.

Invasion and dispossession (1860-1870)

During this period, the Crown used both military force and legislation to forcibly remove Otaraua descendants from ancestral lands, branding resistance as rebellion and implement policies that transformed land ownership structures.

From 1860-1866, the Crown's military actions in North Taranaki sought to secure land for European settlement. Faced with slow land acquisition rates, the Crown escalated its approach, using armed invasion to suppress resistance. The initial spark was the Crown's response to the refusal of Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitāke and his supporters to allow surveys on the Pekapeka block at Waitara, which the Crown labelled as rebellion. Parallel to this invasion, the introduction the Native Land Court aimed to centralise authority over land ownership, sales and leases. This Court dismantled traditional collective landholding by creating individual titles, undermining hapū mana whenua, mana tūpuna and rangatiratanga. The Public Works Act further entrenched Crown control by allowing land seizures without hapū consent.

The upheaval extended to traditional knowledge systems. The Crown's punitive measures, including land confiscations under the New Zealand Settlements Act and the Suppression of Rebellion Act, targeted so-called rebels and indiscriminately confiscated land. In 1865, the Crown confiscated 1.2 million acres of Taranaki land, affecting both 'loyal' and 'rebel' Māori including all Ngātiawa rohe.

Education policies also evolved, with the establishment of denominational schools that introduced religious teaching into the education system. This move was a part of a broader strategy to accelerate assimilation.

Overall, this era is marked by the Crown's coercive methods to secure land and entrench colonial systems. The imposition of individualistic land ownership structures and the erosion of collective guardianship roles disrupted traditional knowledge systems and dispossessed hapū descendants of their rangatiratanga and mana.

Extensive land alienation, assimilation and disempowerment (1870-1945)

During this period, legislation and policies significantly eroded Māori land rights and collective ownership, deeply affecting Otaraua and Ngātiawa.

The 1873 Native Land Act marked a pivotal shift by dismantling collective land ownership within iwi and hapū, favouring individual titles. This policy trend continued with the establishment of the Native Land Court in 1877 and the 1900 Maori Land Administration Act, both of which facilitated the transfer of Maori land into Crown-dominated individual ownership. These measures aimed to undermine traditional hapū land tenure and consolidate Crown control.

The Crown's aggressive tactics to suppress resistance were evident in the response to passive resistance at Parihaka. The 1881 West Coast Settlement Act, which enforced

imprisonment for resisting land confiscation and surveying, exemplified the Crown's use of force to quell opposition and secure land.

The 1873 Native Land Act also led to the fragmentation of Māori land into uneconomic parcels, further exacerbated by the 1900 Māori Land Administration Act. This legislation transferred control of non-papakainga lands to Māori Land Councils, often resulting in the loss of hapū governance over these lands. Additionally, the 1892 West Coast Settlement Reserves Act and 1905 Land Settlement Act enabled permanent European settlements on Māori reserves, displacing hapū communities.

The 1928 Public Works Act extended Government authority, allowing the seizure of Māori land for development projects, including forestry, airports, and roads. This further diminished hapū control over their lands and resources.

Compounding these challenges, the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act prohibited traditional healing and spiritual practices, undermining hapū cultural traditions and further eroding hapū cultural traditions.

Overall, the policies and legislation of this era systematically dismantled Māori land rights and traditional practices, in favour of Crown ownership and development over hapū autonomy. These resulting impact was a profound disruption of Otaraua and Ngātiawa connection to the land and the retention of mātauranga.

Integration (1945-1970)

The era of integration, marked by the shift from assimilation to integration, is notable influenced by the Hunn Report of 1961. The report classified Māori into three groups,

'A. Completely detribalised minority whose Maoritanga is only vestigial.'

B. The main body of Maoris, pretty much at home in either society, who like to partake of both (an ambivalence, however, that causes psychological stress to some of them).

C. Another minority complacently living a backward life in primitive conditions. (Hunn, 1960, p. 16).

This reflected the Crown's push to assimilate and integrate Māori quickly, with a focus on addressing their priority group C (Williams, 2019).

The introduction of the 'welfare state,' created a dependency of Maori on the systems in the 1930s that created a shift from communal traditional living to individual, urban based living, impacting on identity (Durie M, 1994; Keenan, 2000; Walker, 1990). The upheaval and displacement of hapū descendants and subsequent diminishing of the ability to exercise mana and rangatiratanga, resulted in an increased dependency on a state system. The fragmentation of once vibrant and inter-connected eco-systems of whānau, hapū and the environment forced hapū to relocate to urban town, driven by vocations needed to drive the economy.

Government legislation and policy created government-controlled constructs through Māori Land Councils (later to become Māori Land Boards) tasked with administering Māori land reserves for lease. The Native Land Act in 1909 created the system whereby majority share sales and land leases would be made. This period continued to alienate land through Government controlled mechanisms such as Māori Land Boards, the introduction of extended lease of Māori land and the ability of the government to lease land in perpetuity for public works. Māori Reserve land continued to be leased to non-Māori tenants.

The inability to pay rates on Māori land by Māori 'owners' resulted in the ability of local bodies such as councils to lease or sell Māori land. This saw the further dispossession of land, administered by local Government. Hond et al., (2019) write, 'colonisation transformed

relationships with land from a location of shared identity and collective action to an economic asset to drive advancement within a dominant capitalist system. Loss of land and being ill-prepared to function in the prevailing agricultural model of land use has contributed to widespread Māori impoverishment' (p. 50). The capitalisation and commodification of land impacted directly on the ability of hapū communities to engage in communal practices of providing sustenance and well-being on traditional lands. The Crown marginalised the economic base of hapū by seizing control of the economic resources and means of production, which left Māori and hapū in a position of economic dependency. Limited access to resources and employment opportunities placed Māori communities at a disadvantage.

Self-management and commodification (1970s-present)

The era of Self-management and commodification saw significant changes with the Treaty settlements, the privatisation of state-owned enterprises, and the commodification of fisheries. This period is characterised by a move towards devolved autonomy under Crown-controlled Treaty settlement processes, which aimed to address past grievances while imposing new constraints on Māori governance. When analysing the influence of Crown legislation and policy on the identity and welfare of hapū, this policy period focuses on government initiatives that initiate the redress of grievances stemming from previous policy and legislative eras. This section focusses on perceived devolved autonomy under direction and legislation determined by the Crown through Treaty settlements within an era of neoliberal reforms. Devolution of resourcing occurred through Treaty settlements processes, are overseen and controlled by Crown. During this period, marginalisation through a Treaty settlement process was a reality for hapū. The preferred 'large natural groupings' policies forced hapū to collectivise and to conform to Crown-controlled negotiation processes (Birdling, 2004).

On commenting about the era soon after 1984, Belgrave (2014) writes that,

'The government sought to devolve state responsibilities, while Maori leaders demanded a greater role for tribal organisations, seeking greater control over Maori social and economic well-being. Te Tiriti o Waitangi provided the justification for Maori autonomy and the assertion of tribal sovereignty. Maori accepted, however grudgingly and provisionally, the Crown's dominant role as policymaker and funder. Governments in turn increasingly involved Maori in the provision of services, partially recognising tribal identities and organisations as providers of services and in Treaty settlements....' (p. 193).

The 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act established the role of the Waitangi Tribunal, to hear grievances, gather the historical narrative and present back to the Crown for consideration. Opportunity existed within Crown systems and mechanisms such as the Waitangi Tribunal and in response, Crown entities began constructing opportunities to devolve resourcing to Māori groups through Crown constructed systems and policies. Devolution involved the devolving of Crown systems out to newly established entities that represented iwi consisting of hapū who collectivised. This impacts Post Treaty Settlement Entity Governance structures to work within the bounds of Crown legislation and policy.

Muru-Lanning (2011) writes that, 'One function of Treaty settlements is to devolve to Māori the State's responsibility for Māori as a marginalised ethnic group. However, while achieving settlements, how have Māori descent principles and social groups been transformed?' (p. 16). Treaty Settlement processes have forced Māori into new social groupings that have disregarded traditional tikanga that determined belonging. hapū are descendant based groupings and are marginalised when being subsumed by large collectives emerging as iwi. Hopa (1999), refers to the Waikato-Tainui Settlements Act,' which empowered an iwi using resources

originally owned by hapū' (p. 104). As an example of the marginalisation of the mana and rangatiratanga of hapū, Hopa (1999) also refers to the Tainui Māori Trust Boards actions who 'collectivised hapū assets without seeking their consent' (p. 104).

This period saw the collectivising of hapū into iwi mechanisms constructed by the Crown to devolve resourcing including the Te Atiawa Settlement of 2014. Between 2003 and 2016, eight Taranaki iwi settled individually with the Crown after initially attempting to work collectively to settle. The resulting Te Atiawa Claims Settlements Act in 2016 includes Otaraua as one of the eight hapū. Nine years after the Settlement, Otaraua continues to voice and assert the position held during the settlement period. Simultaneously, further alienation of resources guaranteed to Māori by Te Tiriti occurred through the sale of Crown assets into private ownership, Crown controlled Māori fishing rights and the further alienation of whenua from hapū through the freeholding of leasehold land to residents in Waitara.

Despite the continued subjugation by the legislation of hapū identity, whānau, hapū and iwi continue to express self-determination in the reclamation of identity during this era. This is evident during this period through the establishment of the Kaupapa Māori movement and the establishment of Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga (Nepe, 1991; Smith, 2012; Walker, 1990). The revitalisation of reo also contributed to the elevation and growth of the body of knowledge of Mātauranga Māori. Adapting to the pressures of colonialism is a way of surviving. Throughout this period, Māori resistance to colonial structures resulted in movements that revitalised and reclaimed language, knowledge systems and spiritual practices including a return to traditional forms of karakia such as Paimārire. Despite the profound loss of connection to the land, mātauranga still survives. The expression of autonomy as Māori to establish movements that invigorated well-being and a sense of belonging, began outside of the system.

Challenge arises when ‘neoliberal Crown’ and Government agencies intervene resulting in Crown controlled and resourced initiatives, without shifting power.

Conclusion

Through extreme adversity, tūpuna were resilient, brave and resolute in holding to an ‘Otaraua line of sight’ in the pursuit of the return of whenua and the exercise of rangatiratanga. The narrative through an Otaraau lens reveals the courage and leadership of tūpuna and presents previous generations' courage to fight to exercise rangatiratanga as promised on signing Te Tiriti o Waitangi. This extends across hapū of Taranaki as a whole, recognizing and acknowledging the strength and determination of the leaders who led a collective resistance. Navigating through chaos designed to create the upheaval of traditional knowledge systems continues today. Despite imprisonment, becoming refugees, enduring the impact of influenza, suffering devastation during world wars, grappling with urbanization-induced dependency and experiencing the erosion of tikanga and leadership validation, hapū have managed to survive and continue to resist. Presenting the survival narrative of Otaraau through violation, invasion and displacement, elevates the voices of Otaraau who have been subjugated. Despite extreme adverse conditions, Otaraau still exists and continues to assert mana and rangatiratanga.

The chronological method offers a retrospective view of how policies, legislation and events have contributed to the subjugation of the traditional knowledge and knowledge systems of hapū by undermining mana and rangatiratanga. This approach clarifies the progression of colonisation and its effects on hapū, over time. The impact of colonisation was profound, leading to significant shifts in power dynamics and control, which in turn affected identity, as demonstrated in this analysis. The chronology outlined in this chapter highlights the impact of colonisation from 1840 onwards. By understanding these historical processes, hapū can better

recognise what has been lost and what is necessary for reclamation. To reclaim their heritage, it is crucial to first grasp the extent of the marginalisation they have faced.

This thesis narrates the evolution from the thriving state of well-being for Otaraua before 1840 state to the subsequent erosion of mana tūpuna, mana whenua, rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga. The alienation from whenua and marginalisation through colonisation have led to inter-generational trauma for Otaraua descendants. The challenge now is to shift from mere resistance to active restoration and reclamation (see Table 2). Resistance has transformed into efforts for restoration and reclamation, as hapū navigate through states of ‘conscientisation, resistance and transformative action’ as discussed by Smith (2003, p. 13). Conscientisation, a concept conceived by education theorist Brazilian Paolo Freire (1972) involves becoming aware of social, political and economic injustices and developing a critical consciousness about them. Through this process, individuals learn to analyse and understand oppressive societal structures. The retaining and exercising of rangatiratanga represents a shift from dispossession and dependency to a state of awareness, confidence and reclamation. This research highlights the resilience of Otaraua descendants in continuing to assert their rangatiratanga and honours the strength of all Indigenous peoples who have been subjugated by colonisation.

Table 2: *Resistance to Restoration*

From	To
Colonising Political and Economic Structures	Reclamation of mana atua, mana whenua, mana tūpuna Re-claiming and exercising of kaitiakitanga and rangatiratanga
Dispossession	Repossession of land Restoration of hapū and whānau identity

Cultural Suppression	Reclamation of knowledge and knowledge systems
Decentralisation processes of devolving colonial systems	Conscientisation, mana motuhake

Chapter Five: Otaraua knowledge and identity: A whānau perspective

Introduction

This chapter focusses on gathering and presenting the narratives of whānau about Otaraua identity, mātauranga and their future aspirations for the hapū. Using a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology, it highlights the significance of whānau voices in the reclamation of Otaraua knowledge and identity. The research explores how these narratives contribute to understanding the mātauranga that supports well-being and identity for Otaraua descendants. It uncovers valuable insights into the knowledge of Otaraua that has been retained across three generations within this whānau and identifies the gaps in this knowledge. The shared pūrākau also offer suggestions for revitalising stories and methods for passing knowledge to future generations. This chapter identifies gaps in this knowledge. This chapter is dedicated amplifying whānau voices, creating a space where the reclamation of narratives is driven by the descendants of this whānau of Otaraua. The pūrākau in this chapter contribute to the findings for question two and three of this research.

This chapter presents insights gathered through methods detailed in the methodology chapter, such as pūrākau as photovoice and kōrerorero. The outcomes are organised into themed insights. Kaikōrero and whānau participants highlighted the key elements that determine Otaraua identity. Their insights revealed connections to cultural practices, values and the land, underscoring the significance of both lived experiences and learned heritage in shaping their sense of identity. Participants also offered clear guidance on advancing Otaraua identity, emphasising the importance of confidence, mutual learning, and maintaining connections. They also stressed the need to preserve and pass on tikanga and mātauranga from older to younger

generations. Note that all participants have chosen to remain anonymous and are referred to as either 'kaikōrero' or 'whānau participants' throughout.

Pūrākau-photovoice and kōrerorero

Background

This engagement method involves gathering narratives from whānau participants which includes photos, written explanations and kōrerorero data collected during online wānanga sessions held as a group. Pūrākau through photovoice, provides whānau participants with the freedom and autonomy to shape their narratives and share them in a supportive environment. This method supports whānau participants to control the narrative they share.

This part of the research involved five whānau participants all aged between twenty-six and thirty-four years old connected by wakapapa. Whānau participants engaged for this research have strong connections through whānau networks and shared wakapapa ties with the researcher and each other. Their current locations vary; one lives in Australia, two in other cities in Aotearoa, two reside within the Taranaki region with one living within the Otaraua boundary. The themes that emerged from the narratives are presented as the following pūrākau:

1. Connection to whenua, the mouna, tūpuna and knowing wakapapa is essential for Otaraua identity both for this generation and the next.
2. Otaraua envisions a future where descendants are confident in their identity, learn from one another and connect in safe and welcoming environments.
3. Memories hold significance in shaping identity.

The focus wānanga sessions concluded with an opportunity for whānau participants to add any additional insights or information they felt were missing.

Analysis

Focus group transcripts and written narratives related to the photos were analysed using the affinity mapping method, as described in Chapter Two. An affinity diagram is a tool used to organize data into groups or themes based on their relationships or connections, helping to make sense of the insights gathered during research.

Initially, notes from kōrerorero and statements written about the photos were individually reviewed. Statements agreed upon by whānau participants were extracted and placed on

post it notes. These statements were then analysed and grouped based on their relationships, which included common language or similar contexts.

One outcome of the affinity mapping process is the development of "how might we" questions, which assist whānau participants in considering actions that arise from the insights. These questions lead to potential actions aimed at addressing concerns or areas where participants would like to see progress. These assist to identify gaps and inform actions in the findings chapter.

In Western research methods, there is often an expectation for researchers to establish logical connections between narratives and assumed solutions. However, Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research allows knowledge to emerge naturally from the research without the need for justification or quantification. This approach was applied when analysing the data, accepting it as presented by the whānau participants. The information shared by the whānau participants is presented as it is without the need for justification. This approach elevates the voice of the

Photograph 2: *Affinity mapping example*



whānau within the hapū and respects the whānau participants' autonomy to freely express themselves. The final version of this chapter was presented back to the whānau participants for confirmation.

Pūrākau

These pūrākau are drawn from wānanga held online conducted with whānau participants about their photos, the questions posed and also their written descriptors for each photo. Each comment was noted and organised into themes using the affinity mapping method that resulted in the following.

Pūrākau One: Connection

Connection to whenua, the mouna, tūpuna and knowing wakapapa is important to identity as Otaraua.

Connection to the whenua

‘This morning, I sat on our whenua and waited for Taranaki to greet me in his full beauty. Otaraua for me, is having connection with our whenua, Papatuanuku, our mouna, our awa, our tūpuna. Honouring and acknowledging those who came before us, having gratitude for the love they gave, the sacrifices they made, the fights they fought and the knowledge and wisdom they taught. Otaraua for me is strength in our bloodline’ (Participant one).



Whānau participants openly discussed how the location of their upbringing influenced their sense of connection or disconnection with their Otaraua heritage. Some shared their feelings about growing up outside the area and how it affected their ability to



connect. Referring to Otaraua as 'home' even for those raised outside the area, highlighted a sense of belonging that persisted, despite not being raised on Otaraua lands. Involvement in family activities and the pursuit of knowledge from afar were cited as ways to strengthen their connection, despite being physically distant from the land. In contrast, a whānau participants who grew up in the area shared that they had been 'raised in a pākeha environment' and felt like they were a 'broken link in the chain' when it came to their Otaraua heritage (Participant one, whānau photovoice narrative, December, 2022). Despite their proximity to Otaraua, this whānau participant expressed a sense of alienation from it.

As they entered young adulthood and started their own families, all whānau participants expressed an increasing desire to establish or re-establish a connection with Otaraua. This longing was exemplified by one Participant four who mentioned, "the boys are interested in returning to the land" highlighting the significance of this connection for the next generation (Participant four, whānau photovoice narrative, December, 2023). Photos of Mangaemiemi papakāinga (homestead) were particularly significant, as participants conveyed their experiences and deep connections to this place where many wānanga, hui and family events occurred (Participant four, whānau photovoice narrative, December, 2022).

Connection to the Mounga

'When we were children, it felt like a privilege to see the mountain. It just felt like it was supposed to be right there, on the horizon and you always felt privileged to be able to look upon it, whether it was revealing its top or whether it was kissed in the clouds. It's just that really, you were in the right place. It is the best feeling of home that I have' (Participant four).



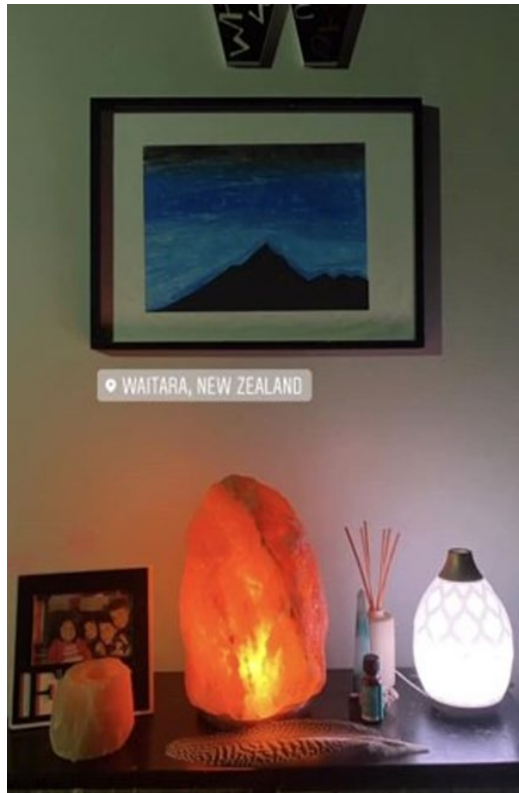
A notable aspect of their identity and connection with the land, was their strong attachment to the mounga. Multiple whānau participants referenced Taranaki as a pivotal element in their Otaraua heritage and identity. The mounga evoked a profound sense of 'home' when participants visited Otaraua lands during their childhood.

Spiritual Connection

Spiritual connection holds significant importance for this group of whānau, with several discussions during the online wānanga revolving around 'te ao wairua' and the participant's ties to tūpuna (ancestors) and overall well-being. All whānau participants mentioned their connection to a 'taha wairua' (spiritual aspect) as essential for their well-being.

Several references were made to a spiritual connection with their great-grandmother and grandmother, known for their healing abilities. The participants emphasised the importance of this spiritual dimension in their lives, even though they were uncertain about how to access related knowledge. A compelling narrative emerged from stories and memories shared about

their great-grandmother, Te Matewhiu, illuminating her remarkable healing abilities and her generosity. Participant 5 shared that his connection with the spiritual realm felt like "a special lady protects you". Despite not having extensive knowledge of te ao wairua, he still felt a connection (Participant five, whānau photovoice narrative, December. 2)



‘This photo represents Otaraua to me because it captures elements of whānau, our mouna (whenua) and our taha wairua/tinana (use of natural resources for well-being)’ (Participant two).

A recurring theme was the belief that spiritual connection is an integral part of their overall sense of connection and identity. References to spiritual aspects like 'protection' and 'healing' were frequently discussed, with one participant capturing a photo that encapsulated this theme.

Wakapapa Connection

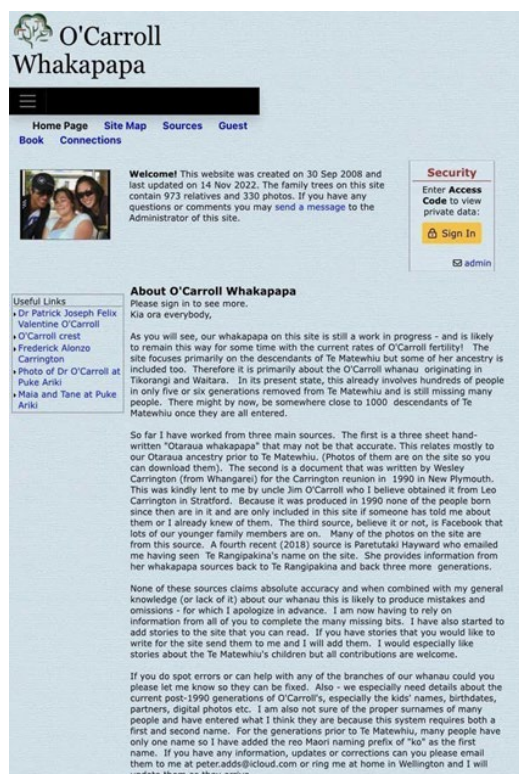
‘These last photos are about making the effort myself to become a lot more confident in our Otaraua wakapapa/ kōrerorero tuku iho/tikanga and kawa and set an example for my pēpi to follow’ (Participant two).



All whānau participants emphasized the significance of wakapapa knowledge. They expressed a strong desire to be confident in understanding their Otaraua wakapapa, kōrerorero tuku iho, tikanga and kawa. One participant explicitly stated, "I want to make an effort to be a lot more confident in our Otaraua wakapapa" (Participant two, whānau photovoice narrative, December, 2022). They also highlighted the importance of acknowledging past generations, appreciating their tūpuna (ancestors) and recognizing the profound significance of wakapapa. There was a clear link between knowing wakapapa, and the actions associated with honouring and understanding tūpuna.

Learning wakapapa was noted not only as a process about their lineage but also as a journey of self-discovery and inner strength. This theme extended to the importance of knowing one's pepeha (tribal saying), with a whānau participant expressing their desire to be confident in knowing their pepeha.

In summary, the whānau participants expressed a powerful desire to connect with their heritage and identity through the knowledge of their wakapapa, recognizing it is a powerful link to their tūpuna and a source of personal strength. The overarching theme of this pūrākau highlighted the participants desire to connect with Otaraua through the environment, to wairuatanga (spirituality) and wakapapa.



This photo is a snapshot of our O'Carroll website which is an online repository of our whānau wakapapa. Wakapapa is important to me partly because it is a testament to our whānau occupation of our whenua in Taranaki for over many generations' (Participant two).

Pūrākau Two: Sharing knowledge about Otarauatanga.

Otaraua has a future where descendants are confident in their identity and learn from one another, while connecting in safe and welcoming environments.



‘There is not one face I don’t recognise here – it is iconic. I can see the love. These were some of my favourite moments with smiling, vulnerability and (people) in a good mood. It speaks to the bridging of generations. We have a whānau member working hard to try to be present, some are touched by the sunshine, and some are touching the sunshine’ (Participant four).

Whānau participants expressed a strong desire for themselves and their children to confidently embrace their 'Otarauatanga,' a term introduced by a participant. They recognised the importance of passing on knowledge to their children, even though they acknowledged there is still much they have yet to learn themselves. The theme of intergenerational learning emerged

strongly, as participants shared ideas for creating optimal conditions for learning about Otaraua and nurturing their sense of identity and heritage.

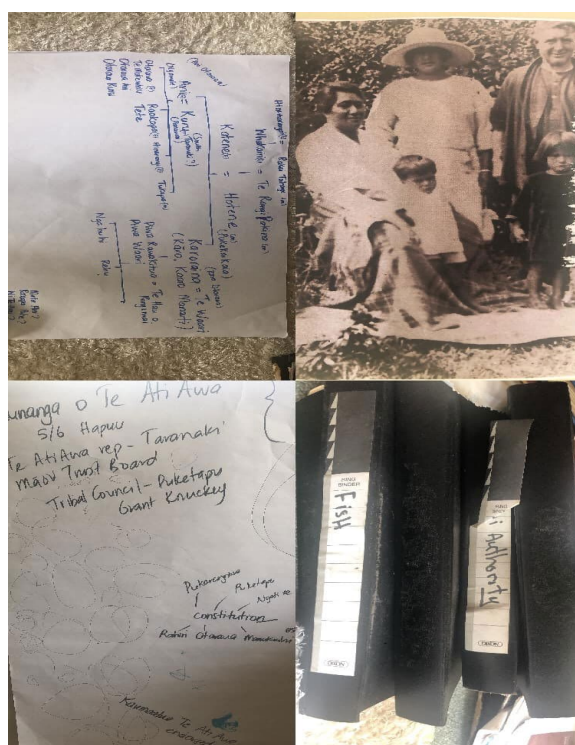


‘Harakeke. I remember hearing that our whānau had planted harakeke at the back of our marae many years ago and now they are used for mahi raranga. This represents intergenerational planning and future proofing our marae, whānau and hapū’ (Participant two).

Several whānau participants were motivated to learn about Otaraua because of their children's interest or their desire to pass on their heritage to the next generation. One participant, who had faced challenges in connecting with their Otaraua heritage in the past, found renewed motivation through their children's eagerness to learn. This participant described their journey as repairing a 'broken link in the chain' and emphasised the importance of feeling safe in this learning journey. They sought engagement in sharing rather than being instructed, aiming to transform past challenges into positive experiences.

Another participant stressed the need for custodians who could guide future generations on their journey to understand their heritage. Participants emphasised the value of storytelling and individual narratives about the land, highlighting that each story is unique and all perspectives matter. They also suggested face-to-face wānanga and activities centred around traditional practices like food gathering as ideal learning conditions.

A desire to explore deeper aspects of their heritage was particularly challenging for those living away from the traditional Otaraua whenua. An illustrative example came from a participant who shared a collage of photos taken during a whānau wānanga in Otaraua in 2016, highlighting the importance of such environments for learning about their heritage. Participants noted that laughter and hearing about the human aspects of their ancestors - such as daily lives, struggles and triumphs were crucial for understanding the historical traumas that continue to affect their whānau today.



'Understanding and learning about Otaraua is an ongoing journey for myself, especially because we weren't raised back home in Waitara. But being part of this rangahau has been a way for me to reconnect back to Otaraua' (Participant two).

Participants are also interested in learning practices that promote well-being including spiritual practices and physical activities like hunting and fishing. They stressed that knowledge sharing was vital, particularly in connecting with their tūpuna. The ideal learning environment

was described as one where all stories and perspectives were valued, and questions were openly welcomed, fostering a sense of well-being among participants.

In summary, whānau participants emphasised the importance of working together towards a common goal. They described learning conditions where individuals contributed their unique skills, working collaboratively for a shared objective. This collaborative spirit aligned with the kaikōrero findings, highlighting unity and support within the whānau. A grandniece of a family member who replenished harakeke stocks in the 1980s expressed a desire to contribute to nurturing the pā harakeke. She believed that guidance from older generations across multiple generations was essential to ensure that Otaraua descendants are confident in their identity, underscoring the theme of intergenerational knowledge transfer and whānau support for preserving their heritage.



Pūrākau Three: Memories are important to identity.

So, I don't have many photos from my childhood and even fewer from Otaraua. What I do have, however, resonates with the feelings I remember, we were very active, with lots of group gatherings, be it for hui, wānanga or tangi (Wānanga for mahi raranga, te reo Māori with Kui Whero, Māra kai).’ For me personally, it's a place that always feels like home, it's calming...my mind can "stop" here, and I feel safe’ (Participant three).



When whānau participants shared their narratives about identity and connection to

Otaraua, they often fondly recalled childhood memories about close whānau members and the environment. These memories were closely linked to significant family gatherings such as tangi and hui. For instance, one participant mentioned that they primarily met their dad's side of the family at tangi, while another shared that they were most familiar with Otaraua as a destination primarily for attending tangi. The most vivid memories revolved around the tikanga and events that unfolded during whānau hui. These recollections included activities like using a horse and cart at tangi or fetching water from the spring.

Participants also spoke of the powerful sense of whānau connection they experienced during these gatherings, including memories of driving a car for the first time, staying up all night with cousins, eeling with an uncle, embarking on night-time adventures under the starry

sky and observing Uncles and Aunties collaborating on tasks. These stories underscored the depth of connection whānau participants felt with their whānau and how frequently they returned home to partake in these experiences.

One whānau participant reminisced about visiting Otaraua all the time as a child. Another, who had grown up in the area as a child but had since moved overseas, shared a photo collage capturing memories. These memories were linked to strong emotions and a profound sense of being at home. This emotional connection to home was a common theme among whānau participants, who also described feeling protected, viewing Otaraua as a place for reflection and highlighting its role in nurturing well-being.



'This photo is iconic because it is what I absolutely hope for it to be. Sharing knowledge, sharing the land and its story, sharing the same space between generations' (Participant four).

The photo collage from a whānau wānanga illustrated the importance of intergenerational relationships in these memories. The photos highlighted positive moments with various whānau members, emphasizing their significance. Most of the photos submitted in alignment with this

insight featured whānau members, as participants' fondest memories were often associated with the time they spent with their whānau.

During online discussions, whānau participants frequently reminisced about the enjoyable times they had with cousins and whānau, particularly in the environment around Mangaemiemi. These memories were centred on events at the pā, the urupā and alongside the awa. Overall, the recollections of whānau participants underscored the profound influence of family gatherings and shared experiences on their sense of identity and connection to Otaraua.

Pūrākau as photovoice narratives provide a rich, multidimensional portrayal of the experiences, values and aspirations of five young Otaraua descendants. They highlight the significance of place, intergenerational knowledge transfer, identity and spiritual connection in the cultural narrative of the whānau. This method of data collection not only empowers participants to share their pūrākau in their own words and images but also enriches the research by incorporating Indigenous perspectives and methodologies. Through these narratives, this research illuminates the complexities of Hapū identity and the enduring connection between the whānau and their cultural heritage. The use of photovoice narratives underscores the importance of visual storytelling in capturing the lived experiences and shared history of the whānau.

Kōrerorero

Background

Kōrerorero, a method used to capture whānau narratives, was used differently for two groups engaged in this research. In this instance, four kaikōrero, all descendants from the same whānau of Otaraua and Ngātiawa, participated in kōrerorero as a way to gather their narratives. These whānau members were born and raised within the Otaraua boundaries and have actively advocated for justice for whānau descendants in the political and social sphere for the past three

decades. They share close wakapapa connections with each other and with the researcher, and they are now grandparents and great-grandparents, with many mokopuna among them. Their experience and knowledge about Otaraua heritage are highly respected within the wider whānau. During these conversations, they contributed diverse experiences and in-depth knowledge, providing a rich narrative that spanned an era unfamiliar to the younger whānau participants. These narratives were deeply rooted in their experiences of being raised among tūpuna.

The wakapapa connections between the researcher and the kaikōrero, contributed to the openness of the kaikōrero to share. The kaikōrero expressed a strong interest in the research outcome hoping that it would contribute to the well-being and sustainability of the hapū.

Pūrākau

The following is a collection of pūrākau woven into common themes that emerged.

Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua

The questions for this section were designed to initiate conversations with kaikōrero to gain insights into the mātauranga significant for these descendants of Otaraua. These questions also aimed to explore the connection to the land and the spiritual world through the lens of Otaraua whānau.

Kaikōrero shared many examples of the attributes and actions of tūpuna or significant role models they believe are important for younger generations to learn and embody. These responses provided rich narratives, drawing from the participants' lived experiences and stories passed down through parents, grandparents, Aunties, Uncles and tūpuna of Otaraua. One kaikōrero highlighted resilience during the land confiscations and support for the Parihaka movement:

“I think the degree of resilience that our old people showed during the cutting up and the surveying of the land, they were known for, with regards to Parihaka. They were known for sending the pig to Parihaka and leaving the guts at home. Those kinds of practises. I'm sure other people did it as well. All the choicest kai went to Parihaka, and the offal was left at home for the whānau to eat” (Kaikōrero 1, September, 2022).

Attributes such as resilience during challenging times, unification and loyalty within the whānau and hapū were emphasised. The importance of strong foundations within the whānau and the emergence of unique whānau characteristics, such as being stubborn, were noted as consistent across generations. Attributes were observed in the actions of older generations as seen below:

“Watching my great uncles walking down the road, everyone would know who they are, head up, back straight, speak clearly and confidently to others” (Kaikōrero 1, September, 2022).

Kaikōrero recognized the skills, attributes and characteristics within their whānau, which extended beyond Otaraua to whānau of Irish descent. These traits were seen as inherited and enduring over time.

“My understanding is from the moment you open your mouth, you can be identified from various parts of the country, indeed from various parts within the region coming right down to dialect” (Kaikōrero 1, September, 2022).

When considering what it means to be an "Otaraua person" today, kaikōrero expressed that this identity is reflected in how individuals think, behave and live rather than a specific label. It was challenging for some to differentiate between being Otaraua and everyday living. The

ability to identify as Otaraua was suggested to be more complex in modern times due to greater mobility and dialect variations.

“I think it is important to be a rounded person within Otaraua. The knowledge that remains, should be seized on by anybody in this renaissance of the reo and of our Māoritanga, from those things that we have already talked about, the river, waka paru and other landmarks pā and wakapapa about those pā and all the kōrerorero that goes with those places, much of what was left behind by kui” (Kaikōrero 1, September, 2022).

Several descriptions emerged from the kaikōrero, reflecting the characteristics of a generation raised by parents who directly experienced invasion and land alienation. This generation was also born during or after World War Two and their parents lived through the Great Depression.

Unification was referred to during times of resilience in response to adverse conditions. This included the mention of the collectivising after invasion in the 1860s and once again during the Treaty Settlement period in the 1990s. One kaikōrero shared the importance of the whānau having a united stance, particularly on issues such as land retention, adhering to tikanga and the not accepting of compensation for land.

“Just thinking that unification, standing unified would have been something three or four generations before that would have been important, that came down right down to Mum’s generation” (Kaikōrero 2, September, 2022).

“Mō ngā wāhine pouwaru me ngaa tamaiti pani” (Kaikōrero 3, September, 2022).

Participants also discussed the significance of land confiscation on their connection to the whenua. They highlighted the importance of reclamation and kaitiakitanga as a means of revitalising hapū vitality, emphasizing that whenua is the most critical aspect of Otarauatanga.

Collectively, all the participants had rich memories of living and growing up on the whenua of Otaraua. The multiple references to wāhi tapu and the recollection of the names and locations were significant. The protocol associated with entering wāhi tapu was described, along with the implications for breaches of tikanga. References were made to names of urupā not widely known today.

“We can’t be anything else, when we’re dead we’re still connected” (Kaikōrero 1, September, 2022).

Descriptions of Otaraua boundary landmarks sparked conversations about traditional boundaries and the current state of the ability for Otaraua descendants to live on the whenua. Kaikōrero shared experiences about their connections to the whenua through examples of:

- Sourcing kai - waka paru, fishing along the coastline, Maara
- Engaging with our wāhi tapu and adhering rigorously to our specific tikanga
- Acknowledgement and respect for urupā and areas of pakanga
- A return to our puna for restoration and healing
- Tikanga that connects and harnesses the properties of wai for healing.

On discussing the significance of the impact of land confiscation on the connection with the whenua, one kaikōrero shared that the hapū can now focus on reclamation of whenua and kaitiakitanga activities as a means of re-storing hapū vitality. Whenua was described as the most important aspect of Otarauatanga. Regarding Mātauranga, kaikōrero emphasized the importance of preserving traditional practices, reo, tikanga, knowledge of significant landmarks and wakapapa. These aspects were seen as integral to a well-rounded understanding of traditional knowledge of Otaraua.

Kaikōrero shared their strong connection to te ao wairua, citing references to kaitiaki, intuition, practices for healing and well-being and sacred places.

“There was also a connection with Moreporks. That was Kui’s bird. Whenever we saw a morepork, we thought of Kui. If we were traveling and the morepork flew across in front of us to us, we took that as a sign. That we needed to slow down or take care with our driver traveling. And nine times out of ten, there was a good reason. Because you get round the corner and there’d be a mob of animals on the road or get round another corner and there’s an accident right in front of you” (Kaikōrero 2, September, 2022).

Kaikōrero emphasized that those who have passed on continue to exist spiritually and are present in their lives. conversation transcripts also discussed their close relationship with wai and its significance in healing and well-being.

“So spiritually, as far as people and that are concerned, that kind of stuff was just normal. Another thing that was really normal but also pretty special was the use of the wai” (Kaikōrero 2, September, 2022).

The presence and interconnection with te ao wairua are a common part of life for the conversation transcripts. It is frequent practice to connect with the spiritual realm. The participant shared that the practices that are associated with harnessing the healing and protective powers of ‘wai’ are known within the whānau and gave examples of the sharing of this knowledge to younger whānau members. The practices are specific and are concerned with the execution being right for example, it is critical to keep western medicine and the tikanga of the ‘wai’ separate.

“They’ve gone from our side, but they haven’t thought they don’t no longer exist to us spiritually. They’re around and they let us know it, which is why it’s so easy for us to

accept it. We just can't see them. So, for us, we just acknowledge that there's no big mystery. No biggie and it's just the way it's always been" (Kaikōrero 2, September, 2022).

Western and traditional medicine and protocols could not be mixed as this would disrupt the connection with the spiritual realm required to heal spiritually and emotionally. It was important to keep both practices separate. There was also no anger to be involved when conducting the ceremony. It was important to the participant to ensure that the tikanga was correctly applied. Kaikōrero shared their experiences freely, however, having to explain a lived experience was challenging for some, as the practices are embedded in everyday life.

The importance of wakapapa was unanimously acknowledged, with one participant expressing that it is essential, or you are 'just like a leaf on a river.'

"So long as they know their wakapapa, they don't have to justify themselves to anybody. Yes, that's where you stand confidently because you stand up knowing who you are" (Kaikōrero 2, September, 2022).

However, the integrity of wakapapa collection and sharing was also emphasized. Some kaikōrero spoke of the need for accuracy and the importance of having their own version of wakapapa for the whānau.

"It goes to show though, we must have our own version, our own family and this is our version and don't go from that. It's got to be accurate as far as we know" (Kaikōrero 2, September, 2022).

The wakapapa of Otaraua pā was considered important, as it connects the whenua and wakapapa, providing a solid foundation for identity.

“The whānau wakaapa clearly states at the beginning, where our origins extend from and describes the beginning point of our lineage as determined by our Tīpuna. The wakaapa holds the key to identity” (Kaikōrero 3, September, 2022).

In summary, the key components of mātauranga that are expressed by these senior members of the whānau are resilience and identity, where kaikōrero emphasise resilience and strong identity traits inherited from tūpuna, important for guiding younger generations. This identity is expressed through behaviour, values, and a connection to the land and spiritual world. The whānau also stressed the significance of their ancestral lands and the importance of tikanga in maintaining their cultural heritage. This includes respecting wāhi tapu and engaging in cultural practices like sourcing kai and adhering to rituals for healing and well-being. The integrity and accuracy of wakaapa are crucial for maintaining a strong sense of identity and connection to both land and the wider whānau. A strong connection to the spiritual realm is essential, with practices involving wai playing a significant role in healing and protection.

The lived experiences of these whānau members demonstrated a depth of knowledge attributed to their parents and their grandparents. Despite the impacts of colonisation and invasion experienced in their grandparents time, pockets of mātauranga specific to Otaraua remain within the memories of this whānau.

Intergenerational transmission of knowledge

The prompt questions for this section were designed to capture insights into how mātauranga is transmitted to younger generations and the strategies used to facilitate this process.

During the discussions, kaikōrero explored various ways to ensure that the next generation learns about and understands Otaraua customs, even in the absence of the direct experiences that the kaikōrero had. Many of the younger generation members lacked the first-

hand experience of living on the land or having direct connections to older generations. For example, one kaikōrero recounted learning about wakapapa through frequent, informal conversations with her mother, where they discussed family connections in detail. This participant is now preparing to pass this knowledge to her mokopuna, highlighting the importance of such dialogues in preserving and transmitting cultural heritage.

“For me, general conversation with my mum. We would have days where we would be home together and we'd be talking about something or someone and I'd go, mum how are they connected to us and away she'd go. I'd get a two-hour class on the wakapapa about the connections between their family and ours’..... ‘and it was just general conversation with Mum. Sometimes we had the same conversation half a dozen times. But that's how I got what information I've got?” (Kaikōrero 2, September, 2022).

When sharing insights about how this participant learned about aspects of wakapapa, one particularly effective method was through kōrero with her mother. She engaged in numerous discussions about various whānau members and others and their connections. This participant is currently preparing to pass down wakapapa knowledge to her mokopuna.

This discussion also recalled a wānanga that the whānau organized to teach about significant places on the Otaraua whenua. These gatherings, along with spontaneous conversations, were identified as crucial moments for learning and sharing knowledge.

There are several existing whānau documents containing recorded histories of wakapapa, traditional boundaries, and insights from tūpuna. However, access to this mātauranga is limited, and younger generations seeking greater access to these resources. The kaikōrero stressed the importance of passing down the knowledge they inherited from their parents to the next generations.

One kaikōrero recounted her experiences, attributing her knowledge about Otaraua to her mother. Mātauranga was acquired through interactions with significant and influential individuals in their lives and through lived experiences on the land. This participant learned about her mother's role through her actions.

“Indirectly, it may have come from my kui, Te Matewhiu, but directly anything I know has come from my mum. I can't even say that my uncles and aunties were part of educating me because, well, number one, I was probably too young for them. I was one of the kids to them. So, kids don't really have enough of a standing for them to impart their knowledge to. So, anything I know about being Otaraua comes directly from my mother. And whenever I think of anything to do with the hapū, I always think about her and what I believe her approach would be to that stuff. I do nothing where she's not a part of my consideration” (Kaikōrero 2, September, 2022).

In describing the knowledge that needed to be passed down to subsequent generations, one kaikōrero emphasized that actions should not be divorced from tikanga.

“I think the beginning of that job is making sure that the adult generation now has the information to distribute, especially around things like the water..... and it's the same with identifying where your connections are, wakapapa etc” (Kaikōrero 2, September, 2022).

This section discusses the methods and importance of intergenerational transmission of mātauranga within the Otaraua whānau. Key insights include the role of informal conversations and gatherings in teaching younger generations about Otaraua customs, wakapapa and significant cultural practices. The kaikōrero emphasised the importance of maintaining these practices and the need for the adult generation to pass on knowledge to ensure the continuity of Otaraua

identity. The discussion highlights that much of the cultural knowledge was passed down through whānau interactions, particularly from mothers, and stresses the need for accessible documentation of this knowledge for future generations. This group, who grew up at Rohutu or within Waitara maintained a strong connection to the lands of Otaraua, which significantly influenced their learning and understanding of their heritage.

Future aspirations for Otaraua

“Our young people need a sense of belonging” (Kaikōrero 3, September, 2022).

“I want them to be able to stand up confidently and identify themselves. Claim their identity. Don't be awarded their identity by someone outside the family” (Kaikōrero 2, September, 2022).

The kaikōrero conveyed their thoughts on their aspirations for the succeeding generations of Otaraua descendants, aiming for them to fully embrace their Otaraua identity and heritage articulately. One participant expressed the desire for the next generation to embody qualities such as happiness, confidence, humility and capability. They also emphasized the importance of providing access to and achieving success in mainstream education (often referred to as "pākehā education") to enhance capability.

Kaikōrero emphasised the significance of preserving tikanga of customs such as the customs related to waka paru for the next generation. This practice is intertwined with retaining specific tikanga specific to Otaraua whānau and the art of gathering piharau. The kaikōrero noted that while they possess knowledge of the locations of waka paru on the Waitara River and the whānau associated with each one, these practices might not be common experiences for their mokopuna.

“See you take the waka paru on the river - what decides which family goes where - each whānau had a place - to collect piharau. They need to be handed down and not divorced from our tikanga, because it gives our young people a certain belonging” (Kaikōrero 1, September, 2022).

They also stressed the importance of passing down this knowledge and ensuring it remains connected to their tikanga. They recognized that handing down this knowledge contributes to the young generation's sense of belonging, emphasizing that these practices have been known for generations and should continue to be known.

One kaikōrero expressed their aspiration for young Otaraua descendants to become well-rounded individuals skilled in various aspects, including a deep understanding of wakapapa, their tikanga and fluency in speaking te reo Māori within the context of Otaraua. This included the aspiration that.

“that they stand confidently, they claim their identity, they have their profile, they know who they are, without a doubt” (Kaikōrero 2, September, 2022).

Meanwhile, another participant underscored the significance of shifting the focus toward futures rooted in whānau connections, highlighting the need to strengthen the bonds within the hapū more intimately.

“The real benefit is for them to gain that sense of identity, that sense of belonging, because we all want to belong somewhere” (Kaikōrero 4, September, 2022).

In summary, the kaikōrero emphasised the importance of the younger generation enjoying the benefits of belonging and identity, something they experienced growing up. They noted that the difference between lived experience of growing alongside parents and grandparents and the experience of generations raised away from grandparents from these

connections. They stressed that Otaraua knowledge should be shared by Otaraua descendants. Suggestions for transferring this knowledge were more prevalent among the pūrākau-photovoice participants.

The impact of the Treaty Settlement process on the well-being of Otaraua

Kōrerorero for this section centred around perspectives on land confiscation and the impact of policies and legislation on the marginalisation of the hapū. This group of kaikōrero were all participants of the Treaty Settlement process for Otaraua. The Otaraua whānau has a clear and well-expressed stance on the protection and preservation of their ancestral land, including the following statement.

“The Crown politicked amongst our hapū, enacted martial law and War, knowingly pursued colonial policies that alienated us as the Tiriti partner from our ancestral lands”
(Kaikōrero 3, September, 2022).

The whānau are well aware of the impact of colonisation in the past and also in the more recent Treaty settlement journey as articulated in an excerpt from a statement that was presented on behalf of a collective of Otaraua hapū bodies to the post-Treaty settlement entity for Te Atiawa. This shares their view, emphasizing a shared view of the position of Otaraua, since the land invasion in 1860.

“the New Zealand Land Wars instigated by the Crown in Waitara in 1860, denied for over 161 years the rightful tangata-whenua occupants of Ngātiawa lands the “undisturbed possession of their lands and estates” that the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed us” (Kaikōrero 3, September, 2022).

This view represents a shared view of all the kaikōrero about their understanding of lived experiences as descendants of Otaraua impacted devastatingly, by colonial policies. For example, they spoke about the subjugation of their identity as Ngātiawa through this process.

The discussions also revolved around how Crown processes imposed a "pākehā process" to address Māori issues, which hindered traditional decision-making methods, forms of leadership and the interconnectedness and support among hapū members. All four kaikōrero possessed extensive knowledge of the Treaty Settlement process and they each played roles in supporting the whānau and hapū of Otaraua during this period.

One participant expressed uncertainty about the position of Otaraua within the wider Taranaki iwi, noting that Otaraua had been perceived as radical in the past. They highlighted that Otaraua had been seen as problematic in dealing with corporate bodies, regional and district councils and the Office of Treaty Settlements. The latter was seen as fostering divisions within Otaraua hapū and Te Atiawa iwi.

Another participant mentioned the fragmentation that occurred within Otaraua hapū and whānau during the settlement process, leading to disagreements and factions within the extended whānau. They believed that this behaviour was not inherent but rather a result of the settlement process imposing Crown ways in a hapū environment. The discussions shed light on the erosion and marginalisation of relationships over the decades due to Crown actions, which included individualizing hapū and subsuming collective hapū through the Treaty settlement process. This fragmentation disrupted traditional inter-hapū relationships built on waka-papa connections.

The impact of the 1860 land invasion in Waitara was extensively discussed, highlighting how the Crown's actions disrupted not only land ownership but also traditional systems and

beliefs. The kaikōrero emphasized that the Crown took control over ancestral rights in favour of implementing its policies and isolating Otaraua whānau from their land.

“We were all unanimous in our belief that we weren’t interested in the money.’ Give us back the land.’ That’s what the grievance was, the grievance was, you came, you confiscated illegally three million acres of Taranaki land” (Kaikōrero 2, September, 2022).

While land alienation and confiscation were a direct impact, one kai kōrerorero noted that the wider, more prominent impact was the destruction of Otaraua systems and beliefs through the chaos created by the process of colonisation. This participant shared his view about the Crown as taking control over ancestral rights, in favour of implementing Crown policy and installing Crown systems to isolate Otaraua whānau from their whenua.

Kaikōrero also discussed the Treaty settlement process in the 1990s, sharing their unified belief that compensation was not the primary goal but the return of confiscated land. They mentioned the role of Otaraua mothers in shaping their views and the importance of land reclamation.

“Within the wider Taranaki iwi, I’m not sure how we are positioned and I think we’re viewed as sometimes a little too radical. I think Otaraua has been seen as that, not only in the recent past but also in the distant past. My experience in the more recent past is that we have been seen as problematic on a bunch of levels with regards to the corporate bodies. The region and district councils have pulled together to make things much more difficult for us and have marginalised us over the decades. The Office of Treaty Settlements who had also been choreographing a similar marginalising of our hapū, by fermenting differences within our hapū and differences within our iwi within Te Atiawa” (Kaikōrero 1, September, 2022).

When discussing the concept of identity, it was important that Otaraua was referred to as "Ngātiawa" emphasizing the lineage from the Ngātiawa line.

"We are Ngātiawa, we come off the Ngātiawa line" (Kaikōrero 4, September, 2022).

This identity was passed down through generations, highlighting the importance of wakapapa links to their iwi. A story emerged about a niece who was challenged when expressing her identity as Ngātiawa. The kaikōrero proudly shared that she defended what she knew to be true as her mother told her. This serves as an illustration of the way in which the whānau positions themselves, guided by their recognized connections within their wakapapa. Through the narratives of the whānau, all participants refer to the iwi as Ngātiawa and acknowledged and validated by wakapapa.

Conclusion

The bringing together of two sets of narratives from three generations of this whānau was a privilege to be a part of. Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology positions whanaungatanga as one of the foundational tikanga and wakapapa as key principles. The methods engaged for this part of the research assisted to bring together inter-generational whānau knowledge and aspirations exemplifying a rich range of perspective and views about Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua.

The creation of pūrākau using photography, wānanga and kōrerorero engaged the younger generation are keen to explore and learn about their identity. They were also very articulate in sharing the types of knowledge they are interested in, and how the learning would be supported. For the younger generation, the desire to connect and learn is clear. They are also interested in ensuring that the conditions for learning are open and engaging for all. The pūrākau-photovoice wānanga also created the space for whānau participants to connect with others' ideas, to confirm memories, or provide opportunities to shape and reshape thoughts or aspirations.

The older generation participants spoke openly about the settlement process and the impact on mātauranga within the hapū, including the natural processes used for decision-making, strategising and collaborating with other hapū and whānau. The older participants expressed that maintaining and staying true to these tikanga has been a challenging journey. Holding onto the Otaraua line of sight which embodies the tūpuna attributes that emerged from the discussions, is something that the whānau are proud of. This included tūpuna attributes such as loyalty, protection and kaitiakitanga, resilience and unity.

The depth of knowledge and insights shared by three generations of this whānau connected by wakapapa exemplify a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua approach in action. Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology provides the conditions for Otaraua descendants to engage with hapū research by engaging with relationships determined by wakapapa, activated by whanaungatanga and kaitiakitanga.

Chapter Six: Findings

Introduction

The aim of this research was to support the reclamation of Otaraua knowledge and identity by highlighting how Crown policy and legislation have marginalised Otaraua culture. Additionally, it sought to identify methods for reclaiming and sharing Otaraua narratives for future generations. To achieve this, the research involved reviewing historical contexts, assessing the current state of mātauranga among Otaraua whānau members, and proposing solutions to support in the reclamation process. This chapter synthesises insights from whānau voices, whānau repositories, and literature reviews. The findings also identify the gaps in Otaraua knowledge reclamation and suggests ways these can be addressed.

Marginalisation of traditional knowledge and knowledge systems

Research question one

How has the construct and identity of Otaraua been shaped and reshaped since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi?

The findings for this question are derived largely from a combination of literature reviews, whānau anecdotal records and chronological analysis legislation and policies. This approach identifies pivotal actions that impacted the identity of Otaraua.

Colonisation severely impacted the knowledge base of Otaraua descendants, which is deeply connected to their identity. The research supported by the literature review, reveal that acts of colonisation - such as the usurpation of mana, rangatiratanga and land confiscation significantly damaged the ability of descendants of Otaraua to express their identity and traditional knowledge practices as they had.

Mana tūpuna, mana atua and mana whenua are fundamental to Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua, as identified through literature review and the chronological analysis. These principles became primary targets of the Crown, resulting in the subjugation of this mātauranga. The analysis exposed the widespread impact of colonisation on Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua showing that the marginalisation of mātauranga has had devastating effects on the ability of hapū leaders and descendants to exercise their mana.

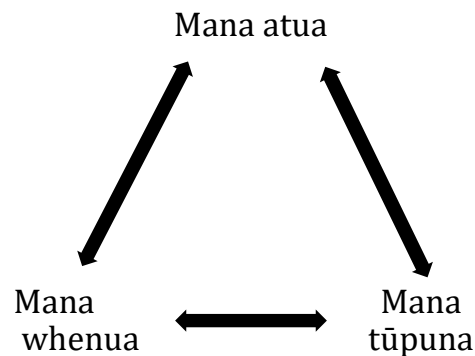
Otaraua descendants assert they never relinquished their mana to care for the realms of atua, the land and to uphold the mana of tūpuna. Colonisation has marginalised their ability to exercise their mana by disconnecting them from their land. Despite this, the narrative from the kaikōrero indicates that mana remains intact, although diminished in the eyes of the Crown. Chapter four highlighted the challenges that Otaraaua descendants faced when the hapū understanding of mana was disregarded and misunderstood.

Mana.

The literature review and commentary from whānau revealed that the usurping of mana and rangatiratanga significantly impacted our leadership systems and the right to live and practice mātauranga of Otaraaua. The marginalisation disrupted the ability of Otaraaua descendants to live as their tūpuna did. This section presents findings on the importance of reclaiming an understanding and knowledge of mana as hapū descendants. As illustrated in Figure 6, the three aspects of mana – mana atua, mana tūpuna, and mana whenua – highlight the sources of mana and its bestowal upon tūpuna and whenua, as described in Chapter Two. Research often describes these three aspects of mana as forming a triangulation essential to reclaiming identity, decolonisation and healing (Cameron et al., 2017; Keenan, 1994; Marsden & Royal, 2003).

Restoring mana atua, mana whenua, mana tūpuna supports reorientating mana back to hapū, thereby reclaiming a unique identity within a post-Treaty settlement context.

Figure 6: *Interconnectedness of mana*



The Crown’s apology in the Te Atiawa Deed of Settlement in 2014 acknowledged the breaches of Te Tiriti that impacted on the tūpuna, hapū and iwi of Te Atiawa. However, it did not address the impact on mana or rangatiratanga directly. Multiple documents used in this research refer to the many times the Crown and government strategies usurped the mana atua, mana tūpuna, mana whenua and rangatiratanga of hapū leaders. To exercise and conscientise mana is an act of decolonisation.

Kaikōrero who contributed to this research shared their understanding of ‘mana motuhake’ as everlasting mana that is never relinquished and is strongly associated with rangatiratanga which is described as the exercising of mana. The whānau participants shared a strong desire to reconnect to their roots to foster identity and belonging. Re-igniting narratives about mana reconnects and reorientates descendants to traditional knowledge and identity as Otaraua.

Mana atua.

Wakapapa 4: *Ko Ranginui, ko Papatunuku*

Ko Rangi
 Ko Papa Ka puta
 Ko Rongo
 Ko Tane Mahuta
 Ko Tangaroa
 Ko Tūmataunga
 Ko Haumietiketike
 Ko Tawhiri Mātea
 Tokona te rangi ki runga
 Ko Papa ki raro
 Ka puta te ira tangata
 Ki te whai ao, ki te ao maarama
 E Rongo, whakairia ki runga kia tina...
 Tina!
 Hui e! Tāiki e!

This ‘tātai wakapapa’ connects descendants to atua as descendants of Ranginui (Rangi) and Papatuanuku (Papa) as recited by Te Kotahitanga o Taranaki me Pōneke (2010). Karakia, waiata and wakapapa of Taranaki demonstrate connectedness to this realm and place and role in the cosmos as it did before colonisation. Hapū descendant responsibility to uphold the mana of atua and their realms is inherent in traditional practices. Atua exist as a part of the cosmos of spirituality that positions humankind as having ‘lawful permission delegated by the gods to their

human agent to act on their behalf and in accordance with their revered will' (Royal, 2003, p. 4). The acknowledgement of atua in sacred prayer to protect and guide is embedded in practices that still exist – in part - today.

The impact of colonisation disrupted the ability of Otaraua descendants to connect with the spiritual world, particularly through the introduction of religion and the enforcement of education through denominational schooling, and the suppression of traditional healing practices through legislation, as seen in the chronology. This marginalisation led to a disconnect from mana atua, a vital element of their cultural identity, well-being and protection. During times of disparity, some descendants turned to Christianity, seeking protection amid the colonisation onslaught.

An Otaraua understanding of the connection atua remains within waiata, karakia and in wakapapa, having survived despite efforts to sever these ties through colonial legislation and policy. Reclamation of traditional knowledges of this realm occurs through practices of karakia that acknowledge atua for the gift of life through all that sustains us.

Otaraua narratives refer to our connection to a higher being from the spiritual world as embedded in our wakapapa. Karakia practices draw on the realm of the atua to protect the environment and to seek guidance. As evidenced by the kaikōrero and the whānau participants, the spiritual realm provides protection by atua and tūpuna who have passed on. The spiritual connection to the land, ancestors and specific whānau members, such as the great-grandmother known for her healing abilities is a recurring theme. This spiritual dimension added depth to the participants sense of place and identity and is sought by a younger generation who seek to know more. The struggle to return to karakia that embraces traditional connections to atua is met with

resilience and a drive to restore. As Indigenous peoples become aware of the impact of indoctrination, Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua through te ao wairua, informs ways to restore well-being.

Koia rā e Rongo, whakairia ki runga

Tūturu whiti whakamoua kia tina! Tina! Hui e! Tāiki e!

Mana tūpuna.

Tūpuna are fundamental to the connection to the past and to the identity of the hapū. Traditionally, hapū are often named after eponymous tūpuna, who led whānau to ensure protection and sustainability. These groupings of whānau created identity and continuity as descendants-maintained connections to those ancestral figures. However, the displacement of whānau and the breakdown of traditional relationships has severed these vital connections, leading to a loss of identity through tūpuna.

The process of collectivising to retain land and to settle grievances with the Crown has resulted in the marginalisation of hapū who existed as a part of Otaraau. This marginalisation is evident in the diminishing presence and knowledge of Otaraau tūpuna in the everyday lives of descendants. Tūpuna such as Awanuiārangi, Tuitimoengaroa, Kura, and Uenuku, once integral to the identity of the hapū, are not widely spoken about by the younger generation. Instead, the narratives of these tūpuna are subsumed by the broader, modern identity of Te Ātiawa iwi. This shift is starkly illustrated by the reduction of the once-vibrant network of ninety-six hapū identified in the Te Ātiawa Deed of Settlement of 2014.

An Otaraau pre-1840 state saw a collective of ten hapū all descended from tūpuna descendants of Awanuiārangi II. In 1880, the hapū of Northen Taranaki collectivised under Te Ātiawa nui, in response to land confiscation. It is at this point that Ngātiawa becomes a part of Te Ātiawa nui tonu. In 1930, the introduction of the Taranaki Māori Trust Board saw the

formation of an iwi structure encompassing all of Taranaki, as a Crown preferred grouping. The Runanga structure required that hapū join iwi collectives in order to receive resourcing from the Crown. By 2014, Otaraua was to become a member of Te Atiawa under the Te Atiawa Settlement Act (see Table 1, pg.144).

Tūpuna are often spoken about as leaders who were revered and conducted extraordinary feats. In the reclamation of mātauranga, the revitalisation of tūpuna names and their characteristics is important for the next generation to build confidence in being from Otaraua, as determined by kaikōrero and whānau participants. Activating hapū memory supports to reclaim knowledge of tūpuna. The impact of the creation of large ‘iwi’ groupings affects the collective memory hapū have of tūpuna as seen through the merging of Otaraua as a hapū within the larger grouping of Te Atiawa iwi. A re-orientation by descendants back to a hapū identity is important to Otaraua descendants of this whānau, particularly when their identity as Ngātiawa is not visible or acknowledged.

Mana whenua.

Ka tuu tonu Otaraua, kia kore rawa e horomia ngaa kongakonga whenua o Waitara e te tai o waho.

Otaraua remains resolute in safeguarding the lands of Waitara from any external peril, ensuring their protection (Otaraua hapū, 2022)

The words espoused in this extract from a letter written by a unified group of Otaraua descendants, summarises the current view of Otaraua in relation to the importance of safeguarding land. As evidenced in Chapter four, the confiscation of whenua through force, legislation and policy, and subsequent removal of descendants of Otaraua from ancestral lands affected the ability of Otaraua whānau to live as Otaraua. Connection to the whenua and the

ability to protect and look after it, is and remains the key to reclaiming hapū identity. Mana whenua is connected to all aspects of mātauranga for this whānau of Otaraua. Participants acknowledge the mouna, awa and kāinga as critical identifiers. Whenua is crucial for belonging, as a source of kai and nourishment, protection and spiritual well-being. Acknowledging the pā, marae and the awa are strong identifiers.

The impact of invasion and land confiscation has been traumatic and embedded in the lives of generations since 1860. Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke led the struggle to reclaim and retain whenua. From the time of Te Rangitāke, the retention and reclamation of land still remains paramount. A key focus of many from Otaraua is the repossession and kaitiakitanga of whenua. Otaraua are reclaiming traditional practices, exercising mana whenua by re-connecting to the land and exercising ahikā. The desire is to rebuild the hapū on the land. The tūpuna practices of utilising wāhi tapu, growing kai and connecting meaningfully with natural ecosystems, are returning.

Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua centralises the principle of te taiao. It is evident through the narratives of the whānau participants, kaikōrero and the evidence that emerged from an analysis of the Treaty settlement negotiations, that connectedness to land is vital for the well-being of hapū descendants. Experiences of dispossession of traditional lands, disconnect Indigenous peoples from traditional knowledge systems and well-being. Indigenous communities are mobilising and strategising to reclaim possession of land through land-based pedagogy, to create space to reconnect (Nightingale & Richmond, 2022; Simpson, 2004). Increased awareness of the impact of living within systems that disempower and perpetuate inequity has sparked responses that involve ‘nation-building’ and ‘environmental repossession’ (Cardinal, 2007; Nightingale & Richmond, 2022). Nightingale and Richmond (2022) write ‘Indigenous experiences of health

and wellness continue to be shaped by colonisation and processes of dispossession' (p. 1). Land is seen as 'medicine,' Indigenous peoples are mobilising to reclaim traditional knowledge lost through invasion and confiscation of land, through 'environmental repossession.' Indigenous communities are united to become self-sustaining in historical and cultural contexts. The re-generation of land-based practices enables Indigenous peoples to reclaim traditional knowledge systems and identity

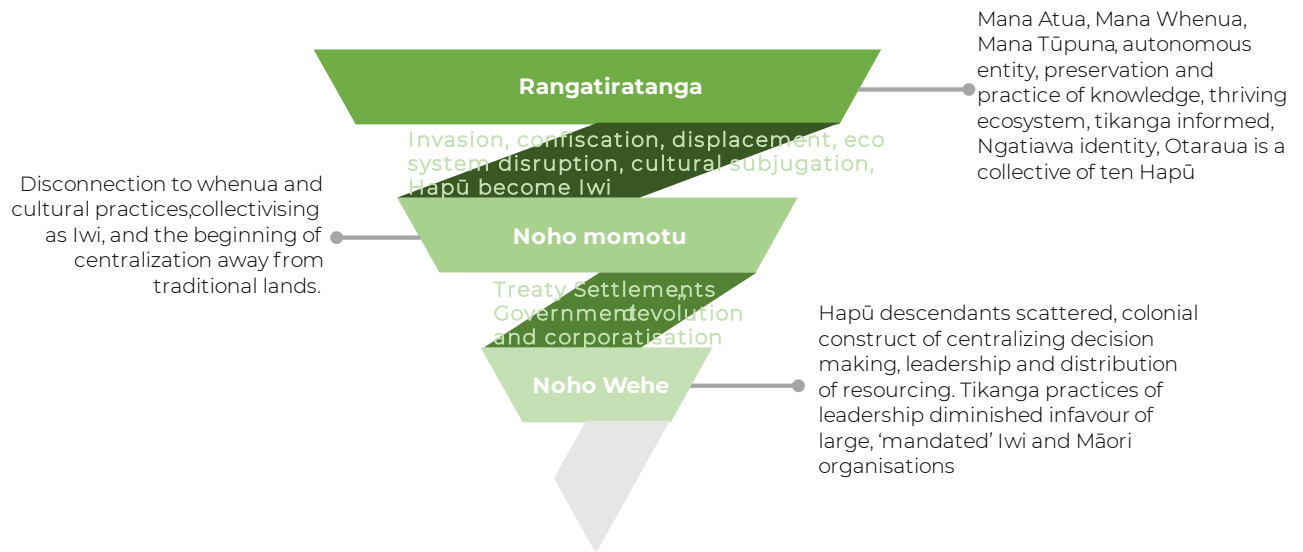
Future focussed solutions of rebuilding the whānau connection to Mangaemiemi as a place to call home and centralise hapū activities continues through a group of resolute and committed hapū descendants who continue to 'hold the line.' Participants often describe connection to the land as a returning 'home.'

Rangatiratanga.

Rangatiratanga is acknowledged and honoured by whānau participants and kaikōrero when they observe the leadership examples of rangatira who have preserved the mana of the hapū and whānau. The ability to exercise rangatiratanga is achieved by exercising mana. Tūpuna had absolute authority to lead according to customary tikanga. This included rights to determine the systems engaged to occupy land and ascertain boundaries. Examples of marginalised hapū leaders, illustrate the infringement upon rangatiratanga, as acknowledged and protected by Te Tiriti o Waitangi and guaranteed under Te Whakaputanga. The usurping of the rangatiratanga of rangatira through acts of imposed legislation and policy and the forced removal from ancestral lands, contributed to the struggle for Otaraua to retain identity and self-determination. The capacity to identify and connect with relationships through wakapapa connections declined as leaders and descendants of hapū were displaced. The Crown's actions led to a state of confusion regarding traditional boundaries as hapū joined together to safeguard their land. Treaty

settlement processes did not allow time for traditional methods of decision making by rangatira to take place. The impact of imposed legislation and policy meant that revered rangatira were

Figure 7: *Rangatiratanga model*



vilified by the Crown who undermined their leadership. Rangatiratanga of hapū have been subjected to conditions that have diminished the ability to identity as rangatira and exercise rangatiratanga with traditional customary authority. The impact of colonisation process on identity of hapū through the usurping of rangatira authority as seen in this research is summarised in Figure 7.

The progression from rangatiratanga and full atua-given authority to isolation (noho momotu) and ultimately disconnection (noho wehe) is a direct consequence of the effects of colonisation. Life as a sustainable thriving eco-system within Otaraua boundaries has been reduced to descendants who are scattered, living away from traditional boundaries and sources of

well-being. hapū are collectivised under a Post-treaty settlement entity. Mana tūpuna has diminished, names are not visible or heard within the confines of a dominant economy driven system, while trying to retain and exercise rangatiratanga. Resourcing distribution is centrally administered across six mandated hapū who survived the settlement process. The significance of the loss of traditional knowledge tied to the practice of rangatiratanga encompasses various aspects, including an understanding of working collectively as whānau, Otaraua knowledge systems that establish order and the methods used to define hapū boundaries.

Reclaiming Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua through Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua, is reclaiming the ways in which we exercise rangatiratanga. The question is, how can this be achieved living scattered, disconnected and away from ancestral lands?

Knowledge and identity of Otaraua

Research question two

What is the current state of Otaraua knowledge and identity? How have the conditions that have shaped and reshaped Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua impacted the knowledge base and identity of Otaraua today?

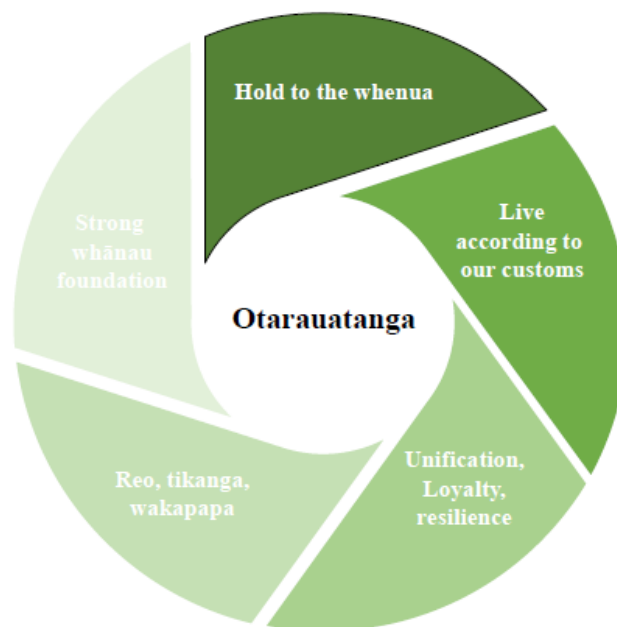
The findings for this question are primarily derived from pūrākau shared by whānau participants and Kaikōrero, supplemented by literature reviews. Together, these sources highlight the impact of the marginalisation on Otaraua knowledge and identity and identifies the gaps in knowledge.

Otarauatanga.

The term Otarauatanga, mentioned by kaikōrero, refers to the distinct and specific attributes of being a descendant of Otaraua. Otarauatanga differentiates descendants from other hapū and iwi identities and is informed by the ways tūpuna conducted themselves, the ways in

which descendants engaged with the taiao and the practices and characteristics found in each whānau. Confidence expressed through knowing identity gives a sense of belonging. Principles of ‘Otarauatanga’ emerging from the pūrākau, are represented in Figure 8. Identity has become intricately linked to the enduring challenges faced by generations of whānau who have been separated from their ancestral lands. These aspects of Otaraumatanga, as described by kaikōrero and found in the literature that supports an Otaraua ‘line of sight,’ contributes to a whānau perspective of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua.

Figure 8: *Otarauatanga*



Unification, loyalty and resistance.

According to participants, to be from Otaraua is to ‘hold the line,’ to be resilient and to be fiercely loyal. This was evidenced during the land invasion and confiscation periods where large numbers of Otaraua were labelled ‘rebels’ for refusing to conform to Crown land-tenure policy. As expressed by hapū leaders of the time, land was not to be taken. This is evidenced in the resilience tūpuna shown through the impact of invasion, alienation, dispossession and

assimilation. A collective spirit between hapū across Taranaki strengthened the resistance to further land alienation. Even in times of adversity, tūpuna shared what little they had to support the efforts.

Unification by rangatira in times prior to 1860 was a survival mechanism engaged to keep whānau connected and hapū strong in times of adversity. Unification was described as ‘being able to adhere to tikanga,’ and to serve a cause bigger, such as those who were widowed and orphaned during land confiscations. This trait as shared by kaikōrero is still present in different whānau within Otaraua as seen through the Treaty settlement negotiations period. However, full unification of Otaraua in its entirety was not to be realised during this period. The impact of the processes of the negotiations impacted on the unity once experienced in times past. Kaikōrero are still resolute in expressing that kotahitanga is critical to their whānau identity within Otaraua.

Hold to the whenua.

Te taiao is central to the identity and well-being of Otaraua hapū, as described by whānau literature and the pūrākau of the whānau participants and kaikōrero. It emphasizes the historical relationships with the land and its markers, including pā sites and kāinga locations, highlighting their significance in safeguarding the community and traditional ways of life. The literature review and the use of chronology demonstrated the impact of land confiscation and colonisation on these relationships and how the hapū continues to work toward protecting and nurturing the environment through practices like kaitiakitanga.

The findings express the significance of the Otaraua hapū connection to ancestral lands, and the importance of maintaining traditional practices. They also highlight the intergenerational trauma experienced by descendants today, resulting from forced disconnection from the land.

Additionally, they stress the value of the environment to Otaraua identity, cultural practices and overall well-being, along with the challenges posed by legislative actions and climate change responses.

Otaraua hapū efforts to protect and revitalize the environment, such as monitoring and protesting activities that could harm sacred sites, are highlighted as essential for the well-being and cultural preservation. The findings also emphasise the importance of land-based community development for Māori health promotion and the role of the land in grounding well-being beyond individual needs, as demonstrated by Indigenous communities and hapū in Taranaki. Finally, the findings underscore the deep connection between Otaraua and the taiao, bridging the physical and spiritual realms and the integral role of te taiao through a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua world view.

Reo, tikanga and wakapapa.

Mead (2021)) states that ‘wakapapa is belonging. Without it an individual is outside looking in’ (p. 47). As explored in the previous chapters, wakapapa connects Otaraua descendants to te taiao, te ao wairua and each other as whānau, hapū descendants and other intricately connected hapū. To be able to express connections espoused through wakapapa is an expression of hapū well-being and self-determination. In reclaiming this deep knowledge, we reclaim identity and ensure that this taonga, left to us by tūpuna, continues to provide sustenance for generations of hapū descendants. Mead (2021) described the handing down of characteristics and talents to descendants through wakapapa where ‘the new form maintains some of the characteristics that were seen before in their ancestors’ (p. 49). Kaikōrero recall the characteristics of whānau within Otaraua as key identifiers.

For younger generations, wakapapa is a way to connect to the past and to find belonging. A connection to tūpuna and the history of their identity, is way of learning from the past. For

older participants, wakapapa is also crucial to Otaraua identity. Sources of wakapapa are important and need to have integrity from a whānau lens. Wakapapa also tells us about the journey of Otaraua through narratives that describe connectedness with others, the whenua and the spiritual realm. Knowing and living wakapapa is crucial to the whānau of Otaraua.

The strong whānau foundations of the times of tūpuna have been impacted through the upheaval and physical displacement of whānau from traditional tūpuna determined groupings on ancestral lands. This part of the O'Carroll whānau have over three hundred descendants living across Aotearoa and globally. This population would have once lived and thrived within traditional Otaraua boundaries. Traits of strong whānau ties still exist and are kept alive through sports tournaments and wider whānau gatherings. The natural progression of hapū growth through growth of whānau, is also affected by intermarriage across multiple iwi, hapū and nationalities. The challenge is for whānau to retain identity as Otaraua, with multiple connections to others, while living away from traditional homelands.

Live our lives according to our customs.

For many Indigenous people, spirituality is intricately connected to their way of life. Indigenous leaders have recognized shared principles in indigenous concepts of spirituality, which can be distinguished from organized religion and are rooted in a deep sense of interconnectedness and reverence for the environment, ancestors and each other. The connection to this realm is evident in a connection to the environment through Papatuanuku and Ranginui. Tikanga and practices concerning te ao wairua are identified by the whānau as being crucial to well-being. Living lives according to tikanga and practices around te ao wairua is a challenge for a younger generation who were not raised by grandparents, as the older generation were. The younger generation expressed knowledge about protection and healing and a connection to the

spiritual realm. They also expressed a willingness to know more. Insights were shared about the connection of the spiritual realm, to the physical realm including the land.

Connections to the spiritual realm are common for the older generation. They are in tune with the spiritual realm, can read ‘signs’ and are connected to hapū protectors. Te ao wairua is present and accessible every day. This generation learnt by listening, watching and participating in practices with their parents and grandparents. Practices such as understanding signs in the environment, going to the water and the protection of ‘mouri’ are a small fraction of what was known. Karakia within this practice call on the return of tūpuna to protect and guide those in need. The ability to heal is making a resurgence through the revitalisation and the sharing of traditional practices. Between both generations, there is a desire for Otaraua descendants to learn about and to live their ‘Otarauatanga’ confidently.

Strong whānau foundation.

Whānau are the foundation of hapū. As evidenced through this research, the whānau units within Otaraua remain strong by keeping wakapapa connections known. Engaging in the Treaty settlement process motivated the whānau in this research to unite to protect the mana and rangatiratanga of Otaraua. As seen in the establishment of the Pukehou whānau sports and cultural club, the generation who were whānau leaders in the 1970s, strived to ensure that wakapapa connections were known and whanaungatanga was exercised across generations.

Methods and strategies for reclaiming Otaraua identity and knowledge

Research question three

How can Otaraua revitalise the narratives and ways of intergenerational transmission so that they are restored and embedded within the whānau of Otaraua?

The findings for this question are primarily derived from pūrākau shared by whānau participants and Kaikōrero, supplemented by literature reviews. Together, these sources outline suggested methods and strategies needed to restore and embed mātauranga within the whānau of Otaraua engaged to address the gaps in knowledge.

Connectedness.

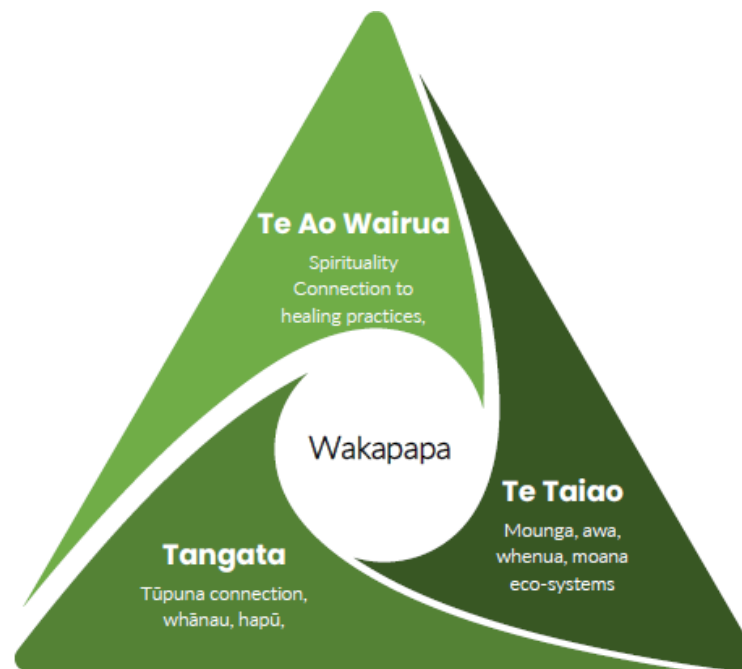
Te Ahikāroa, the name of a traditional kāinga of Otaraua, conceptualises connection to the whenua through wakapapa and mana. The term literally means ‘the long burning fire.’ The customary practice of ‘keeping the home fires burning’ signals occupation as handed down by tūpuna ‘held by local hapū members in order to keep their occupational rights to their ancestral land alive’ (Kumar, 2010, p. 22). The hapū connects through wakapapa traced back to primary tūpuna who protected and defended successfully against challenges to keep the fires burning. The landscape of Otaraua contains the remnants of many pā, constructed to defend the lands of Otaraua and kāinga where whānau resided during times of peace. Land confiscations and upheaval have disrupted the ‘fires’ of traditional kāinga. Ahikā was not recognised as a form of occupation by the Crown during their quest to acquire land for settlers. The Crown neglected to acknowledge this status and opted to seize land that appeared to be deserted, despite it being recognized as kāinga by hapū members who had relocated to the south, leaving a smaller population behind. Although many were separated physically from the land, the desire to maintain the connection still burns within us. This section explores the concept of ahikā, to keep

connections to the spiritual realm, to the land and to each other, ignited. For this section, ahikā, will refer to connectedness of Otaraua descendants through Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua and the narratives shared that contributed to this finding.

Ahikā is maintained through wakapapa. Wakapapa is relational with the environment and te ao wairua and is multi-dimensional (Graham, 2009; Hond, 2013; Kruger et al., 2004; Mead, 2021; Wilson, 2008). The findings from whānau participants, demonstrated a desire to connect across several contexts of Otaraua that they felt would contribute to their identity and well-being. These included connection to the Taiao including knowledge about how tūpuna engaged with the environment; tūpuna practices and wakapapa determining lineage and te ao wairua

The relationality between these contexts is described in this research as wakapapa (see Figure 9). Described as layers, wakapapa has many layers that contributes to the creation of identity. Whānau participant five expressed that ‘without wakapapa, you’re just a leaf floating on the river’ (Kaikōrero 1, September, 2022). As seen in this diagram, wakapapa is central to how the whānau want to connect with a deeper understanding of their identity and Otarauatanga. Whānau participants felt most connected to Otaraua when physically connected to the land, with the awa and mouna in sight. Several shared the disconnection felt in not knowing aspects of the genealogical wakapapa, knowledge of the connection to the spiritual realm and of the narratives of the land. A dilemma is experienced by those who are disconnected from ancestral lands and from the whānau who can share knowledge that they seek.

Figure 9: *Wakapapa as connection*



It is crucial for the younger generation of whānau participants to establish a connection with the land and to acquire knowledge about hapū and tūpuna history. Some of them reside at a distance, while others living nearby have stronger affiliations with different marae, hapū and iwi. Pockets of Mātauranga are still contained within Ngātiawa narratives, waiata, karakia and ngeri. Some also remains within whānau repositories.

The idea of 'home' carries great meaning for numerous whānau participants, as it is strongly associated with having a visual connection to the Mounga and being an integral part of the whenua. Additionally, some have shared worries about their capacity to establish connections and a sense of disconnection when living elsewhere. Carter (2015) explores the concepts of ahi kā, (warm fires) and ahi mātao (cold fires), as ways of distinguishing between home and away, signifying the complexity of relationships with ancestral lands for those who move away and return.

As previously discussed, the imposition of colonial systems, policies and legislation has had a significant impact on hapū identity. The Treaty settlement process, which identifies iwi members and hapū descendants, has contributed to a shift away from hapū identity towards newly established iwi identities. This has led to a marginalisation of mana whenua and mana tūpuna, which in turn affects one's sense of identity and belonging. Many descendants return to the land in hope of discovering the narratives that connect them to their identity. The landscape of traditional boundaries defined by mana whenua and traditional eco-systems of knowledge exercised by tūpuna are transformed, disconnecting from physical spaces and customary practices.

Carter (2015) writes that, ‘peoples are not locked into specific places, rather that the place is an anchor for origins, culture and identity and this is held within the principle of ahi kā’ (p. 30). The dilemma experienced by whānau participants is addressed by a kaikōrero, who shared that the connection to Otaraua is not dependent on being present in the place, it is dependent on wakapapa. No matter where you are in the world, you are connected. The use of colonial ideas of occupation and residency impacts on the way we view connections. Having a fixed abode, denotes permanency and a sense of belonging. A hapū concept of belonging is also validated through wakapapa.

The practice of moving between kāinga and pā is a part of the traditions of Otaraua, who moved seasonally throughout the region. Times of adversity, impending danger also necessitated movement. The notion of ahikā being fixed to one specific area conflicts with the narratives of tūpuna. During the Hekenga Mai Raro, Otaraua whānau headed to Waikanae, led by tūpuna in search of new spaces to expand. According to Te Whata (n.d.), 24.2% of Te Atiawa descendants from Taranaki live within the region, with 18.5% in Wellington and 15.1% in Auckland. With

large numbers of descendants living away from traditional hapū lands, from a hapū lens, they are still connected.

Ahikā also refers to people who keep the home fires burning by continuation of activities that ensure the hapū remains active. The vision of Otaraua hapū is currently being carried by several smaller groups such as, the Otaraua Hapū management Committee Inc, Pukepapa Marae Trust, Otaraua Hapū management Trust and Nga Ringawera Otaraua Inc. These groups represent the teams who work to keep the home fires burning through the administering of Mangaemiemi, engaging with external providers for resourcing to protect the environment and engaging with Te Kotahitanga o Te Atiawa. The few who remain at ‘home’ ensure that there is a place for those who move away and return. Otaraua has traditionally moved and returned when needed

The findings from the pūrākau of the whānau participants resulted in three areas they saw as gaps that they believe will support them to reconnect and remain connected. They are:
How might we build connections to our taiao, our wakapapa and te ao wairua, for this generation and the next?

How might we continue to strengthen our connections to each other while we live apart?

How might Otaraua descendants give life to and express us through our wakapapa?

Understanding and knowing these gaps supports Otaraua whānau to design wānanga that will meet these needs.

Otaraua knowledge re-generation.

Mātauranga has evolved through a myriad of conditions including being redefined as Mātauranga Māori and Mātauranga-ā-iwi. In working to reclaim mātauranga, Mead (2021) likens this process to Humpty Dumpty and the piecing back together a ‘whole’ after being shattered. There is a noticeable gap between the knowledge that has survived and the aspects of

the knowledge ecosystem that have been lost over time. The responses by Indigenous peoples and hapū, to the devastating impact of colonisation by reclaiming their knowledge, have led to the creation of new knowledges as knowledge eco-systems evolve and change.

The journey to reclamation has resulted in the rebuilding and piecing together of remaining fragments of Mātauranga-ā-hapū. As described by Le Grice et al., (2017), mātauranga is fluid and is adapted over time in response to cultural, social and environmental impacts. Mead (2012) notes that ‘Mātauranga Māori is thus made up of a core of traditional knowledge plus the values and ethics that go with it and new knowledge, some of which we have added because of our discoveries and research and some we have borrowed outright from western knowledge and from our experiences of living with exponents of other belief systems and other knowledge systems’ (p. 14). Mātauranga and Indigenous knowledge has always evolved and will continue to evolve. Mead (2012) writes that the,

‘pool of knowledge was closely related to the daily lives of the people. Knowledge was common and diverse amongst whānau and hapū according to different contexts. The evolution and revitalisation of mātauranga in modern day contexts is described as a challenging task because of the social, economic and political situation we live in today. Not only do they have to revive the lost portions of Mātauranga Māori and adapt them to the needs of modern society, but they need to clear a pathway through competing ideologies, cultures and technologies’ (p. 12).

The survival and growth of mātauranga and Indigenous knowledges continue to develop across Indigenous communities as Indigenous methodologies are created in diverse and varied ways to support reclamation and the creation of new knowledge.

Mātauranga is sought by young whānau participants who seek to know more about their identity. The ahikā that remain at ‘home’ have intimate knowledge of the whenua and strive to ensure that the narratives of Otaraua remain intact. The collation of hapū that is Otaraua is not as populated with numbers as in past years. The critical mass is no longer located on hapū lands. Mātauranga-ā-hapū has evolved overtime, impacted by colonisation and the impeded by the shifts required to survive in the system. The pre-1800s world views of hapū are different to now. Younger generations of Otaraua hapū are wanting to learn for the new generations that are coming. They believe the best ways for this to happen is between generations. They want opportunities to learn from the whenua, to hear stories of resilience and the daily lives of tūpuna, including their successes and life lessons. They are interested in traditional practices that support well-being and in wānanga spaces that welcome questions and where knowledge is shared with all. Ideal learning conditions for these whānau participants was a space where all generations were learning together, sharing and valuing all perspectives and experiences. Most importantly, they wanted to create meaningful memories for their own whānau.

One participant in this research described his experiences of being Otaraua as, ‘it just is, we are known as Otaraua by the ways with which we conduct ourselves and our traditional practices’ (Kaikōrero 1, October 3, 2022). He asserted that there was no explicit body of Otaraua knowledge that is externalised, as it existed intrinsically, as an integrated knowledge system that guided the hapū and whānau in everyday life. Mead (2012) supports by identifying that ‘in traditional Māori society, the pool of knowledge was closely related to the daily lives of the people. Individuals needs both the knowledge base and the cautions within the base to deal with the realities of their world’ (p. 12).

The kaikōrero have firm reasons as to why it is important for new generations to learn traditional knowledge, to enable them to stand confidently and to claim their identity. This generation of older whānau members have different experiences relating to the learning of traditional knowledge. This was learned as a ‘way of life’ normalised in everyday activities. Whānau participants, who are not as connected are asking for different ways to learn old traditions and customs. This includes travelling to Mangaemiemi, to sit alongside the older generation and to listen to the stories, engage in kōrerorero beside the river, under the Mouna.

This requires older hapū descendants to adapt their approach to learning as a younger generation endeavours to develop and implement fresh techniques for transmitting knowledge from one generation to the next. The older generation are challenged to understand that learning knowledge as lived experience within Otaraua boundaries is difficult for those who live away. Learning by residing within the hapū boundaries with whānau becomes a way of life, while learning through returning, requires a distinct set of circumstances such as wānanga over the weekends and the use of technology to connect as suggested by the participants.

During the process of reclamation of traditional knowledges, Otaraua descendants will create new knowledge. The impact of the colonisation has forced hapū descendants to look to reclaim and retain what has survived while contending with the ongoing challenges and disruptions to knowledge systems, identity and connection with ancestral lands. The reclaiming and re-newing of mātauranga requires the ability to critically analyse and understand the impact of colonising systems on identity and ancestral eco-systems. This growing awareness is evident in an increased hapū presence in the restoration of traditional practices, advocacy for hapū rights and active participation in environmental protection initiatives across Aotearoa. The comments from the kaikōrero emphasise the belief that nurturing confidence to reclaim knowledge and to

exercise Otarauatanga requires a strong connection to wakapapa and a dedication to and the application of tikanga.

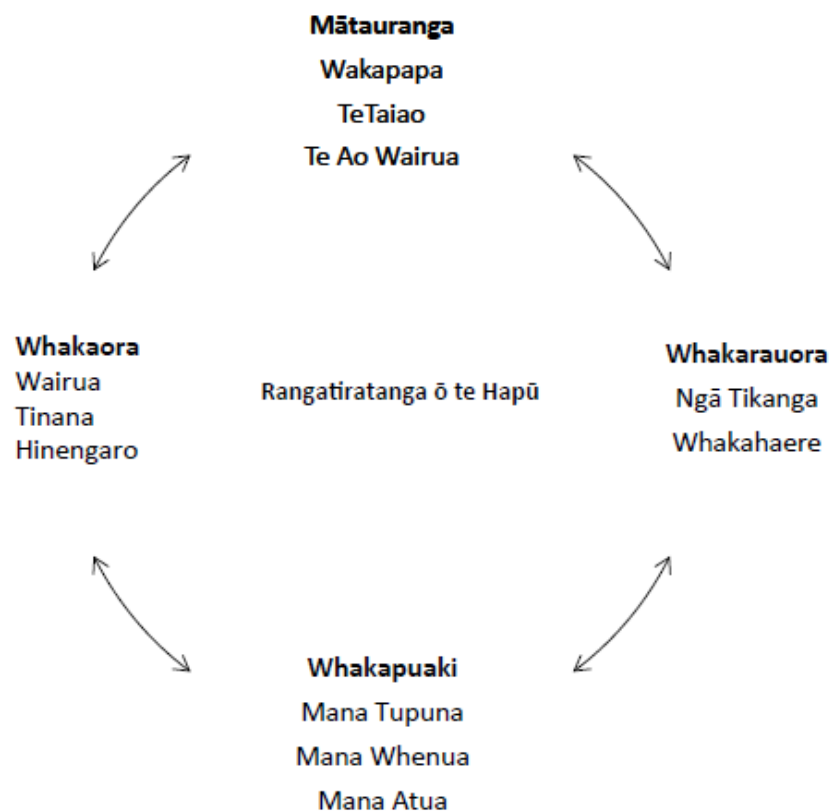
Restoration and healing.

The pre-settlement negotiations and the discussed impact of land confiscations sparked conversations with the kaikōrero about healing and restoration. The reclamation of traditional knowledge is restorative. Moana Jackson (2021) writes about the ‘ethic of restoration’ to ‘see to replace colonisation not by merely deconstructing or culturally sensitising the attitudes and power structures that is has established, but by restoring a kawa that allows for balanced relationships based on the need for iwi and hapū independence upon which any meaningful interdependence must rest (p. 149). Reclaiming Mātauranga-ā-hapū is to undo colonisation's impact by developing new reclamation structures that challenge dysfunctional systems. hapū descendants are challenged to create and implement strategies that require mindsets to shift from being subjugated to exercising rangatiratanga by moving beyond adaptation to the pressures of colonialism, towards the reclamation and restoration of traditional knowledges outside the system. Reclaiming and restoring knowledge systems requires mindset shifts along with structural shifts.

Restoration of traditional knowledges requires a hapū -centric mindset that honours the resistance of tūpuna. Reclaiming power to self-determine identity is imperative, as the process of colonisation has manifested in inter-generational trauma. An analysis of the Otaraua line of sight and the chronology provides insight into the acts of colonisation imposed on hapū descendants. This also revealed the fortitude and resistance tūpuna displayed in response. The narratives of whānau also provide insight into their aspirations for the future of Otaraua descendants, as well as the elements they believed contribute to the well-being and identity of Otaraua whānau. The

reclamation and restoration of connections to traditional knowledge systems and land requires a shift from reliance on the disempowering structures of the Crown to a reorientation back to a hapū -centric structure (see Figure 10). This adaptation of Smith (1999) contains the principles shared in this research by participants that support the restoration of the rangatiratanga of Otaraua. Whakaora ‘healing’ is required to support whānau to transition from a place of ‘grievance’ to an empowered place through restoration of mana and reclamation of mātauranga. The rebuilding of systems of connection, governance and leadership occurs as the other principles are activated.

Figure 10: *Restoring rangatiratanga*



Reclamation of Indigenous knowledge is vital to the strengthening of Indigenous peoples globally, as Indigenous peoples all endure the same impact of colonisation across different contexts. Wilson (2008) summarises this collective struggle by writing,

‘As Indigenous knowledge is revalued and revived, our people become stronger, and we fuel our capacity for meaningful resistance to colonisation. The importance of this work, then, cannot be overstated; the recovery of Indigenous knowledge is Indigenous empowerment. However, nation strengthening also requires a recognition that Indigenous Peoples need protection. Just as the restoration of an Indigenous land base is necessary to the production of Indigenous knowledge, so too are Indigenous Peoples. Thus, the struggle for our lives, our lands and our knowledge is a common struggle’ (p. 371).

This research considers the ways in which hapū descendants move forward to reclaim and heal. Healing from the trauma inflicted by colonisation for Indigenous peoples requires a reclamation of traditional knowledge through the restoration of traditional knowledge practices and systems (Cameron et al., 2017; Gabel, 2019; Hond et al., 2019; Pihama, 2016). Research about healing from trauma impacted by the confiscation of ancestral lands and resources, resulting in a deep sense of loss and dislocation for Taranaki descendants, is emerging. The enduring consequences of historical land loss, cultural erosion, identity crisis, injustice, discrimination and land dispossession are evident in the present-day Taranaki descendants, manifesting and contribute rates of ‘whakamomori’ or suicide. Cameron et al., (2017) write that ‘Within Māori concepts of health and well-being, suicide is often considered an imbalance in terms of wairua (spiritual) and whakapapa’ (p. 107). Additionally, Cameron et al., (2017) write ‘through Taranaki knowledge and information we can make significant changes in our approach

to life and to our whānau relationships’ (p. 106). Globally, Indigenous communities use traditional knowledge to decolonize and restore well-being by adopting a holistic healing approach that embraces restorative practices. Healing from the trauma of colonisation requires traditional practices that are applied to the impact of colonial systems.

Restoration of Indigenous peoples to ancestral lands, practices of healing and repositories of knowledge is decolonising and empowering. As one kaikōrero shared, ‘we need our own places to heal our own trauma’. The revitalisation of mātauranga including reo and tikanga, supports current generations to reclaim identity to heal.

Reclaiming Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua - Otaraupā and kāinga indicative framework.

‘I’d like to see a living pā’ (Kaikōrero 4, September, 2022).

Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology centralises four principles of te ao wairua, te taiao, wakaupapa and te reo-ō-Otaraua. These are the methodology for reclaiming traditional (and contemporary) Otaraupā knowledges. This indicative framework for reclaiming Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua is informed by pūrākau of whānau narratives and from Taranaki wide concepts and practices of revitalisation and healing. It is also informed by the learning from the analysis of the literature on the impact of colonisation on marginalised hapū. This framework offers the key elements of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua and enablers as another synthesis of the findings.

As discussed in this thesis, Otaraupā, the ancestral pā, served as a refuge for tūpuna to safeguard their families. Otaraupā was part of a broader network of pā connected by wakaupapa, collectively defending Otaraupā against external threats. Devastatingly invasion and land confiscation disrupted connection with the land where the ecosystem of pā and kāinga once thrived.

Crown colonisation policies have had a devastating impact on identity and well-being. Despite the devastation experienced by the whānau of Otaraua and Ngātiawa, we are ‘morehu’ (survivors) who still retain that an Otaraua worldview remains intact. This legacy says that there is a need to continue to be resilient and continue a trajectory towards transformation and restoration. This involves ‘holding the Otaraua line,’ while remaining steadfast to tikanga and principles of tūpuna, as hapū descendants look to heal and thrive.

This model presents an indicative Otaraua whānau informed framework developed through engaging Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology. This framework is a kōha to the wider whānau of Otaraua to consider across the wider hapū landscape. Suggestions for potential implementation are provided for consideration. The framework draws from the strength of Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua principles te taiao, wakapapa, te ao wairua and te reo-ō-Otaraua to replenish the repositories of knowledge and practices. It is also providing opportunity for descendants of Otaraua to consider how to support and work with whānau to re-build what it means to be Otaraua or reclaim ‘Otarauatanga’. Creating the framework based on ancestral mātauranga, is reclaiming mātauranga.

This framework (see Figure 11) is based on the concepts of pā and kāinga, both of which were central to the ecosystem of Otaraua. These concepts capture the places where whānau of Otaraua once thrived and exercised mana and rangatiratanga. Both sites have roles that are crucial for the survival of Otaraua.

Background to the layout

Visual storytelling is the chosen approach to represent this indicative framework for consideration by the hapū. The method used to present this framework is through a combined use of illustrations and visual maps to simplify complex ideas and tell stories. Pūrākau, through

illustration communicates the critical principles of Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua, shows interconnectedness of the ecosystem and conveys Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua through imagery. The intention is to reflect the narratives shared by whānau participants, kaikōrero and whānau repositories of knowledge and literature reviews engaged for this research in a framework to support the reclamation of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua.

The concrete aspects of the framework elevate mana whenua, by reflecting the landscape within which Otaraua connect to. Key features mentioned by whānau participants and kaikōrero include the awa, mouna, moana and whenua. The landscape places the connection of Otaraua to pou whenua and sources of well-being. The colours are inspired by a ‘tipare’ of a whānau cultural group of Pukehou. Green is often identified and used as a colour that represents Otaraua.

Figure 11: Artists impression of Otaraua e! Reclaiming Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua



Ecosystem

The ecosystems established by ancestors ensured the safety, connection, confidence and security of all whānau. This delicate equilibrium between the spiritual and physical realms was upheld through the utilisation of customary knowledge systems. The eco-system has seen disruption and upheaval yet still survives in part. Harmsworth and Awatere (2013) refer to ‘the modern use of the terms ecosystem and ecosystem services can be explained through traditional knowledge and the interwoven concepts of whakapapa, mana and kaitiakitanga and possession of the spiritual qualities of tapu, mauri and wairua’ (p.276). The ecosystem of this framework is based on the interconnectedness of Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua principles discussed in this thesis that serve to reclaim Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua. This section positions the principles and tikanga of Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua as interconnected and foundational elements of the framework, a provides a summary of the understandings of each collated throughout the process of this research.

Principles

Wakapapa

Wakapapa holds a principal place in Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua, connecting Otaraaua descendants to the environment, the spiritual realm and each other. The preservation of wakapapa within whānau of Otaraaua occurs through oral traditions, written family records, traditional and contemporary waiata and external sources like the Waitangi Tribunal research.

The narrative traces the wakapapa from Mataatua waka, led by Toroa, to the present-day Otaraaua descendants, highlighting the significance of Awanuiārangi II as a key ancestor of Ngātiawa. Wakapapa of Otaraaua lineage is documented through generations, connecting to Awanuiārangi II and Ngātiawa. The distinction between Ngātiawa and Te Atiawa identity is a subject of debate, but for Otaraaua, wakapapa solidifies their identification as Ngātiawa. The

retention and re-sharing of these narratives is crucial to the identity and sense of belonging expressed by whānau participants and kaikōrero. Wakapapa serves as the foundation for whānau and hapū, legitimizing participation in hapū affairs, burial rights, land succession and membership. It is more than just a genealogical hierarchy; it extends to relationships with the environment and the spiritual world.

Te taiao

In the aftermath of settlement, the Otaraua hapū grappled with estrangement from both neighbouring hapū and most ancestral lands, leading to weakened connections, particularly among the younger generation. However, the profound relationship with the natural world and te ao wairua endures within family knowledge repositories. Despite the adverse conditions caused by land alienation, several of the present generation nurture a robust bond with ancestral lands and are deeply committed to its' well-being. This connection to the land is central to a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua approach to reclaiming Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua. It encompasses traditional land markers, kāinga and pā, customary fishing grounds and the preservation of traditional food gathering sites and practices. Much of this valuable information is derived from family narratives and the 1991 Otaraua Raupatu me te Muru Waitangi Tribunal Report. Traditional land markers and boundaries in Otaraua differ significantly from contemporary concepts, having been shaped by Crown influences and colonisation. Tūpuna relied on prominent physical features and evolved with genealogy and the changing dynamics among interconnected hapū. These boundaries played a pivotal role in establishing traditional authority and responsibilities within the hapū.

The Otaraua community historically thrived within a network of pā and kāinga, which served as crucial defences against potential threats and invaders. Otaraua pā held particular significance as a central stronghold, with historical records confirming its ancestral importance.

Furthermore, the hapū occupied a range of kāinga sites strategically situated along the Waitara River, facilitating access to vital resources. These kāinga often served seasonal purposes, reflecting the close connection of the hapū to the land and waterways. This connection with the environment transcended practicality; it is deeply ingrained in Otaraua culture. Otaraua whānau engaged in various practices, such as traditional fishing, showing reverence for wāhi tapu, paying respects to urupā and utilizing natural springs for healing and well-being. This rich amalgamation of cultural and ecological knowledge forms the cornerstone of identity.

The land itself is held in profound esteem, as Otaraua regarded themselves as the offspring of Papatuanuku, the Earth Mother. This deep-rooted bond with the land, fostered through wakapapa and mana atua, is indispensable to identity. Nevertheless, the forced land alienation during colonisation disrupted these connections, leading to enduring trauma across generations.

Otaraua hapū persists in confronting the repercussions of land confiscation and oppressive legislation. Through engaging a diverse range of initiatives that include kaitiakitanga practices, protests against environmental threats and community development projects, hapū descendants endeavour to rekindle connection with the land and reassert identity. The acknowledging the interconnectedness of the land, people and culture, advocating for an Otaraua-centric approach to land stewardship is significant. The identity and well-being of Otaraua descendants remains intricately intertwined with ancestral lands and the taiao. Despite historical challenges, connection to the land endures, highlighting the importance of a hapū-centred approach to environmental stewardship and cultural preservation.

Te ao wairua

Wairuatanga, the spiritual realm, holds a principal place in the well-being of the Otaraua whānau. This connection to te ao wairua has endured despite challenges posed by colonial systems, legislation and the imposition of foreign belief systems, distinguishing it from religion and Christianity. Wairuatanga is deeply woven into identity and research methodology as a hapū. Wairuatanga is intricately tied to genealogy, with the lineage of Tamarau-te-Heketanga-a-rangi, connecting Otaraua descendants to the spiritual realm. This narrative underscores their intergenerational relationships with atua and tūpuna, reflected in their traditions, carvings and ngeri.

The Otaraua whānau practice ancestral healing knowledge passed down through generations. Alongside this rich knowledge, there is also a keen awareness of environmental signs and omens, which serve as forewarnings of impending changes or dangers. Wai occupies a special place in practices. It serves as a source of protection and well-being, deeply entwined with spiritual and physical health. Otaraua relies on the natural springs and puna located along streams for sustenance and spiritual connection. These practices vividly illustrate the essential role water plays in nurturing spirits and sustaining physical well-being. Together, ancestral healing knowledge and environmental awareness, combined with a reverence for the properties of water, form a holistic approach to well-being, deeply rooted in environment and cultural heritage. The connection between te taiao and te ao wairua is integral to well-being. Otaraua draw strength from these practices, which have protected tūpuna and continue to safeguard descendants.

Wāhi tapu, establish historical presence and connection to the land. Knowledge of these sites was a way to prove their rights to the land and its significance to their identity. However,

many wāhi tapu were desecrated due to land confiscation and occupation by others. Wairuatanga plays a significant role in the well-being, identity and Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research.

Tikanga

Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua is guided by tikanga that hold significance in the experiences of Otaraua descendants. These tikanga, of mana motuhake, kotahitanga, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and whanaungatanga are deeply rooted in narratives of Otaraua, the actions of ancestors and more recent tūpuna. Manaakitanga, for instance, emphasizes the care for the physical, spiritual and mental well-being of others, supporting researchers in their responsibility to nurture the well-being of those sharing narratives.

Mana motuhake is a driving force behind this research, focusing on the reinstatement and reclamation of mana for Otaraua descendants. This includes the authority derived from gods, ancestors and territorial rights, acknowledging the impact of colonisation on the mana of the hapū of Otaraua. Otaraua descendants are pro-active in pursuing and exercising mana motuhake in the protection and repossession of land. As evidenced in Chapter four, the impact of colonisation on the mana of tūpuna has impacted on traditional connectedness to all aspects of being Otaraua. To exercise mana motuhake, an understanding of the tikanga of Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua is essential.

Kaitiakitanga highlights the role of Otaraua descendants as stewards of land, traditions, cultural practices, knowledge and knowledge systems. It extends to intergenerational responsibilities within whānau and includes practices such as protecting food sources, wāhi tapu and heritage.

Kotahitanga, or unity, is a foundational principle that has historical significance in the survival of Otaraua as a unified whānau and hapū. Devastatingly, colonisation, land confiscation

and imposed colonial systems created divisions among hapū, which continue today. However, kotahitanga played a vital role during the Treaty settlement process, helping whānau navigate challenges and build strength as shared by the kaikōrero. Division instigated by the Crown as an act of colonisation was used as a tool to fragment traditional bodies of knowledge and knowledge systems. Reclaiming an understanding and practice of kotahitanga supports to heal divisions that have impacted unity.

Whanaungatanga underscores the importance of relationships, support networks and a deep sense of belonging among hapū descendants. It encompasses a broad view of family, including multiple generations, community members and ancestors, fostering a robust sense of identity and belonging. This research delves into the worldview of one Otaraua whānau, drawing on the experiences and expertise of three generations. Understanding and valuing how whanaungatanga is expressed by whānau is essential for Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research, as it provides rich insights into customary practices and narratives through these meaningful relationships. Whanaungatanga extends beyond the hapū to the once vibrant network of interconnectedness with other hapū. In replenishing traditional networks of hapū, we strengthen and reclaim identity and a component of traditional knowledge systems.

As described in Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua, tikanga are integral to the ways in which we engage with each other, the spiritual realm and the environment. These tikanga form a base that informs how we treat each other and how we engage in practices that reclaim mātauranga.

Mana atua, mana whenua, mana tūpuna

The exercising of mana in all forms is crucial to reclaiming mātauranga. Reviving knowledge of wakapapa from atua to tūpuna to descendants, rekindles connection and identity and reaffirms a place in this eco-system. Connectedness to atua is a reminder of the

responsibility that all descendants must protect and care for Papatuanuku, Ranginui and the realm of their children within an Otaraua context. This is often expressed through the reciting of karakia in acknowledgment of atua as guardians of specific realms. Acknowledging atua presence, activates connection to the spiritual realm and to tikanga that creates a sense of order. Re-indigenising the ways in which we express and connect to spirituality creates space to re-configure the intersect between mana atua, te ao wairua and Christianity. The Crown attempted to sever connection to te ao wairua by extinguishing customary practices through the instating of the Tohunga Suppression Act. By reclaiming connections to atua, descendants heal.

All principles and tikanga of this framework are embedded in the Otaraua landscape, emphasizing the significance of connectedness and identity to ancestral lands. Ways in which mana whenua status can be reclaimed are varied. Indigenous and Taranaki examples include the reactivating of traditional hunting and gathering practices, the planting and gathering of traditional foods and by preserving the names of kāinga, pā, wāhi tapu, pou whenua and all other significant markers that signify an Otaraua presence.

Pā

‘What is the process to get back inside the pā?’ Who will do the karanga? Who will keep a lookout? Who will be the protector and what do we need to protect ourselves from? (Kaikōrero

4, December 2022).

Pā are places of sanctuary, constructed to protect whānau in times of danger and adversity. Led by rangatira, whānau would retreat to these spaces to keep safe and to defend the whenua and resources. Pā within Otaraua, were situated along the Waitara River and each was connected to the others by wakapapa. Otaraua pā, collectively protected the interests of Otaraua

and, other hapū as well, associated by wakapapa. Pā were constructed in strategic vantage points, usually in elevated spaces that overlooked potential passages for attack.

Narratives about pā should primarily originate from mana whenua, with historical and cultural ties to these sites. The direct connection to these landscapes ensures that the narratives are grounded in oral traditions, ancestral knowledge and an understanding of the spiritual significance of the pā. This approach not only respects indigenous sovereignty but also offers an authentic and holistic perspective, fostering a deeper appreciation for the cultural, historical and spiritual aspects of pā. This framework is informed by the significance of Otaraua pā to the people of Otaraua and connected hapū.

Protection and reclamation

Within this framework, the key components of the pā serve as a protective sanctuary for safeguarding mātauranga while simultaneously fostering innovative strategies for its growth. The revitalization of innovative spaces and the harnessing of the inherent qualities of atua and tūpuna represent efforts to reclaim mātauranga. This space serves as a strategic hub not only to fortify the hapū but to actively generate and seize opportunities to reclaim mātauranga. Adapting tikanga to accommodate shifts in the environment and navigate Crown systems is not a novel concept for Otaraua; however, it is imperative that Otaraua explicitly acknowledge this need for adaptation and remain open to evolving traditional processes. Crucially, the Otaraua whānau must retain self-determination in shaping these changes.

De-colonisation and re-indigenisation

While the pā provides protection, it also functions as a space for conscientization and re-indigenization. As knowledge continues to evolve, it necessitates time and a supportive environment for debate and discussion, mirroring the practices of tūpuna. This is a dedicated

arena for wānanga, debate and the reclamation of the Otaraua approach to healing the enduring ‘mamae’ or pain, by raising awareness about and comprehending the mechanisms that have subjugated descendants, as revealed through the analysis of the chronology. The conscientization of systems designed to subjugate is of utmost importance. Living within systems of subjugation should not be equated with submission. This is where we deliberate on approaches to re-indigenisation, reclaiming autonomy in dealings with devolution, capitalism, and commodification—all to be safeguarded in spaces where rangatiratanga is exercised. It is here that Otaraua contemplate how to coexist and thrive despite the challenges of racism and marginalisation perpetuated by Crown policies and legislation.

Innovation and strategy

The pā serves as a platform for envisioning the future, contemplating how Otaraua can create an ecosystem where Otaraua descendants flourish within a connected network, as previously described. This may entail new ways of expressing interconnectedness, nurturing ahikā and leadership and cultivating the transmission of traditional knowledge. Guided by tikanga, this remains a secure space for building upon traditional wisdom as Otaraua knowledges adapt and evolve.

Kāinga

Kāinga are identified by the ignition of home fires, signalling mana whenua status. Kāinga were situated near plentiful sources of food and water and could be seasonal according to sources of kai. Kāinga were self-sustaining ecosystems where whānau of Otaraua exercised mana according to tikanga and customary practices. Otaraua had many kāinga throughout the rohe as noted in Chapter two. In replenishing kāinga, Otaraua reclaim traditional ways of

sustainable living practices as descendants connected with the land, the spiritual realm and each other.

Kāinga are places where traditional practices that epitomise identity and supports Otaraua to exercise ancestral rights to live as Otaraua, on Otaraua whenua. This is the place where Otaraua descendants are supported to reclaim mātauranga that reconnects and revitalises. This section describes the principles of the kāinga aspect of this framework.

Connectedness

At the core of this is Te Ahikāroa, a continuously burning fire that symbolizes the enduring resilience and resistance of ancestors in upholding tikanga as dictated by mana atua, mana whenua and mana tūpuna. To keep this fire burning, daily attention, resources and expertise is essential. This fire serves as a vital source of warmth, comfort and is crucial for survival. In the process of reclaiming Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua, it is imperative that descendants maintain the home fires, replenish resources as necessary and create a space where everyone can access its sustenance. Te Ahikāroa acts as a beacon for those who need to return to replenish, learn and revitalise.

Connectedness is also demonstrated through wakapapa lines that permeate through the framework, connecting whānau of Otaraua to each other, to the environment and to the spiritual realm. As evidenced in the narratives of this research, one cannot exist without the other. Otaraua knowledge regeneration and sharing.

In the times of tūpuna, kāinga represented places that descendants would move between as required, aligning with different seasons to gather necessary resources. A kāinga was characterized by its adaptability rather than fixity, as descendants attentively observed and harmonized with the environment. It symbolized a capacity to be flexible, shifting as needed, all

guided by tikanga, in the pursuit of sustenance. Reclaiming mātauranga is a process that may require Otaraua to seek insights from various sources as descendants endeavour to reconstruct the fragments of traditional knowledge. Primarily this exists within the wider whānau of Otaraua where intergenerational knowledge sharing is crucial. Knowledge sharing also involves expanding the wakapapa network to connect with other Indigenous communities who share similar narratives of subjugation. The reclamation of knowledge is a collective movement encompassing numerous Indigenous groups actively resisting oppressive systems while recuperating and revitalizing ancient wisdom. There is much Indigenous peoples can mutually learn from one another in this journey.

Strong whānau

Kāinga were once vibrant places where multiple generations of whānau lived together as a collective. The process of colonisation, disrupted the traditional structure of Otaraua whānau, leading to displacement and the imposition of western concepts of family. What were once thriving, multi-generational communities have now evolved into individual household settings, often with only one or two generations present. This shift away from the traditional family setup has had a significant impact on Otaraua descendants. The relocation from ancestral lands to towns like Waitara and Wellington, has resulted in the separation of large whānau units. In the context of the framework, the kāinga concept signifies a return to flourishing intergenerational whānau strengthened by connectedness to the principles of Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua. A Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua framework identifies the key components, as defined by traditional knowledge, which can help reinvigorate and strengthen whānau units in response to these challenges.

Reo-ō-Otaraua

The well-being of the people of Taranaki is closely tied to the vitality of language. The impact of colonisation, land confiscation and the disruption of hapū and whānau communities has had a profound effect on the identity and well-being. kāinga have been fragmented due to displacement and the imposition of western family structures. The loss of these support networks has had a detrimental impact on Otaraua descendants. This Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua framework identifies the importance of revitalising te reo-ō-Otaraua and acknowledges its fundamental role in reclaiming mātauranga and preserving the unique dialect and cultural expressions embedded within it. Reclaiming and practicing the language within homes, families and traditional places is vital for the reclamation of Mātauranga-ā-hapū. This framework places te reo-ō-Otaraua at the centre, recognizing its significance to the identity of Otaraua hapū descendants.

Methodology Findings

Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua

A Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology deeply embeds the principles and traditions of Otaraua in research about Otaraua. It is a transformative approach in hapū research. As various hapū-specific research frameworks continue to emerge, this approach supports the reclamation of hapū identity and knowledges by empowering Otaraua researchers and descendants to conduct research based on Otaraua principles and values. Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology, guided by Otaraua principles and informed by Otaraua narratives, contributes to the evolution of decolonising methodologies in Kaupapa Māori research and Indigenous research. It acknowledges the unique hapū worldview.

This Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology prioritizes the voices of Otaraua whānau as the central community of focus. This methodology respects the unique Mātauranga-ā-hapū of Otaraua, raises awareness of the impacts of colonisation and promotes healing and identity

reclamation. It is a natural progression within the wakapapa of Kaupapa Māori research diversifying and refocusing on iwi and hapū concerns.

The key findings obtained using this methodology such as the confirmation of the principles of wakapapa, te taiao, te ao wairua and te reo-ō-Otaraua, as central to a hapū body of knowledge and systems, as evidenced by the kaikōrero and whānau repository data.

Additionally, the tikanga of manaakitanga, mana motuhake, kaitiakitanga, kotahitanga and whanaungatanga are identified as ways in which tūpuna engaged with knowledge systems and the environment.

The findings also reveal that the use of this methodology identified the devastating impact of colonisation on the marginalisation of Otaraaua knowledge and identity, as seen through the eyes of Otaraaua descendants primarily. Engaging in methods that align with Otaraaua ways of connecting produced distinct mātauranga around Otarauatanga through a whānau lens.

Furthermore, the concept of Kaupapa-ō-Otaraaua represents a reclamation by the hapū of Mātauranga-ā-hapū as a means of orienting away from a generic Māori identity and a collective iwi identity. This methodology also provided opportunities to identify the gaps of knowledge that needs to be addressed to fully restore and preserve the identity and knowledge of Otaraaua.

Conclusion

Chapter six explores the reclamation of Otaraaua identity and knowledge, emphasising the significant impact of Crown legislation and policies and colonisation in marginalising Otaraaua cultural heritage. The findings highlight the need for restoring traditional knowledge systems and underscore the resilience required to sustain identity amidst historical challenges. Central to this discussion is the concept of Otarauatanga, which encapsulates the unique attributes and resilience of Otaraaua descendants, unifying hapū members and preserving wakapapa.

The chapter addresses the ways in which Otaraua identity and knowledge has been reshaped since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, through a synthesis in insights from whānau voices, literature reviews, and a chronological analysis of legislation and policies. These sources outline the pivotal actions that have shaped Otaraua identity, such as the usurpation of mana, rangatiratanga, and land confiscation, which deeply affected the expression of identity and traditional knowledge practices among Otaraua descendants.

A significant aspect of the chapter is the exploration of the impact of displacement on strong whānau ties and the enduring connection to the environment through te ao wairua. The research underscores the importance of mana and rangatiratanga in shaping Otaraua identity, emphasising the interconnectedness of mana tūpuna, mana atua and mana whenua. Reclaiming these concepts is crucial for the decolonisation process, particularly in a post-Treaty settlement environment, as it restores traditional knowledge and practices essential for hapū identity and well-being.

The chapter also discusses the evolution of Mātauranga-ā-hapū, highlighting the significance of intergenerational learning and the preservation of Otaraua narratives for future generations. This ongoing process is essential for maintaining the community's resilience and identity. A framework for reclaiming and embedding Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua is introduced, drawing on Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua principles such as te ao wairua, te taiao, wakapapa and te reo. This framework is guided by key tikanga principles like mana motuhake, kotahitanga, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga, and whanaungatanga, reflecting the lived experiences of Otaraua descendants and acknowledging the impacts of colonisation.

The methodology of this research, Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua, deeply embeds Otaraua principles and tikanga into the research, representing a transformative approach in hapū research. This

methodology supports the reclamation of hapū identity and knowledge, empowering Otaraua researchers and descendants to conduct research grounded in Otaraua values. The methodology prioritises the voices of Otaraua whānau, respects the unique Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua, and promotes healing and identity reclamation. Key findings using this methodology include confirmation of the central principles and tikanga, and the identification of gaps in knowledge reclamation.

Overall, the chapter identifies the impact of the past on the present state of mātauranga within a whānau of Otaraua. Furthermore, by engaging a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology, the research also identifies gaps and strategies to support the reclamation of Otaraua knowledge and identity.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

Ko Taranaki te mouna

Ko Waitara te awa

Ko Ngātiawa te iwi

Ko Otaraua te hapū

Ko Otaraua te pā

Ko Te Mangaemiemi te kāinga

Ko Uenuku, ko Kura, ko Tuitimoengaroa, ko Tahuwharerangi ngā tūpuna

Ko Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke te rangatira

Introduction

The aim of this research was to contribute to the reclamation of Otaraua knowledge and identity by raising awareness of how Crown legislation and policy have contributed to the marginalisation of Otaraua culture. This research sought to enhance understanding among Otaraua descendants about the historical and contemporary processes that have reshaped hapū identity. Additionally, it aimed to identify methods for reclaiming and sharing Otaraua narratives for future generations. To achieve this, the research examined and reviewed historical contexts, assessed the current state, and proposed solutions to support the reclamation of Otaraua knowledge and identity. This chapter is an overview of the process of the research undertaken for this thesis and the outcomes as follows:

- Chapter Review
- Discussion of the research questions
- Discussion of implications of the study
- Recommendations for further research

- Conclusion

Chapter review

Chapter One grounded this research in the context of Otaraua outlining the aims, significance and research questions. It also discussed the role of an inside researcher emphasising the responsibility to faithfully represent whānau experiences and aspirations.

Chapter Two presented the principles and tikanga of a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology, elevating Mātauranga-ā-hapū. This chapter positioned Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua as an autonomous body of knowledge, supported by whānau archives, pre-Treaty settlement documentation, Taranaki historians and Indigenous, Māori and hapū researchers. This chapter also gave context for the pre- 1840 state of Otaraua.

Chapter Three explored the concept of Mātauranga from Indigenous, Māori, iwi and hapū perspectives, emphasizing its integration with the spiritual realm, environment and ecological relationships. The chapter discussed the shift to Mātauranga-ā-hapū from Mātauranga Māori and Mātauranga-ā-iwi as part of reclaiming hapū traditional knowledges. The chapter also addressed the marginalisation of mātauranga and Indigenous knowledges due to legislation and policy, highlighting the specific impact of Treaty settlements on Mātauranga-ā-hapū, and recent initiatives to reclaim these knowledges.

Chapter Four examined the survival and resilience of Otaraua, often overlooked in historical literature that privileges a coloniser's perspective. It analysed the experiences of Otaraua whānau during colonisation and provides a chronological analysis of legislation and policy that contributed to the marginalisation of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua. This chapter names the acts of colonisation that impacted directly on the marginalisation of Otaraua knowledge and identity.

Chapter Five presented the voices of whānau participants and kaikōrero using a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology that centralises and privileges the world view of Otaraaua descendants. This chapter featured narratives from three generations of one whānau, spanning over eighty years, which played a crucial role in identifying the current state of mātauranga within this whānau of Otaraaua. It also identifies gaps in mātauranga and outlines their aspirations for the future.

Chapter Six This chapter highlighted that Otarauatanga defined the resilience of Otaraaua descendants, preserving customary practices and ancestral ties. Displacement affected whānau bonds, but spiritual connection to nature persisted. Mana and rangatiratanga played a significant role in shaping identity, with the chapter also highlighting the need to reclaim traditional knowledge for hapū well-being and decolonisation. The importance of intergenerational learning and preserving Otaraaua history remains vital in today's evolving Mātauranga-ā-hapū. To support the revitalisation of Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua, this chapter introduced an indicative Otaraaua Framework for reclaiming mātauranga, emphasizing the vital role of Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua principles that are the foundation that the framework builds on. The framework is informed by the aspirations of whānau participants and kaikōrero, incorporating insights from the analysis of literature on the repercussions of colonisation on Indigenous communities, including hapū.

Research questions discussion.

Question one:

How has the construct and identity of Otaraaua been shaped and reshaped since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi?

The imagery shared in this excerpt from the Waitangi Tribunal submission on behalf of Otaraaua describes the force with which descendants of Otaraaua were subjected to during time of

extreme adversity. During the 1990s, these experiences remained within the collective memory of whānau within the hapū. The aim of this research question was to explore the impact of colonisation on the identity of Otaraua and the traditional knowledge and knowledge systems by which we identified.

The redefining of the identity of Otaraua is seen clearly using literature review(s), the use of chronology and the analysis and through the conversations held particularly with kaikōrero. The use of these methods provided historical context, when considering the state of Otaraua prior to 1840 and the impact of colonisation on traditional knowledge, or mātauranga. The upheaval from ancestral lands created a state of chaos by imposing land tenure systems and policy aimed at usurping traditional knowledge systems.

The analysis of the chronology reveals the impact of legislation and policy on the ways in which Otaraua is now positioned within the Taranaki landscape. The traditional boundaries of Otaraua are no longer acknowledged and have been subsumed by boundaries determined by Government. The merging of Otaraua as a part of a collective of hapū under a Post-treaty settlement entity Te Kotahitanga o Te Atiawa, does not acknowledge the rich history of Otaraua and the connections between multiple hapū.

Question two:

What is the current state of Otaraua knowledge and identity? How have the conditions that have shaped and reshaped Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua impacted the knowledge base and identity of Otaraua today?

Question Two inquired about an Otaraua current state, the impact of the past on the state of mātauranga of Otaraua. The implications and impacts of colonisation are significant, particularly in political contexts, but more importantly within whānau. The loss of reo,

connection to the land and knowledge of ‘Otarauatanga’ is expressed by three generations of whānau. The literature reveals that the loss of connection to land has been devastating. Whānau expressed their desire for Otaraua descendants to reclaim their heritage, to be confident as Otaraua.

Question three:

How can Otaraua revitalise the narratives and ways of intergenerational transmission so that they are restored and embedded within the whānau of Otaraua?

Question Three explored how Otaraua can revitalise narratives and methods of intergenerational transmission, aimed at restoring and embedding them within the whānau of Otaraua. The findings from whānau participants, kaikōrero and literature reviews informed the responses to this question. Participants shared aspirations for future generations regarding mātauranga. The analysis of data-maintained flexibility to capture evolving conversations, including recollections and emerging ideas. In a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua research methodology, whānau narratives serve as effective and valid sources of information. The use of pūrākau as photovoice, reo and tikanga accommodated participants' comfort while ensuring hapū-centric methods effectively engaged hapū descendants.

Pūrākau through photovoice and kōrerorero

Whānau participants expressed that they enjoyed the connection with one another during this process. Several had not seen one another for many years. Through online technology, the group could share memories that many had in common and discuss areas they may not have done with other whānau members, particularly those of an older generation. The whānau participants engaged well online and preferred this as all were busy and lived away from one another.

The space created in the wānanga enabled the participants to share knowledge and experiences they had not had the opportunity to share or engage with. Sharing their photographs and experiences with the group prompted deep discussions of significant issues that had not surfaced when the participants were together in other settings. This included talking and sharing about te ao wairua and their experiences. The topic is not often discussed amongst younger whānau members, although, in practice, the connection is commonplace for an older generation. This was evident during the kōrerorero sessions with the older generation and their ability to talk freely and openly about spiritual matters as common practice. The ability to for this younger group to share their desires to learn more about well-being practices and to extend on what they know was an enjoyable conversation for all. All had some experience and could feel a connection. Some are further along the journey of being comfortable in engaging with the spiritual realm than others. Confidence was expressed in sharing their ideas about this topic, not openly discussed as a wider whānau.

Whānau participants were hopeful for the future and grateful for the opportunity to connect and with the kaupapa. They expressed a willingness to re-ignite whānau wānanga and included ideas about what they considered important to learn and how they thought it could be run. This method aligned well with the ways in which Otaraua whānau connect and communicate. The use of photography supported the participants to gather information in their own time and present their view of Otaraua identity and belonging.

The analysis of the pūrākau-photovoice method assisted to find the insights that identified the gaps. This analysis method produced actions that the participants identified as supporting them to grow their connection to Otaraua and their understanding of Otaraua knowledge.

Poutokomanawa

The engaging of key ‘pou’ of the whānau to guide this research has proven invaluable in many respects. Their guidance ensured that the research was relevant to whānau and included the information that they felt was important to be shared. Some of the guidance provided by these key ‘pou’, involved the care and protection of our knowledge. They decided what could be shared and what was to remain within the whānau. They were also extremely supportive, giving confidence and reassurance that the research was heading in the right direction. The regular checking in, kōrerorero and wānanga provided support to move to the next step. This group ensured that the research remained grounded in the cultural and spiritual traditions of Otaraua. This approach strengthened the integrity of the research and ensured that the methodology and outcomes were aligned to the values and principles of Kaupapa-ō- Otaraua by sharing their views on the important content around wakapapa, tikanga, political views, whānau qualities and a perspective of being from Otaraua that this generation has no lived experience of. The ‘pou’ were not interested in reading the writing or giving feedback on the structure or content. Their interest was directed at ensuring the whānau was protected and safe while sharing our story. This meant guidance about what could and couldn’t be shared. I was always firstly accountable to this group, who provided consent, support and guidance. This group enabled the research by providing a stable base from which to study the past, present and future of the hapū.

Literature review

In this research, the method of literature review served several crucial functions. Firstly, it established the context and background by providing an overview of existing research, historical accounts, and theoretical frameworks related to Otaraua mātauranga and identity. This

context is essential for understanding the broader socio-political landscape and political events that have shaped the experiences of Otaraua hapū.

Additionally, the literature review played a critical role in identifying gaps in the existing knowledge base. By systematically analysing a wide range of sources, including academic publications, historical records, and Indigenous narratives, the review highlights areas where marginalisation of Otaraua knowledge occurred. This identification of gaps is crucial for pinpointing areas where further research or intervention is needed.

Furthermore, the literature review supports the development of a methodological framework of the research by informing the development of a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology. This methodology is aligned with Indigenous and hapū centred perspectives, ensuring that the research serves hapū descendants. By drawing on Indigenous theoretical frameworks, the literature review provides credibility and ensures alignment to Otaraua principles and tikanga.

The review also provided critical evidence for analysing the impacts of colonisation, Crown legislation and policies on Otaraua identity and knowledge systems. This evidence is essential for understanding how these external forces have shaped the current state of Otaraua mātauranga and identity. The review contributed to an analysis that acknowledges both the challenges faced and the resilience demonstrated by Otaraua descendants.

Finally, the literature review highlighted instances of Indigenous resilience, adaptation, and responses to colonisation and marginalisation. This aspect of the review underscores the active role of Otaraua and other Indigenous groups in reclaiming and revitalising their cultural heritage. The review provides a historical record of resistance and resilience but also inspires contemporary and future initiatives aimed at reclamation of identity and knowledge.

Limitations of findings

While this thesis provides a comprehensive analysis of the impact of Crown legislation and policy on Mātauranga ā hapū particularly within the context of Otaraua and Ngātiawa in Taranaki, several limitations must be acknowledged.

The scope of this research is limited to a specific geographical and cultural context, primarily focusing on the Taranaki region and the experiences of Otaraua and Ngātiawa hapū. This narrow focus may not fully capture the diversity of experiences and responses to Crown policies across different regions and hapū.

Access to primary sources, including archival documents and oral histories, was limited by both logistical restraints and the sensitive nature of some materials. Some historical records remain restricted or inaccessible due to confidentiality or preservation issues, which potentially limits the depth of historical analysis. Furthermore, the reliance on available sources means that certain narratives or perspectives may have been under-represented.

The thesis relies heavily on qualitative data, which may introduce a degree of subjectivity in interpreting the experiences and perspectives of participants. As an inside researcher, who connected by wakapapa, there is an inherent risk that the findings could be influenced by personal biases or perceived as subjective. While every effort was made to represent the diverse voices within the whānau fairly and accurately, the close connection to the subject matter may impact the interpretation and presentation of the data. This was mitigated through the input of poutokomanawa, who sense-checked the writing periodically throughout the writing process.

Finally, constraints related to time, funding and access to specific locations, impacted the breadth of the research. Limited resources meant that some potentially relevant areas of investigation could not be pursued in as much detail as desired. The research acknowledges

several limitations, acknowledging the time and funding constraints, and the efforts taken to mitigate perceived bias as an inside researcher.

Implications of the study

This research has implications for Indigenous groups who have been subjugated through the process of colonisation. Particularly where the redefinition of identity occurs to assert power and control. Hapū have been subjected to redefinition by a system to gain authority of natural resources and to replace traditional knowledge systems. The mana of hapū was disregarded particularly through a Treaty settlement period, where the Crown preferred to engage with large natural groupings. More recently, hapū have begun to assert mana once again by claiming as hapū. This body of research can support the journey of hapū who are once again reclaiming mana by providing a specific hapū example through a hapū research methodology. This research also contributes to the growing body of Indigenous methodologies that elevate and privileges the world views of Indigenous peoples.

Suggestions for future research

Wider consultation on the indicative framework across the hapū is suggested. The framework would benefit from an Otaraua-wide lens. To extend, future research could include the development of an Otaraua marautanga or curriculum, which begins to capture and regenerate the narratives of the principles nurturing more whānau within Otaraua to become whānau participants of their own narratives.

The domain of Kaupapa-ā-hapū research is in its formative stages. Hapū are progressively gaining recognition in spheres from which we were historically marginalised, notably within Treaty settlements. As hapū increasingly mobilize to regain control of ancestral lands and restore their identities, there is a pressing need to foster research in this domain to

contribute to hapū development. Cultivating an Otaraua pool of whānau participants to narrate our unique stories is important.

Otaraua possess a distinct narrative that is integral to the wider Indigenous endeavour to reclaim cultural identity. Additionally, hapū could benefit from engaging in research and dialogues with other hapū and marginalised Indigenous communities. Shared experiences of marginalisation and the corresponding responses have the potential to fortify global interconnections.

Conclusion

The significance of Otaraua identity resonates deeply within the whānau and it is a responsibility, guided by rangatira and elders, to carry forward the enduring legacy of resilience and resistance left. Recognizing that subjugation manifests in various forms, including contemporary challenges, is essential. Strength lies in the ability to identify and address these evolving manifestations.

Engaging in a Kaupapa-ō-Otaraua methodology ignited a deep understanding of the ancestral pain endured by tūpuna. My father's generation embarked on a journey to continue to rectify injustices through their participation in a settlement process. This research has played a pivotal role in comprehending the conditions and systems responsible for the division and fragmentation within Otaraua, stemming from the trauma experienced during the settlement process. It symbolizes a return to the 'metaphorical axe,' allowing the continuation of the reclamation of 'Otarauatanga' while working with existing systems, all the while safeguarding mana and rangatiratanga. My thoughts often return to my grandmother, who exemplifies these values. This research represents a compilation of narratives of and for whānau. This is just the beginning of a more extensive exploration. This is the narrative of a whānau, who unwaveringly

held their ground, refusing to yield to continued control exerted by the Crown and continue to hold to this line of sight today.

My heartfelt gratitude and respect extend to the whānau who are ahikā, those who persist in upholding and exercising the mana of Otaraua, particularly within the domain of environmental kaitiakitanga. Their dedication ensures that an Otaraua voice remains undiminished, resonating in the face of those who continue to subjugate. This journey has unveiled a realisation that we often underestimate our own strength. We are still here. We stand as a testament to the resilience displayed by our tūpuna during the period of resistance amid land alienation and the turmoil it brought upon our people.

We are now embracing and creating new ways of being Otaraua, redefining our pā and kāinga. This journey has revealed a drive towards an evolution from resistance towards transformation. Generations of Otaraua today owe gratitude and appreciation to the leadership and the sacrifices made by our tūpuna to ensure that Otaraua still stands. The process of reclaiming mātauranga while engaging in this research was only made possible by the whānau who generously shared their time and knowledge.

Mouri ora.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Ethics confirmation



TE WHARE WĀNANGA O AWANUIĀRANGI

10/12/2021 Student ID: 2192138

Raewyn Mahara

90 Waipa Esplanade

Ngaruawahia 3720

Tēnā koe Raewyn,

Tēnā koe i roto i ngā tini āhuatanga o te wā.

Ethics Research Committee Application EC2021.30 Outcome: Approved

The Ethics Research Committee Chairperson has reconsidered your application, and we are pleased to inform you that your ethics application has been approved. The committee commends you on your hard work to this point and wishes you well with your research.

Please ensure that you keep a copy of this letter on file and include the Ethics committee document reference number: EC2021.30 on any correspondence relating to your research. This includes documents

for your participants or other parties. Please also enclose this letter of approval in the back of your completed thesis as an appendix.

If you have any queries regarding the outcome of your ethics application, please contact us on our freephone number 0508926264 or via e-mail ethics@wananga.ac.nz.

Nāku noa, nā

Shonelle Wana, BMM, MIS

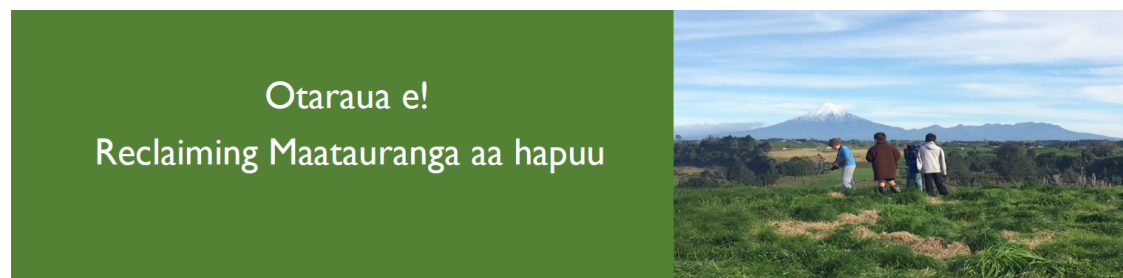
Ethics Research Committee

Administrator Phone: 0508 92 62 64

WHAKATĀNE

13 Domain Road

Appendix B. Participant information Sheet



Information Sheet

What is this project about?

The overall aim of the kaupapa, is to grow awareness of the effects that imposed education and legal systems have had on the identity of hapū and therefore the retention of our narratives. It is intended that through this, our hapū will grow in their awareness of the processes and conditions that have led to the reshaping of the hapū identity. Secondly, the aim is to then capture the best ways in which our narratives be reclaimed and re-shared amongst our hapū whanau currently and for generations to come.

Invitation to participate

In recognising your in-depth knowledge, experience and expertise regarding this kaupapa we are inviting you to take part in the research.

Involvement

Involvement could be through waananga, and/or individual interviews. If you choose to participate, the following procedures will apply:

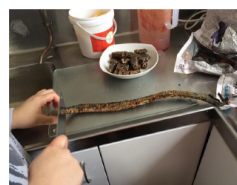
- You will be provided with a form to complete to indicate your consent to participate.
- If you consent to participate in **waananga**, you will join a group of others from our hapuu for between 3-4 hours for up to 2 group discussions to co-design a terms of reference for how we will operate as a group throughout this research; and to also share whakaaro. Notes will be taken by the researcher during the waananga. You will be offered a summary of the korero from the waananga. The waananga may be recorded by video and/or audio device.
- If you participate in an **individual interview**, which will take up to one hour, we will audio/video record the interview with your permission. A transcript (written record of what was said) of the interview will be available for you should you request a copy and you will have the chance to make any changes prior to data analysis.
- We will record your contact details if you wish to have the research findings shared with you.
- Individuals will not be identifiable in the final thesis, unless you want to be

Participants Involved

- ☐ Otaraua Hapuu members through whakapapa: 16+ years old residing within and without traditional Otaraua boundaries
- ☐ Taranaki whaanui citizens knowledgeable in Otaraua history
- ☐ Researchers who have written specifically about Taranaki whaanui narratives and claims processes

Number of Participants

- ☐ 2 Taranaki narratives researchers
- ☐ 3 Hapuu leaders
- ☐ Advisory Group of 3 (range of ages)
- ☐ 10 Hapuu members – range of ages (small groups will be created within this larger group to provide of opportunities for a range of knowledge for depth)



Whaanau will be acknowledged for their time and contributions in several ways:

- ☐ Koha
- ☐ Koha of all information back to all participants

As a participant, you have the right to:

Decline to participate;

- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from the study
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be use unless you give permission to the researcher;
- To be given access to a summary of the project finding when it is concluded.
- ask for the audio/video tape to be turned off at any time during the interview if needed.

Data Storage

Data will be gathered in written form, video and audio for note taking purposes. Data will be written by the participants also and will be gathered
All data will be stored in a locked and secure space

Ethics Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangī Ethics Committee, ECA # eg. 09/001. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Committee administrator as named below:

Kahukura.epiha@wananga.ac.nz

Postal Address:

Private Bag 1006

Whakatāne

Courier address:

Cnr of Domain Rd and Francis St

Whakatāne

Contact details for Kairangahau

If you have any questions or concerns about this rangahau, please do not hesitate to contact me:

Raewyn Mahara

90 Waipa Espl

Ngaruawahia

Raewynm22@gmail.com or 027 555 9025

Appendix C. Photovoice information sheets and questions



MAATAURANGA OO OTARAUA

Photo Voice

WHAT DO I DO?

1. *Meet up with the whaanau*
We'll meet online at a time that suits us all for introductions, catchups and for a question and answer session.
2. *Take photos of ...*
 - your experience of being from Otaraua
 - what you would like to know about being from Otaraua
 - aspirations for the future for you and your whaanau and their connection to our hapuu
 - Post them up!
3. *Share your thoughts*
Come together online or in person to share our findings. This can be done confidentially if you'd prefer.



CONTACT US

Raewyn Mahara
90 Waipa Esplanade
Ngaruawahia

027 555 9025
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PHOTO VOICE

Photo voice is a technique used to capture experiences, expertise and knowledge. (Wang and Burris, 1997)



WHAT IS IT?

Photovoice has three main goals: (1) to enable people to record and reflect their community's strengths and concerns, (2) to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important community issues through large and small group discussion of photographs, and (3) to reach policymakers.

WHO DOES IT BENEFIT?

This piece of work will contribute to a Thesis that will be shared with our Otaraua whaanau, and those who are interested in Hapuu development

WHAT DO I DO?

Take photos that give us insight into:

- Your experience of being from Otaraua
- What would you like to know about being from Otaraua
- Aspirations for the future for you and your whaanau and your/their connection to our hapuu
- Share them and share your narrative to support

Photo-voice questions:

- What are your experiences of being from Otaraua?
- What would you like to know about being from Otaraua?
- What are the aspirations for the future for you and your whānau and your/their connection to our hapū.

Appendix D. Kōrerorero questions: Reclaiming Mātauranga-ā-hapū

Mātauranga

- What tūpuna comes to mind who embodied what it means to be a Otaraua person?
- What attributes of your tūpuna do you think are important for your tamariki to know about and embody in their lives?
- What is important to know about being from Otaraua?
- How are we as Otaraua connected to our environment? What are some examples of this from the past and in the present?
- How would you describe our connections to te ao wairua? In what ways do we do this?
- Is wakapapa important to the identity of Otaraua and why?

Intergenerational Transmission:

- How might we ensure that future generations are well connected to Mātauranga-ō-Otaraua?
- How might we ensure that this is shared with future generations? What help do we need for this to happen? What impact on our children's lives would you like to happen from this?

Future Aspirations:

- Do you have aspirations for your tamariki in relation to their Otaraua identity?
- How do we grow current and future generations of Otaraua. What would you hope for their

Future?

- What would Otaraua look like, sound like, feel like if our aspirations were met?
- What would you like to learn further about and why?

Treaty Settlement Process:

- What was the impact of the Treaty settlement process on the well-being of Otaraua?