



Image 1: Rākaihautū. Brian Flintoff's work depicts Rākaihautū digging out the mountain lakes as he travels through the Southern Alps. Private collection. Mixed media by Brian Flintoff.

KĀ PĀKIHI KĀ WHAKATEKATEKA A WAITAHA
THE PLAINS WHERE THE WAITAHA STRUTTED PROUDLY

Titiro ki muri, kia whakatika ā mua, *look to the past to proceed to the future*: Why tīpuna used rakimārie *peaceful living* to claim and maintain ahi kā *burning fires of occupation* during early colonial contact and does it hold validity and relevance for whānau *family* today?

Nā Kelli Te Maihāroa

Waitaha Tūturu, Ngāti Rārua Ātiawa

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KARAKIA

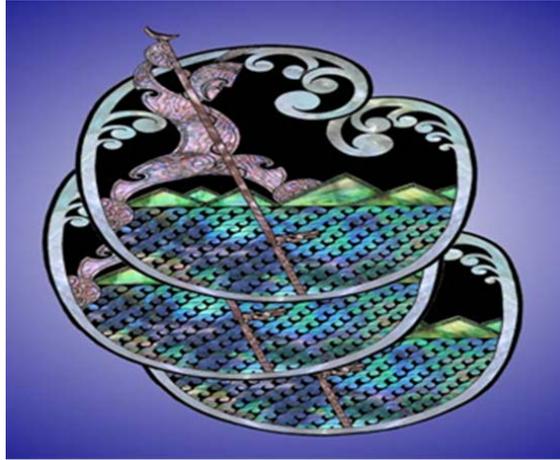


Image 3: Karakia. Rākaihautū. Brian Flintoff's work depicts Rākaihautū digging out the mountain lakes as he travels through the Southern Alps. Private collection. Mixed media by Brian Flintoff.

Wāhia te awa e uta ki tua
Putā i waho ko te pākiaka o te rākau
O māere nuku, o māere raki
O māere i te maro-whenua
I ruka tāne, i raro tāne
Pākupāku tāne, rakaihi tāne
Nohaka nō Te Ariki
Hoatu au, e tāne ki uta!

This thesis begins with the ancient karakia *incantation* recited by Rākaihutū, the famous Waitaha tupuna who cleared the passage ways through the great Pacific oceans to Aotearoa (Beattie, 1918, p. 146)

KĀ PĀKITUA

Kā Pākitua is the name on the prow of the Te Uruao Kapuaraki waka *canoe* and also the toki *adze* that Rākaihautū raised as he chanted the karakia above. The waka was carved with two toki belonging to Uru-te-Ngangana: Te Hae-mata and Whiro-nui. It has been suggested that an ancient karakia referred to Te Uruao Kapuaraki as a double hulled waka, with the other waka named Urunui (Evans, 1997). Tribal pūrākau *legends* tell us that Rākaihautū was the founding tipuna *ancestor* of Waitaha Iwi *tribe*, the first peoples to occupy Te Wai Pounamu *South Island*, credited with carving out the many lakes of Te Wai Pounamu. The whakataukī *proverb* of ‘Kā Pākihi Whakatekateka ā Waitaha’, *the Playground of Waitaha*, shared by pōua *grandfather* Taare Te Maihāroa with historian Herries Beattie (Beattie, 1918, p. 142-146), relates to ‘The Frolicking of Waitaha on the Open Grass Country’ referring to East Coast Canterbury Plains of Te Wai Pounamu *the South Island*. This area and proverb have also been described as ‘The Seedbed of Waitaha’ or ‘*The Plains Where Waitaha Strutted Proudly*’.

This research is primarily driven out of the desire to explore whānau whakapapa, histories and create new memories for whānau. It aims to provide a whānau lens on how Waitaha tīpuna used rakimārie to claim and maintain ahi kā in colonial and contemporary times. This thesis initially concentrates on Waitaha history and the colonial interface of pōua Te Maihāroa and Te Heke *the migration* of 1877-1879. It then moves into the present-day, by documenting the contemporary peacebuilding efforts of Tumuaki: Waitaha Tai Whenua o Waitaki *Head of Waitaha* Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds over a twenty five year period, followed by a second paper that describes whānau experiences whilst

retracing ancestral trails through the Waitaki Valley, North Otago. The study then examines Waitaha within the wider peace building context setting at Rēkohū and Parihaka, co-written with tribal leaders from these Indigenous communities and a Pākehā academic, to explore the passive resistance strategies undertaken by tīpuna *ancestors* and revitalised through whānau, hapū *sub tribe* and Iwi peace-based initiatives today. This work has largely been co-constructed with, for, and on behalf of, the whānau, hapū and Iwi that descend from tīpuna who courageously held onto or developed unique peace traditions in response to early colonial contact and invasions.

Rākaihatū is the founding tipuna of Te Waipounamu and accordingly he is the original tipuna of all seven Te Waipounamu genealogical tables (Graham, 1922). All seven whakapapa descend to Te Maihāroa (?-1886), said to possess the best pedigree of any in the North or South Island to connect the present Māori with those old immigrants to New Zealand and the accuracy of these whakapapa is such that they cannot be challenged or disputed and that he was one of the last to stem the decay of Mana Māori (Tikao, 1990, p. 83). Te Maihāroa was well known as a great tohuka and prophet in the Waitaki district of the South Island, who led the Arowhenua movement as a religious, social and political response to dissatisfaction over land issues and as a beacon of hope for mana Māori (Elsmore, 1989; Mikaere, 1988).

In one of the more historic events of the time was the peaceful protest of Te Rehe's sons and extended family in the Hīkoi ki Omarama – Journey to Omarama. Te Maiharoa led a group of Arowhenua whanau on a journey by foot to the inland site of Omarama to establish a semi-permanent settlement in protest of loss of lands and access to traditional gathering sites. The peaceful sit-in eventually resulted in complaints from run-holders and arrests were made as the protesters were forced to vacate. The journey to Omarama recognises the objections by our ancestors in regards to the sale of any lands and resources beyond the local foothills in the region. Inland lakes, significant waterways and gathering sites

including those surrounding Omarama near the Waitaki, were considered still under the control and authority of Kāti Huirapa descendants. (Whakapapa Te Rūnanga o Arowhenua, n.d., p. 2)

From the writer's perspective, sharing these histories and creating new narratives to accompany past memories of events, attempts to uphold the mana of Waitaha and pōua Te Maihāroa, in an attempt to keep their memories and traditions alive. As an uri *descendant* of pōua Te Maihāroa, I was personally drawn to this kaupapa largely because of the strength and determination of tīpuna to abide by the path of peace when confronted by colonisation, and faced with the challenge of fighting to maintain ownership of ancestral land. It is a whānau story, endorsed by those that who have supported this kaupapa *topic* and with tautoko *support* from Iwi leaders of Waitaha, Moriori and Parihaka. There are other stories to be told, by those who hold the whakapapa and pūrākau from their own histories and rohe. This thesis sets out to provide an insight into the links between tīpuna and a contemporary whānau view of being connected to peace prophets. It offers an opportunity for whānau, hapū and iwi 'voices' to reflect their views on how they see and live their lives today and their connections with tīpuna and whenua *ancestral land*.

TAKOHAKA *ABSTRACT*

This hybrid publications-based thesis explores the concept of rakimārie as a way to sustain and maintain relationships with Papatūānuku and some Indigenous tribes of Aotearoa New Zealand. This thesis focusses on the First Nations People of Waitaha ki Te Waipounamu and my tipuna, Te Maihāroa, a Waitaha prophet. It is motivated by the call to provide Indigenous histories as a counter narrative to the colonial myths that have masked a peaceful history to fit within dominant discourses such as the Māori warrior image.

The thesis comprises three interconnected components presented within three Kete *baskets*: Kete Tuatahi *first* is concerned with the thesis introduction, Kete Tuarua *second* consists of four tuhika *pieces of writing*, and Kete Tuatoru *third* connects the thesis together through the discussion and conclusion chapters. The four tuhika introduced in Kete Tuarua consists of three publications and one manuscript: Tuhika I: *Kaore Whakaheke Toto, Do Not Shed Blood*; Tuhika II: *Te Ara o Rakimārie, The Pathway of Peaceful Living*; and Tuhika III: *Retracing Ancestral Footsteps*. Tuhika IV: Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively is a manuscript collaboratively written by Te Maihāroa, Devere, Solomon, and Wharehoka. The research uses a theoretical lens of Indigenous epistemology and kaupapa Māori methods, derived from, and grounded within the whenua of Aotearoa. The qualitative research data is based on two kaupapa Māori methods of whakawhanaukataka *building relationships* and pūrākau. Whakawhanaukataka is both the relational recruitment method of drawing whānau together and also the kinship glue that binds people together throughout the research process (Rewi, 2014). Pūrākau are traditional Māori narratives, incorporated in this thesis three ways: a) as whānau kōrero *talk* through “oral interviews as chats” (Bishop, 1996), b) whānau journals and c) collective Iwi histories. The author’s

position as an emergent Indigenous researcher is traversed within the locale of 'emic' insider location, and an 'etmic' (insider / outsider) position is adopted for the collaborative manuscript. This study aims to share the Indigenous peace traditions from the people that have been kaitiaki of their tribal peace traditions. It examines these histories through an historical and contemporary lens on the Waitaha people and the regeneration of peacemakers and keepers within the Moriori, Waitaha and Parihaka pā people. This thesis privileges each history as told by a māngai *mouth piece* of the tribal knowledge keepers, and provides a theme-based analysis of the synergies and discrepancies between the difference struggles and experiences. It discusses the peace legacy that has been forged by these ancestral prophets and how their spirit remains to shine through their descendants, as lights on the pathway of rakimārie, a peaceful way of living.

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HE TOHU MAHARA *DEDICATION*

Tēnā koe Aunty Sissie Te Maihāroa Dodds, for your guidance, wisdom and holding the mauri of Waitaha ki Te Waipounamu. Tēnā koe Whaea Maata Wharehoka, for guiding my wairua journey and believing in me through times when I failed myself. Faith is feeling the light within your heart, when all your eyes see is darkness. To my beautiful sisters, Sheryl, Michelle, and Toni, thank you for your continual support, encouragement and faith in me. To my darling sons, Jay, Ben, Josh, Zak and Jake, I hope that the time that we sacrificed will prove fruitful as a guide for your own learning journeys and pathways. Mahia te mahi; doing it does it.

To my māmā, Gaynor Anne Te Maihāroa Howison, you are the endless rays of sunshine on my face, our guardian angel that watches over us. Night is the bringer of day, death is the bringer of life. Your passing taught us girls that despite the darkness, the sun will continue to shine tomorrow.

Ngātoko, the love of my life, you heard the call home and left this world too soon. I love you where there is no space or time. You had enough aroha to light up the universe, and now you light our night skies – this is for you Apakura.

Haere atu ra , hei whetū ki te raki, tiaho mai nei, mo ake tonu atu, *farewell to you, who have become stars in the heaven, shimmering and immortal, shining forever.*

“Life is over in a blink. Love is hello and goodbye. Until we meet again” – Jimmi Hendrix

HE MIHIMIHI *FORMAL INTRODUCTION*

E mihi ana kia koutou,
Greetings to you all
E taki ana ki te whenua
I weep for the land
Taoka tuku iho a kā tīpuna
Handed down by our ancestors
Ki te whei ao ki te ao mārama
It is dawn, it is daylight
Tēnā kōrua, ko Papatūānuku rāua ko Rakinui
Greetings to Mother Earth and Sky Father

Ko Aoraki rāua ko Taranaki ōku mauka ariki
My ancestral mountains are Mount Cook and Taranaki
Ko Waitaki rāua ko Waitaha ōku awa tapu
My sacred waters are Waitaki and Waitaha
Ko Waitaha rātou ko Ngāti Rārua Ātiawa ōku Iwi
Waitaha and Ngāti Rārua Ātiawa are my tribal affiliations

Ko Uruao Kapuaraki te waka
Uruao Kapuaraki is the ancestral canoe
Ko Rāikaihautū te kaihautū
Rāikaihautū is the navigator
Ko Waiariki o Aio te wāhine rakatira
Waiariki o Aio is his chiefly wife
Ko Kāti Rāikaihautū tōku hapū
Kāti Rāikaihautū is the sub tribe
Ko Arowhenua te marae tūturu
Arowhenua is the ancestral marae

Ko Te Maihāroa te poropiti
Te Maihāroa is the prophet
Ko te wharenuī o Te Whakāhua-araki nō Te Maihāroa
Te Whakāhuāraki was the meeting house of Te Maihāroa
Ko Te Korotuaheka te kāika tūturu
Korotuaheka is the ancestral burial ground
Ko Te Whare Tapu o Matiti
Matiti was the sacred learning house
Ko Te Poho o Rakitamau te urupā o Kahuti
Māori Hummock is the burial ground of Kahuti

Ko Eruera Te Maihāroa tōku pōua
Eruera Te Maihāroa is my grandfather
Ko Dorothy Benny tōku tāua
Dorothy Benny is my grandmother

Ko Gaynor Te Maihāroa tōku hākui
Gaynor Te Maihāroa is my mother
Ko Alistair Howison tōku pāpā
Alistair Howison is father

Ko Sheryl rātou ko Michelle, ko Toni āku tēina
Sheryl, Michelle and Toni are my sisters
Ko Jay rātou ko Ben, ko Josh, ko Isaak, ko Jake āku tamariki
Jay, Ben, Josh, Isaak, and Jake are my sons
Ko Kelli Te Maihāroa tōku ikoa
My name is Kelli Te Maihāroa
E rua kā ūkaipo
I have two ancestral homelands
Ko Wānaka rāua ko Taranaki ōku whenua
Wānaka and Taranaki are the lands that call me home
Ko Wānaka tōku turakawaewae
Wānaka is my place of belonging
Anei he kākano tapu ō Waitaha
I am a sacred seed of Waitaha
Ko Kelli Te Maihāroa tōku ikoa
My name is Kelli Te Maihāroa

This thesis by Kelli Te Maihāroa, was supervised by Associate Professor Lachy Paterson (Te Tumu: School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies, University of Otago), Dr Heather Devere (National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, NCPACS), University of Otago), Associate Professor Paul Whitinui (College of Education, University of Otago) and Professor Grant Gillett (Bioethics, University of Otago). Cultural supervision was provided by Professor Poia Rewi (Dean of Te Tumu). Kaumātua support was provided by Mahara Okeroa, Huata Holmes, Rangimārie Te Maihāroa and Anne Te Maihāroa. The researcher also undertook collaborative work with her supervisor Dr. Heather Devere (Pākēha) Professor Maui Solomon (Moriōri, Ngāi Tahu and Pākehā) and whaea Maata Wharehoka (Ngāti Kōata, Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Tahinga, Ngāti Apakura, Ngāi Te Rangi). Professor Maui Solomon is a barrister and Indigenous advocate, General Manager of the Hokotehi Moriōri Trust on Rēkohū and co-Chair of the Aotearoa New Zealand Centre for

Peace and Conflict Studies Trust. Dr Heather Devere is Director of Practice at the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies. Whaea Maata Wharehoka is a traditional healer, kaitiaki (guardian) of Parihaka Papa kāinga Trust and Te Niho o Te Ātiawa marae (traditional tribal meeting house) and Māori Practice Fellow at the NCPACS. My heartfelt thanks to you all for your aroha, tautoko and awahi in my PhD journey.

E kā whetūrakitia ka noho i te korowai o
Rakinui e whiti mai nei, e whiti mai i Tawhiti
Nuku tae noa ki te ao Hurihuri nei
Huri ake noa ki a tātou oraka kei ruka i Te Heke o Arowhenua
Ki te hurarahi ka hāpaitia a tātou mana i te ao hurihuri nei
Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā rā koutou kātoa

*From Aoraki at the main divide, turn to the significant river of Waitaki,
And journey to the ancient lement of Waiateruati.
Fly forth from Tarahaoa, to see thereafter Orakipaoa
and the path travelled by chief Te Rehe,
by foot go forth to arrive at the whare,
Te Hapa o Niu Tireni standing before us.
Behold the essence of life.
To those that have passed on forever resting in the sacred cloak of the sky father Rakinui,
shine down upon us.
Glisten brightly from those distant lands into this ever-changing world.
Turning now to us, the living, on a journey that will strengthen our integrity,
and position in this modern and ever-changing world.
We greet all of you, all of you who are with us.*

(Whakapapa Te Rūnanga o Arowhenua – Arowhenua Marae, n.d., p. 6)

KO WAI AU, NŌ HEA AU? | WHO AM I AND FROM WHOM DO I DESCEND?

Mai i te Pō ki te Whaiao ki Te Ao Mārama, ka rere te manu ki te taumata o Aoraki, ka rere te wairua o te whenua, ka rere te wairua o te takata tae noa ki Kāti Rākaihautū ki Arowhenua. Tīhei mauri ora. *From the night to the human realm, flies the bird to the summit of Mount Cook, flows the spirit of the land, flows the spirit of the people of Kāti Rākaihautū to Arowhenua. The call to claim the right to speak.*

(Whakapapa Te Rūnanga o Arowhenua, n.d., p. 6, note: author replaced Kāti Huirapa with Kāti Rākaihautū)

Mihimihi connects whakapapa to Māori atua *deity*, the supreme beings or spiritual gods, surrounding landscapes that shape our human experiences, and to tīpuna that have passed before us. Waitaha First Nations Peoples left their Pacific homelands of Te Patu Nui ō Aio on a waka named Te Uruao, landing in Aotearoa New Zealand at Whakatū (Nelson) around 850 A.D (Carrington, Tau & Anderson, 2008; Mitchell & Mitchell, 2004; Tau, 2008). Rākaihautū is the founding ancestor of Waitaha, and was also the kaihautū *navigator* of Te Uruao Kapuaraki waka *ancestral canoe*. Rākaihautū, was accompanied by his wife Waiariki-ō-aio, son Rakihouia, and the people of Waitaha Kāhui Ariki *group of high ranking families* who were the first inhabitants of Te Wāipounamu the South Island. Rākaihautū established take whenua kite *ancestral occupation rights* through first discovery.

For over a millennia, Waitaha have been kaitiaki *guardians* of the whenua of Te Waipounamu. Rākaihautū is credited with forming the mauka *mountains* and carving out the awa *rivers* and the majestic interior roto *lakes* with his magical kō *digging stick*, consecrating the whenua with the ancient Waitaha mauri that he bought with him from Te Patu nui o Aio. As the Waitaha kāhui moved through this whenua *land*, Rākaihautū paved the way for uri *descendants* to follow in their footsteps along kā ara tawhito

ancient trails, establishing *wāhi tapu sacred places* and *mahika kai traditional food sites*. Rākaihautū implanted this ancient whakapapa *genealogy* within the mauri of the plants and wildlife, naming and embedding the *ikoa tawhito ancient place names* into the surrounding southern landscapes and *nohoaka resting places*. Each *ikoa tawhito ancient place names* and *wāhi tohu sacred locators* were etched into landscape, establishing human life within Te Waipounamu. The intimate connection with whenua is a crucial component of mana whenua: “Out in the world of light the whenua sustains the people and provides for each individual a place for one’s feet to stand upon, tūrangawaewae. This land is home. The claim to land is based on take tipuna *ancestral claim*” (Mead, 2016, p.3).

As First Nations People, the lore of Waitaha is dedicated to the atua Rokomaraeroa *deity of peace*, through peaceful and harmonious living with Papatūānuku *Earth Mother*. Papatūānuku is the personification of Mother Earth, whenua or earth derived from beyond the veil, the sphere beyond the world of sense-perception, a state of perfection (Marsden, 2003). As spiritual people following this kawa, Waitaha had no need for warfare. The peaceful existence and legacy of Waitaha is evidenced by the non-existence of war artefacts, absence of war from tribal history and oral pūrākau *narratives* of living peacefully. There is no historical evidence (archeological or oral) of Waitaha fighting with the northern tribes of Kāti Māmoe and/or Kāi Tahu that migrated south over the last six hundred years.

It is through the deeds of Rākaihautū, and the Kāhui Waitaha, that ahi kā *burning fires of occupation* in Te Waipounamu was established. Ahi-kā-roa is defined as the long burning

fires of occupation, continuous occupation – title to land through occupation (<https://maoridictionary.co.nz>). Ahi-kā-roa has been described as “... an ancestral connection (which) goes to the heart of the matter and it cannot be said that he has a valid claim because his fires have been burning on the land for a long time, no, he must have an ancestral claim as well” (Rapata Wahawaha (1820-1893), cited in Mead, 2016, p. 10). The son of Rākaihautū, Rakihouia and crew, sailed down the eastern southern coast to Waihao, where they met before repositioning themselves near Akaroa also known as Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū *the storehouse of Rākaihautū*. Waitaha have maintained ahi-kā-roa *continuous ancestral occupation* for over one thousand years and upheld the responsibility and commitment to mana wairua *binding spirit*, the spiritual realm handed down from Rākaihautū in those ancient times. This whakapapa connects me to my tūrakawaewae *ancestral tribal homelands* of Te Waipounamu, and it is from this foundational layer that this thesis is written with, for and on behalf of Waitaha ki Te Waipounamu.

WĀHIKA | PROLOGUE

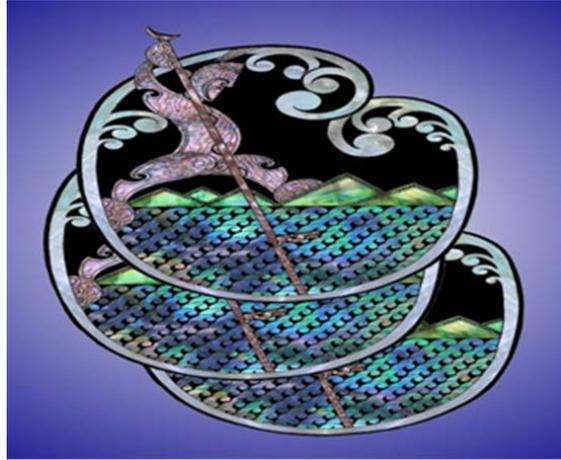


Image 4: Wāhika | Prologue. Rākaihautū. Brian Flintoff's work depicts Rākaihautū digging out the mountain lakes as he travels through the Southern Alps. Private collection. Mixed media by Brian Flintoff.

Hybrid Thesis Format

This thesis is written with a “hybrid” format, a relatively new format at the University of Otago that allows for the inclusion of published material inserted as sections within the thesis as a whole (see Appendix A: Guidelines for the Inclusion of Material from a Research Candidate’s Publications in their Thesis, University of Otago 2018:

<https://www.otago.ac.nz/administration/policies/otago073763.html>

These guidelines clearly state that it is expected that for any published material presented in the body of the thesis, the candidate will be the first author. Nevertheless, this thesis aims to be read as a coherent body of work, comprised of three Kete *baskets*: Kete Tuatahi | Introduction: comprising of three chapters. Chapter One: Introduction to Thesis presents a holistic te ao Māori *Māori worldview* perspective as the foundation to this thesis, followed by a discussion on colonisation, introduces Indigenous peace traditions and Māori Prophetic Movement. This chapter is concluded by providing the rationale for the research and the research question. Chapter Two: Indigenous Epistemology, Kaupapa Māori and Position of Researcher is concerned with the

theoretical positioning of the thesis, the kaupapa Māori research methods adopted, and location of the writer as an Indigenous researcher, as an insider researcher, working within whānau and peace circles. Chapter Three: Introduction to Publications and Manuscript provides background information on the three publications and a manuscript. The first three publications are sole authored by the researcher.

Kete Tuarua | Publications on Waitaha and Indigenous Peace Traditions of Aotearoa comprises of four separate, but interconnected tuhika *pieces of writing*. The published material included comprises of one published book chapter, two published journal articles and a manuscript:

- Tuhika I: Te Maihāroa, K. (2015). Kaore Whakaheke Toto Do Not Shed Blood. In Pims, J. and Dhakal, P. (eds.). *Nonkilling Spiritual Traditions, vol. 1*, p.97-109. Centre for Global Nonkilling.
- Tuhika II: Te Maihāroa, K. (2017). Te Ara o Rakimārie, The Pathway of Peaceful Living. *Te Kaharoa, vol. 10.*, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v10i1.151>
- Tuhika III: Te Maihāroa, K. (2017). Retracing Ancestral Footsteps. *Te Kaharoa, vol. 10*, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v10i1.158>
- Tuhika IV: Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively. Unpublished manuscript. Te Maihāroa, K., Devere, H., Solomon, M. and Wharehoka, M.

Kete Tuatoru: Whakakapi | Closure, consists for three chapters. Chapter Four: Discussion Review of Theoretical Base and Research Publications draws the foundation of this thesis within the theoretical positioning, literature, publications and the manuscript. Chapter Five: Conclusion provides a summary of the entire thesis. Chapter Six: References, glossary and Appendices A-I. Appendices: A-I. Appendices A-G, comprise of seven abstracts that represent collaborative research on Indigenous Peace Traditions. These

abstracts are included to signify the commitment of the candidate as an emergent researcher to on-going collaboration research with iwi leaders, Indigenous authors and esteemed academics. The latter two appendices are to do with the University of Otago requirements: Appendix H: Guidelines for the Inclusion of Material from a Research Candidate's Publications in their Thesis and Appendix I: University of Otago Ethics Approval. The thesis is completed with a Bibliography and Glossary.

Te Reo Māori

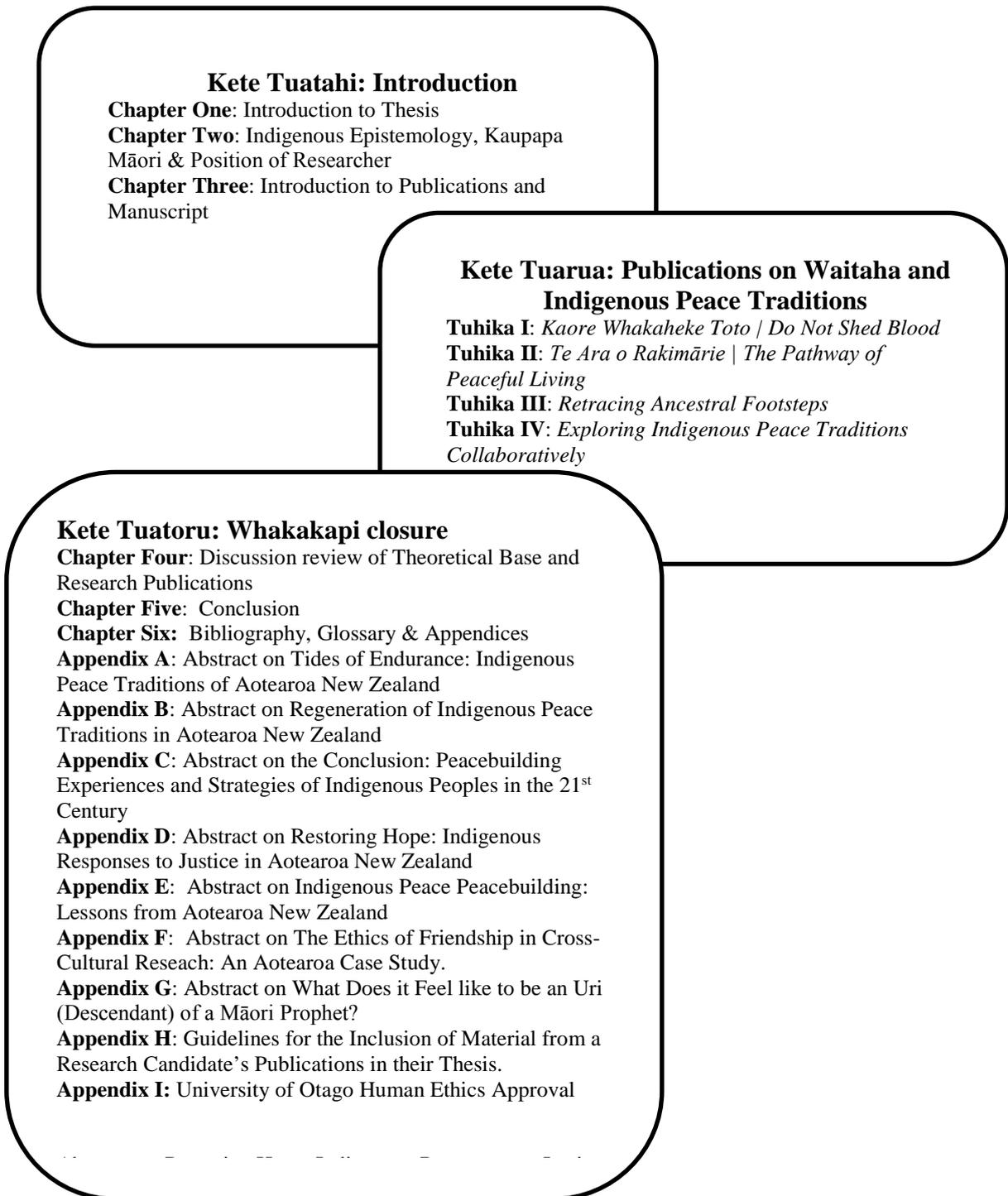
Te Reo Rangatira, te reo Māori is the Indigenous language of Aotearoa and a taoka to be protected and cherished. Te reo Māori is used throughout this thesis, followed by the italicised word in English when initially incorporated. The word will also be in the glossary on pages 352-359. The southern Waitaha dialect is preferred, which may contain words unique to Te Wai Pounamu and the use of 'k' instead of 'ng'. For example, *wānanga tribal knowledge forum* is *wānaka* in the South Island. Moriori and Taranaki dialect is used in *Tuhika IV: Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively*, as the authors use reo-a-rohe, the indigenous language of their rohe. Quotes in te reo Māori have been largely left to maintain the mana of the speaker. The elongated vowel sound is represented with a macron over the letter (Williams, 2004).

Academic Papers

The candidate has completed her doctoral thesis by publishing a series of four interconnected academic papers, three of which have been peer-reviewed through the publication process. The candidate is the sole author for the first three inserted publications, and first author in the collaborative unpublished manuscript. A discussion of the included published material is presented in the introduction and conclusion, with a

short synopsis of each publication highlighted in the brief interconnecting bridging sections. The first three tuhika comprise published material, with the exclusion of material on Waitaha, Te Heke and Te Maihāroa that was previously discussed. The publishers of the first three publications have granted permission to include these within this thesis. A brief outline of this hybrid thesis structure is presented below in Diagram 1: Thesis Structure.

Image 5: Diagram of Thesis Structure



KETE TUATAHI: INTRODUCTIONS



Image 6: Kete Tuatahi | Introductions. Rākaihautū. Brian Flintoff's work depicts Rākaihautū digging out the mountain lakes as he travels through the Southern Alps. Private collection. Mixed media by Brian Flintoff.

Kā Puna Karikari a Rākaihautū

The lakes along the spine of the South Island

Rākaihautū was the first man to consecrate the South Island,
He carved out the great lakes either side of Te Tiriti Moana, the Southern Alps.

Chapter 1: TE TĪMATAKA KŌRERO | INTRODUCTION

Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua My past is my present is my future, I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past.

The above whakataukāi explores the Māori world view of time as an interconnected universal realm which binds the past, present and future into a continuum. The concept of walking backwards into the future with eyes fixed on the past, connects the understanding that key messages are held within the past to carry forward into the future. This whakataukāi links with this thesis topic, as it requires an exploration of the peaceful messages that tīpuna left in the past, through their actions, behaviours, and in the pūrākau narratives handed down to the next generation.

The prologue outlines this hybrid thesis format, the content within the academic papers, and candidate contribution. The aim of this research is to explore the reasons why historically tīpuna chose rakimārie to maintain ahi kā to the whenua and does it hold validity and relevance for whānau today? This thesis is comprised of three interlinked segments: Kete Tuatahi, Kete Tuarua and Kete Tuatoru.

Kete Tuatahi, begins by exploring te ao Māori, Māori world view, which is juxtaposed with comments on colonisation that sets the socio-cultural context for this thesis. This is followed by the introduction of Māori Prophetic Movement as a response to colonisation, along with Indigenous peace traditions, provides a foundation for the thesis focus of rakimārie. This leads on to the research rationale and research question. The theoretical framework of Indigenous epistemology and kaupapa Māori methods, including the loci of an Indigenous researcher working within whānau and peace circles. This is followed by

the thesis hypothesis, which makes links within the wider global framework of national and international Indigenous and passive resistance movements. This chapter concludes by providing a brief overview of the thesis chapters, publications and appendixes.

Kete Tuatahi: Introduction consists of three chapters which provide context for this thesis. Chapter One: Thesis Introduction offers introduction to the importance of te ao Māori and how this informs Māori spirituality. This is followed by the exploration of colonisation and impact on Māori society. An outline of the Māori prophetic movement is then set within international Indigenous peace traditions, adding to the subsequent research rationale and outline. Chapter Two: Indigenous Epistemology, Kaupapa Māori and research methods identifies the theoretical framework of this thesis, which consists of Indigenous epistemology, kaupapa Māori methodology and the kaupapa Māori methods of whanaukataka *building relationships* and pūrākau. This chapter also includes the locus of Indigenous researcher, wairua and the positioning as an insider within whānau and peace circles.

Chapter Three: Introduction to Publications within Thesis provides background information for the ensuing three publications and manuscript.

Kete Tuarua: Publications on Waitaha and Indigenous Peace Traditions Manuscript consists of the three publications and manuscript. The published book chapter, two journal articles and a manuscript included within this thesis, contribute to the national and international literature through highlighting the Indigenous peace traditions within Aotearoa and record “flax roots” case studies of how these peace traditions are being regenerated today. Each tuhika is followed by methodological notes pertinent to the research method undertaken for each project.

Kete Tuatoru: Whakakapi | Closure consists of the three final chapters, the discussion and conclusion. Chapter Four: Discussion review of Theoretical Base and Research Publications, draws together the four publications within the context of Indigenous epistemology and kaupapa Māori methods and how this relates to national and international research. It analyses the similarities and differences between the publications and how they contribute towards the initial research question. This discussion chapter also identifies the strengths and challenges within this hybrid thesis process and highlights some personal reflections. Chapter Five: Conclusion, provides a summation of the the thesis as a whole. Chapter Six: References, glossary and abstracts of papers and presentations that the author has also co-presented on this topic.

1.1 Te Ao Māori

Indigenous cultures across the globe revere Mother Earth and the cultural rituals that honour this symbiotic and sacred relationship. Similar to other Indigenous societies, Māori also have histories that link the creation of time with the universe, Papatūānuku and Māori whakapapa, where each tribe may ascribe their unique and diverse cultural traditions. Henare (2001) skilfully describes the unfolding of the universe as a birthing process, starting with conception, developing potential mental growth, thought, memory and consciousness. “So the whakapapa begins at a cosmological level, through the earth and the sky, through the god-children, through the generations of humans to the present and into the future. So one’s sense of existence is transversal from the beginning when there was nothing” (Williams & Henare, 2009, p. 3).

The beginning of the nothing began with Io Matua Kore whom Māori worshipped as the Supreme Being, the creator of all powerful atua derived from this universal source; “... alone in his majesty, comes Io, he who is termed Io the Parent, Io the Parentless, Io the Great, and Io of the Hidden Face” (Best, 1922, p. 19). Io, the Supreme Being, was one of the foundations of the highest knowledge forms, and was consequently studied within whare wānaka by tohuka. Due to the highly tapu nature of discussing the subject of cosmology, mention of Io, Rakinui Sky Parent, Papatūānuku, their deities and the essence of intelligent life that subsequently derived from them, was reserved for whare wānaka (Best, 1929).

Māori revered Papatūānuku to the highest level, and understood that she deserves the greatest love and respect, as a complex multicellular living organism upon which humanity is dependant (Marsden, 2003). Papatūānuku has been grammatically defined as “rock foundation beyond expanse, the infinite but also as the Land from beyond the veil; or originating from the realm beyond the world of sense-perception, the personified form of whenua – the natural earth” (Marsden, 2003, p. 44). Here, he claims, that we derive sustenance from the life giving forces within and beyond her in the primeval order. There are a number of diverse cosmology histories of how Rāngi, Sky Father and Papa, Earth Mother lived in initial darkness, without the sun, moon, or stars and their numerous offspring that were born as supernatural beings, or atua. Best (1929, p. 66) refers to an early South Island cosmological narrative recorded by White (1879-1890):

A Ngāi Tahu Cosmology

Te Po.

Te Ao.

Te Ao-marama.

Te Ao-turoa.

Kore-te-whiwhia.

Kore-te-rawea.

Kore-te-tamaua.

Kore-te-matua.

Maku = Mahora-nui-atea.

|

Rangai = Papa-tuanuku.

This narrative draws attention to the name of Sky Father as Rangai, more commonly accepted as Ranginui, Rangi for short, or Rakinui in Te Waipounamu cosmology. Raki and Papa had numerous offspring, who are also powerful atua or energetic forces able to be harnessed by Māori for war, peace, magic and other human concerns. The innate mana of each atua could be called upon by tohuka to provide protection and good fortune, or misfortune of others (Best, 1929; Bristowe, 2019; Henare, 2001; Marsden, 2003; Mead, 2003, 2016; Williams & Henare, 2009). Māori personified the atua of natural forces as people and ira atua represents life as a supernatural being and ira tākata / tangata refers to human beings or mortals (Best, 1929). Ira atua can be either external forces of nature or internal forces through mental states of being, which converse with and guide Māori throughout life (Bristowe, 2019).

A belief existed that, though man was not descended from Io, yet a portion of the ira atua abides in man, because the wairua or soul of the first woman was derived from Io; but this belief also was confined to the few—it was not taught to all the people (Best, 1929, p. 160).

Out of the first union came the atua Tāwhirimātea, Tūmatauenga, Haumiatiketike, Rūaumoko and Rongomaraeroa. Rakinui continued to cling to Papatūānuku and doomed their offspring to remain in darkness (Marsden, 2003). One of the children, Tāne, gathered his brothers (except Tāwhirimātea), and devised the notion to separate his parents and thus create light and the heavens. This feat gave Tāne the mana *prestige*, *power* to become atua; thus Takaroa became the atua of the sea, Tū the atua of war, Tāwhiri the atua of meteorology, Rūaumoko the land of earthquakes and volcanoes, and Rongo-maraeroa, the god of crops and vegetation. Tāne reserved two roles for himself in the physical world, the creation earth, forest and bird and of man, subsequently creating the first human being and woman Hineahuone (Marsden, 2003).

The atua of Rongo, also known as Rongomaraeroa, or Rokomaraeroa in Te Waipounamu, is the deity responsible for peace, peace-making ceremonies, agriculture and god of kumara (Best, 1922, 1929). “His functions are said to extend to such manifestations and activities of human sympathy as hospitality, generosity, and all the courtesies of life coming under the head of the expression manaaki tangata” (Best, 1929, p. 177).

Rokomaraeroa is the atua that presides over all cultivated kai, including kūmara, taro, hue, ari and kōrau, and as the processes of agriculture is regarded as tapu, all rituals and tapu states are related to Roko (Best, 1929).

As a consequence of being in alignment with Roko, a state of peace and wellbeing can be achieved. Rangimārie, known in Te Waipounamu as rakimārie, is defined as ‘quiet, peace, peaceful, harmony’ (Moorfield, 2013). For Waitaha, this was simply a natural way of living and being. Rakimārie can be expressed as ‘living peacefully or harmoniously within the natural world and each other’. Rakimārie remains an essential component to

Māori society, as no culture can survive, let alone flourish, if they are continually at war. Within the harsh climatic challenges of Aotearoa, Māori survival rested upon maintaining a harmonious relationship with Papatūānuku, the atua, and tribal structures. This in turn lead to diverse ways of building and maintaining peace, and different ways of dealing with conflict resolution across the three islands that make up Aotearoa.

The opposing energy to Roko is Tūmataunga, the principal atua of war. Tū is the energy of human provocation, aggression and fire in the belly. Although offerings were made to Tūmataunga to pacify his energy, human sacrifice was not a marked feature of Māori beliefs (Best, 1922). The marae also has opposing but also complementary representations of these two atua. The marae ātea is the domain of Tū, where manuhiri are considered tapu, and thus invited to engage within the ritual of pōwhiri, lifting the tapu through rituals to enable them to reach a state of peace. Once they are no longer tapu, they are invited into the domain of Roko, the wharenuī (Hiroa, 1949). This term is further explained in tuhika IV, *Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively*.

Māori spirituality is based on a highly complex, based on an interwoven set of beliefs and customary practices that are ceremonially connected to Roko and the notions of tapu and noa. In the realm of ira takata, tohuka are expert priests, able to communicate with atua and interpret their messages. Tohuka were also accredited with the influence and power of explaining omens and the unseen, or matakite *seers*, and possessed mana atua, the prestige from the atua as their māngai or mouthpiece. As an expression of mana atua, the tohunga could emanate and draw upon the power of any atua, as evidenced through divine powers, second sight, healing, and exorcism.

They controlled the art of agriculture; they performed all ceremonial connected with tapu, with war, peace-making, house-building, canoe-making, fishing, bird snaring, &c. They conserved all knowledge of the past; they were the repositories and teachers of all occult knowledge and tribal lore, religion, and myth. They were the astrologers, not only in connection with astrology, but also as concerning weather conditions, seasons, and the art of navigation (Best, 1929, p. 263).

Marsden (2003) adds that there are three major categories that make up a human being: spiritual, psychological and biological, with the ultimate endeavour of achieving *atuatanga* – divinity. He identified the constant gap between becoming and being: “*Kia eke ki tōna taumata* – that it (we) may attain to the excellence of its being; or authentic existence” (Marsden, 2003, p. 39). The dual attributes of divinity are comprised of *mana authority and power* and *tapu holiness*, spiritual qualities that Marsden (2003) claim Māori aspire to. Biological requirements entail the basic necessities to ensure survival, such as food, shelter and clothing. The spiritual and biological needs can be met individually, but to fully flourish psychologically, humans require kinship:

Psychological security as sense of belonging/sense of safety/ source of approval as prerequisites to self-esteem, identity and dignity are provided by the members of one’s society Thus the psychological values of a culture are viewed as social in nature – sharing, caring, fulfilling one’s obligations to society (Marsden, 2003, p. 39).

One of the cornerstones of Indigenous knowledge for Māori, and other Indigenous nations, is the collective and spiritual wellbeing ahead of people, rather than individual success. In order to achieve this state of collective wellbeing, there are three guiding principles: *kawa*, *tikanga* and *kaupapa* (Bristowe, 2019). He states that *kawa* is the overarching principle and relates to a collective vision or goal that unified *tīpuna*. *Kawa* can relate to the reason why people came together to realise a collective vision. This is

followed by tikanga, which is the practice of the collective beliefs and values which informs behaviour and actions.

Tikaka is related to the guidelines on how people can achieve this vision. Kawa and tikaka are pursued through kaupapa, which is the utilisation of these beliefs for a specific purpose. Kaupapa can relate to what actions need to be undertaken to realise their vision, discussed further as a methodology in Chapter Three. Bristowe (2019) states and wairuatanga is threaded throughout these three processes and provides insights into a deeper feeling or understanding. The Spiral of Traditional Ethics by Henare (2001), illustrates the cosmic threads that link Māori with Papatūānuku, humanity with the environment:

The Spiral of Traditional Ethics (Henare, 2001, p. 214)

- Ethic of wholeness, cosmos (te ao mārama)
- Ethic of life essences, vitalism, reverence for life (mauri)
- Ethic of being and potentiality, the sacred (tapu)
- Ethic of power, authority, and common good (mana)
- Ethic of spiritual power of obligatory reciprocity in relationships with nature (hau)
- Ethic of spirit and spirituality (wairuatanga)
- Ethic of the right way, of the quest for justice (tika)
- Ethic of care and support, reverence for humanity (manaakitanga)
- Ethic of belonging, reverence for the human person (whanaungatanga)
- Ethic of change and tradition (te ao hurihuri)
- Ethic of solidarity (kotahitanga)
- Ethic of guardianship of creation (kaitiakitanga)

Spiritual power is closely aligned with the role of a tohuka. The word tohuka is derived from 'tohu' a sign or manifestation and a tohunga was the fountain of ancient learning and knowledge keeper. Tohuka were chosen by their people or a representative of the atua, and able to manifest the atua powers, perceived as tohu mana *signs of power* within the natural world (Marsden, 2003). Tohuka were the repositories for sacred mātauraka, either derived directly from the atua, giving them the acute ability to interpret signs and celestial gifts from the Universe or handed down to them from other learned tohunga in wānaka (Best, 1929). A tohuka able to serve the tribe and function as a priest, were known as tohuka ahurewa able to ensure the tribe's survival and carry out the spiritual rituals of the atua (Marsden, 2003).

One of the traditional roles of a tohuka was to interpret taoka from the atua. Marsden (2003) states that there is no word in Māori for value, but draws on the phrases manawa-pā and ngākau-pā as potential objects of desire that touch the soul and/or heart. These objects sometimes represented the atua abiding within them and served as a shrine for spirit (Best, 1929). He describes taoka *property, goods, possession*, as a treasure or something precious and cherished, which can be something tangible, but also intangible; material or spiritual. Taoka can therefore be described as cultural manifestations of what people hold dear to their heart, often representing an emotional connection with whānau or tūpuna *ancestors* through whakapapa and wairua. Marsden (2003, p. 38) classifies the value of taonga as:

- Ngā taonga a ngā tupuna – ancestral treasures
- Taonga tuku iho – treasures bequeathed
- Ohaaki a ngā tupuna – guidelines, maxims of the ancestors

1.2 Colonisation

The Enlightenment period (1684-1815) relied on the racist belief that 'white' European people were civilised and therefore innately highly superior when compared to uncivilised people of colour (Jackson, 2017b, 2009). This supercilious mindset categorised Māori as 'cannibals, savages, and a barbaric race', to support the European enlightenment period and ranking of people, totally disregarding the highly complex, dynamic, philosophical and sophisticated pre-European Māori society. This imposed process of inferior classification and colonisation defined Indigenous people across the globe as second-class citizens in their own ancestral lands, tricked by foreign laws and ways that "legitimated the invasions and destructions of their people and cultures" (Devere et al., 2016, p. 177). The inferior classification of Māori as cunning savages and moral superiority of the colonists is illustrated by the following:

We must, however, say in justice to the colonists of these beautiful islands that they may fairly expect something from the mother-country in the way of military protection. They have settled among a race of savages which unites great energy and cunning with the natural qualities of a people who have been only reclaimed from cannibalism within a generation ... We are sure that if the total cost of the New Zealand garrisons for the last twenty years were placed before the English people, they would not grudge the amount when they called to mind that by this outlay they have established their race in one of the finest regions of the globe, and given it a new life in the Southern hemisphere (Harrop, 1937, p.163).

Land alienation was a priority colonial agenda. The Colonial Office documented that the overall effect would be to "enable natives, under certain circumstances, to alienate their lands directly to the European settlers without the necessity of a precedent sale to the Government" (Colonial Office, cited Harrop, 1937, p.164). On the 25th of August, 1862, The Native Lands Bill was put forward for consideration by the House of Representatives.

The simple meaning is that the colonists have got a good thing, and intend to keep it. They alone of all the people of the earth have the privilege of making war at other people's expense ... Our policy in New Zealand towards the natives is comprised in a single word — wait... with a race that is continually decreasing on behalf of a race that is continually increasing. It is easier to grow into the undisturbed sovereignty of New Zealand than to conquer it (The Times, January 19, 1863, p:165, cited Harrop, A., 1937, p. 165).

The ira atua, or spiritual essence of each person was expressed and demonstrated at a deep level, through the care shown for tamariki and kaumātua. Early French explorer, Julien Crozet, described Māori parents as “good mothers and showed affection for their offspring. I have often seen them play with the children, caress them ... The men were also very fond of and kind to their children” (Salmond, 1993, p. 422). French Missionary Jean-Simon Bernard commented in 1844 that “the children here are completely free; the parents never do anything to them. They never beat them and do not allow anyone else to beat them” (Salmond, 1993, p. 422).

Colonisation is derived from the Latin word ‘colere’ which means to inhabit (Latdict Latin Dictionary & Grammar Resources, n.d). The early 1800s colonisation period, was also a time of commercial opportunities for Māori with European whalers and sealers, as trade intensified throughout coastal Aotearoa in the search for oil to be used in machinery and lamps during the industrial revolution. At this time, some tohuka and raketira identified that ‘Te Whenua Rangatira’ or state of peace and tranquillity over the land would be realised through their collective capacity (Levine and Henare, 1994). By 1834, Māori were also trading internationally under their own ‘United Tribes’ flag in New Zealand built ships (Petrie, 2006). During the 1830’s-1840’s, Māori were operating autonomously under the concept of Mana Māori Motuhake, self-reliance and self-determination (Levine & Henare, 1994).

The United Tribes flag established independent economic and political awareness, which was reinforced by Te Whakaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, The Declaration of Independence in 1885 which declared Aotearoa as a “rangatira, given the qualities of a traditional kinship leader” (Levine & Henare, 1994, p. 193). Rangatira has been defined as “chieftain, chieftainess ... qualities of a leaders is a concern for the integrity and prosperity of the people, the land, the language and other cultural treasures” (maoridictionary.co.nz). In doing so, Māori acknowledged the personification of Papatūānuku as a living, breathing Rakatira, evoking thoughts of responsibility to care for her as a sacred gift, bountiful with resources to be treasured and handed down for the prosperity of the following generation. Rakatira qualities, both traditional contemporary, may contain the following: “charisma, true leader, confident, decisive in actions, secure in technical ability, visionary, perceptive, warrior confident in ability and skills (in battle) and in peace” (Marsden, 2001, p. 41).

Māori society was highly organised, from a philosophical level, through to flax roots. As with many emergent British colonies, missionaries also established themselves in Aotearoa, with the Church Missionary Society establishing its first mission in New Zealand in 1814 (1982). Early Christianity was established on the fundamental premise that; “Jesus taught his followers to love their neighbours (including their enemies); he blessed the peacemakers, and promoted non-violence” (Troughton, 2017, p. 12). Formalised settlement soon followed with the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi *Treaty of Waitangi* in 1840 between hapū *sub tribe* and the British Crown (Orange, 2015). Both Treaty partners had expected Te Tiriti would bring a level of peace and security, but instead it opened the floodgates of immigration into Aotearoa, and competition for land. The Treaty of

Waitangi ensured that Māori land sales became a government monopoly under Pākehā control (Sinclair, 1991). Just three decades after the signing of Te Tiriti, a whare was built at Arowhenua in the early 1870s, given a name which reflects the grievances of southern Māori at the time – Te Hapa o Niu Tirenui (Waka, J., 2011). Te Hapa o Niu Tirenui, which means The Broken Promises of New Zealand (Norton & Revington, 2016/2017).



Image 7: Group outside Te Hapa o Niu Tirenui meeting house 1890s. Arowhenua whānau standing in front of Te Hapa o Niu Tirenui. From left, Billy Mihaka, Daisy Mihaka, Scottie Reihana, Frank Fowler, Hemi Pai, Moki Reihana, Jack Leonard, Cope Waaka, Hana Kaitai, Tarawhata Waka. Source: Temuka Museum.

The newly established settler government was determined to assert authority over Māori. Within the ensuing five years, the initial wave of large scale conflict over land sales began, resulting in a series of conflicts named the New Zealand Land Wars (1845-1847 and 1860-1872) which involved the British, Imperial, colonial, and northern Māori tribes (Belich, 1998). Opposing parties consisted of Māori against the British army, and later settler militia and kūpapa *collude, collaborate* Māori forces that collaborated and fought against Māori (Wirihana & Smith, 2014). At the time of these wars, Māori had

survived migration from the tropical Pacific to a less temperate land for over one thousand years (Belich, 1998).

By the Treaty of Waitangi, the Māori had ceded sovereignty to the Crown. Sovereignty was translated as 'kaawananatanga' 'governorship'....The reality, however, had been that they (Māori) had in fact kept the chieftainship, rangatiratanga, of their own lands, which had been promised by the Treaty (Sinclair, 1991, p. 16).

One of the most crippling signposts of Māori nineteenth century society was the decimation of the Māori population, with an estimated loss from 100,000 plus at the beginning of the century to just 42,000 in the 1896 census (Sinclair, 1991). After intermittent fighting over almost three decades, Māori realised that no amount of courageous fighting with taiaha or European muskets, would halt the appetite of European settlers' desire for new land. "The fact is that the government took whatever land it occupied and wanted. It was the most ruthless act in New Zealand's European history, and the source of bitterness to the present day" (Sinclair, 1991, p. 20). For the first time since arriving from the Pacific, Māori as a race, were confronted on multiple domains: invasion, disease, colonial ideologies, alcohol, muskets, raupātū (land confiscation), Christianity, denial and outlawing of tikaka, assimilation, denial of te reo Māori (Pihama, L., et. al, 2017; Pihama, L., et. al, 2015).

The large scale loss of language, culture and land resulted in disruption to traditional Māori society on every level, and severed the links between the spiritual and secular realms (Durie, 1997). Colonisation resulted in a total reorganisation of Māori knowledge codes and ways of being that had sustained the people of Aotearoa for over a millennia (Pihama, 2017, 2015). The establishment of a foreign way of thinking, resulted in Indigenous ways of knowing, thinking and being that disrupted Māori society to the core

(Pihama, 2017, 2015). Jackson (2017b, 2009) argues that the colonial mindset created a warrior image to serve colonial interests and achieve global domination by keeping competing countries away from valuable exotic resources.

The fiction of a stereotyped and characteristic identity was imposed on Indigenous People through the colonial invasions of soldiers, convicts and settlers. The values of European civilisation with its scientific racist theories of a hierarchy of humans were imposed, with Europeans at the top of the 'chain of being' and Indigenous People at the bottom. This process has left Indigenous populations decimated and battling to retain and regain Indigenous cultures, land, language and identities (Synott, 2016, in Devere et. al., 2016, p. 170).

By its very nature, the colonisation of Indigenous peoples has always been an abusive process – if only because the imposition of the colonisers' values and institutions could never be achieved peacefully or with any pretence of good faith. It was always a violent race-based privileging of Pākehā realities, which was only made possible by subordinating those of Māori (Jackson, M., E-Tangata, 2017b). Māori scholars and researchers are acutely aware of the ongoing effects of colonisation on Māori and other Indigenous communities, as a way of acknowledging the disruption to Māori society, and seek to make a difference for Māori communities today (Bishop, 1999, 1996; Jackson, 2017b, 2009; Hokowhitu, 2004; Pihama, 2017, 2015; Tuhiwai Smith, 2008, 2006, 1999). The effects of colonisation are ongoing and continue to cripple Indigenous communities globally, as tribal people continue to navigate the negative effects of colonialism which brought much darkness and hopelessness (Bach, 2000; Brown, 1973; Churchill, 1998; Cox, 1993; Durie, 2005, 2001, 1998, 1997; Evison, 1997; Fanon, 1967; Friere, 1999; 1972; Jackson, 2017a, 2017b, 2009; Lawson-Te Aho, 2014; Memmi, 1965; Matthiessen 1992; Mihesuah, 2003; Orange, 2015; Pihama, 2017, 2015; Tuhiwai Smith, 2006, 1999).

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1995, p. 5) states; “Māori people experience diverse realities and live complicated lives that interact with or are formed out of a set of material, cultural, historical and discursive conditions, understood in its short form as colonisation”.

Although each colonial setting was different, Pihama (2017) highlights the work of Fenbed (2009) which identifies four common phases of how colonisation was inflicted on Indigenous peoples throughout the world:

1. Firstly, through the physical trauma of murder and infectious diseases.
2. The second phase entailed economic violation of Indigenous stewardship of land and forced removal from ancestral lands.
3. Cultural domination is the third phase which imposed Christianisation and outlawed Indigenous belief systems.
4. The fourth phase was social disruptions, displacement of Indigenous Peoples and their tribes’ systems during colonial expansion, resulting in fragmented, damaged families, and destroyed cultural values.



Image 8: Armed Constabulary awaiting orders to advance on Parihaka Pa. Ref: PAI-q-183-19. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

1.3 The Māori Prophetic Movement

The Māori prophet movement was a site of resistance and response to colonisation after the 1830s, which included a period of adjustment movements to the missionaries and settlers, in response to social factors and healing movements. After the New Zealand wars, Māori autonomy remained through resistance and movements that preserved Māoritanga. In *Mana from Heaven*, Elsmore (1989, pp. xvi-xix) notes over a one hundred year period from 1830 – 1920, that there were sixty ‘prophetic’ responses, with 106

significant places for Māori religious movement in the North Island and 11 in the South Island. She further claims that prophecy was such a natural part of Māori life, through tohuka and rakatira, but a change occurred after the 1860s when the new Māori religious movement became considered part of the new religious roles.

Throughout Aotearoa, tohuka did not act in isolation, but were very much a part of the larger tohuka collective trying to reveal Crown tactics to isolate and dispossess Māori from access to cultural practices and whenua (personal communication, Watson, D., 15 November, 2016). Tinorakatirataka was still protected through (1) centres of ‘resistance’ and, (2) centres of ‘collaboration’ (Belich, 1998) and tohuka would have played a major part in this response and future vision. The King Movement, preserved the largest centre of resistance known as the King Country, surveyed in 1884 of 7,000 square miles, almost one-sixth of the North Island, with South Taranaki and Te Urewera district also strong sites of resistance (Belich, 1998).

At this time of upheaval, Māori prophets were sought for inspiration and guidance: “Turning to prophets was a frequent response to the problems posed by colonisation. Ngaa matakite, seers, who could foresee the future and bring messages from the dead ancestors had a traditional role in Māori society” (Sinclair, 1991, p. 44). In 1862 Te Ua Haumene from Taranaki established a new religion called Pai Mārire, with the followers called Hauhau, which referred to the winds as an expression of God. It has been said that Te Ua passed on his mantle to Tāwhiao, who founded a new religion in 1875 called Tāriao, similar to Pai Mārire sect (Sinclair, 1991). Their mana, authority and prestige was in turn passed on to their relatives, Taranaki prophets Te Whiti and Tohu Kākahi. From

Poverty Bay on the East Coast of the North Island, Te Kooti of the Rongowhakaata tribe was arrested on suspicion of being a Hauhau sympathiser and was exiled to Rēkohū, the Chatham Islands without a trial.

There Te Kooti founded a new religion called Ringatū, the Upraised Hand, where he became a prophet and visionary leader (Sinclair, 1991). Unlike Te Ua, Te Kooti and Tāwhiao, Tohu and Te Whiti did not start a new religion, but did continue to preach Te Ua's gospel of peace, although they did not follow the Hauhau worship. In 1879 when the government decided to survey the Taranaki Waimate Plains, Te Whiti and Tohu ordered his men to remove the survey pegs, thus inventing a new form of peaceful protest and assertion of Māori rights (Sinclair, 1991). Tohu and Te Whiti were committed to pacifism, despite the November 5 1881 invasion by government troops of their peaceful pan-tribal village, home to around 2,000 people. Belich (1998) notes that the survival of these autonomous areas achieved several points, (a) they saved Māori lives, (b) there was less decline of the Māori population in these areas, (c) they preserved land that would have been alienated much earlier, (d) a degree of residual autonomy remained.

Despite this resistance, Māori were faced with the now dominant Pākehā worldview: "In the interests of the safety of the settlers, no challenge to European power would be tolerated; the Māori had to adopt the culture of the now dominant people – if this wasn't accepted voluntarily then it must be forced upon them" (Elsmore, 1989, p. 142). Within the context of Te Waipounamu, the smaller numbers of nomadic southern hapū

dispersed within a large land mass, made it easier for settlers to acquire land and resources without direct warfare (Laufigo & Menzies-Culling, 2017).

Colonial settlement was predicted on an assumption derived from the Darwinian theory of 'the survival of the fittest'. Modern thinking as espoused by the Victorian elite was that the Englishman was the ultimate civilised human being – culturally, racially, scientifically, linguistically, technologically and intellectually superior to all others (Laufigo and Menzies-Culling, 2017, p. 40-41).

1.4 Indigenous Peace Traditions and Peacemaking

Indigenous communities value the interconnectedness between the universe, nature, and human beings. The academy of Indigenous peace traditions emerged out of the Western field of conflict resolution some two decades ago, yet there has been little acknowledgment or respect shown towards the journey of Indigenous peoples to reclaim their peace-making processes of the past or their contemporary application (Tuso and Flaherty, 2016). Here Tuso and Flaherty identify three categories of Indigenous groups: 1) original residents of such territory; 2) those who practise their own culture and economic system based on land use; 3) those for whom land is a source of sustenance, and has spiritual meaning (Tuso & Flaherty, 2016, p. 19).

The term Indigenous refers to those communities who, while they may live in the geographic west, are non-Western and have their own culture ... Indigenous processes of peace-making refer to those practices of preventing, resolving, and managing conflict used by Indigenous communities (Tuso & Flaherty, 2016, p. 19).

Unlike the Western theoretical positioning of conflict that emerged in the 1970s, Indigenous societies view disunity and/or disharmony as an imbalance of relationships between human beings and also between nature and humans (Tuso & Flaherty, 2016). This holistic view encompasses a broader perspective on peace-making to involve families and communities, rather than individual grievances. The primary goal of Indigenous

peace-making is to repair relationships that have been damaged and to work towards a shared understanding and resolution, rather than punishing a wrong doer (Tuso & Flaherty, 2016). The Indigenous people and their location are also important considerations:

Terms like Indigenous, customary and traditional are often used interchangeably, but they do not have precisely the same meanings and so must be used with care. Indigenous is essentially a geographical term in that it refers to activities that occur in a particular place. Importantly, Indigenous is not the same as traditional. Indigenous activity can be modern, adaptive and, like all human behaviour, is likely to be involved in constant processes of social negotiation and updating (Tuso & Flaherty, 2016, p. 131).

There are also power imbalances within this discipline, in that realisation of the importance and value of Indigenous peace strategies also has the potential to expose a paradigm shift from Western agendas based on 'conflict resolution' and a self-determining movement towards embracing cultural differences and considering different Indigenous epistemologies. The shift in focus from Westerners having all the 'answers', was further questioned when Fry (2006, p. 57) surveyed 80 peaceful societies and found that " ...the overall conclusion is that humans are clearly capable of creating societies with very little violence and of dealing with conflicts without violence.

The divergence between the Western Euro-centred field of conflict resolution and Indigenous peace-making continues as a side-line issue. The discipline of peace-making must provide an avenue of acknowledgement of respect and support for Indigenous communities who have been marginalised through colonisation and recognition of the centuries of Indigenous peace-making (Walker, 2004). The challenge for Indigenous populations within colonised countries dominated by descendants of the colonial settlers,

is the marginalization of Indigenous interests and cultural traditions (Tuso & Flaherty, 2016).

Western society has continued to neglect Indigenous peace-making customs and practices in an attempt to preserve the status quo in regards to the imposition of a western based legal system on Indigenous communities and to maintain power and control over peace and conflict processes (Abedayo, Benjamin & Lundy, 2014). Tuso & Flaherty (2016) propose the elevation of Indigenous peace-making processes within the mainstream body of knowledge would contribute towards closing this gap, requiring policies and practices to normalise this knowledge. Advancement of Indigenous peace-making histories would also serve contribute to a wider understanding of diverse communities, Indigenous worldviews and unique peace-making processes.

Further to this point, Tuso & Flaherty (2016, p. 545) suggest seven government strategies to promote Indigenous models of peace-making: (1) fund Indigenous peace-making research projects, (2) conduct comparative studies, (3) develop and promote a new set of educative modules via multiple media outlets, (4) write, publish and promote new textbooks focused on Indigenous processes of peace-making, (5) offer programmes throughout all levels of education on Indigenous peacebuilding, (6) create tertiary programmes that focus on learning, teaching, research, dissemination of Indigenous knowledge, including Indigenous methods of peace-making, and (7) global promotion and dissemination.

1.5 Research Rationale

Pōua Te Maihāroa, was raised under the lore of Waitaha, following the Waitaha ariki (high born) line of his mother Kokiro and his father Te Rehe. Te Maihāroa developed his spiritual prowess as a tohuka and held *whare wānaka*, the traditional process of transmitting the ancient knowledge of cosmological purpose and the human place within universal pure energy. The role of Te Maihāroa as tohuka and *poropiti prophet* gave him the responsibility over the safety and wellbeing of his people at a time when the entire central systemisation of their world view, the heartbeat of being Māori was being disrupted. Te Maihāroa whānau carry his belief that we as children of Papatūānuku, are merely *kaitiaki guardians* of our Mother Earth and she cannot be sold (R. Te Maihāroa, personal communication, April 4, 2013; A. Te Maihāroa Dodds, personal communication, April, 16, 2013).

Māori believe that Papatūānuku is a living, breathing organism, incorporating her own functioning web of systems to support and sustain life within symbiotic relationships (Marsden, 2003). Māori are of the *whenua*, born from the womb of the primeval earth mother, and therefore she is sacred and it is unfathomable that one would contemplate selling their mother. Te Maihāroa believed in the sanctity of Papatūānuku and refused to sign Te Tiriti o Waitangi, even though the founding document was circulated at Banks Peninsula, Ōtākou and Ruapuke, all *kāika villages* to which Te Maihāroa had *whakapapa* connections. It is the writer's understanding that Te Tiriti o Waitangi was not taken inland to Te Waiteruati, the *papakāika* of Te Maihāroa and whānau. The effects of colonisation certainly had an effect on this whānau, with the eventual abandonment of *te reo Māori* as the language within the home just two generations after Te Maihāroa

fought so hard to retain mana Māori *Māori prestige*. The stark reality of land loss and dislocation from ancestral whenua resulted in whānau moving from the status of land owners to having to work the land for Pākehā farmers on their own whenua.

Tumuaki: Waitaha Tai Whenua Trust Board, Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds, states that Waitaha welcomed the successive waves of Northern Māori tribes that migrated south, to share the plentiful wealth of resources found on Te Waipounamu. She adds that Waitaha ethic of manaakitaka *hospitality* is also extended to Tau Iwi *non-Māori* over the last two centuries, the offer of peace and harmony remains – “it is our tikaka, our way of being” (Te Maihāroa-Dodds, A., 2017). In many ways, just as Te Maihāroa offered a new beginning for his people in the mid nineteenth century, this kawa and manaaki continues to be shown to all that now share this whenua. This thesis explores the peace-based history of Waitaha, alongside that of Moriori of Rēkohū and People from Parihaka.

The primary motivation for this research was to explore the reasons behind pōua Te Maihāroa and his people leaving their homes to embark on Te Heke in 1877 and why they chose rakimārie as a means to ensure the survival of southern Māori. Anne Sissie Te Maihāroa Dodds has worked tirelessly to pass down tribal history to ensure that future generations maintain ahi kā and capturing these processes through research contributes towards this. From a study perspective, the researcher was interested in what the descendants of Te Heke 1877 thought about their whakapapa connections, the peaceful legacy left behind by their tīpuna, and the importance of whenua. This research aimed to provide four potential outcomes:

- 1) Record and retain intergenerational knowledge held
- 2) Research archival information on Te Maihāroa and southern Māori
- 3) Highlight Māori peace history
- 4) Provide alternative narratives

The research question for this thesis stemmed from a presentation at Puketeraki Marae in 2012, by Moriori Chairperson Maui Solomon and the researcher, on the peace traditions of the Moriori and Waitaha people for National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies. Both of these southern tribes share a history and culture of peaceful living and maintaining whakapapa connections. Maui told the students about the 1835 invasion of Rēkohu by two Northern Māori Taranaki Tribes: Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Mūtunga, and the devastating impact this genocide had on the Moriori people. The isolated island of Rēkohu also played a major role in the life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki (c. 1832-1893), when he was wrongfully sent as a political prisoner without trial to Rēkohu in 1866. It is said that during his imprisonment, Te Kooti further developed his religious beliefs, and received a spiritual revelation that peace was needed to heal Māori communities (Elsmore, 1999; Ministry of Heritage, 2012).

Maui Solomon (2018) states that Te Kooti, and possibly some Taranaki tribal members, subsequently adopted a peaceful way of life as an alternative to fighting the Europeans when they returned to the North Island during the late nineteenth century. Solomon (2018) further proposed that the prophecies of Te Whiti and Tohu in the late 1800's influenced Gandhi's (1869-1948) passive resistance philosophy to call for civil disobedience against British colonial rule in India, with potential further links to Martin Luther King Jr's (1929-1968) advancement of the Civil Rights Movement through non-violent activism in America.

Buchanan (2010, p. footnote 55) notes that a speech made by Parihaka leader Te Miringa Hohaia at the Puke Ariki Museum in 2003, also points towards the link between Gandhi and his commitment to passive resistance after hearing about Parihaka from an Irish delegation. She also highlights an article written by the late Jim Holdom (2009) that states the dedication to non-violence at Parihaka in the nineteenth-century was reported in a British newspaper that Gandhi 'would have read' (2010, p. footnote 56). The Gandhi Foundation have published an online tribute to honour Te Whiti o Rongomai as a forerunner of Gandhi and confirm that Gandhi knew about Te Whiti's philosophy and passive resistance efforts at Parihaka (Buchanan, 2010, p. footnote 57).



Image 9: Children from Parihaka with Taare Waitara, Parihaka Pa. (Ref: 1/1-006430-G. Alexander Turnbull Library. Wellington, New Zealand).

The Waitaha presentation to the students focussed on the founding tipuna Rākaihautū, the ancient peace histories and how pōua Te Maihāroa (?-1886) and his people faced multiple challenges to their entire ways of life: loss of whenua, attacks on their Indigenous ways of life, and cultural and spiritual degradation. The students were introduced to the nineteenth-century Māori Prophet Movement, supported by kaumātua

kōrero about how rakatira and tokuka were responsible for the spiritual needs of their communities and the need to preserve Māori customs and language. As chief of the Waitaha people, Te Maihāroa voiced the concerns of his people over broken government promises and the disagreement over the land from the base of the Southern Alps to the West Coast (Elsmore, 1989). The desire to preserve a return to traditional ways and isolate themselves from colonial contact, was a strategy to “seek affirmation of the moral and spiritual work of a people – this being the identity which is their very being” (Elsmore, 1989, p. xiii). Te Maihāroa advocated that Māori maintained ancestral ownership of this land and traditional hunting grounds, referred to as the “hole in the middle”, the whenua that could not be seen from the coast, the land from the base of the mountains through to the Main Divide.

In response to the Christian missionaries, Māori religious movements were essentially identity movements, in an attempt to reassess and reclaim tribal authority and racial identity (Elsmore, 1989). The prophetic periods ranged from 1830s onwards and each was based on a response to the deteriorating social, cultural and economic conditions facing Māori. Connections between the peaceful Māori village at Te Ao Mārama (known today as Ōmārama, South Island) established by Te Maihāroa and his people in 1877 and the pacifist community at Parihaka pā in the North Island were also discussed (Elsmore, 1989).

As a mokopuna of Te Maihāroa, the researcher set out to explore why Te Maihāroa (amongst other Māori prophets), chose a peaceful pathway to re-assert ahi kā over the British Crown and settlers. The genesis for this thesis derived from this place of ancestral

enquiry. This research explores the strengths, courage, and aspirations that tīpuna faced at a time of unprecedented nationwide challenges, and investigated why and how Māori continued to represent and embody their kawa of peace. It investigates the rationale behind Māori tīpuna choosing peaceful living as a way to assert ancestral land rights at the time of colonisation and examines the validity and relevancy for whānau today:

Research Question: Titiro ki Muri, Kia Whakatika ā Mua, Look to the Past to Proceed to the Future: Why did tīpuna use rakimārie to maintain ahi kā with the whenua during early colonial contact and does it hold validity and relevance for whānau today?

This thesis is premised on the hypothesis that our tīpuna left a legacy of rakimārie to shape and guide whānau today, through their commitment to live peacefully in the shadow of cultural destruction - i taoka tuku ihu *treasure handed down by tīpna*. This research set out to uncover some of the hidden peace histories of Aotearoa and reveal the ways that rakimārie continues to guide whānau today. This work is based on the desire to reclaim First Nations histories of Te Waipounamu and create new stories for future generations. It provides a platform to reclaim whānau, hapū and iwi narratives, as a counter balance of stories that had been told about us and without us. It is also an entry point for the researcher into the Indigenous academic space. The inspiration for this research was the desire from whānau to commemorate 135 years since Te Maihāroa led his people on Te Heke 1877 to reclaim ahi kā in the hinterland through physical occupation of disputed ancestral land. “In Kai Tahu’s view, only such land as could be seen from the coast was included in the sale of 1848” (Mikaere, 1988, p. 68). Māori asserted that the whenua beyond the upper Waitaki remained ancestral land and Te Maihāroa espoused that occupation would assert ownership rights and make a moral

claim for “the hole in the middle of Te Waipounamu” The resting place of Te Heke 1877 was Te Ao Mārama, the World of Light (Cormack, in Orwin, 1997; Mikaere, 1988).

The claimants said that Ngai Tahu did not sell to the Crown as part of Kemp's purchase, any land west of the foothill ranges in an approximate line from Maungatere in the north, to Maungaatua in the south, nor did they sell Kaitorete Spit, or most of Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) and its north-eastern shoreline with the adjoining wetlands. The claimants' argument on boundaries, if upheld, would mean that Ngai Tahu did not sell that land in the South Island from the Canterbury foothills up to the centre line of the alps. This large area of land, during the claim described as the "Hole in the Middle", now contains considerable hydroelectric and drainage works and includes major lakes, rivers and mountains (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991).

At a hui in April 2012, whānau suggested that they wanted to hold an event to honour Pōua Te Maihāroa and Te Heke, whilst also showing concern about the degradation of the water quality of our tīpuna awa, the majestic Waitaki river. Waitaha have held events in the past to raise awareness around environment sustainability and protection. The planning for this event provided the opportunity for whānau and kaumātua to share their kōrero about the past and plan for future generations. Whānau decided on a proactive approach to combine the two kaupapa into a peace walk in honour of following the footsteps of Te Maihāroa and his people 135 years ago, and to raise awareness about the water quality of the Waitaki River.

Chapter 2: INDIGENOUS EPISTEMOLOGY, KAUPAPA MĀORI AND RESEARCH POSITION

Chapter Two: Introduction

This chapter outlines an Indigenous epistemological approach as the basis for Indigenous focused research and methods. It begins with an overview of Indigenous epistemology and how it relates to the metaphysical philosophy of Māori. This is contextualised by the positioning of kaupapa Māori as a localised response within the global Indigenous movement, including the genesis of kaupapa Māori, and its synergies with Indigenous epistemology and research. This is followed by an outline of kaupapa Māori theory, methodology, methods and how these terms are incorporated within this thesis, through the kaupapa methodology of whakawhanaukataka and kaupapa Māori methods of pūrākau and whakapapa. This is followed by the positioning of self as an Indigenous researcher, including the benefits and challenges of insider / outsider and the concept of researching from within circles of wairua, peace circles and whānau, hapū, and Iwi.

2.1 Indigenous Epistemology

Indigenous ontology relates to the study of being Indigenous, where the 'ontology' examines the assumptions, approach to the research and the subsequent unfolding philosophical questions. Indigenous epistemology is concerned with 'how' these questions formulate an understanding of the Indigenous world, knowledge and reality. Indigenous epistemologies form the basis of philosophical, epistemological, political, social and cultural domains of Indigenous people's lives and decolonized research practices (Adebeyo, Benjamin & Lundy, 2014; Denzin, Lincoln & Tuhiwai Smith 2008;

Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Tuso & Flaherty, 2016). Subsequently, Indigenous epistemologies and methodologies have developed out of the anticolonial discourse as an emergent movement by First Nations Peoples including African, African American, Latino, Native Americans, Hawaiian and Māori academics (Denzin et al., 2014; Lopez, 1998; Sandoval, 2000).

Indigenous scholars have long since questioned the notion of how knowledge is produced and socially consumed and asked the academy to decolonize research practices (Battise, 2006, Denzin et al., 2014; Bishop 1999; Smith, 2006). Indigenous academics worldwide continue to critique and challenge the assumption that only Western knowledge is deemed as acceptable legitimate and valid (Absolon & Willet 2005; Brown, L. and Strega, 2005; Little Bear, 2000; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008).

This movement is evident in the emergence and proliferation of Indigenous epistemologies and methodologies (Sandoval, 2000), including the arguments of African American, Chicano, Latina/o, Native American, First Nation, Hawaiian, African, and Māori scholars, among others (Denzin et al., 2014, p. 7).

Within the colonial context, research has been used as a tool to classify and objectify ‘the other’, through the complexities within both quantitative and qualitative approaches (Denzin et al., 2014). Within the academy, Indigenous communities have been subject to being devalued, minimised, misconstrued or ignored (Brown & Strega, 2005). The current methodological counter criticism concentrates on moral and ethical discourses, concerned with critical foci on humanitarian issues such as race, class, gender, democracy and freedom of rights. Research must be beneficial to and work towards the perceived beneficial needs of the research community. These needs are achieved through

committed community engagement and the self-determination or cultural autonomy of that community (Denzin et al., 2014).

The metaphysical ways of Māori being, thinking and doing are based on ancient cultural customary practices inextricably tied to Papatūānuku. The philosophy of this thesis is embedded within Indigenous epistemology, that is, how Indigenous People make sense of the natural world and the subsequent knowledge gained from these experiences. The earliest East Polynesian settlers brought with them in their minds, hearts and rituals, “metaphysical concepts, such as tapu, mana, mauri, hau *vital essence* and wairua, all life and spiritual forces of the cosmos” (Henare, 2001, p. 200). This knowledge is deeply intertwined with humanity’s symbiotic relationship with Mother Earth, the universe and the move towards higher consciousness. The exploitation of the earth has led to a coalition of global political and academic commentators backing Professor Noam Chomsky’s interpretation that sees Indigenous people as the only hope for human survival (Chomsky, 2016). It is therefore important to explore the epistemological links between Earth Mother and Indigenous knowledge systems.

In a state of perfection, Papatūānuku is the foundation on which all life is provided for. Te Ao Hurihuri *ever changing world* recognises that Papatūānuku is a living, breathing, organism, and therefore in a constant state of growth and change as her energy expands or diminishes. Mauri is the life force that maintains her state of being, and is also a principle that relates to the natural world and the people that she sustains. Te Ao Mārama is the world of light, the realm of human beings that are derived from Papa and Raki.

2.2 Introduction to Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori is a theory, a methodology, a method, an approach and a praxis. Kaupapa Māori is a term that emerged from within Māori communities during the 1970s and 1980s as part of the wider global Indigenous people's revitalisation movement. The heightened political consciousness among Māori and the wider revitalisation of Māori communities, led to the call for Māori aspirations and cultural practices to be heard as a stance against the dominant western views (Awatere, 1981; Bishop, O'Sullivan, Berryman, 2010; Bishop, 1996a, 1998; Smith, 1990, Walker, 1989) The shift in mindset towards renewed political and cultural renaissance has been described as "the revitalization of Māori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices as a philosophical and productive educational stance and resistance to the hegemony of the dominant discourse" (Bishop, 1996a, p. 11).

Kaupapa is a derivative of two words, kau refers to "disclose or appear for the first time, to come into view" and papa means the foundation or groundwork (Marsden, 2003, p. 66). The term 'kaupapa' can be interpreted as the structure for how Māori ideas are perceived and practices applied (Mead, 1997). It was first used as a philosophy by Tuki Nepe as a conceptual way of thinking and shaping the genesis of Kura Kaupapa (Smith, 2012). "Kaupapa encapsulates ... ground rules, customs, the right way of doing things" (Taki, 1996, p. 17).

There is a plethora of information and terminology relating to kaupapa Māori and how it has been developed to suit multiple contexts such as Māori focus or theme, Māori approach and Māori designed, developed and delivered, and for Māori by Māori, in

Māori. Whilst kaupapa Māori has been described as the values, beliefs and practices of 'being Māori', Smith (1995, p. 21) conceptualises it as 'a theory of change'. Some of these terms and approaches have synergies, but there are also different interpretations of kaupapa Māori, as a theory, theory of praxis, methodology and methods. Although there is a range of definitions, researchers concur that Māori define and determine what this looks like (Cram & Kennedy, 2010; Glover, 2002; Smith, 1999). Smith (1995) states that the principles of 'being Māori' were couched within the context of legitimacy and validity:

- relates to being Māori;
- connects to Māori philosophy and principles;
- takes for granted the legitimacy and validity of Māori;
- takes for granted the legitimacy and validity of the Māori language, beliefs and practices;
- is concerned with the struggle for Māori autonomy and thus the reclaiming by Māori of both cultural and political space.

Kaupapa Māori principles are premised on: whakapapa, te reo, tikanga and rangatiratanga (Smith, 1996, p. 50). The reinvigoration of concepts such as whanaungatanga, kotahitanga, manaakitanga, reciprocity are cultural elements within kaupapa Māori settings, which also incorporate political elements through the analyses of historical and economic power bases as actions of economic self-determination (Smith, 2012). Reclamation of cultural and political autonomy is at the heart of kaupapa Māori. It is action and analysis, two key elements to achieve radical potential (Smith, 2012).

2.3 Kaupapa Māori Theory

Māori have always been theorists. Māori had an intricate understanding of humanity and operated from a framework of enlightenment seeking (Henare, 2001). Pihama (2001, p. 191) asserts that “Māori have always engaged with our world and constructed theories as part of our own knowledge and ways of understanding our experiences”. Although by no means homogenous Māori began to collectively contextualise Māori world views as part of the Māori renaissance within the world wide movement of Indigenous rights in the 1970’s. This provided a cultural movement that continues to this day, that draws messages, metaphors and discourses from the past into the future as a part of cultural reclamation and repositioning (Walker, 1978).

Kaupapa Māori theorising developed as a system of ideas and general principles to address the loss of Māori human rights and Treaty breaches. Kaupapa Māori theory relates to a) a set of principles upon which kaupapa Māori practices are based and b) ideas drawn upon to account for situations to justify a course of action. The identification of the low levels of Māori educational achievement in the 1980s spurred targeted interventions, including being a part of the Māori renaissance and cultural revitalisation (Reynolds, 2004). During the 1980’s, Tuakana Nepe identified the national and educational te reo Māori crises in his Masters of Arts thesis ‘Te Toi Huarewa Tipuna Kaupapa Māori: An Educational Intervention System’ (Nepe, 1991), and first coined the term ‘kaupapa Māori’. Although Smith (2012) credits Nepe (1991) for the impetus idea of kaupapa Māori, Professor Graham Hinengaro Smith (1997, 1999, 2003, 2012) is credited for the theoretical development of kaupapa Māori as a concept and methodological development. Early in his career, Professor Smith (1991, p. 23) concentrated on reviving

Māori pedagogies and ways of knowing, as represented in his six core guiding principles for Kura Kaupapa Māori:

1. Tino Rangatiratanga | relative autonomy principle
2. Taonga Tuku Iho | cultural aspirations principle
3. Ako Māori | culturally preferred pedagogy principle
4. Ka Piki Ake i Ngā Raruraru o te Kainga | mediation of socio-economic and home difficulties principle
5. Whānau | extended family structure principle
6. Kaupapa | collective vision; philosophy principle

The Indigenous rights movement of the 1960's & 1970's, fuelled the demand by Māori for the Crown to accept their Treaty partnership responsibility uphold the mana of te reo me ōna tikaka Māori. Bishop (1997, 1996a, 1996b, 1994) argued that therefore Māori must be positioned to authenticate and take control of the Māori language and cultural content within the educational system. Smith (2003, p. 2) viewed the shift away from a reactive standpoint towards raising awareness, as creating a mindshift "away from an emphasis on reactive policies to an emphasis on being more proactive; a shift from negative motivation to positive motivation", as a counter to what he termed the politics of distraction.

Kaupapa Māori theory therefore grew as a proactive transformative platform from which to demand social, educational, cultural and political justice. Māori argued that the solutions for this societal crises resided within the Māori culture, to transform their own realities, and were not located within the culture that marginalised Māori (Bishop et. al, 2003; Bishop, 1996a). The relocation of the problem away from a deficit view, re-positioned Māori to identify what issues were pertinent to Māori communities, and that the solutions lay within, to ensure cultural identity and integrity, rather than invisibility (Smith, 1997). Consequently, kaupapa Māori theory has been drawn upon to inform a

wide range of sector and community initiatives and programmes, inform policies, and to unite and motivate communities for change (Bishop, 2005; Mane, 2009; Mead, 1997; Smith, 1999).

As discussed earlier with Nepe (1991) and Smith (2012, 2003, 1999, 1997), the origin of kaupapa Māori as a theoretical framework was a response to the specific crisis of the New Zealand education system underperforming for Māori whānau and their tamariki. Kaupapa Māori theory relies on the assertion that Māori have the solutions to address Māori needs, that the key principles lie within the Māori culture, language and values systems. It supports a Māori world view, affirms Māori identity, and empowers Māori to look for and work towards opportunities and possibilities of change. Kaupapa Māori is a localised form of Indigenous epistemology.

2.4 Kaupapa Māori Theory Synergies with Indigenous Epistemology

Indigenous epistemology intersects the spiritual and physical world, in that it asserts “distinct epistemological and metaphysical foundations back to the creation of Māori cosmology” (Mahuika, 2008, p. 2). Māori hold a conscious awareness of the sacredness of Papatūānuku, bound within the holistic view of cosmic energies and the spiritual world, and providing abundance for human experiences. Māori philosophy is both humanistic and reciprocal, in that Māori are the keepers of both historical and spiritual cosmic knowledge and ecological care (Henare, 2001). The Rev. Māori Marsden (2003, p. 46) draws attention to the symbiotic relationship between Māori and Mother Earth:

- The conscious mind of Mother Earth and our contribution is to enhance and maintain her life support systems
- To treat her with love and reverence as our primeval mother
- That we are not owners or despots over Mother Earth but recipients and therefore stewards.

Māori identify as direct descendants of Mother Earth, not philosophically divorced or separate from the natural world, nature and humanity (Henare, 2001). The importance and sanctity of the relationship between human beings and Mother Earth is shared by Indigenous Peoples. All communication, interpersonal or intrapersonal, thinking patterns and languages shaped social interactions and development of not only humans, but all creation.

Social interactions include relationships with animals, fishes, birds, plants, trees, water, and other people, spirits of those who have died, spirits of all created beings, as well as the Creator spirit and the grandfather and grandmother spirits. Each interaction requires its own set of protocols and practices based on particular history, knowledge, understanding, and experience (Cree, in Denzin, Lincoln & Tuhiwai Smith, 2014, p. 5).

Indigenous cultures commonly share a universal set of principles such as spiritual beliefs of divine origins, a sacred relationship to Mother Earth and her bountiful resources, to be treated with reverence, respect, responsibility and love versus misuse and abuse (Walker, unpublished, in Marsden, 2003, p. 34). Indigenous epistemology and methodologies support Indigenous advancement, guided by ethical considerations and concerns of Indigenous People, including cultural autonomy, and through decolonising approaches (Denzin et. al., 2014).

Indigenous epistemology aligns with kaupapa Māori theory in that both perspectives challenge western paradigms and notions of what constitutes and validates knowledge (Smith, 1999). Similarly to Indigenous epistemology, Māori as the Indigenous peoples of

Aotearoa are empowered to identify, define and determine Māori preferred cultural practices and ways of being (Bishop, 2005, 1996a, 1996b). Indigenous knowledge systems provide more than just a counter perspective of Eurocentric western systems, through methodological processes, they “[reconceptualize] the resilience and self-reliance of Indigenous Peoples, and [underscore] the importance of their own philosophies, heritage, and educational processes” (Battiste, M., and National Working Group on Education, 2002, p. 5).

Bishop (2005, 1997, 1996a, 1996b) identifies the locus of power, and therefore control that reclaims the position of agency and self-determination for Indigenous people in relation to research initiation, legitimacy, benefits, representation and accountability. Research with and for Indigenous people must benefit and serve these communities:

The work must represent Indigenous persons honestly, without distortion or stereotype, and the research should honour Indigenous knowledge, customs, and rituals. It should not be judged in terms of neo-colonial paradigms. Finally, researchers should be accountable to Indigenous persons. They, not Western scholars, should have first access to research findings and control over the distribution of knowledge (Denzin et. al., 2014, p. 6).

2.5 Kaupapa Māori Methodology

Kaupapa Māori methodology is concerned with the development of how kaupapa Māori theory translates into methodological principles and practices. It is the premise and justification for drawing on a particular research method to develop further understandings and implications. Kaupapa Māori research is premised on the concept of reciprocity; in that the knowledge is given as a gift and is to be returned to the people who offered it. The tikaka of researching under a kaupapa Māori approach is that the

research must be conducted in consultation with mana whenua, seek mutual understandings and benefits, involve a level of shared trust and respect the knowledge as a gift, not to be exploited (Carr & McCallum, 2009). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, p. 120) advocates for the following seven core research values:

- Aroha ki te tangata | a respect for people
- Kanohi kitea | the seen face, that is present yourself to people face to face
- Titiro, whakaronga, kōrero | look, listen, speak
- Manaaki ki te tangata | share and host people, be generous
- Kia tūpato | be cautious
- Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata | do not trample over the mana of people
- Kaua e māhaki | do not flaunt your knowledge

Respect for people as if they are your own whānau is an elementary ingredient for wider relationships. Bishop (1997, 1996a, 1996b) developed a research model based on the premise of whakawhanaukataka, and similarly, Graham (2009) explored how whakapapa can form the foundation of research methodology. His investigation showed how whakapapa can be applied by Māori researchers through either a traditional and/or contemporary lens, as an authentic Māori epistemology, reaching into global Indigenous research paradigms.

2.6 Kaupapa Māori Methods

Kaupapa Māori methods refers to a set of, research tools derived from kaupapa Māori research methodology and theory. Kaupapa Māori tools can be applied to both quantitative and qualitative research methods, largely determined by the chosen methodology. Three of Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) kaupapa Māori research values: aroha, kanohi kitea and manaaki (tangata), have also been utilised as Māori research methods to

deploy research and methodology. The methodology of whānau (Bishop, Ladwig, Berryman, 2014; Graham, 2009, Rewi, 2014; Ritchie, 1992) and whanaungatanga (Bishop, 1997, 1996a, 1996b) can also be applied as a kaupapa method. For Māori, sharing Indigenous histories and stories in the form of pakiwaitara *legend, story* and pūrākau (Lee, 2015, 2009) are two additional research tools that can be deployed to achieve kaupapa Māori research aims. All of these kaupapa Māori methods are aligned to the kaupapa Māori movement.

2.6.1 Whanaukataka: A Kaupapa Māori Research Method

The success of a kaupapa Māori approach is bound within the aspirations and realisation of whānau Māori potential. For Māori, whānau represents more than just immediate family. Whakapapa represents the intergenerational layers of whānau that interconnect whānau with tīpuna who have passed over into the afterlife. A principal mechanism of whakapapa is to trace ancestral tribal lineage, functioning as a cultural mechanism that binds Māori to the atua, Papatūānuku and Ranginui (Marsden, 2003).

It is through whakapapa that the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things legitimates a Māori world-view, which is at the heart of Māori knowledge, Māori ways of knowing and Māori ways of acquiring new knowledge (Graham 2009, p. 1).

Whakapapa is the obvious natural extension of self through toto (blood), the hereditary sharing of genomes. But it has been argued that whānau and whakapapa is more than this organic process and includes a feeling of family though shared vision, space, commitment and time. Whānau has been described as both relational and kinship based; through either the connection of whakapapa and/or through a shared heritage or a

commitment to a particular philosophy or kaupapa (Hutchings, et. al., 2012; Metge, 1990, Bishop, 1996). Kaupapa Māori methods create research opportunities aimed at the reinstatement of mana within whānau, as the nucleus of the Māori world. Metge (1990, p. 73) has described whānau as “groupings of people who are not connected by kinship, let alone descent”. The conceptualisation of a metaphoric whānau was developed by Bishop (1996) within the research context to create a whānau of interest.

Definitions of whānau range from traditional views of shared whakapapa to shared collective visions that may hold no biological ties. Increasingly the use of social networking sites challenges the traditional concept of whānau, by creating virtual online communities, thus potentially shifting physical relationships to virtual spaces (O’Carroll, 2013). Tribal relationships were interdependent, where whānau were inextricably linked within the larger whole, bound together through kinships bonds, connections and responsibilities. These relationships can be defined as whanaungatanga. Bishop (1996, p. 215) states that “whanaungatanga literally means relationship by whakapapa, that is blood-linked relationships”. This term has also been defined as “relationship, kinship, sense of family connection – a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging” (*Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori and Index Dictionary*). Put simply, it is the glue that connects people to each other (Ritchie, 1992, p. 1).

This thesis draws on the natural inter-relationships of being Māori and ‘being a whānau’ (Bishop, 1996). As kaupapa Māori is the korowai *ornamented cloak* of this thesis, encompassing theory, methodology and methods, the foundation of whakapapa is

paramount. The researcher adopted the kaupapa Māori research, approach where Māori researchers work within their own Māori communities and Māori world paradigms (Graham, 2009; Hutchings et. al. 2012, 2010; Royal, 1998; Te Rito, 2007a; Te Rito, 2007b; Walsh-Taiapa, 1998). Whanaukataka was adopted as a kaupapa Māori research method in two ways; as a methodological approach and a recruitment method.

1) Whanaukataka: a methodological approach and research method

1a: As a methodological approach

1b: As a recruitment method

As this research relies on the intrinsic value of whānau relationships and whanaukataka as a methodological framework and tool (Bishop, 1997, 1996a, 1996b; Graham, 2009), this work arose from working with and for Waitaha whānui and Te Maihāroa whakapapa. This thesis developed from an oral presentation on Waitaha, and therefore planning, writing and researching for whānau, hapū and iwi have been positioned in the foreground. This whanaukataka approach as a recruitment method was a natural fit for inviting whānau to participate in the research (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Bishop, Ladwig, Berryman, 2014; Cram & Kennedy, 2010; Hutchings, et. al., 2012, 2010; Rewi, 2014).

As Tuhika I, a book chapter, was an historical and future focused piece of writing, the researcher worked with the Ūpoko and Tumuaki of Waitaha as kaitiaki throughout the process. As they are both Waitaha elders and the remaining siblings (at that time), they were the obvious choice to provide input and oversight to this chapter. The elders were actively involved in the formation of key ideas for the historical component and sanctioned the potential future ideas. Tuhika II, consists of an interview with Tumuaki: Waitaha, Mrs Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds. When the opportunity arose through this

research process to record oral histories, Anne volunteered to share her life story. Tuhika III *Retracing Ancestral Footsteps* journal article, drew the largest number of participants, with ten people submitting whānau journals. At the start of Te Heke o Korotuaheka (2012), the researcher introduced the idea of whānau journals and provided each whānau member with a blank journal and the opportunity for them to participate in the research. The participants were also briefed about the aim of the research, participant information sheet and consent form.

In Tuhika IV, the mechanism of whanaukataka played a crucial component in collaborating with other Indigenous authors and supervisor. The development of this collaborative manuscript, developed naturally, as four peace advocates came together to share the histories of three Indigenous peace traditions: Waitaha, Rēkohū, and Parihaka.

Table 1: Thesis Research Participants

	Kaumātua (55 yrs+)	Pakeke (18yrs+)	Tāne (male)	Wāhine (female)	Total
Tuhika I	3		2	1	3
Tuhika II	1			1	1
Tuhika III	5	5	5	5	10
Tuhika IV	3	1	1	3	4
Total	12	6	8	10	18

2.6.2 Pūrākau: Kaupapa Māori Research Method of Sharing Narratives

Sharing stories is part of what it means to be a human being, communicating through languages and gestures to convey what is felt and thought. The sharing of Indigenous stories is an integral part of maintaining ancestral legacies through intergenerational storytelling (Tuso & Flaherty, 2016). The repositioning of First Nations contexts, through Indigenous voices, rebalances the power structures within the research process (Haig-Brown & Archibald, 1996).

People still tell stories. Each with its own protocols, preparation, and purpose. Certain persons tell particular stories at certain times of the year and at certain events for situations. Stories may be for and about teaching, entertainment, praying, personal expression, history and power (Weber-Pillwax, in Denzin, et. al. 2014, p. 9).

Indigenous Storywork, Educating the Heart, Mind, Body and Spirit describes Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiiem's (2008) journey of core Indigenous stories and story researching with elders. She notes that the elders "shared both traditional stories and personal life-experience stories about ways to become a storyteller, cultural ways to share stories with children and adults, and ways to help people think, feel, and 'be' through the power of stories" (Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiiem, 2008, preface). There are seven key components to working within the context of First Nations storywork: respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness and synergy. These elements contribute to the fullness of peoples stories: "They are to be listened to, remembered, thought about, meditated on. Stories are not frivolous or meaningless; no one tells a story without intent or purpose" (Weber-Pillwax, in Denzin, et. al., 2014, p. 9).

Indigenous worldviews transmit certain crucial features. Zaharia and Krahn (2016) identified five key components to oral traditions, storytelling, Indigenous cultures, interconnected relationship between the storyteller and the listener. Through the sharing of oral traditions together they (1) locate themselves in the broader community, (2) facilitate dialogue that builds relationships, (3) transmit knowledge, (4) address collective trauma and (5) create spaces for creative problem solving and action (Zaharia and Krahn, in Tusó & Flaherty, 2016, p. 435). In regards to peacebuilding, components of the oral traditions may vary depending on the audience. Zaharia & Krahn (2016) have also identified four different peacemaker audiences: (1) members of the peace-making body to clarify points of view and the direction of the discussion, (2) the aggrieved party where storytelling is a vehicle for consolidation and mechanism to work towards an apology, (3), to convince the accused party to reveal the whole truth, (4), wider peace-making community, particularly in reconciliation ceremonies (Tusó & Flaherty, 2016, p. 518).

Storytelling is a way to connect with others, but it is also a means to reconnect, reclaim and regenerate Indigenous ways of being. Indigenous scholars are drawing on narratives as a way to decolonise histories through Indigenous storytelling (Zaharia & Krahn, 2016; Lee, 2006). “The stories are a source of cultural history that connects cultural traditions, worldviews, and ideas about a people” (Dunbar, 2014, p. 39). The process of writing, developing and sharing Indigenous narratives may be perceived by Western theoretical knowledge systems as challenging, and therefore difficult to define, box and label. The reclamation of Indigenous stories shared by the people to whom the histories belong, are repositionings of Indigenous voices as authentic stories and the Indigenous Peoples as

the holders of ancient knowledge and their histories. It also provides the opportunity for Indigenous People to generate, create and transmit traditional and new knowledge for future generations (McGuire, 2010).

To write personal narratives involves the work of reflection and telling. This work produces visible, often painful moments. It is both a historical and political process that places people of colour in control of their story. Stories often trace the path/history of the person telling the story (Dunbar, 2014, p. 33).

Unlike other ancient cultures, Henare (2001) points out there was no founding prophet for Māori, although Māori relied on oral accounts and spiritual preparation to explore Te Moananui a Kiwi, the Pacific Ocean. The founding tīpuna also carried on the oral traditions from Pacific homelands through the naming of sacred sites, places and ceremonial cultural rituals. Over the ensuing centuries, Indigenous philosophies developed and adapted into Māori oral literature in “different forms of literary art, such as proverbs, poetic allusions, metaphor, epics and songs to name but a few. These were handed down from one generation to another in which wise sages embodied the results of their experiences and judicious observations” (Sir James Henare, 1987, p. foreword). As well as stories, they are histories, and therefore should be treated with the utmost respect (Te Maihāroa, R., 2013).

The survival of Māori as a people and culture, depended upon the reliable passing on of knowledge between adults and through intergenerational transmission to the next generation. One of the ways that mātauraka Māori was communicated in storytelling was through pūrākau. Pūrākau or storytelling, is a traditional form of Māori narrative as it contains ‘...philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes and world views that are fundamental to our identity as Māori’ (Lee, 2009, p. 1). Many Indigenous

histories, pūrākau, stories, tales and events, have been either historically disregarded, completely ignored or told through a colonial lens (Lee, 2012). Lee (2009, p. 2) argues that “reclaiming story-telling and retelling our traditional stories is to engage in one form of decolonisation”, therefore positioning pūrākau as an academic tool to critically challenge dominant colonial discourses.

Myth and legend in the Māori cultural context are neither fables embodying primitive faith in the supernatural, nor marvellous fireside stories of ancient times. They were deliberate constructs employed by the ancient seers and sages to encapsulate and condense into easily assimilable forms their view of the World, of ultimate reality and the relationship between the Creator, the universe and man (Marsden, 2003, p. 177).

As pūrākau are derived from te ao Māori and te ao tāwhito (ancient times), they affirm the ancient way of handing down oral traditions. By adopting an Indigenous research method such as pūrākau, it privileges Indigenous storytelling as a culturally appropriate, responsive and engaging research method when working with Māori whānau. It also serves as a decolonial research tool, in that it places the narrator at the centre of their story and universal truth. Pūrākau was woven within this thesis in four ways: oral kōrero, written whānau journals and a collaborative Indigenous peace traditions.

Pūrākau: Indigenous Sharing Stories Method

- 2a: In whānau kōrero through oral interviews as chats
- 2b: In whānau journals
- 2c. In collective Iwi histories

As previously discussed above, Tuhika I, draws on the traditional research methods of books and article, but also offers a pūrākau that was primarily written by the researcher, with oversight provided by kaumātua. A collective focus was necessary to ensure that the chapter accurately represented not only the historical research undertaken by others,

but also kaumātua and whānau perspectives, especially when creating a future vision. Tuhika II, is a video recorded oral interview with kaumātua Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds. The opportunity to undertake “interviews as a chat” (Bishop, 1995) at her home, was chosen as the most natural fit in the comfort of her own home. The transcription of this video recording subsequently revealed Anne’s life story as unfolding chapters of her life events. Although this information did include some of her earliest recollections, this journal article focuses on the cultural, social and political elements of her life over the last twenty five years.

Tuhika III, consists of a journal article that retraces ancestral footsteps through the compilation of whānau journals. The pūrākau were created by research participants as they undertook the commemorative journey of Te Heke ki Korotuaheka (2012). Each adult was provided with a blank whānau journal (including the information sheet and consent form). The ten whānau journals received were anonymised and then ordered into the five days of Te Heke, which formed a larger collective ‘pūrākau’.

Tuhika IV is a composition of three peace traditions from across Aotearoa, as shared by four academics, including three tribal leaders. It is based on pūrākau drawn together under the kaupapa of Indigenous peace traditions. The collective method of Indigenous authors sharing ‘their’ histories and stories, created an opportunity to share histories often told by others for another. Unlike the three previous pūrākau which were largely researched and written as an ‘insider Indigenous researcher’, the composition of these three Indigenous was compiled into a manuscript by a Pākehā academic. The result is a

unique pūrākau, that is developed from the whenua and people that developed, lived, and live these Indigenous peace traditions.

2.7 Inside Indigenous Research: Kaupapa Māori

Despite being one of the most researched peoples in the world relative to the population size, the benefits of this scrutiny has failed to serve Māori, who continue to be over represented at the bottom of most socio-economic statistics in Aotearoa (Smith, 1999). As a colonised nation, working within these dominant parameters can be challenging. Tuhiwai Smith (1999, p. 1) states that “kaupapa Māori is the development of ‘insider’ methodologies that incorporate a critique of research and ways for carrying out research for Māori, with Māori and by Māori”. She adds that when Māori researchers adopt kaupapa Māori methodology working ‘with’, ‘for’ and ‘as’ Māori, it encompasses a multi-layered and multi-dimensional approach (Tuhiwai Smith, 2006, p. 5). Irwin (1994, p. 27) cautions that the process is also “culturally safe; that involves the mentorship of elders; that is culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigour of research; and that is undertaken by a Māori researcher, not a researcher who happens to be Māori”.

Ethical processes require researchers to provide a more culturally responsive approach, which needs an investment in quality time with people, or else risk perpetuating the dominant discourse of just taking from Indigenous communities (Berryman, 2014).

Archibald Q’um Q’um Xiiem (2008) shared a precautionary gap in the process of searching for culturally appropriate Indigenous research methods and how this fits within the colonial context and her own methods and motives. She developed a deeper understanding of trying to decolonize her mind by re-visiting the elders to ensure that her

research would benefit the wellbeing of Indigenous peoples and their communities, address Indigenous intellectual property and check in that her work was different from earlier 'outsider' academics (Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiem, 2008, p. 36).

Within these spaces of cultural ambiguity, Indigenous researchers face navigating the delicate intricacies of differing worldviews, degrees of 'native' blood, physical appearance, language, cultural values and tribal traditions (Mihesuah, 2003). The first stage of empowerment begins with being comfortable with one's own identity, which Mihesuah (2003) notes can be a difficult journey for Native women as they begin to explore their tribal knowledge in an effort to improve tribal advancement. The journey in and through Indigenous research often correlates with an unexpected journey into self-discovery, to (re)search 'who am I' and 'from whom do I come?' Indigenous researchers may encounter a sub-set of 'insider' undercurrents that require courage, strength and determination to resolve (Bishop 1995, 1998; McIntosh, 2006; Mihesuah, 2003; Rewi, 2014, Tuhiwai Smith, 2005; 1999; Webber, 2009).

Māori researchers face the delicate considerations of whakapapa, identity, language, culture, and spirituality. Webber (2009) discusses the challenge and ongoing tensions between her identity as a Māori researcher and subsequent 'multiple selves'. She claims 'being Māori' is not the totality of her identity, but sits alongside her cultural, political, social and academic self: "I question claims that authenticity is derived from specific, static qualities which one must have in order to be a real Māori.... what it means to be described as real, as well as who has the right to define authenticity or realness" (Webber, 2009, p. 5). Rewi (2014) takes a pragmatic approach to the insider-outsider relationship, reflecting on how she considers that she is moving fluidly between these

positions during her doctoral research with whānau. The process of reaching an equitable solution to Indigenous identity can only be answered by that individual and on a case-by-case basis when they have come to a satisfactory conclusion as to who they are, who they represent and what they stand for (Mihesuah, 2003).

2.7.1 Indigenous Researcher Within Wairua

As described above, there are multiple layers of self-questioning and judgement that surface for Indigenous researchers. Awareness of and respect for cultural and spiritual needs and guidance when undertaking research with and for Indigenous people is a fundamental ingredient for these relationships. Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiiem (2008) discusses her learning experience of working with an Elder who carried out the cultural responsibilities, and then she, in turn, became a teacher of these rituals herself. She adds that taking this time supports a respectful atmosphere and creates a time of connection, to self and others. The importance of acknowledging and attending to spiritual needs is important for Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiiem (2008), who now begins her work with prayer. Leilani Holmes (2000) describes a story that was shared with her by an Hawaiian elder

Knowledge is passed to others in the context of relationships and deep feelings of connection. I have described this as heart knowledge. Knowledge also passes through the generations; thus, Hawaiians are united with the kupuna (Elders) of generations past. I have called this knowledge blood memory (Chief Khot-La-Cha, 2000, p. 46).

Heart knowledge, spiritual heart positioning and spirituality, are additional intricate layers of complexity that are not often discussed or easily identified. Ethics, morals and a respectful level of spiritual awareness and understanding is important when working in a kaupapa Māori setting or with whānau Māori. Hon. Tariana Turia drew attention to a similar point: “spirituality lies at the heart of Kaupapa Māori” (Ratima, 2008, p. 2).

Likewise, Charles Royal calls for Māori to address “our own spirituality in a Māori way” (Royal, 1998, p. 1), whilst also cautioning that academia can be a difficult pathway to navigate in the absence of metaphysical understanding.

2.7.2 Indigenous Researcher Within the Emic Insider Location

The ethical advantages and challenges of insider-outsider research relationships has been widely debated (Bishop, 1996; 1998; Berryman et. al., 2014; Court & Abbas, 2013; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; Rewi, 2014; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Webber, 2009; Williams, 2010). Court and Abbas (2013) analysed the various influences involved in insider-outsider research, and concur that writing, research, data and dissemination becomes both the participant’s and the interviewer’s ‘story’ due to the very nature that the researcher’s background. They further claim that every aspect of the research process is stained by the researcher, from the research questions, the conduct of data collection through to the analysis, whilst also trying to discover the participants’ voices. Here they argue that the closer an ‘insider’ is to the subjects of the research, the more extra attention may need to be paid to the ‘insider’s’ lens analysis, where the balance may lean towards the participants’ views versus an impartial perspective.

This research is undertaken from the position of a First Nations Waitaha woman writing from a whānau perspective and ‘within’ Indigenous peace circles. The term ‘within’ is adopted rather than an ‘insider’ position, as it could be perceived as presumptuous to assume that a researcher is considered an ‘insider’ by that cohort, based solely on the research / participant relationship (Rewi, 2014). Therefore, the preferred term used in this thesis is ‘within’ rather than assuming that the researcher is an ‘insider’. In the

‘Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively’ manuscript, an ‘insider’ perspective is expanded to being an ‘insider’ within three Indigenous peace traditions and in a collegial relationship with my supervisor as an ‘outsider’ to these traditions, due to her English whakapapa. The locality of the collaborative research team is further discussed in Tuhika IV, drawing on Williams’ (2010) blended model of ‘emic’ insider, ‘etic’ outsider and arriving at the position of an ‘etmic’ standpoint.

2.7.3 Indigenous Researcher Within Whānau

As discussed previously within this thesis, the motivation for this piece of research is developed from within whakapapa connections, therefore it is grounded within an insider or emic viewpoint. The opportunity to create and share whānau pūrākau with and on behalf of whānau, is one way of leaving messages for mokopuna (and others if interested) to come. The researcher was supported to write from an ‘insider’ perspective, after being asked to sit with kaumātua to hear their pūrākau and collaboratively create new ones, because life and culture is dynamic. It is also important to point out that this position is a marginalised voice, with one thousand identified Waitaha ki Te Waipounamu tribal members (Statistics New Zealand, 2013) and very few kaumātua left to speak out about issues pertaining to this ancient Te Waipounamu Iwi. Despite these challenges, the record of documenting and gathering information and images is important to Waitaha whānau, in an attempt to maintain the kaupapa of peace and harmony with Papatūānuku, each other and ourselves. Indigenous people from throughout the world have messages of peace and hope to share with humanity. Whakapapa is the authentic position from which to engage ‘with, for and on behalf’ of whānau (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Cram & Kennedy, 2010; Graham 2009; Henwood et.

al., 2010; Hutchings, et. al., 2010, 2012; Royal, 1998; Te Rito, 2007a, 2007b; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Walsh-Taiapa, 1998).

It is timely that Waitaha ki Te Waipounamu share these histories, pūrākau and storytelling from their own perspectives, rather than be discussed and written about by others. Therefore, as an insider, an essential component to this research is that it will make a useful contribution to Waitaha and Māori. Māori research is of little or no value, unless it benefits the participants and contributes to the mauri of whānau, Iwi and Māori community, making a positive contribution towards Māori lives and positively influencing wellbeing (Bishop, 1996; Royal, 1998). As an 'insider Indigenous researcher', there is a moral obligation to ensure that the research is beneficial to your people (Bishop 1996; Menzies, Archibald, Smith, 2004; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Wirihana & Smith, 2013).

For Indigenous and other marginalized communities, research ethics is, at a very basic level, about establishing, maintaining, nurturing reciprocal and respectful relationships, not just among people as individuals, but with people as collectives, as members of communities and with humans who live in and other entities in the environment (Tuhiwai Smith, 2006, p. 10).

2.7.4 Indigenous Researcher Within Indigenous Peace Circles

The researcher is also positioned as an 'insider' working within Indigenous peace circles within Aotearoa and Asia Pacific, including international peace circles. The relationships with Indigenous peace keepers in Aotearoa, are built on mutual friendships, respect and the shared understanding of 'working for the kaupapa', sharing similar philosophical understandings and concerns (Bishop, 1996; Hutchings et. al., 2012; Rewi, 2014; Smith, 2003). Throughout the course of this thesis, the researcher has developed a close friendship with her supervisor Dr Heather Devere, who has worked tirelessly to raise

awareness of the peace traditions of Māori and Moriori people at the National Centre of Peace and Conflict Studies in Dunedin. This relationship has greatly contributed to the researcher's opportunities, such as being peer nominated to join the Executive Committee for the International Peace Research Association and Asia Pacific Peace Research Association. Both of these international opportunities enable the researcher to share some of the Indigenous peace traditions of Aotearoa at an international level, and potentially expand the spheres of knowledge and understanding of grass roots peace-making in Aotearoa.

Working within Indigenous peace circles with Maui Solomon, Maata Wharehoka and Dr Heather Devere has also provided the researcher with an opportunity to visit Rēkohu and Parihaka, and to experience on a daily basis what peacebuilding looks and feels like in each rohe. The final year of writing this thesis was completed under Koro Taranaki, in close companionship with friends at Parihaka and newly formed whānau relationships with Taranaki and Te Ātiawa iwi. The relationship between the researcher and whakapapa connections with Moriori and Taranaki whānau, help complete this 'emic' insider position. The friendships with Hon. Mahara Okeroa and Aunty Maata Wharehoka (Parihaka) and Maui Solomon (Moriori) are not random events, but relationships connected through whakapapa and wairua that were waiting for the right moment in time to complete this kōrero.

Chapter 3: INTRODUCTION TO PUBLICATIONS AND MANUSCRIPT

This section provides background information to the three publications and the manuscript within this thesis. All four of these pieces of writing follow a kaupapa Māori rakahau approach which focusses on the realisation of Māori potential. Each of these publications offers an insight into the importance of rakimārie living, in traditional and contemporary contexts within Aotearoa.

3.1 Tuhika I: Kaore Whakaheke Toto | Do Not Shed Blood (2015)

Author: Kelli Te Maihāroa

The first tuhika is 'Kaore Whakaheke Toto | Do Not Shed Blood', a book chapter composed for an international book on Global Nonkilling. This opportunity became available through doctoral supervision by Dr Devere in 2013. It is through this student / supervisor relationship that the door to international academic peace circles opened, which resulted in us travelling together for the International Peace Research Association Conference 2014 in Turkey. Whilst researching the archival material at the Hocken library, some of the names of tīpuna on Te Heke were identified, along with the discovery of two photos associated with Te Heke ki Te Ao Mārama (see Image 9 below and image 29 on page **160**).



Image 10: Te Heke (the Migration) to Omarama. 1878. Photographer not specified. Hocken Library. Asset ID: 22771

The archives revealed an interview with the son of Te Maihāroa, Taare Te Maihāroa, who recalled the pivotal moment between Te Maihāroa and the Crown militia who were sent to evict him and his people from their ancestral land spiritual sanctuary at Te Ao Mārama. When confronted by arms, Te Maihāroa instructed his men “*kaore whakaheke toto, do not shed blood*” and thus ensured that potential bloodshed was prevented (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945, E-21, p. 11). The phrase “*kaore whakaheke toto*” became the title to the 2015 publication, which provides background information on the historical context of relationships between southern Māori and the Crown, focusing on the role of Te Maihāroa in leading his people on the migration of Te Heke (1877-79) and their ancestral occupational at Te Ao Mārama.

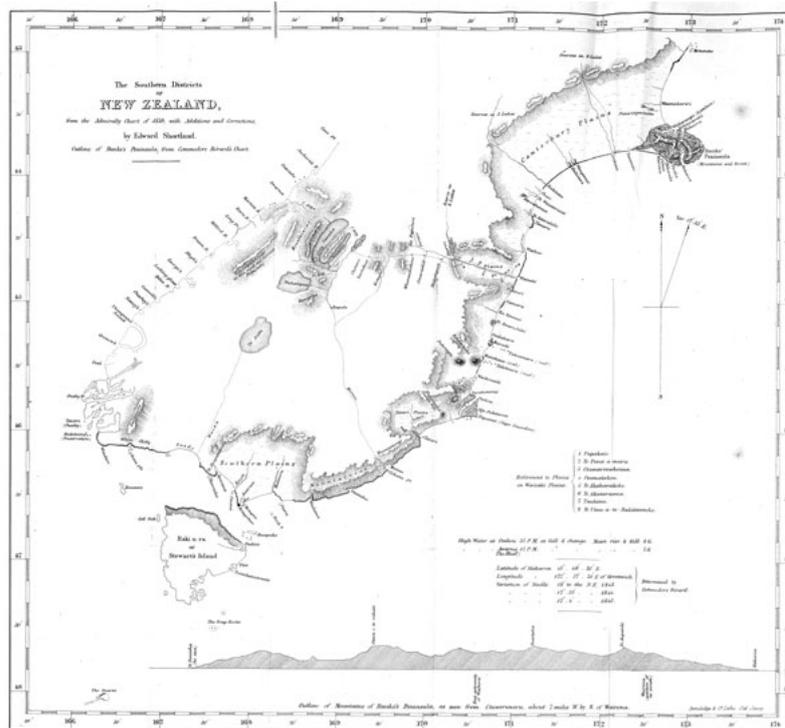


Image 11: The Southern Districts of NEW ZEALAND from the Admiralty Chart of 1838. With Additions and Corrections, by Edward Shortland. Outline of Bank's Peninsula, from Commodore Berard's Chart. (Shortland, 1851).

The second half of this chapter provides a space to consider the impact of non-killing spiritual traditions, and potential messages that Waitaha offer to share with the wider world as healing pathways in this contemporary world. When considering this history and possibilities for the future, the researcher reflected over the last thirty years since *Te Maihāroa and the Promised Land* (Mikaere, 1988) was published. This book identified Te Maihāroa as descending from Kokiro, his mother's ariki Waitaha bloodlines and his father Te Rehe.

This book had also caused a rift within Te Maihāroa whānau about sources of information, and more significantly, the claim on the back of the book that Te Maihāroa was a Kāi Tahu prophet, which contradicts the author's acknowledgement in the book that Te Maihāroa followed the ancient teachings from his mother's Waitaha lineage.

Transgression around whakapapa is taken very seriously, with Te Maihāroa whānau

concerned that this misrepresentation would be repeated and render Waitaha history invisible. The researcher has been raised within this socio-political context, the 'Māori renaissance' era of 1980-2000, which also included the highly contentious political landscape of Treaty negotiations, settlements and establishment of post Treaty settlement organisations.

3.2 Tuhika II: Te Ara o Rakimārie, the Pathway of Peaceful Living (2017).

Author: Kelli Te Maihāroa.

The second tuhika, 'Te Ara o Rakimārie, the Pathway of Peaceful Living', developed from a kaumātua "interview as chat" with my Aunt, Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds. As our Waitaha matriarch, Anne was invited to share her thoughts around the research topic on rakimārie, tīpuna and connections for whānau today. Although this piece of work was initially intended to form part of a broader kaumātua chapter, the researcher felt that information gleaned recorded an important piece of history that formed a stand-alone article. Anne chose to have a close personal friend sit with her, and the recording captured this informal conversation between friends. She started by sharing her personal life story, of growing up in the rohe *boundary* where our tipuna Rākaihatū reunited with his son Rakihouia at the mouth of the Waihao River. Her pūrākau recalled the many cultural activities and events that she and her brothers led, both within the Māori and wider North Otago community.



Image 12: 1927 Morven whānau commemorating 50 years since Te Heke 1877.

After the discovery of the two Te Heke ki Ōmārama photos, a whānau photo also surfaced, with kaumātua saying that it was a photo taken of Morven whānau in 1927 to commemorate 50 years since Te Heke 1877. Anne absolutely loved seeing these photos which show two children of Te Maihāroa: Taare and Tiriata. Tiriata Te Maihāroa is in the middle of the photo with a checked blanket and scarf and Taare Te Maihāroa is sitting, wearing a hat on the far left of the photo. Anne's parents, Whakaririka Te Maihāroa and Titikerikeri Gregory are also present in the back row. Titikerikeri is the second woman from the left standing with a white headscarf and dark coat. Whakaririka Te Maihāroa is also in the back row standing, fourth from the right wearing a white shirt and dark coat. The people on Te Heke came from the southern most parts of Te Waipounamu, from Bluff and outlying islands, through to northern Marlborough, and some from the North Island. Some of the known tribal affiliations of whānau on Te Heke represented Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe, Ngāi Tahu, Te Ātiawa and Rārua.

Further research at the Hocken Library uncovered some whānau names of those that accompanied Te Maihāroa on Te Heke, with many of these descendants remaining whānau friends to this day. Identifying tīpuna on Te Heke in 1877 forms part of the

whakapapa connections between myself, my whānau whānui, hapū and iwi to whom I belong. The search for an understanding of who you are, who you descend from, and your purpose of life on earth at this time, space and place are the big questions asked by many. But these questions about connection and belonging are especially poignant for Indigenous communities that have had been dislocated from their entire way of life disrupted and traditional knowledge systems through colonisation.

This publication aimed to preserve knowledge from the past for future generations, in an effort to protect the lessons learnt and intergenerational messages of those who went before us. For Māori, reclamation of whānau, hapū and iwi pūrākau, alongside recorded histories, informs the culturally important question of *'ko wai au, nō hea au,' who am I, from whom do I descend?* As part of this thesis, it was important to document the peace building efforts of Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds, and also capture her work on environmental sustainability and revitalisation of Waitahataka. Through sharing the actions of flax-roots whānau, other communities may be inspired to mobilise and be a committed 'voice' for their communities.

3.3 Tuhika III: Retracing Ancestral Footsteps (2017).

Author: Kelli Te Maihāroa

The third tuhika: 'Retracing Ancestral Footsteps' is based on whānau experiences following the ancient trails through the Waitaki Valley and links with previous texts. It links with 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively', as the planning for Te Heke 2012 was underway when I met Maui Solomon, Maata Wharehoka and Dr Heather Devere. The 'Kaore Whakaheke Toto' article was focussed on gathering information about the original Te Heke (1877-79) and highlighted the efforts of Anne Te Maihāroa

Dodds completing 25 years of peace building. This publication also documents participants' experiences on Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012 through pūrākau presented as whānau journals, capturing a 135 kilometre hīkoi *walk* to commemorate 135 years since Te Heke 1877. Inspired by the three above photos discovered within the first six months of this study, the researcher wanted to know:

- a) What prompted Te Maihāroa and his people to pack up all of their belongings and migrate into the hinterlands on Te Heke, and,
- b) Who were the people on Te Heke and did their tīpuna impact on their way of life today?

As previously discussed in the research rationale, the conception for this thesis and researching information about Te Maihāroa and Te Heke derived from a whānau hui in April 2012. Te Maihāroa whānau discussed their desire to undertake a hīkoi to commemorate the 135 years since the original Te Heke left Te Umu Kaha (known today as Temuka) on the 11th of August 1877. Te Heke literally means 'the migration'. The 2012 heke was gifted the name Te Heke Ōmāramataka by kaumātua Rua Pick and Peter Ruka, along with the following explanation of the name Ōmāramataka:

In our lifetimes we are gifted with the meeting of and the making friendships along our life's pathway. Sometimes we remember the people we meet from our memories, or MA HA RA TA NGA, these wonderful sounds when put together to form the word maharatanga, is the ancient sound from another Nation, in another time that means, the dream time, the memory time, the time of many suns shining (Pick, R., personal communication, July 7, 2016).

There were several important reasons to record kōrero, pūrākau and history from whānau and kaumātua about Pōua Te Maihāroa, Te Heke and Waitaha. It was the wish of tāua Aunty Sissie Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds to gather more research on Pōua Te Maihāroa and whānau on the peace march of 1877, so that we were more fully informed

as a whānau. It was envisioned that this information could help to build the intergenerational bridge between the history of our tīpuna, the principles that they stood for, and the younger generations, so that they are cognisant of the ideologies and ethics that guided our tīpuna. It was important to record the experiences of whānau and kaumatua on Te Heke Ōmāramataka (Figure 3), to record the understandings, perceptions, experiences and insights of this journey to leave messages for the mokopuna of the future. Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012 followed the trails from the mouth of the Waitaki up to Ōmārama. This event was followed by Te Heke ki Korotuaheka 2016, when whānau followed the trails from the mountains back down to the ancient urupā of Korotuaheka.



Image 13: Te Heke ki Korotuaheka 2016 (personal whānau collection).

3.4 Tuhika IV: Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively.

Authors: Te Maihāroa, Devere, Solomon, and Wharehoka.

The researcher first met Maui Solomon, barrister and Chairperson of Hokotehi Trust, at a whānau celebration in 2011. Here we identified shared whakapapa from Arowhenua marae, as his Uncle Peter Piepeta (Moriōri) had married my Aunty Wikitoria Te Maihāroa, grand-daughter of Te Maihāroa. Maui is a founding member of the Aotearoa Peace and Conflict Studies Trust, University of Otago, representing his Moriōri lineage and Ngāi Tahu

whakapapa. In 2012 Maui invited Waitaha matriarch Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds and the researcher to present with him at Puketeraki Marae on Māori peace traditions to postgraduate students.

As discussed above, this was the first time that the researcher was exposed to another culture of peace, and the synergies between Waitaha and the Moriori culture were obvious, both with their own unique histories of passive resistance and ongoing struggles to maintain and preserve the peace traditions. Maui also introduced the researcher to Dr Heather Devere, Practice Director at National Centre for Peace and Conflict, and they both proposed that I undertake a doctoral thesis based on the Waitaha presentation. As a founding member of National Centre for Peace and Conflict, Professor Solomon played an important role in designing the Memorandum of Understanding for the Centre and the strategic links with mana whenua and tangata whenua peace traditions.

Several months later, the researcher met Maata Wharehoka, kaitiaki of Te Niho Marae at Parihaka, showcasing the documentary film *Tātarakihi: The Children of Parihaka* (Martin, 2012) at the University of Otago in 2012. This documentary highlighted the journey of Parihaka children following in the footsteps of their prophets Te Whiti and Tohu. As the Te Maihāroa whānau were also planning a commemorative journey at the end of that year, this was a poignant moment. The film not only told the historical story of the prophets, but also captured the mauri or life essence of the journey for these children and their whānau. It was a tangible resource that protected the knowledge of the elders, documented the children's journey and recorded the event for future generations, a reminder of their two prophets Te Whiti and Tohu, and provided an alternative narrative as part of our national history that remained hidden.

As Te Whiti, Tohu and Te Maihāroa were prophets of the same era, who were in communication with each other at the time of their planned resistance against the Crown, fast forward 135 years, and both Waitaha and Parihaka had planned to follow in the footsteps of their tīpuna and peace prophets in 2012. As part of the National Centre for Peace and Conflict commitment to tangata whenua, Maata was awarded a Professional Practice Fellow position at the University of Otago with the Centre in 2014.



Image 14: Burton Brothers (Dunedin, N.Z.). Gathering of People at the Parihaka Pa, Taranaki.. Ref: 1/4-002570-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23085322>

The researcher had established some initial links between Waitaha, Moriori and Parihaka, but it was hearing the hypothesis put forward by Maui Solomon at Puketeraki Marae in 2012 that stirred my interest in this subject. Maui put forward a convincing argument that passive resistance stemmed from the Moriori People of Rēkohū and encounters with Northern Taranaki Tribes, and subsequent link of Mahatama Gandhi being inspired by the Taranaki prophets Te Whiti and Tohu, that first stimulated this scenario, recognising that Waitaha are also a piece to the passive resistance jigsaw puzzle.

As Practice Director within the National Centre for Peace and Conflict studies, Dr Heather Devere has been responsible for introducing Indigenous peace traditions within course content. Heather has also been 'the glue' between our relationship, keeping us up to date with information on peace and conflict events and opportunities to team up and work together. It was on her suggestion that the four of us should meet and consider forming an informal collaborative writing group to write about Indigenous peace traditions of Aotearoa.

The formation of this collaborative writing group highlighted our shared commitment to Indigenous peace traditions, and linked pieces of Iwi histories, that had been rendered largely invisible to the wider community, let alone academia. Our collective kōrero is largely derived from our whakapapa connections with tohuka and poropiti, the peace-based Iwi of Waitaha, Rēkohū and Parihaka pā. The Waitaha People are kaitiaki caretakers of Roko, God of Peace, and honour their tīpuna Rākaihautū and pōua Te Maihāroa of Te Heke, the peaceful march to assert ancestral occupation of the hinterland in the South Island. The Moriori of Rēkohū Chatham Islands, adhere to the ancestral vows of Nunukuwhenua, undertaking a sacred oath to never kill another person. The people from Parihaka employed passive resistance as a stance to maintain and oppose European encroachment on ancestral land and build a pan-tribal Māori community.

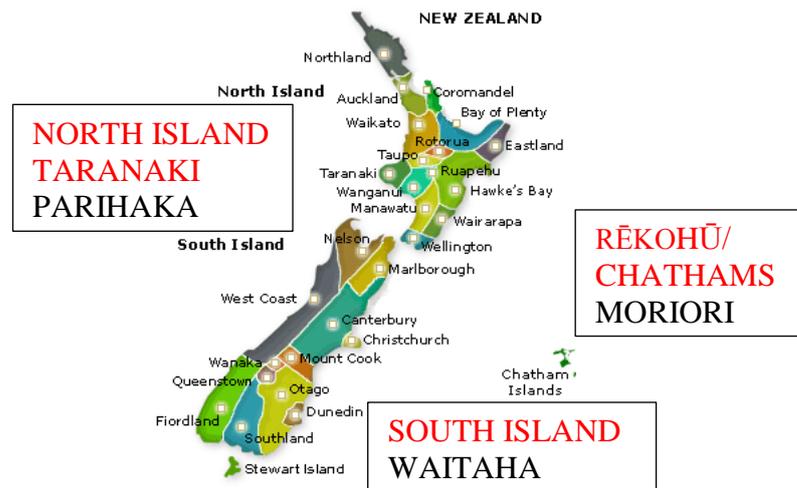


Image 15: Regional Map of Aotearoa New Zealand. (Accessed, 05 August, 2019). Retrieved from: <https://www.tourism.net.nz/new-zealand-maps.html> (Location of the three Indigenous peace traditions of Waitaha, Rēkohū and Parihaka has been added).

Writing about our own tīpuna and peace traditions, provided an emic insider view of Indigenous peace histories and experiences first hand. As Dr Devere is Pākehā, her work contributes an ‘etic’ or outside lens and supports this work within academia. The peace traditions have largely remained concealed from public cognisance and until recently, seemingly invisible within academic discourses. Devere, Te Maihāroa and Synott (2016) write that “...Indigenous peace traditions.... incorporates values of wholeness, spirituality, harmony, honouring, building trust, respect and healing. They are culturally maintained through remembrance, re-enactment and regeneration of cultural histories, knowledge and narratives” (Devere et. al., 2016, p. 171).



Image 16: Photography by Alfred Martin. Canterbury Museum. Reference: 19XX.2.314. Permission of Canterbury Museum, Rolleston Avenue, Christchurch, New Zealand was obtained before the re-use of this image. Moriori used flax and sealskin to make clothing. This Moriori group is partly dressed in traditional clothing. Te Rōpiha (left) is wearing a flax mat under a European shawl. His wife, Uaroa, is wearing a European blanket. Te Teira has a kura, a parakeet-feather head ornament, albatross down in his beard and a flax rain cape. Pūmipi wears a woven flax mat and has albatross tufts in his beard.

In academia, the time arrived several decades ago for Indigenous people to write about their own histories, from their own Indigenous ‘within’ perspective (Walsh-Taiapa, 1998). Tuhika IV: ‘Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively’, highlights the peaceful strategies that these tribes lived by when confronted by the challenges of colonisation. It explores a collaborative way to undertake research and discusses the emic insider, etic outsider and suggested etmic inside / outsider approach to writing the histories of the peace-based Iwi: Waitaha, Moriori and People from Parihaka.

Writing as an Indigenous collective with a valued Pākehā colleague, enabled this rōpū to focus on the unique peace traditions of each peace-based Iwi, giving agency and voice to histories that had been previously been displaced and disregarded. It also showcases different ways of engaging with academics and iwi members in an authentic context, as each person represented a māngai *mouthpiece* for their people and iwi. As a collaborative research rōpū, our efforts make a contribution towards the field of scholarship on Māori and Moriori peace traditions (Binney, 1995; Buchanan, 2010;

Elsmore, 1999; Karena, n.d; Kenan, 2015, 2009; O'Brien, Hohaia & Strongman, 2001; Mikaere, 1997, 1988; Riseborough, 1989; Scott, 2014, 1975, 1954; Smith, 2001, 1990).

The researcher has continued to publish with this relatively recently formed collaborative team, and has reproduced the abstracts of the following additional tuhika in the appendices:

- Appendix A: Abstract on: *Tides of Endurance: Indigenous Peace Traditions of Aotearoa New Zealand*;
- Appendix B: Abstract on: *Regeneration of Indigenous Peace Traditions in Aotearoa New Zealand*;
- Appendix C: Abstract on: *Conclusion: Peacebuilding Experiences and Strategies of Indigenous Peoples in the 21st Century*;
- Appendix D: Abstract on: *Restoring Hope: Indigenous Responses to Justice in Aotearoa New Zealand*;
- Appendix E: Abstract on: *Indigenous Peace Peacebuilding: Lessons from Aotearoa New Zealand*;
- Appendix F: Abstract on: *The Ethics of Friendship in Cross-Cultural Research: An Aotearoa Case Study*.
- Appendix G: Abstract on: *What Does it Feel Like to Be and Uri (Descendant) of a Māori Prophet?*

3.5 Summary of Kete Tuatahi

Kete Tuatahi: Introduction Summary

Kete Tuatahi: Introduction basket of knowledge, comprises of three chapters. Chapter One: Te Timataka Kōrero | Thesis introduction provides an overview of this thesis, comprised of three kete that consist of six chapters. This is followed by an introduction to te ao Māori, which commences with Māori cosmology, from the realm of Io Matua Kore, to the parental origins of Rakinui and Papatūānuku. The chapter includes a brief

introductory to some of their offspring, and a description of an important atua for this thesis, Rokomaraeroa, the deity responsible for peace. This cosmic context then leads into the realm of ira takata, the physical human world and the role of tohuka as specialist experts between the physical and spiritual world. The outline of te ao Māori provides the juxtaposition for colonial contact of the 1800s, and sets the scene of colonisation and the strive for Māori to retain tino rakatirataka. The chapter then moves into Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) period and the ensuing broken promises of New Zealand. Colonisation disrupted every aspect of Māori society, a process inflicted on Indigenous Peoples throughout the world and outlined by Fenbed (2009).

The second half of chapter one covers the Māori prophetic movement and Indigenous peace traditions. The advancement of the Māori prophetic movement was a response to the effects of colonisation, with 106 significant places for Māori religious movements in the North Island and 11 in the South Island between 1830-1920 (Elsmore, 1989). During this time, tino rakatirataka was protected through a) sites of resistance and b) centres of collaboration (Belich, 1998). The introduction of Indigenous peace traditions moves the context of this thesis forward to explore the role Indigenous peacemaking has played within academia over the last fifty years. The evolution of Indigenous perspectives on peace and conflict studies, moves the power of control away from Western academic institutions to the recognition that Indigenous Peoples have much to offer the world. The introduction of te ao Māori, comments on colonisation, Māori Prophetic Movement and Indigenous peace traditions sets the scene for this thesis research rationale and positions the writer as an Indigenous female writer. The aim of this research fits within the above context: 1) to record and retain intergenerational knowledge, 2) to explore

archival information, 3) to highlight Māori peace traditions and 4) provide alternative narratives for future generations. These aims segue into the introduction of the collaborative piece of work with Maui Solomon, Maata Wharehoka and Heather Devere, which is expanded on in Chapter Three: Introduction to Publications within Thesis. This thesis sets out to explore the legacy of rakimārie and how this way of living and being, despite great challenges, continues today.

Chapter Two: Indigenous Epistemologies, Kaupapa Māori and Māori Research Methods provides the theoretical underpinnings for this thesis. Indigenous epistemology focuses on enquiries into Indigenous worldviews, knowledge systems and experiences. It forms a platform from which to understand and explore the cultural, social and political domains and realities of Indigenous Peoples, including decolonising practices (Adebeyo et. al., 2014; Denzin et. al., 2014, Tuso & Flaherty, 2016). Indigenous epistemologies and methodologies have been developed by First Nations Peoples and Indigenous academics as a proactive response to the domination of colonial discourse, to refocus on issues affecting Indigenous communities such as race, power, gender, privilege, freedom, democracy and human rights (Bishop, 1998; Denzin et. al., 2014; Lopez, 1998; Sandoval, 2000).

As discussed previously, prior to colonisation, Māori already had developed and adapted a highly sophisticated understanding of the spiritual cosmos and human life experience. This mātauraka is deeply embedded within the universal Indigenous relationship with Earth Mother, and for Māori specifically, the connection between Papatūānuku, kā atua and the realm of te ao Mārama, domain of human beings. Kaupapa Māori is a localised

response to the wider Indigenous People's renaissance of 1970-80's. Kaupapa Māori expresses and articulates the beliefs and values of being Māori, positioned also as a "theory of change" (Smith, 1995), of which the principles of whakapapa, te reo, tikanga and rangatiratanga apply (Smith, 1996).

Māori history is steeped in theoretical understandings, the search for new knowledge and enlightenment (Pihama, 2001; Henare, 2001). Kaupapa Māori theorising advanced a schema to critically examine Treaty breaches, loss of Māori constitutional and human rights and systemic institutional failure for Māori, including health, justice and education. This proactive movement generated a mindshift away from the politics of distraction towards whānau and Māori transformation (Smith, 2003). Kaupapa Māori theory developed and expanded Māori preferred research methodologies, principles and practices, premised on the belief of reciprocity and seven core research values (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 120).

Kaupapa Māori methodologies can also be applied as kaupapa Māori research methods such as aroha, kanohi kitea and manaaki (see Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) alongside the principles of whānau and whanaukataka (see Bishop, 1997, 1996a, 1996b; Bishop et. al., 2014; Graham, 2009; Rewi, 2014; Ritchie, 1992). Whanaungatanga is "the glue that connects people to each other" (Ritchie, 1992, p. 1). This thesis draws on the natural inter-relationships between whānau and whakawhanaukataka, both as a kaupapa Māori methodological approach and a recruitment method, culminating with a total of 18 whānau research participants. Kaupapa Māori methods formed culturally responsive research tools to work with and for Māori communities. Pūrākau is the additional

adopted research method used within this thesis, defined as “...a traditional form of Māori narrative” (Lee, 2009, p. 1). Pūrākau have been gathered through whānau kōrero/ oral interviews as chats (Bishop 1996), whānau journals and the retelling of collective Iwi histories.

“Kaupapa Māori is the development of ‘insider’ methodologies that incorporate a critique of research and ways of carrying out research for, with and by Māori” (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 1). For Indigenous researchers, this requires a multi-faceted, culturally responsive and affirming approach (Archibald Q’um Q’um Xiiem, 2008; Berryman, 2014; Irwin, 1994; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, Webber, 2009). The dynamics of an Indigenous researcher within the ‘insider / outsider’ paradigm can only be reached when the researcher is able to identify who they are, who they represent and what they stand for (Miheua, 2003). Being an Indigenous Māori researcher can also open the complex doors to “our won spirituality in a Māori way” (Royal, 1998, p.1), which may include Indigenous concepts such as heart knowledge, blood memory, heart and spiritual positioning. The writer has positioned herself as a First Nations Waitaha woman, writing with and for whānau, within the wider context of Indigenous peace circles across Aotearoa, Asia Pacific and Internationally.

Chapter Three: Introduction to Publications within Thesis. This chapter provides contextual background information to the three publications and manuscript within the thesis. Each tuhika offers a unique insight into the concept of rakimārie and the governing principle of peaceful living for the Indigenous communities of Waitaha, Moriori and Parihaka Peoples. The first publication entitled ‘Kaore Whakaheke Toto | Do Not

Shed Blood’, is a chapter for an international book *Global Nonkilling*. This was the beginning of my archival research and revealed three significant photos: 1927 Moven Whānau Commemorating Te Heke 1877 and two older photographs both entitled Te Heke 1878. The first half of this chapter focuses on the historical migration journey of Te Heke 1877 and the occupational protest at Te Ao Mārama. The second part of this chapter provides an insight into some of the future focused peace based strategies.

‘Te Ara o Rakimārie, *the Pathway of Peaceful Living*’ developed into a journal article after Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds was asked to share her thoughts about the concept of rakimārie and how this has influenced her life. This invitation led her to recount her decades of involvement, alongside her brothers, of cultural, social and political events. The 1927 photograph of Moven whānau (Image: 11), shows Anne’s parents and grandparents, including many of the whānau and descendants of the original Heke. This article aimed to record Anne’s peacebuilding efforts in North Otago over a twenty five year period and preserve the knowledge for future generations. ‘Retracing Ancestral Footsteps’ documents the whānau experiences on Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012).

Preparatory research on Te Heke (1877-79) aimed to uncover further details, so that whānau on this contemporary Heke would be more cognizant of the principles and practices that guided tīpuna.

‘Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively’ manuscript provides context information on the background of relationships between the four co-authors. Maui and I have a close connection through whakapapa to Arowhenua Marae and the marriage between our whānau of Te Maihāroa’s daughter Wikitoria Te Maihāroa and Uncle Peter Piepeta (Mori descent). My relationship with Maata Wharehoka (Kaitiaki of Te Niho

Marae, Parihaka) began when she was part of the Parihaka whānau who presented the 'Tātarakihi, Children of Parihaka' documentary at the University of Otago, 2012. This friendship strengthens the ties held between Te Maihāroa, Te Whiti and Tohu 140 years ago. The glue between the four of us has been Dr Heather Devere, who has encouraged us to come together as a collective of Indigenous peacebuilders. The opportunity to write as an Indigenous rōpū, with a valued Pākehā colleague, led us to explore within this manuscript the opportunity to write from an 'emic' (insider / outsider) approach (see Williams, 2010). A regional map of Aotearoa, with the insertion of the three sites of Indigenous peacekeeping, provides a visual sense of the three locations across three different islands. The additional seven abstracts of further collaborative work, represents the ongoing strength of these mutual friendships and the growing demand for Indigenous peace perspectives.

KETE TUARUA: PUBLICATIONS WITHIN THESIS

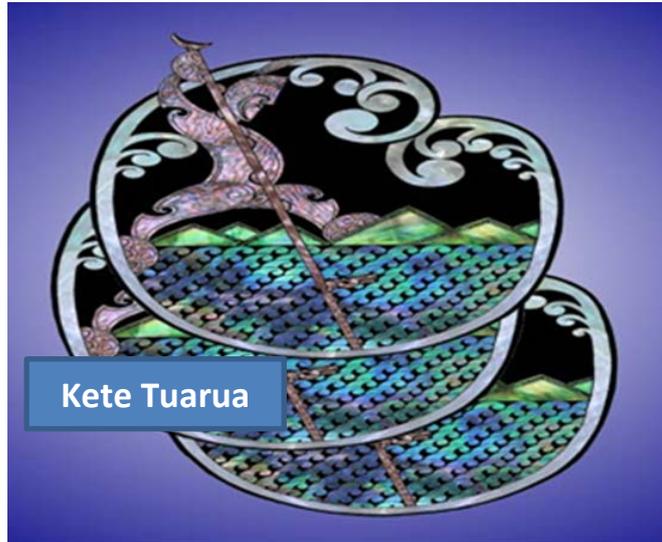


Image 17: Kete Tuarua: Publications within Thesis. Rākaihautū. Brian Flintoff's work depicts Rākaihautū digging out the mountain lakes as he travels through the Southern Alps. Private collection. Mixed media by Brian Flintoff.

Kete Tuarua: Publications and Manuscript within Thesis

Kā pou pou a Te Rakihoiua

The posts of Te Rakihoiua (son of Rākaihautū)

Introduction of Kete Tuarua: Publications and Manuscript within Thesis

Kete Tuarua follows on from the introductory theoretical chapters and breaks the conventional mould of a traditional chapter-based thesis by presenting 'Publications within Thesis'. Each tuihika is followed by a brief discussion of the methodology and methods used in each of piece of writing. Tuhika I: 'Kaore Whakaheke Toto, *Do Not Shed Blood*' makes an international contribution to the concept of global non-killing, where Indigenous people describe their spiritual non-killing traditions. Tuhika II: 'Te Ara o Rakimārie, *The Pathway of Peaceful Living*' documents the peace building efforts of Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds towards enduring bicultural relationships between Māori and Pākehā, often focussed on environmental sustainability and revitalisation of Waitahataka. Tuhika III: 'Retracing Ancestral Footsteps' traces participants' experiences on Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012 through whānau journals as they walked 135 kilometres to commemorate 135 years since the original tīpuna left on Te Heke 1877. Tuhika IV: 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively' manuscript describes the collaborative research process between the four authors, Te Maihāroa, Devere, Solomon and Wharehoka, and provides information about each peace traditions from within these communities. This hybrid thesis approach includes three publications and an unpublished manuscript:

- Tuhika I: Te Maihāroa, K. (2015). Kaore Whakaheke Toto | Do Not Shed Blood. In Pims, J. & Dhakal, P. (eds.). *Nonkilling Spiritual Traditions, vol. 1, p.97-109*. Centre for Global Nonkilling.
- Tuhika II: Te Maihāroa, K. (2017). Te Ara o Rakimārie, The Pathway of Peaceful Living. *Te Kaharoa, vol 10, 2017*.
- Tuhika III: Te Maihāroa, K. (2017). Retracing Ancestral Footsteps. *Te Kaharoa, vol. 10, 2017*)
- Tuhika IV: Te Maihāroa, K., Devere, H., Solomon, M & Wharehoka, M. Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively. Unpublished manuscript.

TUHIKA I: KAORE WHAKAHEKE TOTO | DO NOT SHED BLOOD

Tuhika I: Te Maihāroa, K. (2015). Kaore Whakaheke Toto Do Not Shed Blood. In Pims, J. and Dhakal, P. (Eds.). *Nonkilling Spiritual Traditions, vol. 1*, p.97-109. Centre for Global Nonkilling.

Introduction

The first publication ‘Kaore whakaheke toto, *do not shed blood*’ is a chapter in Non-killing Spiritual Traditions book. It documents the historical account of Te Heke (1877-79) and examines the trials of the prophet Te Maihāroa, as the challenges to maintain cultural integrity and retain ancestral land through the early years of colonial interface in the mid nineteenth century. It traces the migration journey of Te Heke (1877-79) from the papa kāika *original home* of Arowhenua to the ancestral hinterlands of Te Ao Mārama (commonly known as Ōmārama). This publication concludes with hopeful messages for a non-hurting future, to restore balance and equilibrium within the world.

Full Publication

Kāore Whakaheke Toto (Do Not Shed Blood)

Looking into the Past for Messages to Create a Peace Based Future

Kelli Te Maihāroa

University of Otago

This chapter explores the Indigenous spiritual tradition of Pōua Te Maihāroa, my tipuna, highlighting the peaceful struggle against the British colonial forces during the mid-nineteenth century. It is a history written collaboratively by the Te Maihāroa whānau under the korowai of Waitaha, First Nations people of Aotearoa New Zealand. Te Maihāroa was a prophet who led his people on a peace march for justice called Te Heke ki Te Ao Mārama in 1877 *The Migration to Enlightenment* to re-claim the ‘Promised

Land'. This work outlines the challenges of being displaced from ancestral homelands whilst maintaining the traditional spiritual and cultural values of Waitaha. It concludes by highlighting how the past can help transform our behaviour to a 'non-hurting' future. These Indigenous spiritual teachings remain a critical signpost, not only for mokopuna *grandchildren* of tomorrow, but to demand urgent attention today, to find peace based alternatives to ensure the survival of humankind (Kim, 2012).

In ancient times, Waitaha, the oldest New Zealand Māori tribe set out from their Pacific homeland Te Patu nui o Aio also to Aotearoa New Zealand, where Māori have continued to live for over a millennium. Rākaihautū was the captain of Te Waka Uruao and is one of the founding ancestors of Waitaha. He explored the South Island's interior lakes and our history reminds us of how he shaped the great mountains with his magical kō, establishing occupational rights through ahi kā, the ignition and maintenance of sacred fire lighting ceremonies. Rākaihautū departed from his ancient homeland Te Patu nui o Aio in the Pacific Ocean approximately 67 generations ago.

The tribal people of Waitaha are characterised by our peaceful ways of 'being' and rejection of warfare (although other Māori tribes did engage in tribal warfare). The fact that there are no known war artefacts for this period of original inhabitations stands testament to the peaceful existence and legacy of Waitaha. Waitaha has been described as wai — the Māori word for water, and tahā as a vessel of container, and also as the "carriers of ancient wairua" (Te Maihāroa, R., 2013). Waitaha are kaitiaki o Rokomaraeroa, *caretakers of the god of peace: Rokomaraeroa*.

Te Maihāroa (?-1886) was the ariki of Waitaha, following his ancient whakapapa links to the chiefs of our tribal history Rākaihatū and his son Rakihouia, founding ancestors of Waitaha. A deeply spiritual man, Te Maihāroa was steeped in the ancient Waitaha teachings following his mother's sacred ariki ancestry. Te Maihāroa was born towards the later part of the eighteenth century and raised in a small village called Te Waiateruati, near Arowhenua in South Canterbury. As an adult he practiced ancient Māori tikaka *Māori customs and protocols*, specialist in adapting old Māori religion as a tool for reform in the face of European colonization. He was the last tohuka in the South Island (Mikaere, 1988).

Te Maihāroa was an expert in two worlds. Knowledgeable as an expert in ancient Māori tikaka, he also possessed literacy skills through his acquisition of reading and writing in both Māori and English, where bi-literacy was an invaluable skill in the early 1800s. He possessed the gift of matakite *prophecy*, which enabled him to predict the future. His visionary leadership of 'peace' attracted followers of the Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe and Kāi Tahu tribes. He was regarded as an icon of hope for Māori, who were battling to come to terms with massive land and cultural loss, and the dire prediction by Pākehā that the Māori race would disappear forever; due to the ongoing loss of life from newly introduced diseases (Mikaere, 1988).

Similar losses were also experienced in North Island tribal areas such as the settlement of Parihaka in Taranaki, where the prophets Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi lived, had lost one third of their people to illness (Riseborough, 1989). In stark contrast Māori viewed the flourishing Pākehā population as almost 'supernaturally' immune to the

diseases and therefore rationalised that they (Māori) were being punished because they had relinquished their knowledge of wāhi tapu and traditional ways of life (Mikaere, 1988; Elsmore, 1999). Traditionally the tohuka were responsible for the spiritual wellbeing of their people and keeping them safe from harm. One way to achieve this was the lifting of wāhi tapu *sacred place* where tohuka visited ancient sites to 'lift' dangerous spells and ghosts. Māori believed that by lifting the wāhi tapu this would help prevent the spread of diseases (Elsmore, 1999).

Spiritual teachings

Historically the Māori worldview consisted of a universal spiritual understanding of mauri *life force* organically interconnected. Māori believed that interactions with other people, objects or experiences could be life giving or life draining. Traditional Māori customs are based on two founding and complementary concepts: tapu *sacred, restricted* and noa *non sacred, common*. For Māori these two concepts categorise and separate the natural and supernatural world. For example, tapu can help to avoid hazardous contact, enforcing restrictions surrounding religious rites, sacred fire sites, burial caves or to protect natural resources. To transgress across these boundaries could result in serious illness or death (Elsmore, 1999). Te Maihāroa engaged regularly in ancient tapu lifting ceremonies to help remove restrictions, resulting in a 'normal' or cleansed state of noa. He viewed interactions with Pākehā as tapu and wanted to distance himself and his supporters from the pressures of colonisation. He espoused that Māori should maintain strong whakapapa bloodlines and live in isolation from Pākehā so that they would be protected from the terrible diseases that the early settlers brought with them. Despite his reluctance to interact with Pākehā, Te Maihāroa attracted public attention due to his

spiritual authority and the miracles that he regularly performed (Mikaere, 1988).

Witnessed by both Māori and Pākehā, these spiritual phenomena were also made public, published in local newspapers and recorded by several historians, cementing his supernatural authority (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945; Te Maihāroa, 1957).

As a prophet, the spiritual teachings of Te Maihāroa and his reinterpretation of ancient beliefs was imperative as a counter balance to the Pākehā God, which could be construed as showering Pākehā with gifts of wealth, health and prosperity, whilst Māori were on the brink of survival as a race. He emerged as a new political hope for his people, based on their continued dissatisfaction over land issues and rejection of the newly imposed systems (Elsmore, 1999). The spiritual assurance of Te Maihāroa empowered Māori to further reject both Pākehā missionary interference and intermarriage with Pākehā as a means to maintain tino rakatirataka *absolute sovereignty*.

In 1840 the political relationships between Māori and representatives of the British Crown was formalized through the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. In 1848 the Crown imprinted their ownership rights on the South Island by persuading Southern Māori to sell over eight million hectares of their land for \$ 2,000 (pounds), less than one farthing a hectare (Mikaere, 1988). This sale, known as the 'Kemp Deed' land purchase, possessed a condition of the bargaining claim in which Māori reserves were to be set aside to enable Māori to access traditional food sources. Within a few short years the spirit of the Treaty was broken. Te Maihāroa became a nationally known political figure advocating for the plight of Southern Māori: the two main issues that were impacting significantly on the lives of his people were the lack of land reserves set aside for Māori, and the

encroachment of Pākehā farmers on Māori land. For example, the land reserves set aside for a whole village of Māori people often equated to the same amount of land owned by one Pākehā farmer, these were often barren wasteland, limiting the possibility to enjoy traditional hunting and fishing activities essential for cultural preservation (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945). Pākehā also adopted a colonial perspective, regarding natural Māori land as non-developed wasteland and viewed it as their 'god given' right to 'work the land'.

Te Maihāroa advocated vehemently for Māori rights through frequent communication with the newly established New Zealand Government, including letters to the Queen as representative of the British Crown. From the 1860s onwards he reminded the Crown that Māori had been left with insufficient land and resources to sustain his people, their traditional way of life, and that they had become alienated from their own whenua *land*. The determination to retain Māori land and his growing distrust of the Government led Te Maihāroa to believe that ultimately separation was required for cultural and moral regeneration of his people.

Juxtaposed to the Pākehā view of land ownership, Te Maihāroa maintained that Papatūānuku did not belong to anyone and that Waitaha were simply the spiritual *kaitiaki caretakers/guardians* of the whenua. He rejected the sale of land and disapprovingly labelled the proceeds of such sales as receiving "black penny" (Te Maihāroa, R., 2013). The conversion to newly introduced land tenure rules, which were foreign to Māori, resulted in on-going confusion about the status of land owned by Pākehā (either as a

result of land sales or confiscation), especially when large tracts of land remained uninhabited (King, 1996).

Although Te Maihāroa recognized that a large portion of Te Waipounamu had been sold by others to the Crown, as Ūpoko Ariki *Spiritual Leader* of Waitaha in the South Island he firmly believed that he still retained ancestral and personal title to all of the “land”, including the “the hole in the middle” of the South Island and all other lands that make up the Southern Island (Ruka, personal communication, 2012). Despite the lack of goodwill and limited resources set aside for them by their Treaty counterparts, Te Maihāroa had a vision for a new future. His prophecy of journeying to the ‘Promised Land’ called him to lead 150 tribesmen and women, who gathered to his call to action, leaving from the village of Temuka in June 1877.

The vision that Te Maihāroa had for his people was to establish a new home in the interior hinterland of the South Island where they could conserve Māori values and be completely independent of Pākehā influence (King, 1996). He believed that they had agreed only to sell the land from the eastern coast to the base of the nearest mountains to the Government in the Kemp Deed Purchase (Mikaere, 1988). This perspective was contradictory to the position of the Crown, who viewed the Kemp Deed as extending beyond the Southern Alps. Te Maihāroa firmly believed that Māori were the rightful owners of all of the land beyond the Eastern foothills of the Southern mountains, which still remained Māori land and that physical occupation would enforce moral ownership. The place that Te Maihāroa led his pilgrimage to was Te Ao Mārama, in the centre of the

South Island, known today as Ōmārama. Another name given to Ōmārama is Ōmāharama, which means sacred thoughts (Te Maihāroa, R., 2013).

Te Heke ki Te Ao Mārama *the Migration to Enlightenment*

The migration of the 150 tīpuna was called Te-Heke ki Te Ao Mārama, commonly known as 'Te Heke', and was viewed with great interest and understanding by all Māori communities throughout Aotearoa, knowing and understanding the 'take' *topic* of ahi-kā-roa; and was also discussed in the Parliament of the day (Mikaere, 1988). Te Heke followed a vision Te Maihāroa had that he would lead his followers to their heartland, known as the 'Promised Land'; using the metaphor of Judaic Laws of returning to Zion the land of the ancient ancestors (P. Ruka, written communication, December, 12, 2012). The intention of Te Maihāroa was to relight the sacred fires of Waitaha, establishing ownership along the Waitaki Valley from the mouth of the great river to the foothills of great mountains of the Southern Alps.

They travelled under the veil of tapu, and were only allowed to eat when they had halted their daily journey and the tapu was lifted. Te Maihāroa often travelled ahead, to kill taipo *evil spirits* and to ensure the wāhi tapu had been lifted to ensure a safe passage (Mikaere, 1988). Te Maihāroa was reported to have had great spiritual powers, which were demonstrated on numerous occasions. One of these momentous occasions was when Te Heke party was approaching the Waitaki Bridge, which was closed for an approaching train. Te Maihāroa recited karakia *prayer* and the gates at either end of the bridge opened for the party. Before all of the carts and people could get off the bridge, the train came from the south. Te Maihāroa continued reciting karakia to protect his

people, and the train stayed stationary although the wheels were still going around with steam continuing to come out of the locomotive's chimney. When all of the carts and people were off the bridge, Te Maihāroa completed his karakia, and the train continued on its journey, leaving both the tribal members, the train driver and passengers safe from possible injury. This event was witnessed by both Māori and Pākehā and reported in the local newspapers, subsequently creating interest and admiration in some sections of the community (Mikaere, 1988).

Te Maihāroa firmly believed that the first line of mountains marked the limits of the land sold to the Government and beyond them remained Māori land. Local historian Herries Beattie recorded Māori as having a legitimate grievance (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945). But when Te Heke reached beyond the mountains to Te Ao Mārama, the 'Promised Land' that they had envisioned as a home away from the tensions and bitterness, it had already been settled by some Europeans. As they journeyed into the interior they realized that the colonists had established themselves throughout the island. On identifying that these settlers were grazing the hinterland, Māori wondered why they were not receiving rentals for grazing rights on their property. Māori wrongly assumed that the Crown would protect and look after their interests as the Indigenous people under the Treaty of Waitangi 1840.

Te Maihāroa and his people believed that the hinterland and interior lakes had never been sold and that Māori had established ownership rights through the whakapapa of his people, deeds of their tīpuna, and continuous occupation through ahi-kā-roa over one thousand years. Despite these established traditional boundary markers and connections

with the whenua for a millennium, large parcels of the South Island were quickly sold off (often without Māori knowledge or consent), to settlers eager to grab a stake in the land. Te Maihāroa maintained that the land left outside of the sale should all be returned to Māori ownership. The efforts of Te Maihāroa to seek justice were largely ignored by the Crown who adopted the view that Māori held an illegitimate and unfounded claim (Mikaere, 1988).

Despite the disappointment of finding their envisioned 'Promised Land' had also become a home to many settlers, Te Maihāroa and his people established a new life for themselves beside the Ahuriri River (now part of Lake Benmore). They created a village of compact and comfortable housing, planting gardens and seeking employment opportunities on the neighbouring sheep stations. Māori and Pākehā co-existed in relative harmony for over a year, until Pākehā started to complain to their local Member of Parliament about weapons being seen in the village. Despite Māori establishing a peaceful new life and finding work on nearby farms, the tangled ownership situation refused to dissipate (Mikaere, 1988).

The newly erected Māori village consisted of approximately 150 people and around one hundred dogs, kept for mustering stock and as pets (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945). The Pākehā farmers insisting that the Māori dogs were troubling their sheep and that their freehold land was being ploughed for crops, sent for the police. Te Maihāroa had previously nominated Horomona Pohio as Native Assessor in 1859 to liaise with the Crown over Māori land ownership.

Two decades later, with ongoing conflict between Māori and Pākehā, Pohio went to Wellington in October 1878 to report that the land dispute at Te Ao Mārama was incorrect and that no weapons were being brandished or sheep being killed. Pohio asserted Māori rights to the interior of the island and that the squatting settlers had no Crown grant to it (Mikaere, 1988). The Native Minister Mr. John Sheenan firmly rejected the claim for the return of the interior land to Māori, stating that it was an illegitimate claim. Māori had little or no experience in fighting political battles in a cultural domain that was completely foreign to them (Elsmore, 1999).

The news of the dispute now engaged national attention, largely captured in newspapers and political domains, both spaces were predominately controlled and dominated by Pākehā. A build-up of arms and military training by Pākehā was recorded in the local *Ōamaru Mail* newspaper (1879) caught the attention of Jim Rickus, a man of mixed Māori and Pākehā descent who had whānau in the Māori village at Ōmārama (Mikaere, 1988). Rickus suspected that if the militia were attempting to take the Māori village by surprise, there may be bloodshed, so he made his way to Waimate by train and then rode through the night on horseback to warn Te Maihāroa of the impending police arrival, a journey of 160 kilometres. Rickus warned the people to waste no time and to leave with speed to save their lives (Mikaere, 1988, p. 111-115.)

Around the same time, government officials became aware of a similar situation building at Parihaka, in the North Island, where tribal leaders Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi had instructed their people to plough the fields to assert ownership and as a peaceful protest against illegally confiscated ancestral lands (Binney, 1995; Elsmore,

1999; Riseborough, 1989). One official view showing the concurrence was reported as follows:

“In August 1879 some natives in the North Island trespassed on and ploughed some land in the North Island, proceedings were taken against them and they were evicted and I was instructed to deal similarly with those at Ōmārama, a force of forty constables from Canterbury and twenty from Otago in addition to those of my own district” (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945, E-21, p. 17).

Despite assurances by Pohio, the Native Minister Mr. John Sheenan and Hori Kerei Taiaroa, Southern Māori M.P. visited the village. Sheenan refused to discuss the Māori claim and delivered them an ultimatum to vacate the land by the end of the year. On the morning of the 11th of August 1879, Inspector Thompson ordered the armed militia to deliver the order to the Māori village that they were trespassing and were subsequently to be evicted. The village people were huddled inside their community hall. Although one or two of the tribesmen had a gun to defend themselves if they were attacked, the people were given clear instructions by Te Maihāroa to preserve peace at all cost (Mikaere, 1988; Beattie Collection, 1939-1945).

The Crown, eager to stamp their authority over Te Maihāroa and his people, ordered them to leave without resistance or else suffer the consequences of prison or an armed confrontation. Outside of the hall, the elders tried to use persuasion instead of force, stating that they had never sold or parted possession with the land. Because Te Maihāroa was ill, Thompson spoke with Rawiri Te Maire and told them that they would be allowed two days to prepare for departure. Armed troopers threatened Te Maire, a close friend and relative of the leader, who subsequently gave himself over for arrest to

ensure that peace was maintained. Realizing that the situation was on the brink of fighting, Te Maihāroa sent out another message to his people:

Kāore i au pera ki whakaheke toto, I do not wish to shed blood

(Beattie Collection, 1939-1945, E-21, p. 11).

Reluctantly, Te Maihāroa instructed his people to leave their home rather than shed blood. He had already received a further vision of his people returning to live at a place called Korotuaheka, an ancient village (near the mouth of the Waitaki River). The next day several Māori asked for reprieve as Te Maihāroa was too ill to travel, but this request was declined and the constables and Inspector Thompson returned the following day to ensure that the people would leave. As they departed, the Crown destroyed their houses and crops, using the scorched earth tactic. There were about 150 people, 50 men and the remainder being women and children. The whānau were accompanied by 30 dray, 100 horses and around 100 dogs (Mikaere, 1988).

The weather was bitterly cold, being the middle of winter, snow was falling as they left their 'Promised Land'. This was land that, according to their custom, had been gifted to them from the atua, handed down by the ancient ancestors to Waitaha, direct to Ūpoko Ariki Te Maihāroa, Priest and Prophet of Waitaha (Te Maihāroa, R., 2013; Ruka, R., 2012).

The journey down to the mouth of the Waitaki River was slow, largely because they had to hunt and gather food as they travelled. This Crown exercise was more than confiscation over a piece of land: it was an extinguishment of their tino rakatirataka. A local Waimate bookseller and historian, Herries Beatties, recorded the following account:

The Government sent down one McKay, to tell them to remain at Omarama, but that this emissary arrived too late... he asked them to return, but they knew that they would be returning to a desolate and ravaged heritage, for before they were out of sight of the place, the troopers had burnt or destroyed every building (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945, E-21, p. 14).

Te Maihāroa and his people reached the south side of the Waitaki River in late August 1879, where they again re-established a village with a hall, church, school and burial ground. At the time there was the view that “if we had returned we would have been there yet” (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945, E-21, p. 11) but the mauri of the whenua had been scorched by the torches of the colonizers. Te Maihāroa passed away in 1886 and the settlement of Korotuaheka diminished in numbers, with the land eventually being farmed by a Pākehā farmer.

Descendants of Te Maihāroa still live in Ōmārama and at Glenavy, near the Waitaki River, where they have been dedicated to keeping the lore and law of their ancestor alive and well, helping to heal the breaches between new tribal groups and people from European nations who have since come into the South Island (Ruka, P., 2012).

Retracing Te Heke.

In December 2013, the Te Maihāroa whānau and friends, along with descendants of the 150 original trekkers, re-traced the footsteps of Pōua Te Maihāroa, along much of the route that he had led them all, 135 years ago. The re-tracing of the sacred footsteps of our pōua Te Maihāroa (?-1886) to celebrate 135 years since he led his people on a migration for peace from Temuka to Ōmārama in 1877. Te

Maihāroa remains our Ariki leader, prophet of our people of Waitaha, our ancient tribal groupings from our past lands and oceans. Tuku tōu kākau, tōu wairua, tōu ihi mauri, kia rere pūrerehua ai, mai te moana ki kā mauka tū tonu, release the heart, the wairua, the essence of life, flying like a butterfly, from the sea to the mountains again (Ruka, P, 2012).

Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2013 rekindled ‘ahi kā’, re-igniting the traditional ancestral fires that Te Maihāroa maintained during Te Heke 1877, one hundred and thirty five years ago. The retracing of Te Heke in 2013 ensured that the peaceful spiritual traditions of pōua Te Maihāroa and Waitaha First Nations Peoples continue to be cultural, spiritual and ethical markers for our whānau. For over a century in Aotearoa, Waitaha have held tightly to the vision of peace, welcoming into their own whānau Māori from northern tribes who fled south for safety. Waitaha are more than peaceful people living peacefully with the skills to be peacekeepers. Waitaha are peace-livers: that is, the essence of Waitaha identity is steeped in peace. Living and maintaining this kaupapa under the korowai of peace is the central pou *pillar* of the Waitaha Nation.

This message is a living message, one of peace and harmony. Peace and harmony occur when our wai *water* or spirit is calm. Nonviolence is a central message that is spoken of and demonstrated by our elders and through the memories of our ancestors, who remind us to engage fully in life to promote a peaceful way of living. The ability to remain calm within oneself, despite the ongoing disruptions and distractions of life, is the grace of peace. The ability to transform our lives within whānau, and Iwi is within our grasp. To transform our lives and have a positive impact on the wider world can be termed tino raketirataka, reminding ourselves that we hold the knowledge and the wisdom to make the changes that are required of us. We can no longer bury our head in the sand and

expect the challenges to just go away, for our very survival as humans depends on our actions today, tomorrow and the near future.

Traditions of peace often start at the grassroots level where peace is demonstrated daily and recognized locally through inter-relationships with everyday life (Tam Wai Lun, 2000).

World peace has become the current 'buzz word', often seeming too idealistic, unreachable and unachievable (Kim, 2012). The utopian dream can be realized when we make changes at a whānau and Iwi level (family and relatives, micro and meso level), which will permeate the collective. Below are some peace-making suggestions which synthesise Waitaha beliefs with other peaceful traditions about taking responsibility for making this world better (Kim, 2012).

My home, my sanctuary: universally we know when things are going well or when there is chaos being created either by us, through our actions or around us. Often as adults trying to do the best for our children, it is easy to overlook the big picture. What kind of home are we providing them with? Are they provided with enough food, warmth, shelter and love to help them to flourish? What role models do we have around our families to support our wellbeing? Who can we go to for spiritual, cultural and economic guidance? What changes do we need to make in our own lives to improve the quality of relationships within our home? Kinship connectedness diminishes where there is a lack of intimacy. A peaceful home-life that affirms strong values and beliefs, where people are intricately connected, grows strong stable young people as our future generation.

My community, my heartbeat: too often the modern world pulls us away from what really matters, the people that we live with and live for. Our communities are crying out for us to do things differently, to work together more harmoniously for the greater good. Instead of focusing on all of the negative things that are happening around us, we can spend our time and energy involved in a range of peace-building action in the pursuit of peace. This can encompass a range of activities from exercising political participation by voting in democratic elections, regional and nationally. Communities can be mobilized by sharing our voices, views and perspectives. They become involved in community building activities or developing unique localized peace-building efforts from the grassroots to include citizens in a bottom-up peace process (Richmond, 2001).

The power of collective vision and prayer: there is beauty and value in our rights to freedom of worship to each atua, for each karakia is a mortal surrendering for help and guidance. As the peace activist Marianne Williams once stated “it is our light, not our darkness that most frightens us” (Williams, 1993, p. 190). If we can now think of an object, draw it on a computer and have a computer programme manifest our thought into an actual object, are we not truly capable of creating a heaven on earth? Why would we want to create a computer-generated machine gun, which can materialize in front of us? Is there not a higher calling for us as humans to pray for and create a world that can nourish our bodies and soul? Our own faiths can remain distinct, and yet as a collective, if we have a ‘global one nation’ view, our own faith continues to be a powerful resource for global peace making (Valentine, 2000).

Develop common approaches: identify the synergies between people, groups of people, look for commonalities. When we are able to view perspectives and experiences through 'another lens' this develops tolerance and builds rapport and empathy between people / groups. There are advantages in shared 'viewpoints' on the health and wellbeing of all people, which leads to integrated strategies spread across diverse communities (Valentine, 2000). The 'potential' needs a long-term profile and commitment. Change does not happen overnight, but it can happen. These requires an 'unpacking' of what changes may need to be developed within your community, who are the people that will drive this kaupapa, who are the people that you want to recruit as allies to support you. In the past, academic research has concentrated on the violence produced (Richmond, 2001). This approach needs to be rejected, stressing the focus and energy on what to do, not what not to do.

Build culture of inclusiveness: our people descend from a culture of tolerance and acceptance. We have in the past and continue to experience cultural differences today, and yet we are able to withstand and embrace such differences, honouring the richness and diversity that comes with such challenges. We are not too dissimilar to other Indigenous people who have become displaced through colonization. But we are sustained as a people by coming together and sharing our language, hers and histories, identity and culture. These shared experiences help strengthen our children, so that they know who they are and where they come from, for it is only when you know yourself that you can know 'others'. Shared experiences help to build and maintain positive relationships with others. Agreeing to and honouring 'Memorandum of Understandings' or formal 'Relationship Agreements' can further enhance these relationships. Such

symbols of goodwill and friendship can be handed down to future generations as a foundation for healthy, inclusive and respectful relationships (Valentine, 2000).

Right of Return: The right of Indigenous people to return to their ancestral lands from which they were displaced is an on-going debate (Murphy, 2012, 2010). It is recognized that Indigenous people are strengthened by returning to live in peace within their homelands (Murphy, 2010,2012). The rights of Indigenous peoples to claim their rights as tino rakatirataka, is intricately tied within their rights of land reclamation. In Aotearoa, we are progressing towards shared understandings between the Crown and Māori with regards to Māori being alienated and displaced from ancestral lands through the Treaty of Waitangi Settlement negotiations and claims. For us as a whānau, small steps were made and acknowledged 135 years after Te Heke 1877 with an apology from a local farmer and the mayor of Ōmārama. It can at times be an uncomfortable exercise for both parties, but a necessary and legitimate part of re-writing injustices of the past. Indigenous people have a birth right to take advantage of conventional and customary international laws to support their struggle for autonomy and to look towards the United Nations for international leadership on this issue (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, Article 13 (2) & Article 17).

There is a well-known Māori whakataukī (proverb), which guides our thoughts looking backwards into the future. Messages from our tīpuna are maps for finding ourselves, left for us in our past to guide us in our present and future. Our belief as Waitaha First Nation People is that our pōua Te Maihāroa left us with a very clear message as to how he expects us to live under the korowai o Waitaha, *cloak of Waitaha*: kāore i au pērā ki

whakaheke toto. It is more than a dream; it is a philosophy that Te Maihāroa and his people, my tīpuna, lived by. This clear message, if adopted by our global citizens, has the capacity to change the world and embrace a new way of 'thinking' and 'being'. This is not a difficult cloak to bear, for following the 'peace kaupapa' is contained within. This is not to say that we do not get upset and feel emotions running through us that we would want to soothe and rest. The difference is realizing that there is an alternative view, choice of thinking and doing things, ways of being.

We may be viewed as dispossessed people who have suffered at the hands of colonialists. But we view ourselves as active participants shaping our experiences with the 'other' to be harmonious and beneficial to both Treaty partners. We may have been temporarily marginalized, but do not consider ourselves to be oppressed. We continue to exercise our rights to walk our ancestral lands, keeping the ahi-kā-roa burning. We continue to offer ancient karakia asking for healing of our land and waters. Our elders continue to take their chosen mokopuna into the mountains to teach them the old ways. We dare to dream of a future that benefits all of our children, no matter what colour of the rainbow we/ they are. We dream of a future where individuals and communities live under the korowai of the message gifted to us by Te Maihāroa (1879): Kāore i au pērā ki whakaheke toto.

Tuhika 1: Methodological Notes

In 2013, the opportunity to submit a proposal for an international book chapter coincided with the start of this thesis, and became my first piece of academic writing since submitting my Masters of Arts thesis in 2012. Once the chapter proposal was accepted and an agreed timeline, this began the archival research on Te Heke (1877-79). The book title, *Global Spiritual Nonkilling*, influenced this publication under the theme of 'Indigenous Spiritual Traditions'. The editorial requirements asked for a chapter that explored Indigenous spiritual traditions, along with a future focus in less than 5,000 words.

As a new University of Otago Lecturer, starting a PhD at the same time as writing a book chapter seemed to double up my work load, but provided the opportunity to explore the option of Publications within Thesis. Having just completed a Masters Thesis, research was not an unfamiliar exercise but this was a totally different experience in that it was with and for Waitaha and Te Maihāroa whānau, and added an additional layer of expectations. The desire to produce a piece of writing that would add value to our whānau and contribute towards whānau cultural capital was a highly motivating factor. Much of the initial research was undertaken at the Hocken library, where the two images (image 9 and image 29) were found and revelled in by whānau, especially our tāua and pōua.

Three kaumātua contributed in various ways to this piece of writing. Uncle Rāngi Te Maihāroa was interviewed on April 12th 2013 at his home in Ōmārama. It was a beautiful setting for us to have a kōrero, sitting up in his two story villa, surrounded by snow

peaked mountains. We both took the opportunity to catch up on whānau and iwi matters, which lasted for about an hour or so of 'chit-chat'. Bishop (1996) identified the process of whakawhanaukataka, building and connecting whānau relationships, as an important component to strengthen and maintain whānau (and research) connections. As his house was three hours' drive from my home, I brought kai with me to share for lunch and we enjoyed the time sitting immensely. Whānau manaaki is reciprocal, in that it is not just the host's responsibility to provide food and hospitality for visitors, but the visitor should also make a contribution towards creating a positive visit: a reciprocal exchange that shows respects for his time and hospitality.

Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiiem (2008) notes that important cultural knowledge and teachings are often subtly transmitted, and the learner-teacher / interviewer-interviewee relationships is a delicate balance of time and patience to understand how to read cultural protocols before trying to engage with elders. In this informal "interview as a chat" (Bishop, 1996), there just seemed a natural time for us to move into a different space and Uncle created this space by opening with karakia. In preparation for this interview, as per the research information sheet, a number of ways were offered to record our time together: video camera, Dictaphone, notepad or iPhone. Uncle Rāngi did not want to be recorded in any form, preferring hand written notes to be taken. These notes were later transcribed and shared with him so that he could check that they were an accurate record of what was said and had the opportunity to make any amendments if he wanted to.

It was a *wero challenge* to consider a future vision for Waitaha, as my elders have spent the last thirty years fighting for the mana and recognition of Waitaha as an Iwi in its own

right. So for the second segment of this chapter, further research into peace literature provided a framework to work with, which was later co-created with the elders to ensure that we held a similar vision for Waitaha ki Te Waipounamu. Waitaha and Ngā Puhi elder, Peter Ruka, also contributed to this knowledge by providing expert cultural guidance and mātauraka Māori. Aunty Sissie Te Maihāroa Dodds and Uncle Rāngi provided an oversight role, and all drafts, including the finished article, was shared with them.

TUHIKA II: TE ARA O RAKIMĀRIE | THE PATHWAY OF PEACEFUL LIVING

Tuhika II: Te Maihāroa, K. (2017). *Te Ara o Rakimārie The Pathway of Peaceful Living*. *Te Kaharoa*, vol. 10, 2017. <https://doi.org.10.24135/tekaharoa.v10i1.151>

Introduction

The second tuhika, 'Te Ara o Rakimārie *The Pathway of Peaceful Living*' (Te Maihāroa, Te Kaharoa, 2017) highlights a quarter of a century of peace building efforts by Anne Pate Titaha Te Maihāroa Dodds in North Otago. This paper follows the activities and events that Anne and many of her ten brothers led, to draw attention to the ancient peaceful ways of First Nations Peoples of Waitaha. It documents several important events within the Waitaki District basin such as the Ocean to Alps 150 year Treaty of Waitangi commemorative event, environmental protests against Project Aqua (2004) and Holcium Cement Submission (2007) and Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012. This journal article concludes with an enquiry into how the Crown has failed to protect the interests, resources and cultural wellbeing of the Waitaha people.

Full Publication

Te Ara o Rakimārie *The Pathway of Peaceful Living*

Abstract

This paper traces the peacebuilding efforts of Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds (Waitaha) in her North Otago community over the last twenty-five years. The purpose of this paper is to record these unique localized efforts, as an historical record of grass-roots initiatives aimed at creating a greater awareness of Indigenous and environmental issues. It describes the retracing of ancestral footsteps of Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012), the peace walk at Maungatī (2012) and the Ocean to Alps Celebration (1990). This paper also discusses the genesis behind cultural events such as Ōamaru Stone Carving (2000), the

short film entitled Tohu (2006), the dramatization of Te Maihāroa and Te Heke (2002) and the historically significant Waitaha Taoka held within the Willets Family Artefacts Collection (1990). The accompanied whānau photographs present a visual snapshot of these experiences and provide a sense of the occasions. This paper is concluded with a brief synopsis of these peacebuilding activities, and the added richness to this rural community.

Keywords: Waitaha, bicultural, rakimārie, peacebuilding, peaceful practices, collaboration.

Mihimihi

Ko Rakinui rāua ko Papatūānuku, tēnā kōrua

Ko Aoraki te mauka

Ko Waitaki te awa

Ko Uruao te waka

Ko Rākaihautū te tipuna

Ko Waitaha rātou ko Ngāti Rārua Ātiawa kā Iwi

Ko Te Maihāroa te whānau

Ko Bill Dodds tōku hoa rakatira

Ko Anne Sissie Pate Titaha Te Maihāroa-Dodds ahau

Anei he kākano tapu o Waitaha

Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa

Introduction

This paper documents the last twenty-five years of peacebuilding activities of Anne Sissie Pate Titaha Te Maihāroa Dodds within the rural town of Ōamaru, North Otago. Anne is a direct descendant of Te Maihāroa, the last tohuka of Te Waipounamu *South Island* who called for Southern Māori to rally together in the late nineteenth century, against the sale of ancestral land to settlers and a foreign way of life (Elsmore, 1999; Mikaere, 1988; Beattie, 1939-1945). Like her pōua *great grandfather*, Anne has dedicated her life to working for and on behalf of Māori, in order to achieve tino rakatirataka *self-determination* and to promote the awareness of environmental issues through a mana whenua lens. This paper describes many of these events over the last twenty-five years and documents the effect that these efforts have had on individuals, organisations, the North Otago and Māori community that she has connections with.

Kaupapa Māori

The aim of this research was to record and preserve the body of history, cultural knowledge, values and wisdom that she holds so that it could be handed down to the next generation (Selby & Laurie, 2005). It is written from an insider's perspective, as the writer is a niece of Anne, and deemed it important to document the peace-based activities that Anne contributes to her local and Māori community. This research draws on the framework of kaupapa Māori, for Māori by Māori, as the preferred research approach, because it (re)connects Māori ancestral and kinship ties through whakapapa and the Māori world (Bishop, 1996, 1998, 1999; Bishop and Berryman, 2008; Pihama, 2001; Smith, G. H., 1997, 2003; Smith, L. 1999). This methodology is valuable in the

reclamation by Māori of tribal, hapū and whānau life histories, towards recapturing the rich cultural heritage and traditions (Selby & Laurie, 2005; Bishop, 1996).

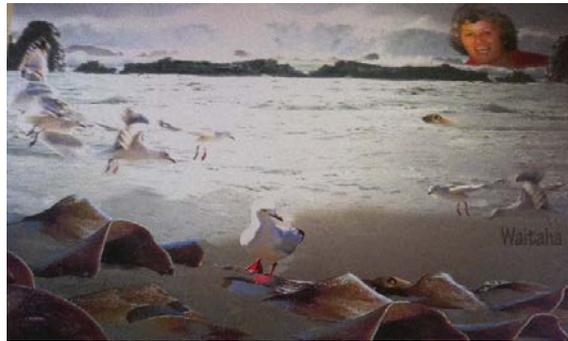


Image 18: Montage of Anne Sissie Pate Titaha Te Maihāroa-Dodds by Ramonda Te Maihāroa. Private collection Te Maihāroa-Dodds, A.

The kōrero with Anne took place at her home in Glenavy, North Otago, in April 2013. The scheduled “interview as a chat” method (Bishop & Berryman, 2008) was chosen, because it offered a “natural setting” and is considered an appropriate way for Indigenous people to share their stories and narratives. The process began with karakia, with Anne positioned in her favourite chair, surrounded by photos of her tīpuna and treasured pieces of pounamu. As Anne talked about the numerous events and activities that she has instigated and/or been involved with over the last twenty-five years, it became obvious that there was a particular focus on peace-building and bicultural relationships.



Image 19: Glenavy Children War End Day Parade Oamaru. Personal collection, Te Maihāroa-Dodds, A.

Whakapapa

Anne Sissie Pate Titaha Te Maihāroa was born in 1933, a home birth at Glenavy, in the Waitaki Valley, South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. Whilst at the Ratana pā on January 25 1937, in the presence of her parents Titi Kerikeri Gregory (nō *from* Moeraki) and Whakaririka (Sandy) Te Maihāroa (nō Waiateruati), Anne was christened as a mōrehu by the Māori prophet T.W. Ratana himself, who also gave her ikoa as “Pate Titaha Te Maihāroa, of the tribe of Waitaha, from Glenavy” (as recorded on her birth certificate). As mōrehu of the prophet Ratana, Te Maihāroa whānau have maintained a close relationship with the Ratana Church and pā, as represented in the following photo, depicting Māori royal lineage in 1932.

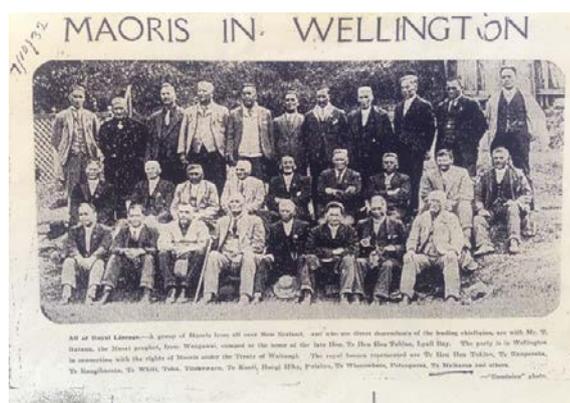


Image 20: Gathering of Māori Leaders at Wellington. Dominion Photo, 7th October 1932. (Accessed 1 December, 2015). Retrieved from: <http://www.theratanachurch.org.nz/twratana.html>

He Kākano Tapu o Waitaha Sacred Seed of Waitaha

Anne adds that her love for all people, aroha ki te takata, derives from her happy childhood in North Otago and her lifelong marriage to Bill Dodds of 60 years. Anne Te Maihāroa-Dodds is highly respected and maintains close personal connections and friendships with the people that she meets of all races and religions. She states that it is ‘tikaka’ to embrace all new people to these lands. Anne vividly recalls her māmā telling

her: “you are special, but no more special than the next person beside you”. Her parents had fourteen children, twelve boys and two girls, but four brothers and her only sister had died prior to her birth. Anne sadly concedes that she is now the only one living of this generation, “kei te mamae ahau” *I am in pain*.

Anne and her brothers have spent several decades striving for cultural recognition of Waitaha as a separate Iwi, from the later arrivals of Kāti Māmoe (16th century) and later Kāi Tahu (17th century), tribal people from the East Coast of the North Island. The introduction of the Ngāi Tahu Settlement Act (1998), resulted in Waitaha being included as a hapū of Ngāi Tahu, versus Waitaha as a separate and self-governing Iwi (Te Maihāroa, Rangimarie and Te Maihāroa-Dodds, Anne Pate Sissie, Treaty of Waitangi Claim, MIR: 6215, 10th February, 2014). A driving force behind many of the performances, letters, submissions, and celebrations over the last thirty years, has been Waitahataka. Anne says that her brother, Rangimārie, put his whole heart and soul in to defending the mana of Waitaha. She recalls “What I understand from my Pāpā, is that from our WAITAHA Arika line, my Great-Grandfather, Pōua Te Maihāroa, did not sign the Treaty. It is no wonder, as according to his belief system, we are of the whenua, the whenua does not belong to us” (Te Maihāroa-Dodds, A., 2016). Ngāi Tahu have resisted any acknowledgement of Waitaha as a separate Iwi, preferring Waitaha to be included under the Ngāi Tahu whānui umbrella.



Image 21: Anne Te Maihāroa-Dodds being interviewed outside Parliament (2002). Personal collection Te Maihāroa-Dodds, A.

Community Service 1990-2015

Indigenous Peoples throughout the world, handed down intergenerational knowledge by sharing and showing the younger generation how things are carried out. This paper set out to document Anne's peacebuilding efforts, in order to preserve the intellectual and cultural knowledge shared over one quarter of a century, but also as a signpost for the following generations to maintain and preserve this kaupapa. Whānau photographs accompany her kōrero, to provide a sense of these occasions.

Ocean to Alps 1990

Tribal traditions recall Aoraki as the tuakana of Tāne Mahuta, where a fishing expedition went wrong, turning their waka upside down and the brothers to stone. As the eldest and tallest brother, Aoraki remains the tipuna mauka, from where the sacred waters of the Waitaki river flow to the sea. Symbolising the tears of Aoraki, the Waitaki River remains an integral symbol of tribal and cultural confirmation within the Waitaki Valley. The Ocean to Alps event (1990) was a significant occasion, which involved a journey up and down the Waitaki Valley to celebrate the 150 anniversary of the signing of Te Tiriti of Waitangi between Māori and the British Crown. Rangimārie Te Maihāroa was one of

twelve appointed Commissioners for the 1990s Celebrations throughout Aotearoa and the Ocean to Alps event represented the spirit of partnership between the two Treaty of Waitangi partners, as Māori and the Crown participants, symbolically wove their way up the Waitaki Valley from the Waitaki River mouth to Aoraki.

Tōku Awa, ko tōku Mana, Tōku Awa

Ko Tōku kaha, Tōku Awa, Ko tōku ora,

Tōku Awa, Ko Tōku Wairua, Tōku Awa ko ahau!!

My river is my authority, my river is my strength, my river is my life

My river is my spirit, I am the river and the river is me. Ko Waitaki tōku Awa!!

(Te Maihāroa, A. June, 2015. Additional Evidence on ‘Project Aqua – Waitaki River Low-Flow Trial’).

The Ocean to Alps journey was undertaken from the sunrise of December 31st 1989 to sunset on 1st January 1990. To honour this occasion, there were fifteen events planned along the journey, offering a multitude of sites for the community to participate in the celebrations (*Timaru Herald*, Dec 01, 1990). This trip started at the Waitaki River mouth, where a mōhiki *reed boat*, carried two special kōhatu *stone* that had been selected from the Waitaki river, with the idea of placing one at the moraine, its founding source, with the other returned to Tasman Glacier to be positioned within the DOC building at Mount Cook Village. The mōkihi transferred the special stone to a jet boat, where a series of jet boats carried it up to be returned to the Tasman Glacier, and on to the base of Aoraki.

As part of the festivity and celebrations, a waka taua was transported down from Marlborough, to be paddled on Lake Pūkāki. Although the Tasman Glacier is separated from the flow of the Waitaki River, the journey was continued via two jet boats being lifted out of the Tasman Glacier by helicopter, and transported over to the base of Aoraki. A commemorative party was held that night, New Year's Eve 1989, which included staying at the Mount Cook Hermitage overnight, and celebrating alongside the two Commissioners Margaret Austin and Rangimārie Te Maihāroa.

Ōamaru Stone Carving Workshops 2000

At the turn of the new millennium, Anne's artistic niece Ramonda Te Maihāroa, conceptualised the idea of taking the white Ōamaru stone back into the Waitaki valley. This idea grew to include ten schools throughout the Waitaki Valley, where Anne and Ramonda, accompanied by Anne's brother Harry Te Maihāroa, ran Ōamaru stone carving workshops for children. Georgie Salter, the then Silver Ferns New Zealand netball coach, also supported by teaching the construction of manu aute *kite* workshops in the schools, incorporating the pūrākau of the giant pouākai. The symbol of the pouākai quickly captured the imagination of the schools, followed on by Matariki Celebrations, where Anne and her theatrical friend Bronwyn, held dancing and singing workshops celebrating Matariki, the Waitaki River and harakeke. The tamariki *children* subsequently adopted the cultural concept of kaitiakitaka *guardianship*, appreciating the sustainability of their natural surrounds by planting out the wetlands at the mouth of the Wainakarua River to honour the river.

Ancient Waitaha Treasures – Willets Family Collection 1990

Celebrating one thousand years of Waitaha occupation, the Forrester Gallery in Ōamaru held an exhibition from May 5 to June 3 1990, the ancient artefacts called 'Ancient Waitaha Treasures' that had been recovered from Huruhuru Manu, an early kāika at the mouth of the Waitaki River. This exhibition was organised collaboratively with the museum, Te Maihāroa whānau, and the Willets family, who owned and farmed the land where the artefacts had been exposed from 1952 onwards, as a result of ploughing that land. The importance of this event was recognised by the opening blessing from Sir Paul Reeves, Governor-General and former Anglican Bishop. Also in attendance was the Ratana Band, who had travelled over 800 kilometres to support this auspicious occasion. The exhibition also included Waitaha oral history, rock art and mōkihi. These artefacts remain on display today at the Ōamaru Museum, catalogued under the Willets Family Collection.

Re-enactment of Te Maihāroa and Te Heke 2002

The new millennium saw Anne, now in her 70's, infused with more energy, drive and passion for local activities and events. She had been in contact with writer and actress Tungia Baker from Levin, North Island, who was working in the South Island, and asked for a play script based on the re-enactment of Te Heke 1877. There was a delay in getting the script started, which was hurried along when Anne and her husband Bill went to visit Tungia, now living on the West Coast of the South Island. Anne gently stated "I don't care how long it takes, but we are not going home without it". Needless to say, Anne waited overnight for her beloved script, even though sadly, Tungia was unwell at the time. Her work was truly appreciated for finalising this play script during a challenging time.

Tungia's play was performed on Waitangi Day 2002 at Elephant Rocks, a rock formation near Duntroon, depicting Te Maihāroa and Te Heke to Ōmārama, with funding from Culture and Heritage, Creative New Zealand and donations from local businesses. Nannette Wright directed the play and the accomplished composer, Dame Gillian Whitehead, created an aria especially for this event, sung by Anne's niece, opera singer Ramonda Taleni Te Maihāroa. North Island actor, Paki Cherrington, narrated the drama, musically enhanced by taoka pūoro *treasured musical instrument* expert, Richard Nunns. A Christchurch teacher, Gavin Britt, designed and made the theatrical costumes and Aunty Kera, a tāua *grandmother* from Arowhenua, attended along with local mayors and councillors. Tungia's words reflected on past historical events, but also about the dawning of a new age for Waitaha and the ancestral Waitaki River. The play was enjoyed by a large crowd of around six hundred people, who joined in with the festivities such as singing and dancing and (McKenzie, 2010). It was a multi-cultural event, with representatives from the Scottish, Philippine communities and many other culture groups. The Elephant Rocks performance was then invited to Christchurch to take part in the Festival of Romance.

Reflective of her inclusive nature, Anne had also invited other cultural groups and school children to be part of the celebrations. It was truly a community effort, with support from many areas. A commemorative CD was made entitled 'Pakiwaitara o Te Pouākai, *The legend of the wedge-tailed eagle: Te Heke o Te Maihāroa Returning to Ancestral Land*'. This event was moving for many of the audience, with a Pākehā man coming up to Aunty after the re-enactment in tears, and saying that he had no idea that this history had unfolded within the valley that he lived.

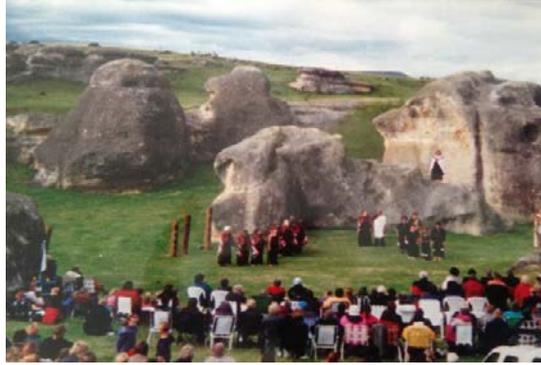


Image 22: Te Maihāroa and Te Heke play 2002, private collection, Te Maihāroa Dodds, A.

Te Maihāroa Whānau Reunion December 2003

In December 2003, the Te Maihāroa whānau, now spread wide and far across the globe, returned home to Waihao Marae for a whānau reunion. Some members travelled from their overseas homes as far away as Iceland. Over one hundred whānau attended the home-coming reunion and enjoyed four eventful days of reconnecting with each other, the marae and environment. Whilst much of the time was allocated to whakawhanaukataka *relationships building*, there were also cultural events such as gathering kai moana *seafood*, learning about the art and craft of mōkihi and using supple jacks to make hīnaki *net*. The evenings were spent learning about whakapapa, listening to the elders sharing kōrero and music, especially from the talented Te Maihāroa-Taleni whānau, who are all competent singers and musicians. The opportunity to spend time together on a marae, enabled whānau to have a living relationship with our ancestral landscape and to strengthen whakapapa through renewed kinship ties. It provided the chance for whānau to sit with kaumātua, to hear first-hand the histories and tribal cultural practices of the Waitaha people.

Project Aqua 2003-2005

The new millennium also brought a new set of challenges for Waitaha. One of Anne's younger brothers who had always spoken up for the Waitaki River, Harry Te Maihāroa, suddenly passed away in 2003, which meant that Anne assumed his place as a member of the Lower Waitaki River Management Society. Anne was also a member of the original Lower Waitaki Zone Committee which includes representatives from the three Ngāi Tahu Rūnanga. In 2003-2004 the Waitaki District Council called for submissions to determine the minimum flow required to protect the Waitaki River and to allocate water use, particularly for Meridian Energy's hydro dams. Concerned about the environmental impact on the mauri of the Waitaki River, Anne and Rangimārie both submitted an appeal against Project Aqua which was proposing a channel on the south side of the river. To reflect their high level of concern for the river, they also chose to raise these issues within their community through a peace march to honour the mauri of the awa.

Anne asked Transit New Zealand (responsible for operating and planning highways), for one lane of the Waitaki Bridge on State Highway One (SH 1) to be closed. Anne specifically stated that protest banners against damming the river would not be welcomed. State Highway One is the main trunk line stretching from the bottom of the South Island up to the top of the North Island. The men at the local Glenavy Tavern firmly agreed that State Highway One would never be closed, to which Anne's husband Bill Dodds replied "you don't know my wife!" (Dodds, B., 2013).

A dawn ceremony was undertaken, with Anne calling forward over 800 people who marched in silence to show resistance to Project Aqua, accompanied only by resonances

of pūtātara and the tapping of river-stones, sounds representing the chattering waters of the Waitaki River. Composer Gillian Whitehead (nō Ōtākou) wrote a duet for the river, sung by Ramonda Te Maihāroa Taleni and Anna Good from Dunedin. The march was carried out in complete silence along one closed lane of the Waitaki Bridge, led by a large masked pouākai. The pouākai dance with Ramonda Taleni and Anna Good sung Dame Gillian Whitehead's 'Waitaki Awa' Aria, composed especially by Gillian Whitehead for the Celebration on the Bridge. The Anne Harris School of Dance from Ōamaru provided children for this and many other performances. People from all over the South Island came to support the Waitaki River and Anne's plea to not diminish the mauri of the awa. Anne was subsequently invited by David Parker to parliament to make a submission on behalf of the Waitaki River.



Image 23: Celebration on the Waitaki Bridge. Personal collection, Te Maihāroa Dodds, A.

Tohu 2006

The loss of her precious younger brother, Harry Te Maihāroa in 2003, left Anne and her two remaining brothers, Tama and Rangimārie to continue their efforts to maintain the mana of the Waitaki River. About the same time, Bronwyn Judge was hiking in native bush when a golden kea made an appearance. Golden kea are extremely rare and protected under the Wildlife Act 1953 and Bronwyn interpreted her sighting of the bird

as a tohu, representing the wairua of Harry Te Maihāroa and an omen of caution for the Waitaki River. As a proactive pacifist statement, Bronwyn in consultation and collaboration with Anne decided to make a film about the challenge besetting the Waitaki River, threading together the loss of Harry and the presence of the golden kea.

Bronwyn subsequently made a documentary in 2006 called 'Tohu', featuring the kea that had appeared earlier in 2004. Anne and her brother Tama were co-producers and gave an interview about their life growing up in their tribal rohe and their identity as Waitaha. The inaugural screening of the 'Tohu' film was held at Dunedin Art Gallery, where Mahara Okeroa, the Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage, opened a special screening there for Matariki.

Holcim Submission and Te Ana Raki 2007

In 2007, Waitaha were notified through the Resource Management Act (1991) that the cement firm Holcim Holdings had lodged a claim to extract a larger quality of limestone from a small hill south of Ōamaru. To Anne and Rangimārie, this equated to the disembowelment of a treasured Waitaha taniwha *powerful creature* at the site, known as Te Ana Raki. In their usual way, Anne and Rangi moved away from the negative focus of losing part of their puke *hill*, to raising the consciousness of the community to their natural surroundings by holding a celebration on top of Te Ana Raki to honour the whenua. Held on the site where Holcim were proposing further mining, Anne and Rangi invited their local community to a Waitangi Day 2008 celebration attended by several thousand. To honour the importance of the landscape, a recreation of Papatūānuku and Rakinui was re-enacted in 'Where Earth Meets the Sky' through music and dance,

including the local rugby team representing the children of the atua, and Anne Harris School of Dance children portraying the flora and fauna of Aotearoa. The day also provided an opportunity for the community to get involved in kite making, where the day concluded with a hāngī and children flying giant kites. Occasions like this attract the local community and heighten their awareness of important environmental issues



Image 24: Te Ana Raki, Anne Te Maihāroa-Dodds and Alan Rakiraki. Personal collection Te Maihāroa-Dodds, A.

Anne and Rangimārie also made a submission on behalf of Waitaha concerning the Holcim Cement Holdings application. The Otago Regional Council and the Waitaki District Council approved it in February 2008, leading the Waiareka Preservation Society, Waitaki District Council and the Otago Regional Council to lodge an appeal against Holcim as the respondent. The Waiareka Preservation Society asked Anne Te Maihāroa to speak for them. Ngāi Tahu had originally opposed quarrying, but later came to an undisclosed arranged agreement and withdrew their countering submission. Judge Jackson heard the first Environmental Court hearing, followed by Judge Gordon Whiting, Commissioners Charles Mannind and deputy commissioner Dr Bruce Gollop (Otago Daily Times, Thursday, 14 May, 2009). Initially Judge Jackson challenged Anne’s right to stand and speak on such matters, stating that Waitaha had “no formal standing” in the court,

leading to Anne, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (TRoNT) and Moeraki rūnaka providing further supplementary affidavits.

As a result of these further submissions, Judge Whiting then ruled that more than one Iwi could have mana whenua status for a rohe and Anne could speak. Incredulous that an official court could treat her in such a dismissive way, Anne called for support from further afield, with Waitaha people coming from the North Island to support her claim. The extra time in Environmental Court resulted in extra legal expenses for Waitaha at a personal cost to Rangimārie and Anne Te Maihāroa. Ultimately Holcim won their case in the Environmental Court Hearing, but never actioned their plans. Anne was encouraged by the case in that she was given status to stand on behalf of her Iwi and be heard in the Environmental Court.

North Bank Tunnel Concept 2007-2010

Project Aqua was abandoned in 2005, but was replaced in 2007 with the North Bank Tunnel Concept (2007-2010), a proposal to build a 34 km tunnel on the north bank of the Waitaki Dam to generate power and return the water downstream for the newly proposed large scale Hunter Downs Irrigation scheme. Anne and Rangi made a submission against the North Bank Tunnel application. Although they won many mitigating conditions from their submission, since the development of the North Bank Tunnel Scheme was stopped in 2013, none of the conditions that might have benefitted the Waitaha people, such as setting aside an area for mahika kai were required to be instigated. One outcome of these hearings is that Rangimārie and Anne were awarded the same standing conditions to Waitaha that were given to Ngāi Tahu, a significant acknowledgement of Waitaha as an Iwi. There is now a proposal to lower the minimum

flow of the river so that local farming irrigators can access more water. The present submission by Waitaha is that the current minimum flow should stay as it is regardless of irrigation demands (Judge, B., 2016).

Relationship Agreement between Waitaha and Waitaki District Council 2011

It was during a meeting with the Waitaki District Council about the Waitaha Artefacts with Anne and her younger brother Tama Te Maihāroa, that one of the Councillors suggested that the council should have a Memorandum of Understanding with Waitaha. Although there was some on-going discussion about the formalising of this relationship, a Relationship Agreement was negotiated and signed by Rangimarie Te Maihāroa, as a sign of the significance of this partnership and in recognition of Waitaha as kaitiaki within this rohe.



Image 25: 'Significant milestone' for Iwi, council Timaru Herald (23 April, 2011). Waitaki District Council, permission granted.

Scott 100 2012

On Waitangi Day 2012, a concert was held in the Ōamaru harbour to commemorate 100 years since the British explorer, Robin Falcon Scott, left the bay bound for Antarctica in the Terra Nova. The Scott 100 Celebrations saw the Navy's HMS *Otago* moored in the harbour for the weekend, when Anne was invited on to and escorted around by the captain. A boating regatta was also supported by steam boats, yachts, and a waka ama

outrigger canoe from Puketeraki Marae. A Waitangi Day Concert was held in the evening outside in the Bay, with a song composed by Gillian Whitehead, written especially for Ramonda Te Maihāroa Taleni to sing. A dawn re-enactment, showed how Scott's men rowed in from the Terra Nova to telegraph the news of the polar party's fate to the world. There was a fund raising dinner for Scott 100, which started with Anne performing the karaka at the pōwhiri for Hon. Chris Finlayson QC (Member of Parliament, Attorney-General of New Zealand), dances and Antarctic-themed entertainment. Although this event was primarily a Pākehā remembrance event, the inclusion and prominence of te ao Māori, reflects the bicultural relationships that Anne and others have developed and maintained within this flourishing community.

Rakimārie Hīkoi Peace Walks

One of the most poignant events for Waitaha was Te Heke, led by pōua Te Maihāroa. As a protest against the ongoing Treaty of Waitangi breaches, and to distance southern Māori from contact with settlers, Te Maihāroa mobilised his people and led them to 'The Promised Land', settling on ancestral land at Ōmārama (Elsmore, 1999; Mikaere, 1988; Beattie, 1939-1945). Commemorative hīkoi of Te Heke (1877-79) in the Waitaki Valley to honour and remember the deeds and wairua of Te Maihāroa and tīpuna, have occurred in 1927, 2012 and 2016. As discussed above, other celebrations include the Ocean to Alps Celebrations (1990) and the honouring the mauri of the Waitaki River (2004). The following Peace Walk at Maungatī (2012) and Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012) are also examples of keeping the ahi kā alive.

Maungatī Peace Walk 2012

For almost two decades, Sir Peter and Lady Fiona Elworthy, farm owners of Cleveland Maungatī in North Otago, have established and continue to have a close connection with Waitaha, as kaitiaki of the pouākai rock art. Although Sir Peter passed away in 2004, Lady Fiona remains an avid supporter of Waitaha and shared her vision to hold a peace celebration at Maungatī in 2012. Over one hundred people gathered, walking up a pathway lined with peonies, to the pouākai cave. The day was opened by Anne, with Cousin Ken McAnergney sharing historical and cultural information with those that had gathered. This event was an expression of Lady Fiona's vision of bringing together diverse communities, with Waitaha as kaitiaki and the sharing the ancient cultural traditions.



Image 26: Te Heke Ōmaramataka 2012 T-shirt design by Rua Pick. Permission granted, Pick, R.

Te Heke Ōmaramataka 2012

In April 2011, at the Waitaha Tai Whenua Trust Board Annual General Meeting (2011) held in Waimate, whānau expressed concern over the mauri of the Waitaki and a desire to commemorate 135 years since pōua Te Maihāroa led his people on Te Heke (1877). The whānau agreed that these two take *topics* could be combined by revisiting the ancient sites in the Waitaki Valley to show gratitude to Papatūānuku and to pay homage to tīpuna. The retracing of ancient *ara trails* is a traditional custom intricately linked with

the cultural concept of ahi kā through maintaining an on-going relationship with ancestral land. It also reflected the pacifist approach of pōua Te Maihāroa, to remain connected to the surrounding landscape and assert the on-going tribal tenure of Waitaha.

It was agreed that a contemporary heke would follow in the footsteps of the tīpuna from the mouth of the Waitaki River, through the Waitaki Valley to Te Ao Mārama, meaning the place of light, commonly known today as Ōmārama. This event named Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012) The Migration of Lingering Memories, involved up to 50 participants, walking 135 kilometres, representing one kilometre for each year since the original Te Heke left 135 years ago. This walk brought to life the cultural customs associated with such journeys and reconnected whānau with the whenua. A poroporoaki at the Ahuriri River concluded the journey, where the District Mayor and local farmer Mr Aubrey, apologised for the way their forbears had mistreated Te Maihāroa and his people in the 1870s.



Image 27: Rangimārie and Anne Te Maihāroa, Ahuriri River. December 2012. Private collection Te Maihāroa-Dodds, A.

Korotuaheka Urupā 2014

Another activity on Anne's wish-list is the restoration of the ancient urupā *cemetery* at Korotuaheka kaika, on the southern edge of the Waitaki River Mouth, where Te

Maihāroa, and his son Taare (Charlie) Te Maihāroa, along with other whānau are interred. Anne is thankful to Moeraki Rūnaka, who have also helped in locating tūpāpāku, using the latest geothermal imaging techniques. She reminds us “what comes from Papatūānuku must also return to her” (Te Maihāroa, A., 2015). The Te Maihāroa whānau have also planted out the area in native plants assisted by a group of people serving community service on periodic detention. Anne hopes that the Waitaki District Council will one day recognise this wāhi tapu as being of historical importance as Te Maihāroa rested there and that access is supposed to be guaranteed via a paper road. Over nine thousand artefacts have also been sourced from the Korotuaheka and Huruhuru Manu area, which form part of the Willets Family Collection as seen in the North Otago Museum.

Treaty of Waitangi Claim 2014

The Treaty of Waitangi 1840 was taken to Takaroa, Ruapuke and then Ōtākou to be signed by the local chiefs. Anne noted that land negotiations after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi were conducted by the more recent and larger Ngāi Tahu tribe, without an invitation to the eldest tribe of Waitaha. In 1844, Ngāi Tahu sold eight million hectares to the New Zealand company for 2,000 pounds in 1848 (Mikaere, 1988). Anne understands that pōua Te Maihāroa did not sign the Treaty because according to his belief systems, “we are of the whenua, the whenua does not belong to us” (Te Maihāroa, A., 2016). Aunty asserts that it is:

... true tikanga, to stand in our own mana as WAITAHA, and not stand on another tribe, meaning Ngāi Tahu. We saw a different light, possibly the same whakaaro as pōua Te Maihāroa, not to sign the Treaty, which gives away our rights. Our brother (Rangimārie Te Maihāroa) spent endless time and money

in the Court, and so the injustice continues on today, a year after his passing on April 2015, aged 84 years (Te Maihāroa, A., 2016).

On the 10th of February 2014 Rangimārie Te Maihāroa and Anne Pate Sissie Te Maihāroa–Dodds lodged a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal to seek leave to further amend an earlier claim MIR 6215 against the Crown relating to the loss of identity, lands and resources of the Kāti/Ngāti Rakai, o Wairaki o aio Waitaha people (Te Maihāroa, R. & Te Maihāroa-Dodds, A. Treaty of Waitangi claim, 10.02.2014, p. 2). As this claim is before the Treaty Settlement Office, the details of the above claim remain undisclosed. Since the lodgement of this claim in February 2014, Rangimārie Te Maihāroa has since passed in April 2015.

Anne Pate Sissie Te Maihāroa–Dodds now waits patiently, in her 83rd year, for the Crown to address the Treaty breaches against her people. A similar plea to that made by pōua Te Maihāroa in the mid to late nineteenth century to the Crown, Anne echoes his call to uphold the mana of the Indigenous people and to protect and preserve the ancestral lands and customs. For Waitaha, an apology and cultural redress by the Crown would demonstrate respect of ancient sovereignty, so that unresolved grievances can be laid to rest and a shared future of peaceful co-habitation can realized.



Image 28: Anne showing her miniature mōkihi. April 2014. Private collection Te Maihāroa Dodds, A.

Conclusion

These events and projects showcased within this article, highlight the potential that one person, in this case Anne Te Maihāroa-Dodds, can achieve when moved by wairua, passion, and commitment, to make a difference in this world. As these endeavours naturally unfolded during a semi informal interview, four overlapping and interwoven themes arose: peace based, bicultural approaches, cultural revitalisation and political interventions. Anne has spent her lifetime, dedicated to promoting Waitaha through peace based events, connecting not only whānau, hapū and Iwi, but also the wider community, instilling harmony and goodwill. This includes commemorative events such the Ocean to Alps Celebration (1990) which observed one hundred and fifty years since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, the peace walks at Maungatī (2012) and retracing the ancestral footsteps on the trails of Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012). Such occasions have the effect of drawing diverse communities together to create a feeling of kinship at a human level, often shedding differences to focus on positive shared experiences. These collective encounters include bicultural events such as Scott 100 (2012), Relationship Agreement with Waitaki District Council (2012), Ōamaru Stone Carving (2000). All of these occasions position Anne Te Maihāroa-Dodds as an integral Treaty partner within her North Otago community, and reveal her commitment to build and maintain harmonious relationships and share her cultural expertise.

There have also been numerous cultural based events such as the documentary Tohu, The Sign (2006), Te Maihāroa whānau reunion (2003), the dramatization of Te Maihāroa and Te Heke (2002) and the Willets Family Artefacts Collection (1990). These occasions contribute to the creative, vibrant, interconnected community of the Waitaki District,

with some of these endeavours reaching and touching the lives of several generations and hundreds of people.

Equally significant are the events that are aimed at the political arena. Anne, along with the support of her brothers, family and friends, have advanced their concerns regarding cultural preservation and conservational issues at a local, regional and government level. This is proven through events such as the Waitaha Treaty of Waitangi Claim (2014), legal access to Korotuaheka urupā (2014), North Bank Tunnel (2007-09), Holcim Submission and Te Ana Raki celebration (2007) and Project Aqua and the Waitaki Bridge Dawn Ceremony (2004). Each of these measures mobilise people, whether it be whānau or empowering local citizens to form a collective voice about the future of their community. Anne Te Maihāroa-Dodds has effectively engaged communities through cultural events and connected them with a wider kaupapa of changing hearts and minds, one step at a time.

It is through events such as described within this paper, that members of the North Otago community people have come together to voice their collective vision for a brighter, more sustainable future. Anne Te Maihāroa-Dodds has effectively mobilized her local community to engage in conversations, cultural events and political alliances to 'become' change agents within their own communities, towards the change that they want to see in the world. These community building activities and events help shape relationships within the community through sharing views, voices, perspectives and experiences. This paper highlights the emancipatory power that can be achieved through a peaceful,

inclusive, bicultural approach, drawing on the integral role of kaitiaki as a vehicle to achieve political awareness and seek justice redress.

Mariki noa te awa o Waitaki, he roimata nā Aoraki.

The Waitaki River flows freely as they are the tears of Aoraki.

Tuhika II: Methodological Notes

This journal article developed from one of the kaumātua interviews, due to the wealth of information shared with the researcher. The researcher valued the wisdom, cultural knowledge and values held by kaumātua who were raised in a different era and wanted to preserve this for future generations (Selby & Laurie, 2005). Interviews with Uncle Rangi and Aunty Anne were undertaken at their home within the first six months of starting the thesis, as they were eager to share their knowledge. In some ways the term 'share' suggests teaching or a sense of urgency to pass on this knowledge. This message has also been echoed by Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiim (2008, p. 37) who noted: "I have heard many Elders say that they wait to be asked to share their knowledge".

This article outlined not only a series of cultural and environmental events and activities, it provided a roadmap peace legacy for mokopuna to come, as it represents a lifetime of community work and dedication. It highlighted the efforts, progress and achievements that one person can make, when supported by her people and community. Anne actively contributed to this pūrākau throughout the writing and editing process, and she was pleasantly surprised when she saw the length and number of achievements in black and white.

Anne repeatedly acknowledged that she could not have done it by herself, drawing on the strength provided to her by her husband, whānau, Iwi, community and tīpuna. This is a home-grown case study which highlights the environmental, political and cultural activities of tāua Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds within her small, rural community over the last

twenty-five years. This journal article fits within an Indigenous paradigm and kaupapa Māori approach because it is co-constructed with Anne, focussed on flax roots activities and events within a bicultural context.

The kaupapa Māori “interview as chat” method (Bishop & Berryman, 2008), was adopted as a perfect cultural fit for Aunty to share her stories and messages for future generations. Aunty and I had previously discussed the need to record kaumātua knowledge, to which she agreed and asked to be video recorded. Her close friend Bronwyn Judge sat beside her and they chatted. The recording lasted one and a half hours, not finishing until when Aunty felt her kōrero was complete. The video was then transcribed, with a copy given to Aunty and Bronwyn to check for accuracy. There were several minor changes to the transcript made, generally around dates of events.

One and a half hours of kōrero made for a lengthy transcription held a lot of rich data. In the process of reading through this information, the researcher identified that the material read like a life story (Houkamau, 2006) and could be utilized as a journal article. Once the data was arranged into a timeline, it revealed obvious segments of her life. As Aunty had recalled many Waitaha events, the process of sorting and sifting through the data, brought her story to life and triggered past memories for the researcher. Archibald Q’um Q’um Xiiem (2008, p. preface) refers to this as the realisation that stories can “take on their own life”. In order to shape the transcript into a document of value to Aunty and the whānau, the raw data was framed into the different aspects of her peacebuilding efforts over the last twenty five years. Tuhiwai Smith (2005, p. 8) notes that presenting

excerpts without a framework for analysis is a failure to maintain the researcher role.

Aunty was pleased with the outcome of this research process, as she received the original one and a half hour video recording, the full transcription and had input into co-constructing a journal article.

This delicate process of working with and for whānau, hapū and iwi, is intimately guided by the values of whanaungatanga (Bishop, 1996; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Whilst the debate about what constitutes “a whānau” continues, the invitation by Aunty to have her close friend, who is non-Māori, is of interest. Bronwyn has been an invaluable support and a real champion for Anne, Waitaha and environmental issues. Whānau relationships are based on kinship, aroha, kanohi kitea, trust and respect over time, with many of these kaupapa Māori values also being present in the personal and working friendship between Anne and Bronwyn.

In reviewing the video recording, the feeling of aroha is obvious, from the relaxed body language to the way that we spoke to each other. When there was a pause to recall people or dates, either Bronwyn or the researcher softly made a suggestion that helped the kōrero to continue to flow. This could also be viewed as the cultural value of māhaki, by offering support in a kind, caring and inoffensive way that added to the conversation. The ever present value of manaaki was obvious, extended through Aunty’s generous hospitality; freshly made shortbread, scones, a hot cup of tea on arrival and kai after the

interview. Both Bronwyn and myself also brought kai with us to share and make a contribution towards the hui process.

TUHIKA III: RETRACING ANCESTRAL FOOTSTEPS

Tuhika III: Te Maihāroa, K. (2017). Retracing Ancestral Footsteps. *Te Kaharoa*, vol. 10. <https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v10i1.158>

Introduction

The tuhika III 'Retracing Ancestral Footsteps' (Te Maihāroa, K., *Te Kaharoa*, 2017) retraces through pūrākau journals, the experience of whānau participating on Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012), a five day commemorative hīkoi walk to honour Te Maihāroa and Te Heke (1877-79). This publication contributes towards the experiences of other Iwi as they in turn have also followed in the footsteps of their tīpuna (Forbes, 2016; Martin, 2012; Napier, 2013; Te Kanawa, 2016; Te Karere, 2016, 2013). It provides an insight into the relationships between present participants on this journey and connections with tīpuna of the past. This publication captures the trekkers' relationship with the whenua and spiritual essence of the journey, following ancestral trails from 'ki tai ki uta' *sea to the mountain*. It completes the thesis publications, but also the circle of connectedness between researching the journey of our tīpuna on Te Heke 1877 and the retracing of these ancestral footsteps in 2012.

Full Publication

Retracing Ancestral Footsteps

Introduction

In Aotearoa New Zealand, retracing the footsteps of famous Māori tīpuna or ancestral trails is not a new phenomenon, but the availability of social media has enabled this information to be more accessible, reaching a global audience. These events and

journeys span from retracing tribal battles, following ancestral mountain trails to the moana and beyond. One such voyage, involved a group of 50 students from Tauranga Moana, who retraced their ancestral connections of the Takitimu waka back to Rarotonga (Te Kanawa, 30 July, 2016). The Commemoration of the Battle of Ruapekapeka also followed the footsteps of tīpuna, the famous warrior chief Te Ruki Kawiti and his peoples, whose memories were honoured by a 400 strong haka party, dignitaries, politicians and hundreds of people (Forbes, 10 January, 2016). Following the journey of Tainui rangatira *chief* became a pre-season bonding exercise that Waikato Chiefs rugby coach Dave Rennie identified as beneficial, enabling his players to learn more about their surroundings: "...an arduous two-day torture test which connected with the past, the land, the people and the sea they will represent this season" (Napier, 20 January, 2013).

Over the last three decades, there has also been an increasing interest in the histories of Māori prophets throughout Aotearoa. The story about a journey of children from Parihaka through Te Waipounamu was subsequently made into a documentary named 'Tatarakihi: The Children of Parihaka' (2012). This film followed the ancestral journey of their tīpuna, Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi (and their people), arrested in Parihaka Taranaki for ploughing their land and wrongfully imprisoned in Christchurch and Dunedin without trial (www.parihakafilm.com ; <https://www.nzonscreen.com>). The Tamakaimoana people also undertook a pilgrimage in December 2013 to retrace the footsteps of their prophet Rua Kenana from Maungapōhatu (Te Karere, 31 December, 2013). Several Gisborne iwi recently retraced the route from Gisborne to the Rēkohū Chatham Islands following their prophet Te Kooti Arikirangi (Haunui-Thompson, 18 May, 2016; Smith, 2016).

Retracing the footsteps of ancestors is not only a physical undertaking, but for many, also an emotional, cultural and spiritual journey. The Waitaha People of Te Waipounamu South Island, retraced Te Maihāroa (? – 1886) and Te Heke (The Migration, 1877-79) on a contemporary peace walk called Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012). The experiences of these trekkers were captured by filmmaker Bronwyn Judge in a free to view documentary entitled 'Te Heke 2012 Waitaki Mouth to Ōmārama' (Judge, B., 2012, Youtube: Te Heke 2012 Waitaki Mouth to Ōmārama). This paper is based on the whānau journals recorded by participants as they trekked from the Waitaki river mouth to Ōmārama in December 2012.

Background information

In 1877, Te Maihāroa led Te Heke from Te Umu Kaha to Te Ao Mārama, in Te Waipounamu, the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. There were two compelling reasons for migrating: a) the necessary isolation from the colonial settlers to protect their tribal identity, and b) to assert tino rakatirataka over ancestral land (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945; Mikaere, 1988; Te Maihāroa, K., 2015; Devere, Te Maihāroa, Solomon & Wharehoka, 2016). The suggestion to remember this historical event by retracing ancestral footsteps, transpired from a whānau discussion to celebrate this occasion and to honour the mauri of the ancestral Waitaki River. This paper explores participants' encounters through whānau journals and the visual representation of family photos, in order to not only highlight these experiences, but also to leave a trail of footsteps and memories for future generations. Te Maihāroa was a direct descendant of the South Island's founding Waitaha ancestor, Rākaihautū, and strongly opposed Māori land sales to colonial settlers. He believed that Papatūānuku should not be sold or exchanged for

what he considered “blood money” (Te Maihāroa, R., 2013), and that his people had not consented to the land sales. Te Maihāroa strongly advocated that the million and a half acres between Ashburton to Maungatua (Taieri) was never sold and therefore remained ancestral land (*Otago Witness*, 1886; *Evening Star*, 1886; Mikaere, 1988).

After fruitless deliberations with local and national entities, including the British Crown, Te Maihāroa concluded that only physical occupation of the hinterland would provide a) the necessary isolation required to preserve tribal traditions, and b) retain occupation of ancestral land. In June 1877, Te Maihāroa led 150 of his people on the migration journey of almost two hundred kilometres from their home in Te Umu Kaha to Te Ao Mārama. This event was later named Te Heke Ki Te Ao Mārama or the ‘Promised Land’, and has been written about by several authors (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945; Devere, Te Maihāroa, Solomon & Wharehoka, 2016; Elsmore, 1999; Mikaere, 1988; Taylor, 1952; Te Maihāroa, 1957; Te Maihāroa, K., 2015, 2017;).

To this day, Te Maihāroa remains in our hearts as our spiritual guide, prophet and peaceful leader. His prophecy was for our people to return to Ōmārama, his vision of the ‘Promised Land’, to fulfil ‘Judaic Law of Return’. Through Te Heke 1877, the migration for peace, Te Maihāroa kept alive ahi kā roa (the eternal sacred fires) of Waitaha, and asserted moral ownership within the interior hinterland. To celebrate 135 years since the original ‘Te Heke’, the Te Maihāroa whānui (family and friends) retraced much of the original route from the mouth of the Waitaki Valley to Ōmārama in December 2012. The latest journey named ‘Te Heke Ōmāramataka’ 2012 followed the sacred footsteps of our ancestors to remember their strength, courage, and motivation for undertaking the peaceful migration (Ruka, personal email, 2012).



Image 29: 'The Promised Land' at Ōmārama, where Te Maihāroa and his people established a Māori village 1877-1879. Personal whānau collection.

Kaupapa Māori (Māori Themed) Research

This paper traces the experiences of the participants on this commemorative walk through personal whānau journals. When the initial idea to retrace the footsteps of Te Maihāroa and Te Heke 1877 was first mooted in April 2012, there were two primary reasons driving this kaupapa: to commemorate Te Maihāroa and Te Heke (1877), and secondly, to draw attention to the diminishing mauri of the Waitaki River. Mauri is often referred to the life principal of a person (Williams, 2001), but in this context refers to the life essence of a river. This research adopted a kaupapa Māori or Māori potential approach towards gathering, writing and disseminating information in a way that honoured the experiences of the participants and promoted agency and self-determination. Kaupapa Māori is a vehicle for transformative change by positioning 'Māori potential' through the lens of Māori philosophies, principles and values (Bishop, 1996, 2005; Mead, 1994; Royal, 1998; Smith, 2003; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

Embedded within this approach are notions of integrity and respect for research participants, shared decision making and working towards a shared collective vision (Bishop, 2005). In alignment with kaupapa Māori research, there was no attempt to provide any interpretative overlay or analysis, rather the participants' narratives are arranged in a way that uses their own words to speak to the reader directly about their

experience. Around the same time that the idea was floated to retrace Te Heke 1877, an archived photograph came to light in the Hocken Library, entitled Te Heke (The Migration) to Ōmārama. This prompted interest within the whānau to find out more about the lives of our tīpuna. This photo also inspired the writer to consider potential ways of authentically recording participants' experiences on the contemporary event of Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012.



Image 30: Te Heke (The Migration) to Ōmārama 1878. Source: Hocken Library, Asset ID 22772.

Participants

The first point of contact with potential participants, was to make contact with possible descendants from the original 150 tribal people on Te Heke 1877 via local iwi networks, including word of mouth, phone calls, emails, Facebook and *Te Pānui Rūnaka*, the Ngāi Tahu Tribal Magazine. The names of interested people were gathered, and a group emailing list was compiled, with an introductory email sent to potential participants, explaining what the whānau journals research entailed. Approximately fifty people registered for Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012, mainly drawn from the lower South Island, with approximately two thirds of the participants directly related through whakapapa,

and one third connected through either a spouse or friendship relationship. Not everyone knew each other. The research data consisted of five kaumātua (aged over 55 years) and five adults (aged between 40 – 55), comprising of five women and five men.

Each participant kept a daily whānau journal over the four days of Te Heke Ōmāramataka 27th – 30th of December 2012. The researcher threaded the narratives together under the heading of each day, to provide an overall picture of the event, with participant quotes to illustrate a sense of belonging, context, space and time. It is also important to identify that the process of selecting which quotes would be included in a published paper, resulted in some narratives being privileged over others. Within the research context, the role of the researcher was to gather the whānau journals, draw them together, and arrange the quotes so that the reader gets a feel sense of the participants experiences, including the synergies and differences between them.

Whānau journals

The aim of this research was to invite whānau to record in their own words their personal experience on Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012. Each whānau journal consisted of twenty A5 pages, designed to be carried by each participant. The material provided within the whānau journals to participants comprised of three components: karakia, background information on the retracing the footsteps of pōua Te Maihāroa and blank ‘journal’ pages with a border of Māori words and values such as: ahi kā, Papatūānuku, Rakinui, whanaukataka, passive resistance, hapū, iwi, tīpuna, whānau, wairua, kaitiaki, kotahitaka *unity*. One of the front pages comprised of karakia for kai, sunrise and sunset. The following four pages of background information started by outlining the start, resting

places and finish of Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012, with the remaining text providing background information for participants.

There were two points of data collection, one at the end of Te Heke Ōmāramataka on the 30th of December 2012, and some journals were sent to the University of Otago within the following month. Ten whānau journals were received, then digitally transcribed, with transcriptions returned to each participant to check for accuracy. Once verified by the participant, each journal read as an individual narrative, to gain the essence of the experience for each writer. In order to maintain anonymity for the journalists, each whānau journal was assigned a coded letter from A-J. The ten texts were then divided into the four days of the event and placed under the heading of that day. The whānau journal entries were placed in daily chronological order, from sunrise to sunset, to give the reader a reflective view of that day. Due to word limits and in the interest of the reader, not all of the journal information was included into this condensed article.

Whānau Journals of Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012

Waitaki River Mouth 26.12.2012

The timeframe of 26th to the 30th of December, between Christmas and New Year 2012 dates, were chosen by the Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012 steering committee, to encourage whānau and friends to join the walk over the summer holiday period when whānau were likely to be on annual leave. Whānau journals show that some participants had clear ideas and reasons for wanting to participate in this commemorative event. One elder identified an important intergenerational reason for the walk: “we have gathered whānau and supporters to make this journey so that in future, generations will be able to retrace Te Heke, having gained knowledge from this experience” (Participant J). The

opportunity to honour the ancestors that undertook this journey was also echoed by Participant A: “The whakapapa behind Te Heke, the karaka of Aunty to take her whānau back into the hinterlands to visit the Hummock where our tāua (grandmother) rests... a place of spiritual significance, for our whānau to experience together”. This journal entry, reveals the multiple layers of whakapapa and acknowledgement of an ancestress that passed away at the Hummock (after being evicted from Te Ao Mārama in 1879). This site was also poignant for another member:

We stand, gaze across to old pine trees standing as a landmark sheltering the urupā (graveyard) of our great Pōua (grandfather) Te Maihāroa, Pōua Taare and whānau who had been evicted from Te Ao Mārama in 1879, by legal process. It is a tearful time as we think of our whānau being threatened with troopers carrying guns, burning down their thatched whare they had built two years prior, ie. 1877. Our Tāua (Grandmother) Pōua Te Maiharoa’s hoa Wahine) has died up there and has been buried at the Hummock, (Participant J).

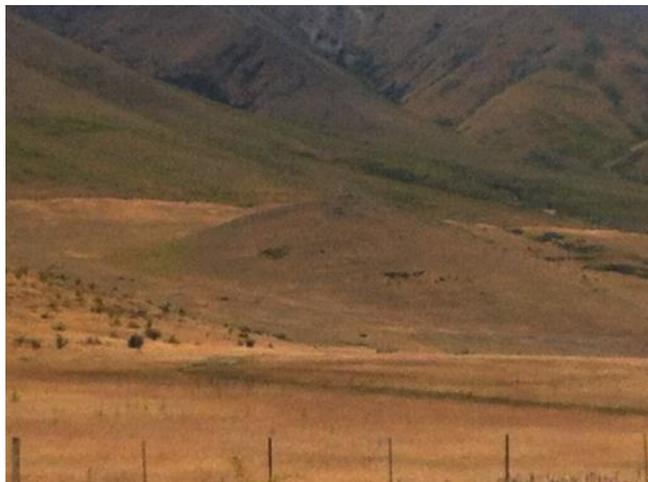


Image 31: Te Poho o Te Rakitamau or locally known as Māori Hummock. The area where Te Maihāroa’s wife, Kahuti is buried.

These accounts traverse across multiple time periods of time, from past and present reflections of this significant site, to future connections with mokopuna *grandchildren* being able to learn from these trekkers’ experiences. It also reflects a multi-generational view of whānau, an Aunty calling to whānau to come together, and remembrance of a Tāua Kahuti, indicates that Te Heke Ōmāramataka will be a spiritual journey for the

“whānau to experience together” (Participant A). The references to the past, present and future generations create mental images that keep the memory of loved ones, and ones to come, close to mind and heart. A similar prediction was made by another journal writer, who also regarded Te Heke to be both a personal and collective spiritual journey. The following participant touches on the concept of rekindling ahi kā, where partaking on the journey also invited the people of 1877 to venture alongside:

Before starting the journey I was aware that we would be laying a pathway of light from the Waitaki river mouth to Ōmārama and as the journey progressed I became aware of the whānau who were with us. The people and the horses were returning as we opened the pathway of ‘Light’, rekindling the fires that allowed them to travel back to Ōmāramataka (Participant B).

From these whānau journal entries, it seems apparent that there is a strong connection between the impending walk and remembrance of the tīpuna that undertook this journey 135 years previously: “Pōua was a tohunga, with special powers he climbed a maunga, with fixed look he received a vision pointing out the ngutuawa of our ancestral awa Waitaki, as the wāhi turanga to return with the whanau, which they did. Alas the ancestral whenua our Pōua was taking the whānau to, unknowingly had been seized by the Government. Things had certainly changed, and we became strangers in our homeland”. As whānau and friends assembled at the river mouth of the Waitaki River on Wednesday 26th of December, the beauty of seeing familiar faces, art pieces and feeling the environment is expressed:

We arrive at the mouth. It is a beautiful place, and the stones make a sound like they are singing to you as you walk on them. I loved it instantly. There are several of the whānau members there, milling around. Several cars, vans and caravans. It feels good to see the familiar whānau faces, and I can’t believe that we are finally here. The anticipation grows as the night grows. We are all interested in the beautiful rauemi *resource* that has been made for Te Heke (Participant A).



Image 32: Ceremonial piece made especially for this event by Rua Pick. 27th December 2012. Personal whānau collection.

The elaborate, ceremonial art pieces (Figure 4) were used at the beginning of Te Heke 2012. The time and dedication undertaken to make these pieces were described by Participant E:

Arrived at the mouth of the Waitaki awa on the afternoon of the 26th of December 2012. Had been very busy for many months prior, making special taonga *treasure* for this heke. It was great to be here at last. Went and collected water from the river mouth for the hue, used another tahā *gourd* for this purpose.

This whānau member had literally spent several months dedicated to making these taoka to accompany the journey. The variety of resources from a bygone era, gathered and made from a bygone era especially for this occasion, seemed to prompt Participant F to consider the differences between the contemporary and historical worlds:

We had a karakia at the Waitaki Mouth. Whānau got ready the lighting of the fungi that would take the fire from the mouth and finish off in Ōmārama. Whānau gathered water from the Waitaki mouth in a gourd. It's at this time I realized that we live in a Pākehā world – our ancestors must have done life very hard. Time was not by a watch on their arm. We spent the night thinking and learning.

Another journal entry describes the beginning karakia, the roles assigned to male and female participants, and also where the fungi is from and the role of keepers:

The daughters of the fire-keeper ... (I) know that the ahi is in firm hands with these kōtiro. There is excited talk as we marvel at the fungi (fungus that grows up the beech trees). Holes are made to keep the ahi embers. We talk about the kete that has been given to carry the fire – it looks amazing like a net of some sort. We head up to the river mouth for the sun setting / moon rising ceremony. The wāhine say the karakia that says goodbye to the sun and the tāne greet the rising moon (Participant A).

Fire is a common theme in the journal entries made on the first night, with one participant describing fire as ‘ahi kā’, perhaps referring to ‘ancestral fires’ rather than the other meaning of ‘occupation rights’, although they are both synonymous. “This is the ahi kā when our tīpuna lived in the whenua, built their houses, cooked their kai and left evidence of this in house sites, garden areas and hearth stones” (Participant J). The details required to keep the ‘ahi kā’ burning throughout the night and the fun shared trying to light the fire traditionally are also described:

... (we) next sourced fine sand for the ahi kā, found a small deposit in the paddock by the campsite, filled up a kete. Then prepared ahi tapu, upon the stony beach made a fire pit lined with kindling and wood, found a metal lid to maintain the heat and embers for the night. Brought some kauahi *bottom firestick* and hika *fire plough* to start the fire. Everyone had a go at trying to start fire by this ancient method, almost got it going – hot and smoking - but had to light the fire the modern way in the end (Participant E).

The challenge and enthusiasm of trying to light a fire the traditional way is expressed as a collective whānau effort:

There is great excitement as we try to light the fire with a piece of dry old tawa and a stick. We rub furiously for almost an hour. The whānau work and move as one, giving it all that we have, and taking over when we need a rest. Even the tamariki are getting into it and it reminds me of the skills that tīpuna had to keep the ahi going (Participant A).

Another participant also recalled how the fire-lighting occasion also seemed to cement relationships between the members. The fire represented both the literal warmth of lighting a fire, but also the warm atmosphere created by with karakia and waiata:

We all bonded as we tried to light the fire the traditional way – over a couple of hours we achieved heat and smoke but did not get a flame, this activity certainly warmed us. We lit the fire on the stony beach the modern way and in the light and warmth of the fire there was karakia and waiata. Whaea said karakia as the water was placed in the vessel to reflect and absorb the starlight (Participant D).



Image 33: Lighting a fire the traditional way by rubbing two sticks together and one of the fire-keepers maintaining the fire embers the next morning. Waitaki River mouth. December 26th, 2012. Personal whānau collection.

The fire remained a focal point for the group, where several participants' journals touched on their own personal aspirations for the journey ahead and their ancestors: "I feel my tīpuna around me, especially as the night creeps in. Now we are in darkness, sitting around the fire and sharing stories" (Participant A). The fire-side stories continued long into the night, with whānau listening to the experiences of elders and even contemplating a final resting place:

We sat around the fire for what seems like hours, telling stories of the olden days and listening to tāua share her childhood memories of being of this whenua. We pay homage to our tīpuna who lay in Korotuaheka urupā. I am reminded of the dilemma that I have contemplated previously, of where to be once I pass over – wanting my bones to lay with the bones of my people, but aware that council has changed the rules and now we can't even use our whānau urupā on Te Maihāroa road (Participant A).

The thought of tīpuna on the trails was also a thought for Participant J: "...as our people when they died were buried near where they stopped and marked with for example a stone fence where practical, or heaped earth". The night drew to a close, with a star

ceremony conducted by a male elder. Again, the beauty of the resources made especially for this special time, attracted the attention of Participant A:

We embark of the star ceremony, and transfer the water of the Waitaki River mouth which is held in the hue, into the star bowl. The ipu *vessel* is made from beautiful clay, specially sourced for this ceremony, with the white clay reflecting the stars and the moonlight. The opening ceremony is conducted in te reo Māori. It is ritualistic and haunting. The kōrero speaks about far off places and the names of our tīpuna. The names of the tīpuna on Te Heke have not been captured in entirety.

The rituals carried out within the star ceremony welcomed the new day. This is explained by Participant E, who briefly outlines the progression and energy expended: “The whānau gathered around the ahi tapu *sacred fire*, karakia were said. Next the water from the tahā was poured into the ipu for the night stars to dance upon, karakia were woven into the waters followed by waiata. I was very fatigued following the creative build up by this stage and did not sleep well this night”.

Waitaki to Duntroon 27.12.2012.

As the whānau prepare for the initial leg of the walk, three whānau journals reflect on the night ceremony and lack or depth of sleep that night. Participant B, attributed this period as a change of time of spiritual change:

There was a lot of pressure towards the end of 2012 with the change in the Mayan calendar from the stone calendar to the water calendar and in my life there were big changes. I had one hours sleep and out to the Waitaki River mouth by 5.50am. Good to get there in time for the ceremony. There was a feeling of the unknown as to what was going to happen and I felt comfortable in being there and had a strong commitment to the task ahead. Beautiful sounds have stayed with me from the opening the start of the journey and the sincere, honest words that were spoken at the ceremony.

The dawn ceremony welcomed the new day and heralded the start of Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012. Five participants described the dawn karakia, with Participant D noting:

Waking after little sleep, the group gathered to welcome the sun and farewell the moon with karakia, and Participant B acknowledging that everyone welcomed the sunrise (all the women) and the men faced the other way saying goodbye to the moon, then we gathered around the small fire with our prayers.

Whilst Participant E also recognised the greetings and farewells, a description of the mornings karakia was added: “greeted the sun, farewell the moon, karakia of unfolding peace *pūkāea long wooden trumpet* opened the way towards the mountains we began our long walk”. The dawn ceremony seemed to draw whānau members together, as they prepared to embark on an unknown journey. It was important to the group to honour the mauri of the Waitaki River and carry the water up through the valley.

Three participants recalled the importance of carrying the water close to the heart. “A hue with Waitaki wai is enclosed in a smallish harakeke kete or basketry carried all of the journey ... to the stream at Te Ao Mārama” (Participant J). Participant E acknowledged that “the water from the ipu was placed in the hue tapu carried against her heart in a rourou”, and similarly, Participant D, greeted the process with honour “whaea said a karakia as the waters were poured into the hue for the journey, the *pūkāea* sounded, I harnessed the hue next to my heart and the journey began”. Participant I, also mentioned prayers recognising the significance of the ceremony, water and journey ahead:

Prayers were said and a leaving ceremony with singing and horns. The fire was lit and stored for the journey, water from the Waitaki Mouth was gathered, to be

carried (up) to Ōmārama and placed in the Ahuriri River to once again mingle and flow back to the Waitaki mouth and the sea.



Image 34: The 'hue tapu' the vessel that carried the sacred water from the mouth of the Waitaki River to the Ahuriri River. Ōmārama. 30th December 2012. Personal whānau collection.

Preparation for the journey ahead included karakia for the primordial elements, as noted by Participant B: “such a simple ceremony, but one with all the earth’s elements included. The ceremony opened with sounding the conch shell, which was hauntingly beautiful”. The transporting of the fire embers is another common theme, as Participant D describes how it will be carried amongst the walkers: “the fire carriers, placed the ember in the fungus in preparation for the day’s journey – they plan to relay throughout the Heke”. The finer details of the carried fire host is described by Participant E: “the puku tāwhai – *Beech Bracken fungus* is burning the ember carrier, made a kōhanga in a net bag swung on a wero – fiercely it burned many times adjusting it on this day and on days to follow”. Another walker, Participant D, acknowledged that “tending to the smouldering ember meant we had to stop frequently to ensure it was not burning too fast or about to go out - this was a learning experience - it worked and each time we stopped to tend to this we noticed different things on the way”.

The re-created traditional way of transporting and keeping the fire ember simmering, was novel and intriguing to not only the whānau, but also passers-by, as mentioned by

Participant D: “Tourists and locals were fascinated by the smoke coming out of the woven kete on the end of a stick and stopped to ask us about it, others had passed us on the road and they asked us why we were walking”. The water signified the mauri of the Waitaki River and the fire symbolized ahi kā roa. Some of the roles and challenges as guardians of the earthly elements also cared for the spiritual wellbeing of people:

I tautoko the water and fire walkers all the way both in te ao tāngata me te ao wairua *the world of human beings and spiritual world*. There were many challenges managing both these elements. The first walk was a physical challenge for most as this was the longest leg 40km. The support crew were much appreciated, feeding us, providing a wharepaku *toilet* also. The faster walkers were ahead most of the time. Keeping an eye on the smouldering fire with dry grasses around was a constant vigil, so we went at a slower pace in our group. We bonded and had lots of laughing on our journey, (Participant E).



Image 35: Two generations of fire carriers. The fire embers are maintained within the fungi, carried in a openly woven bag to let the air circulate and the remaining evidence of the fire embers that had been smouldering within the net bag. December 28th, 2012. Duntroon. Personal whānau collection.

The companionship between the walkers was noted by five participants. Participant I commented on “the camaraderie of the walkers and support crew” and Participant D observed: “the weather was calm with high cloud, the majority of the day was walked off the main road, once we got onto the main road the traffic was fast and constant. Stories and histories were shared on the way”. Participant C added: “nine people were walking today with a rider behind, with a sign of warning to cars about ‘walkers ahead’ leaving plenty of room for cars to get around him, and the walkers ahead, on the other side of the road”. Friendships were formed not only between the walkers, but also amongst the

wider support crew, as described by Participant H: “we had an interesting time following the walk from the Waitaki mouth to Ōmārama Ahuriri River. We couldn’t be there the whole time but enjoyed the company of the other people”. Another walker, Participant I, also walked and took on a support role when necessary:

I walked with my cousin most of the way to Duntroon. I rode some of the way with my Dad, as my feet were getting a bit sore. Had a catch up with the wonderful support crew. I cannot recall if I stayed long enough to greet all the walkers, but left to go home to Waimate as I had to work the next four days.

The support crew ensured that the walkers had the necessary resources to make the trek comfortable. Some journal entries were very practical, as noted by Participant G:

“Wednesday to deliver barbeque to whānau. Left on Thursday as support to walkers followed to Duntroon Domain. Helped set up then went home. Re-joined at Ōtematata for last day. Stayed at Ōmārama evening and left next morning”. Similar to the relay of the smouldering fire embers between walkers, the support crew passed on moral support along the way, as described by Participant C: “two or three of the supporters’ cars would stop to cheer them on, one car had a toilet in a trailer, and another had a caravan with food and water. I stopped with them along the way, to say ‘hi’ before heading to our next stop in Duntroon”. One whānau member, Participant F, outlined the essential resources required for the following five days journey:

I am one of Te Maihāroa’s descendants and of Waitaha. Our journey started on the 26th of December at the Waitaki Mouth. We arrived with our bus mobile home. My husband would be doing the journey for the first day. We had arranged a trailer that had a BBQ in it as it was carrying water and some food supplies.

As walkers arrived into the small township of Duntroon, some trekkers had been walking for twelve hours. The preparations for the night were both physical and spiritual, as

noted by Participant D: “the fire carriers and our spiritual leader lit the night’s fire from the ember and the camp owner shared stories of fire carrying that he had heard and even provided wood to enable us to keep the small fire going and the embers hot until morning. I slept soundly”. For one participant, there was also the realisation of guidance from a higher source:

The first evening when we arrived in Duntroon I was surprised when the ancestors instructed me to anchor the light to a very large piece of pounamu that was in the shape of an anchor...The first day was a long one but easier for me on the bike. It was not until we reached the main road to Duntroon that I realized the full extent of my role in the stern of the waka. The faster walkers had gone ahead where they were in the prow of the waka, they were cutting through the (waves) energy finding the way and the sacred treasures and fire where in the middle of the waka where they were cared for by this group. I was happy in the stern looking after the safety aspect and looking after the spiritual whanau who were travelling up the road. They were with all of us but I was aware from previous journeys that the Waitaha always travel up the left hand side of the road or track (Participant B).

Duntroon to Kurow 28.12.2012.

The following morning saw two of the walkers leave the group to re-join their family for the Christmas break. The following quote reflects the closeness developed over the previous day and the presence of each person as a ‘gift’:

The walkers started out about 9am, after a ceremony and blessing around the camp fire, and in a circle of people giving thanks and saying goodbye to two brothers who had walked the first day and were moving on today. We all shared hugs and hongis (nose to nose, brow to brow greeting or farewell), wonderful!! Quite emotional. Anne thanked each person for their particular gifts that each one brought into this journey, during this circle, before the walkers left for this leg of the trip, this special pilgrimage (Participant C).

The historical significance of this area is commented by Participant J: “The Waitaki Valley is full of historic Māori place names, rock art shelters which were temporary places to stay, very few old ovens sites now visible, occasionally pounamu *greenstone* artefacts are

still being found and gifted to our collection we hold". Just a few kilometres outside of Duntroon is Takiroa, an ancient site for Waitaha, consisting of limestone overhangs where tīpuna took shelter and left a record of their experiences on the cliffs through rock art.

Although there are multiple interpretations of what the rock art depicts (Fomison, 1971, 2009; O'Regan, 2008, 2003, 1994; Robert McDougall Art Gallery, 2010; Trotter & McCulloch, 1971), the originators of the rock art have been ascribed to the "first Polynesian travellers" and estimated to be at least 700 years old (*NZ Herald*, McAllister, March 2, 2013). Ngāi Tahu anthropologist Gerard O'Regan notes that the Takiroa rock art shelters contained "archaeological evidence dating from the time of moa hunting" (O'Regan 2008, p. 418). Participant J adds:

"TAKIROA. Well known rock art site, a place of special significance and important to us as Waitaha. Walking into these areas brings 'goose pimples', another world almost, for within the towering lime stone cave is a strong feeling of spirituality, which takes one back to an older period, it is as if the ghost of our tīpuna still exists and is watching over us, we feel that as a blessing".

The significance of walking through this historic landscape was observed by Participant E: "going through the limestone lands of māere whenua was good for all the senses. We stopped at Takiroa and listened to te pekepeke insects". Another walker remarked on the challenges the ancestors would have faced:

We stopped at Takiroa to acknowledge the ancestors at the site of the Waitaha rock art. Our anchor man joins us on our short breaks as we tend to the ember and rest our feet... enjoying the scenery and reflecting on the Heke 135 years ago and how different the weather and terrain was then, the hardships they endured, (Participant D).



Image 36: Some of the fire and water carriers in front of some of the protected rock art at Takiroa. December 28th, 2012. Duntroon. Personal whānau collection.

One of the aims of Te Heke Ōmāramataka was to honour the mana of the Waitaki River and supporting tributaries, as acknowledged by Participant D: “The fire ember was prepared, I carried the water hue, the day started with a good pace and plenty of energy, and we were all in good spirits. We said karakia as we crossed the waters – they look so sad and depleted”. Although the participants who carried the fire and water talked about the honour of doing so, these tasks were also added responsibility and challenging. The continuous burning of the fire embers were also of concern, as identified by Participant E: “(I) lined the net bag with wet mud from clay I procured from the camping ground. Which I hoped would buffer the hot ember from burning through the net bag. I found I had to deduct some during the walk as it was too heavy. I enjoyed this walk to Te Kohurau *Kurow*”.



Image 37: The popular 'yellow tardis', with whānau in a queue to visit the mobile port-a-loo. December 28th, 2012. Ōtematata. Personal whānau collection.

The physical environment also posed a challenge, both in terms of cars and the temperature. As the walk was over one of the busiest weeks of the year, between Christmas and New Year, and the roads can be long and straight, Participant C, wrote about her concerns for the safety of the walkers and the biker:

We moved on ... (where) it was safe to park and allow room for the walkers and (the biker) to relax for a short break. Many cars on the road today, a bit worrying for bike riding, not really enough bitumen to ride on safely, between the white lines and the grass verge.

In the early afternoon on the second day, a local reporter from the *Otago Daily Times* caught up with the walkers, as noted by Participant E: "An Otago Daily reporter came and took a photo of the fire and water walkers and young kōtiro" and Participant D: "We had our photo taken for an article in the ODT". As it was another long day's walk of up to twelve hours, Participant D recalled how encouragement and small indulgences helped to break up the journey: "We stopped for a coffee and an ice cream at Kohurau, little treats really enjoyed... Te Kohurau Museum people drove to greet us and encourage us on". Walkers sheltered in whānau caravans dotted along the route to rehydrate and eat some

food. The fierce determination was shown by another trekker, who described the harsh walking conditions:

We lunched under a large tree and were joined by friends, we had a foot and leg massage – sooooo good! I had developed shin splints and blisters, my legs were so swollen – I haven't had this before - it was great to take the shoes off for a while. HOT HOT HOT! Sun is intense today! Each step was agony for me for 3/4 of the day, but I was determined to walk the entire journey. Again our support crew helped us along the way with kai, toilet and telling us how much further we had to go... The yellow tardis port-a-loo was a welcome sight as this meant a brief spell and a friendly face (Participant D).



Image 38: Carrying the sacred waters from the Waitaki River mouth back to the Ahuriru River, during a heke to remember their ancestor Te Maihāroa. December 28th, 2012. Otago Daily Times, 2 January 2013. Photo by Andrew Ashton.

The Kurow Museum holds some special Waitaha taoka and has a close relationship with the Waitaha people. As some of the walkers arrived into Kurow, there seemed a special welcome for them, as observed by Participant D: “The evening light was beautiful walking into Kohurau, the air was still and warm until we walked past the museum a breeze momentarily blew and the Waitaha Grandmother Flag at the Museum flew fully open to greet us into Kohurau”. The warm atmosphere and tidy amenities were appreciated by tired walkers and supporters, as pointed out by Participant C: “We headed into Kurow, nice little town into the camping ground, a well-organized area, tidy and inviting, clean facilities – toilets, showers and kitchen area. The last of the walkers and rider came in around 8.30pm”.

The evening provided a much needed rest for the walkers and supporters, although the moon and stars seemed to put on a show as mentioned by Participant D, “we joined the rest of the team at the camping ground and slept well under a full moon”, and Participant E added (we) “adapted the fire placing it in a ceramic pot then off to bed. The stars shone and Rākinui bathed the whenua in a silver korowai *cloak* as Pareārau pulsed in the heavens”. One of the spiritual leaders, Participant B, revealed:

The second and third night the people and ‘light’ were anchored and held by the camping Waitaha group. From my previous journeys I have made and journeys I have done, I am aware that there are protocols to be respected when moving with Waitaha, the Ancestors and Ancient Ones.

Kurow to Ōtematata 29.12.2012.

The days for both walkers and supporters were long, with karakia beginning at sunrise and concluding the nights around midnight. Walkers tried to get on the road early as to get some kilometres behind them before the intense parts of the days heat, as recorded by Participant C: “we arose early around 7am, have to get on the road early today, it’s going to be hot today and the walkers will need to use their fresh energy to move along the highway towards Ōtematata camping ground”. The energy seemed to be high this day with two participants noting the speed of the walkers as they moved through the valley, with Participant C, recording, “I met the walkers around 10.20, they had done approx. 10kms by then and doing well, the first group had done about 15kms”, and Participant D, also detailing the early progress: “again the day began with good energy and enthusiasm in our steps, a good pace was set. The traffic was full on today”! After three long days of walking up through the Waitaki Valley alongside speeding cars, rests with the support crew were valued and appreciated, as recorded by Participant B: “I did enjoy the chats along the road when we stopped and sat as a group having a rest on the

trail. I think that everyone worked very well together, the support people and the walkers and the people on the road could feel this support from the whānau”.

The trekkers were described as “our brave walkers”, whilst also acknowledging the support biker: “One person came in behind the last few walkers, on his bike, holding up the rear (or stern of the waka) whilst another pulled in for a chat, before heading further up the road, climbing steadily higher and getting more tiring for our walking whānau”, (Participant C). The significance of the journey was a heart-felt connection:

There are so many aspects and there seemed to be a lot going on, with many levels of activity. I remember biking along quietly and thinking about the ancestors, the whānau following us up the road with their horses and belongings and thought to myself, ‘this is huge what we are doing’ and the tears were flowing down my face as they are now as I type this. It is very close to my heart and the people have been able to return to their true home in the mountains were Te Maihāroa took them. It was good to see how everyone’s skills blended together to create a successful and safe journey (Participant B).

This stretch of the walk alongside Lake Aviemore, prompted two journal entries about the majesty of the surroundings. Participant C detailed the “beautiful views of the lakes system and mountains are seen from this area, now with layers of misty blues and mauves of the higher mountains in looming up behind them, some still with snow”. For Participant D, the picturesque scenery was enhanced with the company of some new walkers: “others joined us throughout the day which was great. A long walk, lovely views of hills and lakes, we went for a swim when we reached camp very refreshing”.

By the end of another long day trekking in the heat, the walkers were physically put to the test once again. Participant C offered extra support to some of the participants: “The walkers finally got in at 9pm. I gave a massage and healing to those with sore legs – very sore! It was blowing up a storm, we couldn’t get any tent pegs into the ground securely,

so hoped the tent would stay up through the night... Everyone enjoyed a 'hāngī' for dinner". The kai was appreciated also by Participant D: "had a nourishing meal and slept intermittently as it was a noisy and full campground at Ōtematata", with the desire for sleep winning over company of others for one whānau member: "joining with the whole group in the evening did not happen for me as it was getting late by the time we put up the tent and prepared food. Tired and just wanted to get to bed" (Participant B).

Ōtematata to Ōmārama 30.12.2012.

This is the last day of walking, bringing a special surprise to those that rose early, as mentioned by Participant E: "Woke up before sunrise, showered, did yoga and said karakia with tōku porotiti, prepared. A beautiful double rainbow rose out of the mountains – it began to gently rain". Although another whānau member probably welcomed the addition of rain to a dry campsite:

It rained heavily all night and into today. The fire siren rang after going to bed last night and we could see some flames next to us, about 15 mins later, but it was the fire-keepers keeping the tradition of lighting a fire at each camp site and we hadn't had one last evening – someone had bought the 'hāngī' in – so no fire had been lit for cooking. The girls had gone to bed and realized that they needed to have a little fire between our tents – in a small saucepan – so not too much to worry about – phew, (Participant C).

It seemed that the rain forced the walkers to bow their heads and be present, focusing just on the next step. Participant D, made the following connections: "It was raining very heavily all morning and it was very cold as we trekked on up over the hill, our heads down under rain hats and I noticed we were literally walking in each other's footsteps as we chanted and sang to the pace of our footsteps along the way". Rain was a common theme on this last day, with the extra challenges of packing up a sodden campsite:

Rained heavily, only short periods of lighter rain, but got extremely wet packing up our tent and car, just getting the tent pegs out of the ground and roughly folding a saturated tent and lifting it up into the pod on the roof of the car was an effort... Caught up with the walkers and their guardian at the rear (Participant C).

The cold, wet weather of the last day, didn't seem to deter the high spirit of the walkers.

As noted by Participant E, the addition of new whānau members seemed to invigorate the collective atmosphere: "(our cousin) joined our small group, we made good speed with new energy – the rain was heavy and it was very cold as we ascended the hill crossing the pass - we got soaked to the skin". Another member noted:

...such a beautiful scenery through here and I'm really recognising what a special pilgrimage / journey that we are all on – the carrying of the waters and the fire: the wind helping to move us along the way (the winds of change?) and the connection of feet to earth and treading softly – reconnecting to our earth mother – was so profound (Participant C).

The connection between the changing earthly elements, the natural environment and those walking the landscape, seemed to contribute towards a feeling of support and appreciation: "The wild flowers were bright and beautiful in these stormy light, droplets of water glistened on the foliage. We stopped ... for a hot cup of tea and kai, this was very welcomed. We put on warm dry clothes and set off again – a bigger group now" (Participant D). This welcoming of dry clothes and hot tea was also echoed by Participant E: "Stopped at Sailors Cutting and changed our clothes to dry ones, had a hot cup of tea and some lunch – thanks to whānau camped there, who then joined us for the walk and the sun came out warming us on the rest of the heke to Ōmārama".



Image 39: A 'tohu' interpreted as a sign by the whānau that our tīpuna were happy with our accomplishments. December 30th, 2012. Ōtematata. Personal whānau collection.

Now dry and re-energised, the whānau pushed on towards Ōmārama: “Energy was fluid as we made our way to Ōmārama. Beautiful scenery, karakia to the waters and the birds all the way. Arrived at Prohibition Road, all the walkers linked up and came to the Awa Ahuriri together” (Participant E). Their ambiance certainly moved from the challenge of completing the walk, to a feeling of achievement:

(I’m) just feeling this energy of those who have taken part in this walk, their pain, their companionship with each other, their tears and tiredness, their strong resolve touched my heart and soul so deeply... I have learnt so much, on so many levels of my being. A very big thank-you for your acceptance of me into your whānau, (Participant C).



Image 40: Whānau enjoying a picnic together, after a morning of rain. December 30th, 2012. Ōtematata. Personal whānau collection.

Just after midday, the walkers had broken through the worst of the weather, with the rain clouds lifting to show the spectacular Waitaki River basin, now laid out behind them.

The participants were now reflecting on this experience:

The group continued to grow in numbers, we arrived at the Ahuriri River in Ōmārama. We distributed flags and instruments amongst the walkers, we walked the last footsteps to the ceremony where the elders were gathered. We were all exhausted from the physical journey we had just done over the past days. This was an emotional moment as the culmination of the experiences and memories of those before us came to the fore (Participant D).



Image 41: These two photographs capture whānau at the top and bottom of the pass near Prohibition Road, Ōmārama. December 30th, 2012. Personal whānau collection.

The opportunity to follow the footsteps of ancestors was more than just a physical and emotional challenge. It created the occasion for not only kin, but also like-minded people to come together: “Coming into contact with Waitaha spiritual Ancestors was very natural for me and over a number of years there were a lot of journeys under their direction ... Te Heke was a journey with family and I felt enfolded by the whānau” (Participant B). The whānau experience on Te Heke was also celebrated by another member:

The circle of family, the wonderful ‘invitation’ to join the family, by one of the grandmothers and greetings from the spiritual leader and sharing of the story of the original walk of the Waitaha people from the Waitaki river mouth – (great grandfather and his families) the words and feelings expressed by several locals to

the existing families of the Waitaha peoples, of apology for the ill treatment and sorrow inflicted on these peaceful peoples (Participant C).

This view represents the only whānau member to write about the historical grief and loss associated with Te Heke 1877 (although it is quite possible that other whānau journalists may have experienced a mixture of feelings, no other sorrowful memories were recorded). Participants recalled the closing ceremony as “sacred, honourable, beautiful and extraordinary”. “The ceremony was a moving occasion with histories acknowledged, karakia and waiata, the water from the hue was returned to the spring and the fire to the earth with karakia from our matriarchs” (Participant, D). Another member wrote that “It was an honour for me to be asked to sit in the front at the ceremony and when I sat in the chair I felt a very strong energy around me ... It was beautiful to experience this, to feel the depth of it” (Participant B). The following whānau member documented in detail the unfolding ceremony:

(We) distributed ngā haki *flags* and taonga puoro *musical instruments* amongst the walkers. Carried a kete containing pūmoa blew a hue puruhau to clear the way for the walkers to the pōwhiri *formal ceremony*. Young kōtiro blew the pūpakapaka *conch shell trumpet* also. Met kaumātua at the puna *spring*, speakers spoke on both sides Korimako *bellbird*, Whekau *laughing owl*, Riroriro *grey warbler*, Pīpipi *brown creeper*, Mohua *yellow head bird*, Pouākai *giant extinct eagle*, Pūngāwerewere *spider* were some of the rhythms, aroha hou te Rongo *lovely new sounds* was the outcome. Then took the wai tapu *sacred water vessel* and ahi tapu *sacred fire vessel* to the puna Waitaha kawe Wai Taha *Waitaha carried the water vessel*, Waitaha tiaki ranui *Waitaha protect the day*— mission completed. 135 km, 135 years since the last heke, that we honouring, (Participant, E).



Image 42: The end of the closing ceremony, where the water carried from the mouth of the Waitaki River was returned to the Ahuriri Stream. Ōmārama. December 30th, 2012. Personal whānau collection.

For one participant, the late arrival on the last leg of Te Heke acknowledged a missed opportunity: “whānau had taken our bus for the last part of the journey too. My husband and I are both descendants of Te Maihāroa, yeah. On my return there were lots of tales to be told. I missed a fantastic journey. The nights my whānau spent all together, walking, riding, eating” (Participant F). Others felt that the ancestors were pleased with the actions undertaken: “We have blessed Papatūānuku and her sacred waters, sea and sky with our actions and the Waitaha people are very happy to be back in Ōmāramataka” (Participant B). The wairua had been rekindled through the valley once again:

The water from the mouth of the Waitaki river was released from the special gourd into the Ahuriri river, a sacred area where the Waitaha people had lived. The fire which was carried, quietly keep alight, along the journey was lit from the original fire on the foreshore at the start of this walk (sacred fire and prayer over) from the river-mouth to the mountains, taking with light with them, this was put into the earth near the stream – anchoring the energy of the peoples, their spirits, and their strength through their journey (Participant C).

Conclusion

As captured within these whānau journals, the retracing of ancestral footsteps has been a moving experience for all of the participants on Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012, completing the two whānau goals of commemorating Te Maihāroa and Te Heke (1877) and honouring the mauri of the Waitaki River. One member, Participant D, felt that the group

had honoured the tīpuna: “We did this to the best of our abilities in the modern day with our limited knowledge - we learnt a lot during the preparation and walking of the Heke. What an honour to participate in this Heke”. Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012 was a heart-felt experience, weaving together connections between whānau and the landscape, and a trail of personal experiences entwined in whānau journals for future mokopuna. These memoirs highlight the strength of whānau connections, of not just those present on the trails, but also a time to honour those that have walked the trail hundreds of years before, and ngā atua, the origin of all things past, present and future:

We were all sore & blistered at the end yet it was an honour & a privilege to be part of such a tapu journey, to whetū hīkoi in the many great cycles of heke ki te Te Ao Mārama *migration to Ōmārama*. Tēnā koutou kātoa to everyone involved in making this happen. Waitaha ngā kaitiaki o te korowai o Rongo Marae Roa, kaitiaki mātua o ngā tātau o te rangimārie me te ora *Waitaha guardians of the cloak of peace, parental guardians of us over peace and wellbeing*; fire, rain, wind and snow followed – blessings from ngā atua *the gods* (Participant E).

The participants’ experiences align with the documented voices of other whānau, hapu and iwi that have also chosen to reconnect with their tīpuna in a similar journey (Forbes, 2016; Joseph, 2012; Napier, 2013; Smith, 2016; Te Kanawa, 2016; Te Karere, 2016).

nThese journeys inform us of a sense of spiritual undertaking, a reconnection with the past, present and future by following in the footsteps of ancestors to commemorate and keep their memories alive. For the descendants of ancestors forcefully taken from their ancestral land and made to work under enforced labour, the experiences can be emotional, stirring up old memories and brings to the forefront the pain that the tīpuna suffered (Smith, 2016; Te Maihāroa, R. in Judge, 2012). The participatory experience of walking in ancestral footsteps therefore becomes an intimate intergenerational encounter of the body, mind and soul.

The walk of 135 kilometres over four days, from the sea to the mountains, each kilometre corresponding with a year that had passed since the original trek. The experience of retracing the footsteps of tīpuna is possibly one that is cannot be erased from our body, memory or consciousness. The time spent in preparation of Te Heke, the journey itself and the points of reflection, provide bountiful gifts from this significant occasion. “Tuku tō ngākau, tō wairua, tō ihi mauri. Kia rere purehua ai, mai te moana ki ngā maunga tū tonu. *Te Heke Ōmāramataka will once again relight ahi kā that Te Maihāroa maintained during Te Heke*” (Ruka, 2012). At the end of this walk, the whānau agreed that Te Heke should be undertaken more regularly, as a peace march to preserve the wairua of the Waitaki River, the memory of tīpuna, and the heartbeat of the Waitaha people. As described in many of the whānau journals presented within this paper, Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012 was a life-changing experience:

We are different people from the persons who started this journey as we have been enriched by the learning and the experience of the journey. The time was right for this to happen and it was completed with the respect and grace to our Ancestors, Aoraki, the Guardians of the Waitakai River and sacred places. We have much to learn and it is a wonderful experience to learn within the framework of Waitaha whanau and the world about them. Waitaha is the Twelfth Nation of Peace and this is where we stand in our Truth. I feel that Te Maihāroa is well pleased with our efforts and that this is a new journey for Waitaha. The opening of the pathway from the Waitaki River Mouth to allow Te Maihāroa and his people to return to Ōmāramataka and the opening of the pathway for Waitaha (Participant B)

Tuhika III: Methodological Notes

This article reflects the desire of whānau to a) undertake and commemorate an event to celebrate 135 years since Te Maihāroa led his people on Te Heke (1877-79) and b) to raise awareness of the degradation of the ancestral Waitaki River. Indigenous epistemology is interwoven throughout this paper, as it is informed by Indigenous ways of knowing and being, including the interconnection between the sacred, secular and holism (Mead, 2003, 2016; Henare, 2001). The symbiotic connection between the cosmic universe, whenua and Indigenous people, is the basis of Indigenous epistemology (Henare, 2001; Marsden, 2003; Walker, 2004), as evidenced within whānau journals. The actions of whānau, and the research that recorded this event, highlight the interwoven sense of aroha, responsibility, and sacredness held for Papatūānuku. The opportunity to document Te Heke (2012) also aligned with cultural autonomy, by highlighting the affirmative actions undertaken by Indigenous people to draw attention to pressing environmental issues (Denzin, et. al., 2014).

This article draws on the practices of kaupapa Māori methodology, such as: by Māori for Māori, mana motuhake expressed through self-determination, tino rakatirataka promoted through the promotion and actions of chieftainship, and mana whenuataka exercised through ahi kā, keeping the long burning ancestral fires alight. This paper was enhanced by these Indigenous practices, as the research participants were all 'on the kaupapa', with a shared sense of purpose and intention (Bishop, 1996).

Tuhiwai Smith (1999) outlines seven core kaupapa Māori research values, with four of these guiding principles reflected in this research approach: manaaki, aroha, kanohi kitea

and kua e māhaki. Some of the guiding cultural principles that guided us at this time were manaakitaka, whanaukataka and māhaki. Manaaki was offered by Aunty Cissie and the researcher, inviting people who were new to this gathering, welcoming them to become a part of the whānau. This was extended by the opportunity to mihimihi, sharing whakapapa and reasons that called each person to the kaupapa. This was followed by sharing kai, which brought everyone together as whānau. It was at this point that the research project was introduced to whānau, sharing with them the aim of documenting Te Heke (2012) journey as a record of this time shared and to preserve whānau experiences for future generations.

The essence of aroha is a natural extension of manaaki, and also an integral part of whakawhanaukataka, as not everyone knew each other. As would be expected on a whānau, hapū and iwi commemorative event, most of the people registered for Te Heke were related through whakapapa (two thirds), with the remainder having relationships through their close relationship. Although many of the participants knew each other as whānau, there were also new whānau to this kaupapa and people supporting this event who were previously unknown to Te Maihāroa whānau.

The third and fourth principle of Tuhiwai Smith (1999) that relates to these methodological research notes is kanohi kitea and kua e māhaki. Because whānau are spread across the world, the importance of kanohi kitea is highly valued within Māori communities, for the obvious reason that seeing each other and spending time together is treasured. In the context of the researcher also being a part of the whānau, there were several other roles held within this piece of research: Te Heke ki Korotuaheka steering

committee member and financial fund holder for this event; Waitaha Tai Whenua o Waitaki Board Member, as well as relative through whakapapa as niece, cousin, daughter, and mother of five sons.

The two kaupapa Māori methods of whakawhanaukataka and pūrākau were a good cultural fit for this piece of research. Whakawhanaukataka was the primary reason for bringing this group together, and also the method to invite whānau to participate (Bishop, 1996; Graham, 2009). An introductory email was sent to approximately fifty potential research participants, outlining the background to the research and informing them about the research method of gathering data through diaries or whānau journals.

Whānau were introduced to the research idea and opportunity to record their experiences in a journal on the 26th of December 2012. Each participant was invited to participate by making entries into their whānau journal over the four days of Te Heke Ōmā ramataka 27th – 30th of December 2012, and return them via a self-addressed envelope to the researcher. The journal contained some historical information from research gathered on Te Heke and there were ten blank pages that were surrounded on the outer edges with words that could be associated with this event such as: whanaukataka, kotahitaka, wairua, whānau, whenua. The whānau journals were collected over the ensuing two months and comprised of five pakeke (*adults* 40-55) and five kaumatua (over 55 years), equally split into two gender groups of five also. On receipt of each journal, each one was transcribed and returned to the research participant to check for accuracy.

Once this process was complete, an alphabetical code was assigned to each participant. Each journal was read as a stand-alone text several times and to get a feel for the themes within the data. The researcher then threaded the narratives together under the heading of each day and grouped together the themes for each day. The participants' quotes provided an insider look into what it felt like to be on the commemorative Te Heke o Ōmāramataka 2012 and created a sense of belonging, space, time and context.

TUHIKA IV: EXPLORING INDIGENOUS PEACE TRADITIONS COLLABORATIVELY

Tuhika IV: Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively. Unpublished manuscript. Te Maihāroa, K., Devere, H., Solomon, M. and Wharehoka, M.

The fourth tuhika, 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively', is an unpublished collaborative text undertaken by four colleagues who wanted to share the experiences and history of peace traditions within Aotearoa New Zealand. Initially driven and co-ordinated by Dr Devere from NCPAS, this paper evolved in response to concerns about the lack of knowledge and education on national Indigenous peace traditions. The theoretical approach of an 'etmic' insider / outsider research position (Williams, 2010) is adopted, drawing on the expansive range of personal and professional experience as academics, peace advocates, teachers, healers and a barrister who share the history of their people first-hand.

Full Manuscript

Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively

Kelli Te Maihāroa, Heather Devere, Maui Solomon, Maata Wharehoka

Abstract

This paper presents the beginnings of a project undertaken by four colleagues interested in sharing their knowledge and experiences of Indigenous peace traditions histories in Aotearoa New Zealand. As a collaborative piece of work by like-minded people, this process did not initially set out as a research project, but evolved out of joint concerns that the Indigenous histories of peace traditions in Aotearoa remained relatively unknown, even within the country that they derive from. A theoretical introduction

outlines the adopted 'etic / insider and outsider' research approach (Williams, 2010), which draws on our combined range of professional and personal experiences as peace advocates, teachers, academics, and barrister. We then provide a brief account of Māori traditional domains of war and peace to provide the context within which Māori peace traditions have been subjugated in preference to the 'native warrior image', often negatively portrayed by the media, and more recently within academia in relation to a 'warrior gene'. This is followed by an outline of three peace traditions from three of the islands that make up Aotearoa: Waitaha of Te Waipounamu South Island; Moriori of Rēkohu Chatham Islands and the People from Parihaka in Taranaki in the Central North Island. The Waitaha people follow the 'lore' of their god of peace, Rokomaraeroa, initiating a peace march for political and social justice in 1877. The Moriori people adhered to an ancient vow to never kill another person and were almost wiped out by occupying Māori tribes in the 1830s. The people of Parihaka pā used passive resistance to oppose European occupation of their ancestral land in the mid to late 1800s. While research is currently underway both to document and preserve the past, these three peace traditions are also being sustained and regenerated, in order to demonstrate the peaceful practices that existed and continue to exist within Māori and Moriori culture. These revitalised peace practices enable the knowledge to be preserved and passed on to the next generation the ancestral wisdom and traditions of these peaceful interactions. They also challenge the colonial oppression of these histories, and promote alternatives to the media portrayed stereotypes of violence.

Abstract

Introduction

Aotearoa New Zealand has gained a reputation as a peaceful country, judged as the second most peaceful county in the 2018 Global Peace Index, second only to Iceland (<https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Global-Peace-Index-2018-Snapshot.pdf>). The global view of Aotearoa as a peaceful nation is somewhat at odds within the homelands of ‘the land of the long white cloud’, where Māori, the Indigenous people’s of Aotearoa, have been continually labelled as a ‘warrior culture’. The dichotomy between these perceptions sets the scene for tension between the neo-colonial dominance of foreign values and the consequences of such oppression. Colonisation has long been an instrument of domination, perpetuated through the lens of “European-based culture with its own distinct practices, ideologies, justification, myths and lifestyle” (Jackson, 2007, p.168; in Bargh, 2007). Perhaps it is because of the need to ‘pigeon hole’ Māori into being only a ‘warrior culture’, that Māori peace traditions have received little scholarly or national attention, with a small number of authors working in this field (Binney, 2012; Binney & Chaplin 2011; Binney, 1995; Buck, 1971; Buchanan, 2018, 2013, 2010, 2005; Elsmore, 1989; Karena, n.d; King, 1989; Kennan, 2009, 2015; Riseborough, 2002, 1993, 1989; Mikaere, 1988; Scott, 2014, 1975, 1954; Smith, 1990, 2001). Historically, Māori are amongst the most ‘over-researched’ people in the world, mostly by ‘outsiders’, through ‘imperial eyes’ framed within Western paradigms (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). This collaborative research team sets out to challenge dominant discourses, through sharing the peace histories of Moriori and Māori tribes that have, for centuries, been kaitiaki of this treasured knowledge.

Background Information

Māori Traditional Domains of War and Peace

In order to understand the tribal context of the domains of war and peace, a very brief esoteric overview of the Māori deity Rokomaraeroa and Tūmataueka is explained. The opposing atua, Tūmataueka, was omnipotent in the art of weaponry and warfare.

Supremacy in combat was mana enhancing, that is, a warrior that was able to defend his people acquired the highest level of prestige, honour and status. Equally, as the essence of Tūmataueka was honoured through tribal warfare, hostilities between warring tribes were settled under the auspicious of Rokomaraeroa. Peace was established and maintained through karakia, ceremonial prayers, elaborate rituals, and peace chants (Hiroa, 1949, p.455). On a marae, the traditional domains between war and peace are clearly delineated through the pōwhiri process. One of the first exchanges is the wero, when a warrior(s) from the marae positions a 'taki', a challenge which can be either picked up as a sign of coming in peace, or rejected as a challenge to war. The marae ātea is also the space, usually in front of the marae, where manuhiri or strangers are given the opportunity to introduce themselves and make their intentions known. This is the space where raruraru, *disputes, debates, hostilities*, are to be held, where the physical elements of Tāwhirimātea, god of the weather, can take away any disturbances.

The domain of Tūmataueka is the marae ātea in front of the meeting house, where visitors are challenged, and the pōwhiri *traditional greeting* takes place. Warriors who returned from battle would pass through a ritual to make them noa, and enable them to resume a state of peace, required for those entering into the whare. The whare *meeting*

house is the domain of Rokomaraeroa, the atua of peace (also called Rongo, Rokomaraeroa-a-Rangi, Roko-mā-Tāne or Roko Hirea), who also presides over the entrance of the whare (Hiroa, 1949). As the deity responsible for peace, Roko also represents the humanitarian elements of emotions, generosity, sympathy, respect, caring and manakitaka *hospitality*. The physical movement of entering into the whareniui (literally being sheltered inside the body of a tipuna), relies on the mutual agreement to obey the covenant of peaceful interaction and hospitality within the whareniui (Basil Keane, 5 Sep 2013).

Portrayals of Māori Warrior Culture

There were two major periods of sovereign or civil wars between the Māori and Pākehā during the mid-1840s and the 1860s. During these periods of intense conflict, named the New Zealand Wars, Māori warriors were described as “proud and warlike”, “masters of bush fighting” who “built sophisticated defence forts” (Knight, 2013). Belich (1979, 1982, 1986, 1993) wrote extensively on Māori Warfare and he credits Northern Māori with “inventing trench warfare”. The recent Gallipoli Exhibition (2016) of World War One at Te Papa Museum in Wellington, New Zealand, also acknowledges these defensive measures as deriving from Māori battlefields.

The link of dissension has arisen between tribal warfare and violence within contemporary society, as reflected in Alan Duff’s 1994 novel *Once Were Warriors*, which divided the nation, with some Māori describing this piece as a “watershed in social realism in New Zealand (and Māori) writing” (Macdonald, 1991). A competing view is proposed by Wilson (2008, p. 116) who claims that the film’s version “commodified the

novel's images of the Māori as a marginalised, broken race grasping at the remnants of its heroic warrior heritage in the death-driven rites of black power gangs, and in the psychologically disturbing domestic violence...". The Honourable Tariana Turia also condemned the ongoing negative portrayal of Māori as violent, and a consequence of colonial oppression which is "spiritually and psychologically damaging" (Turia, T., 29.08.2000).

Māori Warrior Image

Whilst history portrays Māori as highly skilled tribal warriors and brave soldiers in the 28th Māori Battalion, a media frenzy exploded in 2006 with a contemporary re-creation of the Māori 'warrior image' based on controversial research led by Lea et. al., 2005. This data was assembled by combining the earlier DNA testing of 2156 individuals (Caspi et. al., 2002), with DNA from 46 Māori males (Lea et. al., 2005). It was hypothesised that the monoamine oxidase (MAO-O gene) is a 'warrior gene', and may be linked with the Māori population for risk-taking, aggression and criminality (Lea et. al., 2007, 2005). These contentious findings were disputed in a report by Merriman & Cameron (2007) which further examined the scientific evidence behind these links, finding that it lacked scientific rigour. Whittle (20010, 2009) alleges that Lea & Chambers (2007) used attention grabbing tactics such as 'warrior gene', which in turn fuelled media reports such as "Māori are genetically wired to commit acts of violence". The ethical responsibility of geneticist researchers is further discussed by Perbal (2013), a view earlier raised by Hook (2009, p. 5):

It is one thing for newspapers to promote their fetishes but it is another for scientists to be the source of speculation and fantasy about the nature of Māori

(‘Warrior gene’ blamed for Māori violence, 2006; Māori’s attack ‘warrior gene’ claim, 2006). The nature of Māori and its relationship to violence is not the issue any more than the nature of Pākehā is the issue that underlies their apparent propensity towards colonisation, war and genocide.

Moana Jackson (2009) claims that the “notion of a warrior gene as a scientific fact is based on a scientific cultural lie, that certain races of people were born to be violent, to fight and to kill”. He asserts that this ‘cultural lie’ was created to explain why the colonial explorers were unable to find ‘Eldorado, the City of Gold’ and therefore risked funds for further explorations. Jackson (2009) quips that Māori could equally be labelled as gardeners, poets, singers and lovers. Historically settler colonialism has manufactured, and continues to perpetuate the ‘savage warrior’ myth in order to justify centuries of colonisation (Godfrey, 2015). Hegemony of the dominant discourse transgress as long as the cultural lies and myths remain unchallenged: “the glories of the hunted are always told by the hunters, or, until the lions get their own historians, the glory of the hunted are always told by the hunters” (Okeroa, M., 2013).

Etic, Emic and Etmic Research Approach

As alluded to previously, research historically has been ‘done to’ Māori, conducted “by outsiders, informed by another world-view” (Williams 2010, p. 107). Jackson (2009) proposes that research has often been undertaken through a colonial lens from different intellectual traditions. Further to this, Williams (2010, p. 109) adds that an outsider’s perspective, which he identified as an ‘etic’ or outsider view, “lacks that special ‘insider’ understanding gained from prolonged exposure to a culture and can, therefore, lead to misinterpretations or even omissions of evidence”. In regards to Māori research, Williams also highlights the ‘etic’ pitfalls of research errors and misunderstandings by outsiders,

such as the reliance on interpreting and analysing Māori material such as waiata, whakataukī, whakapapa, manuscripts and published sources. An opposing view can be said for an insider 'emic' insider approach, as "the emic perspective is often claimed to be somewhat subjective, since it offers an insider's view on the subject" (Williams, 2010, p. 114). Although Williams (2010, p. 117) states that whakapapa is the "backbone of Māori epistemology", he also cautions that it can also be embellished, inconsistent and even deliberately falsified. Essentially, the 'emic' standpoint, can be accused of being too close to the subject and lack objectivity.

In order to address this imbalance, Williams (2010) recommends research methodologies adopt and incorporate both the etic (outsider's view) and the emic (insider's approach). He proposes a hybrid of these competing perspectives, by creating a third domain for the study of New Zealand Māori traditional topics, and suggests an 'etmic' approach, which "entails a familiarity with the strengths and shortcomings of both perspectives..." (Williams 2010, p. 108). The amalgamation of both the 'emic' and the 'etic' material to create an 'etmic' perspective, draws on a broader worldview. In order to avoid misunderstandings, William (2010, p. 122) proposes that "... such a model should include ... the perspective of the modern-day descendants of the research subjects".

In hindsight, a by-product of working collaboratively, can be viewed as adopting the 'etmic' approach, amalgamating the challenges and strengths of the 'etic /outsider' and 'emit / insider' perspectives. The project does draw from an 'etic' lens, in that it was coordinated by a Pākehā academic from overseas, based at the National Centre for Peace and Conflict in Dunedin, University of Otago. This provided a space for the research to be located within academic literature, and delivered as a conference paper to national and

international audiences. The 'emic' (insider) approach is achieved through sharing Indigenous peace traditions by the spokesperson from each particular iwi, who also hold key roles for keeping the peace traditions and knowledge alive in their rohe *tribal area*. We believe that this position asserts the repositioning of 'Māori as the researched' to 'Māori as researchers' (Wilson, 2001, p. 216). This 'etmic' approach therefore draws on the strengths of an 'etic' lens, coupled with the 'emit' depth of insider knowledge. The adoption of Williams (2010) suggested 'etmic' (insider/outsider) research method, enabled the current authors to draw on our strengths as peace advocates and activists, whilst also coming together as a collective platform, to highlight Indigenous peace traditions of Aotearoa within national and international academic circles.

This combined approach also seemed to be a suitable 'cultural fit' for Māori and Pākehā academics and iwi representatives to work together collaboratively. Influenced by Bishop's (1998) bicultural approach and commitment to both Te Tiriti Treaty partners, this research group identified synergies between Bishop's (1999) suggested research considerations and Williams' (2010) 'etmic' perspective. For example, this research was jointly initiated as a result of previously developed bicultural relationships, interconnected through a shared focus on peace education at the National Centre of Peace and Conflict. Not all of the four members had met prior to agreeing to start writing collaboratively in an effort to share these peace based messages. As a collective, through email communication, we ensured that all four authors were involved in this research project from the start of conceptualisation, to the process of writing and editing, through to the dissemination of the final piece of work, all parties were equal participants and

benefactors. Each author made a contribution to the combined text, choosing how and when to engage in this co-joint process.

This research aimed to enhance positive outcomes for Māori people, and to educate the Pākehā community, by sharing the hidden history of Māori peace traditions. Each Indigenous author lives within their rōhē that they write about, and had the blessing to be the māngai, or mouthpiece, for the people that they represent. Although the work has been largely coordinated by Heather, a Senior Lecturer at the University of Otago, a lack of hierarchy is achieved through a transparent, collaborative research process. The conceptual thinking, writing, and editing of this work is undertaken also in the same cooperative spirit, with each author being named on the publications and presented on behalf of the collective group at conferences. Whilst we agree with Williams (2010, p. 108), that 'emic' might be "an awkward neologism", we feel that we have contributed to the knowledge available for other researchers. By drawing on insights and deep understandings from an 'insider' perspective, these Pākehā and Indigenous scholars are also able to profile the peace histories into an accessible form for an 'outsider' academic audience. The 'emic' approach is established through Indigenous scholars recounting peace traditions unique to their people and rohe. All four academics play an active part of the regeneration of these peace cultures today.

Indigenous Peace Traditions of Aotearoa

Indigenous cultures throughout the world have their own unique peace traditions distinctive to their worldview. Following the 'emic / outsider' perspective, attention is focused on Indigenous peace traditions of Aotearoa which take into consideration the

distinct differences of tribal traditions, particular to that rohe and unique histories to each iwi. Synergies were woven to form an 'etic / insider' approach, where the following three Indigenous narratives are threaded together, to embrace the holistic, spiritual way of thinking and being, where the spiritual connections between peace and war are considered interrelated. Narratives of peace traditions in Aotearoa have been passed down orally, recounting the peace abiding tribes of the Waitaha way of being, Moriori peace traditions and the people of Parihaka. The Waitaha and Parihaka peace traditions were also influenced by the arrival of Christian missionaries of the 1800s, and in turn some of the charismatic Māori leaders incorporated biblical teachings with Māori traditions, to challenge the land confiscations that epitomised 19th century New Zealand.

The following is a brief history of the history and teachings of these three unique peace traditions in Aotearoa: the Waitaha of Te Waipounamu, the Moriori of Rēkohū (also called Wharekauri or the Chatham Islands); and the people of Parihaka in Taranaki in Te Ika-a-Māui (North Island). Each narrative is told by the Indigenous researcher most intimately connected to that tradition, and interweaves both the Indigenous oral history, and written material from Pākehā and Māori writers. In keeping with the etmic approach, this incorporates both insider and outsider knowledge and approaches.

Moriori and 'Nunuku's Law'

Maui Solomon (Moriori, Ngāi Tahu and Pākehā, General Manager for Hokotehi Moriori Trust, Barrister, and Indigenous Advocate and Adjunct Professor, Simon Fraser University, British Columbia)

The abandonment of warfare and killing is an ancient covenant that has been handed down from the earliest Moriori ancestors to have settled on Rēkohū and Rangihaute. Our karāpuna *ancestors* tell us that that the covenant was reaffirmed and passed from one generation to the next: “It was passed down to Mu and Wheke, and from them and their descendants down to Rongomaiwhenua, and from him to his descendants Nunuku, Tapata and Torea. You may continue to fight; but the meaning of his words was, do not kill” (1894 transcript).

By forbidding the taking of human life and placing their weapons of war upon the tūāhu *sacred altar*, Moriori entered into a tohinga or covenant with their gods. From that time forward, power over life and death was removed from the hands of man and placed into the hands of their gods. Fighting became ritualised and upon the first blood being drawn fighting was to cease. The leader, Nunuku Whenua, reaffirmed the covenant of peace some 600 years ago. Moriori as a people have continued to honour that covenant to this day despite the greatest of provocations including the invasion of their islands in 1835 by Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Tama, two Māori tribes from northern Taranaki on mainland New Zealand.

Tradition tells us that the knowledge of the peace covenant was passed from father to son during a baptismal rite or ceremony known as a tohinga. The old weapons of war which had been placed on the tūāhu were removed and handed to the child. An explanation was then given to the child that the weapons were once used for fighting and could kill another human being. By placing the weapon back on the tūāhu, the child was symbolically renewing the covenant for the next generation and completing the tohinga ceremony. This covenant of peace was reaffirmed at a large gathering of Moriori at Te

Awapatiki on the east coast of Rēkohu in early 1836, to decide what response they would make to the invasion of their Island home in 1835. While the young men urged resistance, the elders, Tapata and Torea, insisted that the people hold fast to the teachings of Nunuku. As they said, the covenant was a spiritual pact entered into with their gods. To break that covenant would represent a betrayal of their gods and a loss of mana for them as a people. Instead, they offered peace, friendship and sharing of the Island's resources, as was their custom.

Despite the great suffering and loss that Moriori endured as a consequence of this decision, their legacy of peace and hope lived on (Ministry of Education, 2010). For this current generation of Moriori it has become the rallying point for our people. A beacon of light and inspiration that has guided us in reclaiming our culture and identity as a people - our identity as the first peoples of Rēkohu. The covenant has been renewed at subsequent auspicious occasions – the opening of Kōpinga Marae (2005), the blessing for the World March for Peace and Non-Violence (2009) and at the inaugural Me Rongo Congress for Peace, Sustainability and Respect for the Sacred (2011). Me Rongo is a Moriori term meaning 'in peace'. It is used as both a salutation and affirmation. The word rongo also embodies other vital ingredients for peaceful living, as rongo means 'to listen'. Me Rongo implies that in order to be in peace, one must also listen, and listen deeply and respectfully. This listening is not just amongst people but also incorporates a deeper listening to the rhythms and sounds of the living systems of which we are a part.

In May 2010, a gathering was convened in Tofino Canada as part of the International Society of Ethnobiology's 12th International Congress. The Tofino gathering was conceived as a stepping stone in the lead up to the Me Rongo Congress planned for

November 2011 on Rēkohū. The Tofino gathering was held in an Indigenous centre and named Hishuk-ish tsa'walk which is a Tla-o-qui-aht expression meaning 'everything is one'. The session, entitled 'Peace, Sustainability and Respect for the Sacred', brought together elders and other experts from around the world who have traditions in peace keeping/making as an integral part of their philosophy. It focused on the importance of the preservation and transmission of inter-generational knowledge of "living in country" as the Aboriginal people's of Australia say, and the maintenance and promotion of retention of the local language(s) and cultural practices of the communities that sustain this knowledge. At its heart was an understanding of the importance of the sacred/spiritual/ wairua traditions – as an expression of the thread that binds people together with their natural worlds, and which provides the basis for living in a mutually respectful and mutually enhancing relationship of humans, plants and animals.

In addition to providing a collective forum for learning about peace traditions and the importance of being able to practise cultural continuity, the session examined ways in which the modern world may come to a better understanding of how this sacred knowledge or knowledge of the sacred is critical to humankind (re)learning how to live 'in connection with' rather than increasingly 'disconnected from' our planet and planetary systems. At the opening of the Me Rongo 2011 Congress the covenant was renewed and reaffirmed by all delegates. In renewing this ancient covenant of peace we are conscious that peace is as precious and much needed today in the modern world as it was for our ancestors. The challenge left to us by our karāpuna is whether we can learn to live together peacefully and share what we have, respecting each other and the environment that we live in. The path we are currently on worldwide of violence, selfishness and over-

exploitation of our precious natural resources is not sustainable. This ceremony, while honouring the vision of our ancestors, is also a small but important contribution to the efforts being made by peoples and organisations the world over to make our planet a more peaceful and sustainable place in which to live. On 13 November, 2011, the delegates of the inaugural Me Rongo Congress who came from all over the world, ratified the Me Rongo Declaration (2011, p.3):

We are convinced that the Moriori message of peace is something to be proud of and is worthy of sharing with the rest of the world, as an unbroken commitment over countless generations to peacekeeping, and as a beacon of hope. Moriori history on Rēkohū demonstrates that it is possible to consciously and successfully change from a culture that accepted occasional warfare and killing to one of peace and the outlawing of killing.

Parihaka: The Home of Passive Resistance

Maata Wharehoka (Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Tahinga, Ngāti Apakura, Ngāi Te Rangi, Kaitiaki of Te Niho o Te Ātiawa Meeting House at Parihaka)

Parihaka a place of peace, a place of conflict, a place of justice. Freedom of the oppressed.

Ancient Māori history tells of a strong feudal justice system that managed conflict between neighbouring tribes with warfare, agreement, exchange and peace. Land was the economic base and territorial boundaries were clearly marked by rivers or streams providing a distinct line of demarcation, with areas often taken and returned following disputes. Shared tribal ownership of land encouraged unions and liaisons within the

tribe. This process kept families and land connected and the tribal strength rested upon this social system.

The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 was to provide partnership for two nations, Māori and Pākehā, the Indigenous people of Aotearoa and the British. The partnership initially appeared amicable with Māori quickly realising their needs were no longer being met. Protection for Māori was lost and they no longer had sovereignty over their lands. Māori had not long abandoned strategic warfare amongst themselves and they were ill prepared for this alienation of land. It was well known by then that the musket appeared more powerful than their Atua. After the first event of war between the British and Taranaki Māori at Te Kohia, 18 March 1860, the subsequent wars north of Parihaka in 1863, and the bombardment by the Niger of their pā site Tarakihi in 1864, Te Whiti and Tohu remedied their loss by moving hinterland, taking with them their families to a place of safety, where they could not be further attacked, to Parihaka, sacred mountain of Taranaki.

Reverend Riemenschieider, a Lutheran minister who had come to Warea, near Parihaka in 1846, played a part in the growth and development of Te Whiti and Tohu, introducing them to house building skills and extending their biblical knowledge. Houses at Parihaka were built in close proximity to each other, small in size and of ancient native style made from the resources readily available on the land. This lifestyle contributed toward social survival and was a forum for large communal discussions held on the marae ātea *forecourt*. They established monthly meetings on the 18th day of each month, using the forum to strategize resistance to land alienation and assimilation.

Parihaka was built inland to the west beneath the loftiest and beloved mountain, Taranaki. Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi led a community of approximately 3000 people. Many tribes had been displaced by invasions of Māori land for the purpose of meeting the needs of settlers, who in many cases had been promised land by the government for their participation in regimental activity. By 1867 Parihaka was well established, providing a sustainable community. A pan tribal refugee community strengthened the numbers at Parihaka and it became the largest community in Aotearoa. The settlement depended upon the discipline and the resolute organisation that was provided by Te Whiti and Tohu and served as a refuge for the displaced and dispossessed. The growing population at Parihaka generated a strong environment inspired by the Christian philosophy of faith and goodwill to all mankind.

By 1880 the government began building a road to Parihaka. Meanwhile telegraph lines were installed to aid communications and a lighthouse was erected on the coast directly in line with Parihaka. This completed an opportunity for invasion. During the establishment of the road, altercations occurred when the armed constabulary pulled down the fences of Parihaka during construction. The Māori crops were exposed to wandering stock and horses. Te Whiti and Tohu launched a protest campaign as an alternative to warfare that became the lasting symbol of Parihaka. This required the men to lay down their weapons of war, and instead, sending them to repair fences and to plough the land that was taken by the government for settlers. When surveyors plotted out the land for settlement, men were sent to remove the survey pegs and when fences were erected, men were sent to cut down fences.

Te Whiti and Tohu debated and argued their position over land, with their masterful minds and familiarity with the English language, Christianity and the spirituality of their ancient Atua of the Māori and cosmology. Te Whiti and Tohu had been able to easily move between the different traditions with great ease and without conflict. Their knowledge of the bible is said to be attributed to Minirapa Rangihauake who was released by the northern tribe of Ngā Puhi. Minirapa became a Wesleyan Minister, returning to Taranaki in 1842, where he taught Te Whiti and Tohu the bible and how to read and write English.

The passive resistance campaign was perceived as a threat to the government and resembled activities that had been undertaken by the Pakakohi people, South Taranaki, for which they were imprisoned in 1868. The Settlement Act 1863 permitted the confiscation of land without compensation and the government were consistent and persistent in confiscating land that was owned by Taranaki Iwi and under the administration of Parihaka. In 1878, the first group of prisoners were taken from Parihaka to Dunedin far off in the South Island. Over a period of twenty years over 500 men were incarcerated for removing survey pegs, pulling down fences and ploughing their own land. The men of Parihaka continued to display courage with wisdom and followed instructions, knowing full well that they would be replaced when they were arrested. They were imprisoned, often without trial, and if there was a trial, they were subjected to further and harsher treatment either in transit to prison, whilst in prison or on work placement. Many were sent to Dunedin where they experienced imprisonment and forced labour in extreme weather and bitter cold.

The invasion of Parihaka of a force of 1600 on the 5 November 1881 tells of the courage and resilience of these two great leaders. Te Whiti relied upon his uncle, Tohu, to translate visions and dreams and to make sense of events, and one dream was interpreted as prophesising that a cannon would not be fired against Parihaka. Te Whiti said “patu te hoa riri ki te rangimarie”, fight the enemy with peace”. On the day of the invasion, the women sat in silence, confronting the three cannons aimed at the village. The children were sent to the fore, making the enemy feel welcome to Parihaka by providing manaakitanga. They fed their enemy and gave them something to drink. In response, the armed troops forcibly arrested Tohu and Te Whiti and other men, destroyed the village, and removed more than 1,500 occupants to other parts of Taranaki (Riseborough, 1989; Smith, 2001). Soon after their return from prison in 1883 Te Whiti and Tohu continued to rebuild develop their community. The infrastructure was well suited to the cultural needs of Māori with modifications that included its own banking system, economic base, health and welfare system. Justice was an element within the community that was dealt with by a council of elders who made the decisions regarding punishment and admonishment.

Then when Te Whiti returned to Parihaka six months after being incarcerated in 1886, they both decided Tohu should remain in Dunedin with the prisoners. Opposition occurred from those who favoured Tohu, dividing the people of Parihaka. The philosophy of the Holy Trinity is represented in the three feathers used by the Te Whiti o Rongomai followers and those of the Te Ātiawa tribe. This symbol had been used to reflect peace and harmony. However, the people who followed Tohu rejected this symbol, choosing to follow Te Pore, represented without feathers. The followers of the two leaders began to

gather on separate days: Tohu on the 19th and Te Whiti on the 18th of each month. So whilst the two leaders continued, and whilst Parihaka remained loyal to the philosophy, there was division amongst the followers. Some 128 years passed without reconciliation, however, a very young movement, Toopu Tikanga, has invested two years into healing Parihaka. The people of Parihaka are working towards ensuring that their history is told, and that their philosophy of peaceful living is continued. The history of passive resistance at Parihaka is starting to be seen as a lesson throughout the world.

Kororia ki te atua, i runga rawa Maungarongo ki runga i te mata o te whenua Whakaaro
pai ki te tangata katoa

Rirerire Hau Pai Marire

Glory to God on high peace on earth

Goodwill to all people

Conclusion

Indigenous peace traditions in Aotearoa are now being told by the tribal people that have whakapapa and a history as kaitiaki of this knowledge. This paper traces the historic significance of three Iwi peace traditions in Aotearoa, an 'etmic' research process of capturing this information, and the importance of carrying this knowledge for future generations. Kelli Te Maihāroa, whose great grandfather Te Maihāroa was a prophet of the Waitaha people and Arowhenua Movement, tells of her research conducted around the time of the re-enactment of Te Heke, which was a non-violent protest aimed to bring

attention to the land issues for Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe and Kāi Tahu. The stories of the elders are being gathered to ensure that the knowledge of this peaceful tradition can be passed on to future generations. Maui Solomon, whose heritage includes Moriori, tells of a peace tradition going back to the Leader, Nunuku Whenua, who determined that the Moriori people would never kill another human. The Moriori maintained this tradition even in the face of an invasion, an occupation, slavery and slaughter. While their people were almost wiped out, the descendants of their steadfast ancestors are researching and rejuvenating the kaupapa or culture of non-killing, and are seeking to identify more Moriori descendants and to continue the teaching of peace.

Maata Wharehoka, the Kaitiaki or Guardian of the Te Niho o Te Atiawa meeting house, Parihaka, relates the story of Aotearoa's (and possibly the world's) first passive resistance against the armed forces of government. The settlement of this pan-iwi group was torched and almost destroyed when the men of the village were arrested and imprisoned for their actions. The village has survived, and uses regular dialogue and face-to-face meetings to rebuild a peaceful settlement, and is starting a process of reconciliation with the families of the invading soldiers, to demonstrate the power of working for and by peace. Heather Devere is Director of Practice at the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago in Dunedin. Heather was born overseas and considers herself as Pākehā. She teaches Indigenous peace traditions, peace education and conflict resolution. She is an active and valued member of the Parihaka Network Nga Manu Korihi, Rēkohū Working Group and Rongo Mau.

The peace traditions of Aotearoa New Zealand have been largely remained invisible to the world of academic research and in public awareness until recently. In the past,

knowledge about the Indigenous people of Aotearoa has concentrated on Māori warrior traditions, to the extent that researchers have contentiously claimed to have found a Māori warrior gene. This paper has not attempted to investigate or challenge that research, but instead focuses on what is coming to light about various unique peace traditions in Aotearoa. This article highlighted the 'etic' and 'emic', but concentrates on the 'etmic' approach adopted for this collaborative research paper, "that exposes perspectives missing from the view of the coloniser" (Williams, 2010, p. 115). The three very different peace traditions in different regions of Aotearoa are revealed in narratives about Waitaha in Te Waipounamu, Moriori on Rēkohū, and Parihaka in Te Ika-a-Māui. All three traditions have arisen through the events that have caused pain and loss to their communities, in stark contrast to the dominant war-like stereotypes of Māori, and to characteristics of other communities in Aotearoa, both Māori and Pākehā. The peaceful teachings of all three traditions relate back to the philosophy, teachings, vision and cosmology of Indigenous people in Aotearoa and shared commonalities with other Indigenous peoples elsewhere. As more peace traditions of Aotearoa come to light, it is expected that they will continue to reveal valuable messages for future generations, on the ability of people to live in harmony with each other and sustainably with Papatūānuku, Mother Earth. A start has been made with the formation of Indigenous and bicultural peace centres that recognise and pass on knowledge about these traditions.

Tuhika IV: Methodological Notes

This collaborative pūrākau is the collective effort of three Indigenous peacekeepers and a Pākehā academic to highlight three Indigenous peace traditions within Aotearoa. The formation of this rōpū was instigated by Dr Heather Devere in 2014, who had a professional relationship with all three Indigenous people, and although we all worked in peace and conflict spheres, not all of us had met each other. The researcher had met Maui Solomon, also a whānau member from Arowhenua Marae, in December 2010, and again through oral presentations at Puketeraki Marae in 2012. The researcher had some prior awareness of the passive resistance kaupapa of Parihaka, and had met Whaea Maata Wharehoka as part of the Parihaka rōpū exhibiting 'Tātarakihi: The Children of Parihaka'.

All four authors have a connection with the National Centre for Peace and Conflict: Maui as a founding board member, Dr Devere as the Director of Professional Practice at the Centre, Maata as a Professional Practice fellow in 2014, and the writer as a guest lecturer and PhD student. This manuscript developed out of the idea to share these peace traditions at the International Peace Research Association Conference in Turkey, August 2014, on Regenerating Indigenous Peace Traditions in Aotearoa New Zealand. Dr Devere introduced the four of us via a joint email in 2014, and this method of combined emails saw us develop and grow as a virtual online Indigenous peace traditions rōpū.

All three Indigenous writers are fortunate to write and share these histories from the rohe where the Māori and Moriori peace traditions began, with Dr Devere acting in a coordinating role within the Centre. All four authors were equally involved in the

collaborative project from the conceptualisation stage, to writing individual iwi histories via email, drawing them together and the final editing process.

A University of Otago Humanities Grant was awarded in 2015, which enable all four authors to meet collectively for the first time in Rēkohu October 2016. Travelling to Rēkohu as a rōpū to be hosted by Maui and Susan Solomon was an incredible experience. Aroha and manaaki were the key ingredient for this research wānaka (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). The manaaki by Maui and Susan Solomon and staff at Kōpinga Marae was second to none, with all of our needs being considered and catered for. The four of us being physically together in one place, meant that we could spend quality time together focused on different peace based kaupapa. Visiting the ancient Moriori sites, which included the rākau Morimori *ancestral tree carvings*, the statue of Tommy Solomon, Maui's grandfather, and other ancestral sacred places, provided an insight into some of the rituals that the Moriori people hold close.

The adopted theoretical position of Williams (2010) 'etmic' (insider/outsider) approach has already been discussed within the manuscript, with the listed benefits of: combined strengths as peace activists and advocates, mutual vested interests, and the potency of a collective platform to highlight and increase awareness of Indigenous peace traditions within Aotearoa and globally. Dr Devere co-ordinated the collection of each Indigenous story, collaborating with the writer to complete the introduction, methodology and conclusion. The majority of this work was initially undertaken via emails, with the ideas and themes consolidated whilst visiting Kōpinga Marae. Each Indigenous history was written from a position of authority within their tribe grouping, and with the support of their people. Writing from an Indigenous perspective for primarily Indigenous people,

locates the position of power within Indigenous circles and individuals iwi, hapū and whānau (Bishop, 2014, 2005, 1999, 1998, 1995; Walsh-Taiapa, 1998).

KETE TUATORU: WHAKAKAPI | CLOSURE



Image 43: Kete Tuatoru: Whakakapi | Closure.

Te hao te kai a te aitaka a Tapu-iti

The eel is the food of the descendants of Tapu-iti (wife of Te Rakihouia)

Chapter 4: **DISCUSSION REVIEW OF THEORETICAL BASE AND RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS AND MANUSCRIPT**

This thesis is based on four distinct, but interconnected, pieces of writing: three published texts and a manuscript. The three publications are concentrated on Waitaha, whilst the manuscript locates Waitaha within the Indigenous peace traditions context of the Moriori and Parihaka. This discussion chapter begins with an examination of how Indigenous epistemology, kaupapa Māori methodology and kaupapa Māori methods are embedded within each tuhika. The researcher positionality as a Waitaha wahine is explored, including locality within whānau, hapū / iwi and peace circles. The two overarching concepts of ahi-kā-roa and rakimārie are evaluated within the four tuhika, followed by an examination of the synergies and divergences between each text. The three Indigenous peace traditions of Waitaha, Moriori and Parihaka people are then considered in two segments: Mana Whenua and He Tohu. The Mana Whenua section discusses mana whenua, identity, villages, and then peace, war and non-violence. The He Tohu section is focused on wairua, spiritual leadership, symbols of peace, peaceful strategies and legacies of Indigenous prophets. This discussion chapter concludes with a review of the strengths and challenges of undertaking a thesis based on publications.

4.1 Indigenous Epistemology and Kaupapa Māori Methodology

Indigenous epistemology underpins the aim of this research: to explore why tīpuna chose rakimārie to maintain ahi kā with the whenua and whether it holds validity amongst whānau today. This thesis is rooted within Indigenous epistemology, beginning with the

ancient karakia of Rākaihautū and mihimihi which connects me to our founding tipuna and ancient navigator. My connections through whakapapa is woven within this thesis, intertwining historical documents, contemporary events, and future visions that stretch beyond Te Waipounamu. As a mokopuna of Rākaihautū and Waiariki-o-Aio, whakapapa is the primary connector between myself, my tīpuna, and the atua.

Indigenous epistemology provided a framework to structure a kaupapa Māori approach to this thesis. Each kaupapa Māori research method has been specifically chosen to reclaim culturally responsive processes when working with and for Indigenous communities (Bishop, 1999, 1996; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). The synergy between Indigenous epistemology and kaupapa Māori theory privileges Indigenous voices at the very heart and centre of this research. This philosophy locates Indigenous participants as the centre of their experiences and truth (Bishop & Berryman, 2006), and therefore, provides an expression of tino rakatirataka through their own words and actions (Smith, 2003; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

4.1.1 Kaupapa Māori Methods

Within this thesis, whakapapa, histories and pūrākau are shared through an insider or emic point of view. The foundational base of whanaukataka, is a culturally appropriate method of research recruitment and engagement through whakapapa and/or shared experiences (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Cram & Kennedy, 2010; Graham, 2009; Hutchings, et. al., 2012, 2010). Each of the four tuhika promote two positions; they promote the regeneration of traditional Indigenous peace traditions and make a

contribution towards the decolonisation of academic spaces through prioritising mātauraka as sacred knowledge that belongs to that person(s), whānau and iwi.

Kaupapa Māori is the preferred research approach chosen to advance Indigenous peace traditions and promote self-determination. Within the four texts, whānau and iwi voices are presented as taoka, as much as possible, they are shared in the same way that they were offered; as narratives, devoid of analytical interpretation. The intention of this thesis is to make a contribution towards Indigenous pūrākau that tells our experiences and the urgent need to provide and record Māori history in order to preserve it as a body of knowledge for future generations. The opportunity for whānau to share their experiences and life histories forms an integral part of the regeneration process, securing the rich tapestry and diversity of mātauraka held by whānau, hapū and iwi. To follow is a discussion of how pūrākau were developed out of kōrero with kaumātua, whānau, hapū, iwi and three Indigenous peace keepers.

4.1.2 Kaupapa Māori Method: Pūrākau

Traditionally pūrākau were used to create scenarios, mental pictures which framed the perceived realities and constructed bodies of knowledge (Marsden, 2003). Marsden (2003) highlights the multifaceted use of legendary stories as a mechanism for recall, which also camouflaged hidden meanings from the uninitiated, in order to protect sacred lore. Within this thesis, pūrākau was adopted as the preferred way to share whānau stories, as a method of empowerment rather than a passive collection of distanced words. It seeks to explore our own cultural spaces, places and time, or what Archibald (1997, p. 26) describes as creating our own culturally based discourse. “In listening to the

stories of Indigenous storytellers, we learn new ways of being moral and political in the social world. We come together in a shared agenda, with a shared imagination and a new language, struggling together to find liberating ways of interpreting and performing in the world” (Smith, 1999, p. 37). It offers the opportunity for whānau and others, to gain an awareness into our kaupapa of rakimārie, an insight into what we do, why we do it, and how we teach and pass on our spiritual values and beliefs.

4.1.3 Pūrākau: Kōrero with Kaumātua

The pūrākau gained through the ‘interview as chats’ method and penned in whānau journals, are acknowledged and accepted as taoka complete and whole in the form that they are given. The first pūrākau of ‘Kaore he Whakaheke Toto’ served two purposes: to explore and update historical writings on Te Heke (1877-79) and to produce new knowledge for our Waitaha. As the first piece of thesis work, the opportunity to work with Waitaha kaumātua Ūpoko, Rangimārie Te Maihāroa and Tumuaki Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds, provided a platform to co-create a pūrākau that had both an historical element and future focused component. Through working closely with kaumātua, this pūrākau became a tool to decolonise Western methodologies through affirming Indigenous research methods. In this sense, kaupapa Māori “... positions researchers in a way as to operationalise self-determination (agentic positioning and behaviour) for research participants” (Bishop, 1999, p.1).

4.1.4 Pūrākau: Kōrero with Auntie

This pūrākau developed from an “interview as a chat” (Bishop, 1996, Haig-Brown, 1992) with Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds, who asked to be video recorded. This enabled her to share aspects of her life experiences, but also preserve this history for future generations (Selby & Laurie, 2005). The important component to this piece of research was recording Auntie’s pūrākau in a natural and unobtrusive way, so that she felt comfortable sharing her kōrero in a familiar setting and with people close to her (Bishop, 1996; Haig-Brown, 1992). Indigenous academics, Archibald (1997) and Lee (2015, 2008, 2006) identify the practice of Indigenous storywork to let the story naturally come forth. As the kōrero flowed, so did the natural unfolding of multiple eras of her life reveal what Houkamau (2006) identifies as chapters of one’s life. It was through the configuration of these eras that culminated in what Archibald Q’um Q’um Xiiem (2008, p. 46) describes as “many different life experiences were brought together to make a composite story...” which culminated in Anne’s experience of twenty five years of peacebuilding in North Otago. This pūrākau therefore created new knowledge by bringing together and documenting the events, but more importantly, in her own words, Auntie’s whakaaro and inspiration behind the numerous kaupapa that she works in and for. But the process of highlighting Auntie’s mahi in an effort to preserve this information for whānau, without analysis and a set agenda, can draw criticism of descriptive only research, which anyone could potentially do (if they had the relationship and a recording device). Therefore, it is important to state that the aim of this piece of research was not to provide an analytical piece of writing, but to understand at a deep level, the values and principles that guide an elderly, rural, Māori woman to strive for cultural recognition and environmental sustainability. This research could be analysed within the research principles of

whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, māhaki, aroha, mana, titiro, whakarongo, kōrero, and kanohi kitea (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999), but that is another piece of mahi that could be further explored in collaboration with Auntie, rather than an reinterpreted overlay.

This methodology is valuable in the reclamation by Māori of tribal, hapū and whānau life histories, towards recapturing the rich cultural heritage and traditions (Bishop, 1996; Selby & Laurie, 2005). Smith (2003) states that kaupapa Māori is comprised of action and analysis. For this study, the action component was the recording of the interview and composition of an article, but without analysis. To do the later, changes the kaupapa or original intent of the research, that is, to highlight and preserve this cultural knowledge, and maintain respectful whānau and whanauka relationships. Recording history through pūrākau is one method, that sits alongside the desire to progress thinking through connecting the past with present and future understandings. Here, analysis is in reading between the lines for the gaps and missed opportunities.

Another perspective would be to explore Auntie's life through the lens of a woman of colour lens, for "if we do not understand the complexity of Native females, we cannot hope to comprehend the whole of tribal existence" (Mihehua, 2003, p.8). Although Auntie would probably not want to talk on this issue, she is nevertheless an inspiration to other Māori wāhine for her commitment to tribal affairs and traditions. It has been argued that leadership roles for Native women is a way of "regaining the prestige and power their ancestors once held and of assuming responsibility for the welfare of their tribes" (Mihehua, 2003, p. 143). Questions such as: what was her life like growing up as the only living sister with 12 brothers, how has this influenced her life as a strong Māori

wahine, and what effect has this had on her ability to navigate tribal life would have added another layer to this pūrākau.

Historians might argue that depictions of personal conflicts, confusions, and expressions of happiness are best left to novelists, but I believe that without the inclusion of feelings and an understanding of motivations, histories of Native women – of all Natives – are boring, impersonal, and more importantly, merely speculative and not really history (Miheesuah, 2003, p.4).

4.1.5 Pūrākau: Kōrero within Whānau Journals

The implementation of pūrākau as a kaupapa Māori method within whānau journals ensured that whānau were able to engage with the research as active research contributors, involved in the construction of their own written pūrākau and co-construction of this information into one body of work, without critical overlay or analysis. The adoption of a kaupapa Māori approach served to strengthen and progress Māori (or in this case, Waitaha) as distinct Indigenous identities (Mane, 2009). The participants understood the benefit in writing their experiences as a record to leave for future generations, and their own footprints, whilst following in the footsteps of their ancestors. This provided a vehicle for self-determination, as Māori communities know what initiatives need to be actioned to address local issues (Mane, 2009).

Transformation is about assisting the self-development project for Māori. It is not about describing the status quo, or altering a few aspects of it. It is about transforming or changing Kaupapa for all of us. Kaupapa Māori is about making a difference and a change in people's lives (Smith, 2012, p.14).

It is evident from the whānau pūrākau on Te Heke Korotuaheka (2012) that this hīkoi was a revitalisation of ancestral wairua and mātauraka. This event provided the opportunity to express whanaukatanga, manaakitanga, kotahitanga and reciprocity through sharing time, resources and simply being together. Te Heke (1877-79) was not only about

cultural preservation, but also about mana Māori and the proclamation of ancestral land. Whānau pūrākau reveal a deep commitment to the cultural and political aspects of ahi-kā-roa and Waitahataka. In many ways the coming together of whānau and friends to co-construct a Te Heke Korotuaheka pūrākau reflects the depth of their experiences. Weber-Pillwax (2014 in Denzin & Lincoln, 2014, p. 18) notes that people need to hear, listen and participate through actions that create individual and collective spiritual experiences, a term that he defines as “orality consciousness”.

4.1.6 Pūrākau: Kōrero within Collective Iwi Histories

In the three previous articles, pūrākau were chosen as the traditionally authentic way to share Waitaha narratives, where whānau are supported to tell their own stories and histories, rather than being told by another. In this manuscript, a collective of three Indigenous pūrākau were gathered to offer a wider perspective across Aotearoa. This collaborative pūrākau adds to the decolonisation puzzle, through passive disruption of colonial narratives and dismantling the tools of oppression each time this pūrākau is shared. The aim of this pūrākau is to provide an alternative narrative and knit together the fragmented remains of Indigenous peace histories that have been hidden for too long.

This collective pūrākau offers a framework to disrupt the status quo, by drawing together three (of many) Indigenous communities that held onto the kaupapa of peace through invasion, war and colonial domination. Kaupapa Māori is a response to the perceived needs of Māori and Indigenous Peoples and is dedicated to advancing the goals of social justice and equity. This pūrākau makes a contribution towards Indigenous and kaupapa Māori research through the collective efforts of a Pākehā academic and three Indigenous

leaders and scholars. The manuscript meets several of the following decolonising parameters: “It must be ethical, performative, healing, transformative, decolonizing, and participatory. It must be committed to dialogue, community, self- determination, and cultural autonomy” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2014, p. 5).

The dedication and commitment to the kaupapa of peace building by the four authors, rebuts much of the written and recorded history to date, mostly written by Pākehā authors. This pūrākau forms part of a peace revitalisation movement, which challenges not only the history of the Crown, but also the moral and spiritual fabric of Aotearoa. In the year that this thesis is completed, both the Moriori and people of Parihaka have received Crown apologies and reconciliation. As a young nation, we must learn from these deeds and apologies.

4.2 Position of Researcher

As the sole author for the first three publications within this thesis, an insider or emic research approach was adopted in order to explore the historical and contemporary peace traditions of Waitaha from the insider emic perspective as a direct descendent of Rākaihautū and Te Maihāroa. The benefit of being an insider researcher, is being immersed in a culture of established relationships with whānau and kaumātua. The process of working with and for whānau, hapū and iwi, is the basis of kaupapa Māori values, understood at a deep level, guided by the values of whanaukataka, manaakitaka, māhaki, aroha, mana, titiro, whakaroko, kōrero, kia tūpato, kanohi kitea (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

4.2.1 Indigenous Researcher

As discussed within the four tuhika, the location of the writer as an Indigenous researcher, consists of multiple positions and dimensions entered into when conducting research with and for Māori (Ratima, 2008; Royal, 1998; Webber, 2009). One of the prevailing lessons from Tuhika 1, 'Kaore Whakaheke Toto | Do Not Shed Blood' was the challenge of keeping the spirit or wairua of the people and text alive (this is explored further below inside the within wairua section). I found it a challenge to write historical information in a way that was acceptable to one kaumātua, in the same way that I find writing reports and documents devoid of emotive language.

In Tuhika II, 'Te Ara o Rakimārie | The Pathway of Peaceful Living' I had the experience of undertaking research to make a contribution to record our contemporary history and in an effort to be of service to our people through the documentation of our current lived experiences. The aim of the writing was to highlight the sacrifice that the previous generations have made for us and for our generation to see ourselves as a part of this living legacy. I also received the lesson that descriptive recording and writing is one way of sharing pūrākau, but there are also multiple levels and stories within stories that can be further explored.

Out of the four different texts in Kete Tuarua, from an exploration perspective, Tuhika III 'Retracing Ancestral Footsteps' was the most challenging and rewarding research endeavour. This is largely because of the high level of preparation for this inaugural event, and being prepared to introduce and carry out the research component. Kaupapa

Māori research highlights the view that research can be considered a dirty word within Māori communities (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). I must admit that I had a level of apprehension when inviting whānau to participate in this study. The University of Otago ethics process helped here, as the information that I presented for approval became the template for the research to be carried out. Although it was a juggle, wearing the different hats and roles within this research, I am confident that the journal article has captured the essence of the participants experiences on Te Heke Korotuaheka (2012).

Tuhika IV 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively' provided a platform for Indigenous authors to share their histories and pūrākau of hopes and dreams for the future of their people. In many ways, the unity and collaboration between these authors as Indigenous peacekeepers and advocates, mark not only a re-emergence of these peace keeping histories, but also a reconnection between tribal knowledge at the highest level, spiritually, emotionally, culturally, and physically. Each author played a part in this manuscript on the revitalisation of Indigenous peace traditions, in an effort to restore and balance the historical colonial narratives. These reciprocal and respectful relationships endure beyond projects and timeframes, as each author lives within the communities and consequences of this research (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 137-139).

Indigenous researchers aim to understand the delicate dance between being whānau and being a researcher. The main objective should be to create an altruistic relationship, where nothing is desired for the self (Bishop, 1998). This is difficult to adhere to when the research is part of a qualification that will be gained by the researcher. However, this mahi has been primarily designed for whānau and Indigenous communities that may find it useful. The locus of power sits with the research participants, in an attempt to express

their mana motuhake through whānau based pūrākau. Although the research was initiated by myself, I believe that this research accurately and authentically presents whānau and Indigenous experiences. “The work must represent Indigenous persons honestly, without distortion or stereotype, and the research should honour Indigenous knowledge, customs and rituals” (Denzin, Lincoln & Tuhiwai Smith, 2014, p. 6). This was achieved by seeking whānau voices and presenting them in whānau pūrākau, access to drafts of work, inclusive feedback, and having first access to the research prior to it being published (Bishop, 2005). For colonised communities, their needs and aspirations are paramount:

Driven by the cultural values and practices that circulate, for example, in Māori culture, including metaphors stressing self-determination, the sacredness of relationships, embodied understanding, and the priority of community over self. Researchers are led to develop new story lines and criteria for evaluation reflecting these understandings (Denzin, Lincoln & Tuhiwai Smith, 2014, p. 36).

4.2.2 Indigenous Researcher Within Wairua

Indigenous researchers are accountable to their people on multiple layers, not only for the words that they write, but in this case, there was also an expectation that the work is reflective of wairua. As an emergent researcher, feedback from kaumātua and whānau, guided the writing process, in an effort to uphold the spiritual essence of each participant, and the thesis as a body of knowledge. As touched on previously, it is important to the writer that each piece of work is respectful and ethical, for as an Indigenous academic, I have to live with the consequences of my research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2014; Smith, 1999). Each word has to be chosen carefully, so that not only is it accurate, but that it embodies the wairua of the kōrero:

A person's word is closely bound up with the story that she or he tells. A person's word belongs to that person and in some instances can be viewed as being that person, so words – in particular some words in some contexts – are not carelessly spoken. These were the old ways, and they are still practiced and observed today by many people and in many places (Weber-Pillax, 2014; in Denzin & Lincoln, 2014, p. 9).

As a Māori wahine, I am unable to function fully as a human being without my wairua being an important component of who I am. The multiple positioning of self as a Māori woman, can be a delicate space to negotiate within mainstream academia (Webber, 2009). An additional requirement from my kaumātua is that I am required to be in touch with my 'spiritual side'. When I went to interview one kaumātua, my iwi allegiances were challenged and he asked, 'where are you sitting spiritually?' I considered this a 'test', to not only appraise my commitment to spirit, but to also see if I was ready to receive a deeper level of knowledge. I knew that he would not engage with me if he felt that I was not in the right 'spiritual' place to undertake this work.

When sharing the initial draft for Tuhika 1, Uncle Rāngi expressed his concern, saying: "it's fine girl (the manuscript), but you're missing the most important part - it's missing wairua". This feedback resonated with me and remained a guideline for my writing to this day. As Ūpoko, Uncle Rāngi was responsible for upholding the mana of Waitaha, and if he said that it was missing, then I took note of his advice. Indigenous researchers have multiple experiential layers to navigate within the Indigenous research space. This encounter is reflective of another Indigenous researchers experience: "I understand that being culturally worthy means being ready intellectually, emotionally, physically, and spiritually to fully absorb cultural knowledge" (Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiiem, 2008, p. 41). When working in Māori and Indigenous spaces, researchers may also be expected to

follow tikaka, taking responsibility as kaitiaki for wairua and ensuring cultural protocols are respected (Rewi, 2014).

What I learned when I became involved in political issues is that our perceptions as women very much relate to our cultural, racial, traditional backgrounds. I found that my work, which is primarily political work, became spiritual work as well because the protection of our spiritual practice and sacred sites is a political issue (Trask, M., Native Hawaiian attorney, cited in Mihesuah, 2003, p. 143).

4.2.3 Indigenous Researcher Within Whānau, Hapū and Iwi

Tuhika II 'Te Ara o Rakimarie' adds to growing scholarly interest in women's life histories, and in particular it records the deeds of a Māori elder working within her local community to highlight the plight of Indigenous people and environmental issues. Here it is argued that an insider emic lens of whānaukataka, contributed towards the integrity and mana of the interviewee through an established and supportive relationship (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Cram & Kennedy, 2010; Graham, 2009; Hutchings, et. al., 2012, 2010). This kinship bond enhanced the 'cultural safety' of the process through shared interpretations, customs, meanings and safeguarding the traditional nuances within a culturally responsive research setting (Ager & Loughry, 2004).

The "interview as chats" (Bishop & Berryman, 2008; Haig-Brown & Archibald, 1996) approach was adopted to support tāua Anne to share her experiences in a relaxed environment of her nomination. Relaxed and comforted within her own home, surrounded by photos of her tīpuna and treasured objects of affection, Anne was encouraged to share her stories in a natural, unfolding, conversational manner. The kōrero naturally flowed into segments of her life, which the researcher described as

chapters of Anne’s own personal history. The process of recording and documenting whānau pūrākau, is an honour and a privilege. One of the challenges for Indigenous researchers is the notion of moving beyond descriptive writing, to create and contribute towards new knowledge. “Taking the less arduous route of writing descriptive, non-analytical history – which has been the traditional method for the majority of scholars who study Natives will continue to have serious repercussions for Native history” (Mihesuah, 2003, p. 8).

Writing from an insider hapū / whānau perspective involves multiple layers of complexity and accountability. Throughout the compilation of the four tuhika, Waitaha Ūpoko and Tumuaki were consulted at each step, to ensure that the writings accurately carried the wairua of the pūrākau and histories shared. There is a moral and spiritual obligation to get the stories right and convey the messages in an uplifting way. This may be considered a romantic worldview, one which could be perceived as carrying old fashioned or outdated thoughts. Or it could be observed as a narrative from the ‘old ways’ with messages for future generations – for kaumātua, the most important element is wairua.

The ‘Kaore Whakaheke Toto’ book chapter is written from an insider or emic viewpoint (Berryman et. al., 2014; Court & Abbas, 2013; Bishop, 1996; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Webber, 2009; Williams, 2010). Writing or speaking from a whakapapa base is the foundation of an Indigenous position, which is strengthened through an authentic voice when supported by whānau, hapū, and Iwi. This chapter had input from the two leading Waitaha kaumātua, Ūpoko of Waitaha, Rangimārie Te Maihāroa and Tumuaki: Waitaha Anne Sissie Te Maihāroa Dodds. It is written by

Waitaha, for Waitaha, and others that may be interested. It is important to me that I was able to write collaboratively with kaumātua support, as an opportunity to share their knowledge, experience, and vision for the future. The archival information provided by the researcher to the wider Waitaha whānau produced two new photographs, and several new documents and manuscripts, which adds to the richness and knowledge for Waitaha. The process of writing and recording history alongside kaumatua, enabled their experienced voices and perspectives to be included and highlighted within the narrative.

Tuhika III 'Retracing Ancestral Footsteps' also included historical background information about Te Maihāroa and Te Heke and drew on the kaupapa Māori research approach of whānau and Iwi sharing their own histories and pūrākau in the form of whānau journals (Lee, 2006). The genesis of this article derives from a whānau desire to draw attention to the diminished health of the Waitaki River and commemorate 135 years since Te Heke left in 1877. In this article, the emic insider approach is achieved through pūrākau, written journal reflections of whānau who took part on the five-day commemorative journey of Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012). The aim to record whānau experiences on this heke springboarded from the two archival photographs found by the candidate when undertaking research for 'Kaore Whakaheke Toto' book chapter.

Kanohi kitea, the seen face, is an important aspect of being an Indigenous researcher when working within hapū and Iwi. The opportunity to work for my people in various roles over the last twenty five years, made it easier to transition into a research role. At the start of this event, introducing the idea of whānau journals felt a little bit unnatural, as I did not know everyone and I shied away from public speaking. As this piece of

research was an integral part of the thesis, I was a little nervous to see if whānau thought that it was a good idea and wanted to participate. But it was important to remember the primary kaupapa was Te Heke, honouring our tīpuna and ensuring that it was a good experience for whānau, and that they left this event knowing that they were a part of something special. The delicate balance between being an Indigenous researcher is raised by Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiem (2008, p. 39) who noted that at times she felt different:

Even though I am a First Nations person and have some initial undertakings about various First Nations cultures, I became like an outsider when I began to use the 'tools' of literacy to record my research observations and reflections about the oral tradition and practices through fieldnotes.

As one of the key organisers for this event, this piece of researcher was the most challenging because of the multiple roles that I carried out, including leading the entire 135 kilometre hīkoi. As an 'insider' Indigenous researcher, there is a delicate responsibility to record, gather and present information in a form that is acceptable to the remaining 'inside' people or risk alienation from that position. In some Indigenous circles, being too highly educated in the western education system can sometimes be tainted as a 'colonised mind':

I am also a university academic, which again may place me on the borders of First Nations contexts. First Nations people are encouraged by Elders and local community to 'get more education'. But becoming educated in mainstream institutions can create a chasm between the person who is university-educated and others who are not educated in this way (Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiem, 2008, p. 40).

It can be an delicate dance between being 'Indigenous / Māori' enough to be a part of te ao Māori, having the skills to be able to make a difference for your people, and work towards outcomes that enhance people's mana. Wiri (1996) highlights that working

within tribal homelands carries rights, obligations and responsibility as mana whenua *holders of territorial rights of the land*, to uphold the mana of the people that one represents. It was an absolute honour to design this research project which provides the unique position of recording trekkers' experiences of "walking in the footsteps of our tīpuna". The experience of extrapolating and knitting together a series of pūrākau to create a larger, fuller story was rewarding. Strong, whānau-based research relationships, as described by Bishop (2006), enabled a richer quality of information offered and gathered for the purposes of recording pūrākau for whānau, research and historical purposes.

4.2.4 Indigenous Researcher Within Peace Circles

Each of the four Tuhika has been supported by peace circles consisting of whānau, whanauka and kaumātua. Tuhika IV, the collaborative manuscript 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively', differs from the three previous sole authored publications, as this paper adopted the proposed hybrid research method of an 'etmic' perspective, a combination of an 'insider emic' and 'outsider etic' methods (Williams, 2010). An 'etmic' approach supports the strength of insider knowledge with the vigour of an outsider lens.

As discussed in Kete Tuatahi, Chapter Two: Indigenous Epistemology and Kaupapa Māori Methods, the blended 'etmic' approach is a blend of insider and outsider perspectives, developed by a Kāi Tahu researcher, Dr. Jim Williams (2010). This method was adopted through the work of three Indigenous authors writing on their own histories (emic) and

collaborating with a Pākehā academic (etic). It has privileged Indigenous voices at the forefront, with additional support from a Pākehā colleague who is the first academic to introduce Indigenous peace traditions into the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies.

The ‘Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively’ manuscript represents a connection of four peace advocates, three of whom are kaitiaki through whakapapa, and hold positions of tribal responsibility to protect these peace traditions, and a Pākehā colleague. When this rōpū was formed in 2013, despite many shared experiences, not everyone had met. The emergence and development of these friendships, provided a strong foundation from which to share Indigenous epistemology, support kaupapa Māori methodology of collective Indigenous narratives, and to contribute towards documenting these peace histories into other manuscripts (see Appendices C-I).



Image 44: Photo of Maui Solomon, Maata Wharehoka, and Kelli Te Maihāroa with the statue of Tommy Solomon, Maui’s grandfather at Rēkohū. (Personal whānau collection).

Although there are shared aspects and similarities of culture and language, each tribal pūrākau maintains the mana of each unique history and ‘colonial’ experience. Each māngai is a trusted repository of its tribal knowledge, to share and tell its stories from its own perspectives, rather than the ‘other’. It is important to accurately convey these

stories in a way that helps others understand the lives and culture of people whose histories have been misrepresented, misunderstood, and, in some instances, vilified in an effort to provide justification and rationalization for the injustices acted on them (Dunbar, 2014, p. 46). Each unique tribal experience is gathered from the people living in their tākiwā *boundaries*. Just as each person's cultural identity and tūrakawaewae is personal to them, so too is each peace-based experience, as it is whakapapa that binds us to the landscape, pūrākau and histories. These unique and localised experiences can only be described authentically by an 'insider', as experienced within the 'place-dependent' subculture and subtleties (Court & Abbas, 2013, p. 485), or as the researcher re-frames as working 'within' rather than 'inside'.

The etmic (insider/ outsider) lens aligns appropriately with the kaupapa of this publication as it reflects the collaborative approach undertaken by a Pākehā and three Indigenous authors, and provides an avenue for Indigenous leaders to share their own histories within the western platforms of academia by working with a Pākehā colleague. All four authors are well versed at working within national and international peace and academic circles, and are active agents in regenerating and restoring Indigenous peace traditions globally. This approach also aligns with kaupapa Māori research, due to the intention to disrupt and challenge negative historical rhetoric and provide alternative histories that have been subjugated to serve the dominant Western narratives. For this manuscript, each history is shared by endorsed scholars, mandated by their Iwi as a māngai for their people, and supported by a Pākehā academic who introduced Indigenous peace traditions within academic circles. The accounts of each peace tradition commences with an historic synopsis of the tribal philosophy and peaceful

teachings, followed by an outline of the contemporary steps undertaken to regenerate each of these three tribal peace traditions. Although the peaceful legacies are derived from different parts of Aotearoa, spread out across three islands, they all share similar stories of survival and resilience. These Indigenous communities have survived and risen above the ongoing challenges that caused distress and sorrow, in stark contrast to the dominant narratives that persist, based on aggression and dysfunction.

This research aligns with Indigenous epistemologies, in that the work values, honours and privileges Indigenous knowledge, customs, rituals and ways of being (Denzin & Lincoln, 2014). Even though I was the youngest contributor to this rōpū, I was able to take the role of the first named researcher, supported by Waitaha kaumātua who continued to be involved in the project in an oversight role through the sharing and development of this manuscript. It must be emphasised that the researcher is not the māngai of Waitaha, but a vessel or voice by which this knowledge and information is shared more widely with tautoko *support* from Waitaha elders. From a personal research perspective, I valued the honour and privilege to be able to research and write about my own iwi, within my own rohe (Walsh-Taiapa, 1998), especially with the support of my kaumātua, and with other esteemed Indigenous elders. This research embodied kaupapa Māori theory praxis: writing about your own people, with feedback loops to and from kaumātua, primarily for the benefit of your people, but also iwi Māori and the wider population. This is not a simple or linear process:

Complexities of co-operative research with Elders; such as (1) needing lots of time to record, listen to, and then transcribe the talk verbatim; (2) examining together the correctness of the words, which will become the public cultural record for future generations; and (3) ensuring that both co-operating research partners are

satisfied with the article before it is printed (Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiiem, 2008, p. 54).

When published, this manuscript will make a contribution to the subject area of not only Indigenous peace-making and peacebuilding, but also towards a culturally responsive bicultural research approach. Although it was initiated by Dr Devere, a Pākehā academic, the power relationships within this rōpū have remained shared, along with the research benefits, as each author is equally acknowledged in oral presentations and when published. This research located the power squarely within the Indigenous community, created the opportunity for each Indigenous researcher to determine and define within their own communities what knowledge would be shared. The entire collaborative research project reflects a process of self-determination and empowerment from the start to completion (Bishop, 2005). This bicultural approach, which affirms the role and mana of Indigenous people, may serve as act as a preliminary model for other communities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2014; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) .

Indigenous research methods have as a primary purpose to liberate and transform the lives of colonized/oppressed people with an aim to undo the dehumanizing practices of colonization (Dunbar, 2014, p.46). In colonised countries, there is a historic bias against Indigenous peacemaking traditions, marginalising Indigenous practices and systems of peacebuilding and peacekeeping, in favour of dominant cultural ways of being and doing. One of the primary aims of this collaborative research is to normalise and universalise Indigenous peace traditions, to share a narrative that has been suppressed by colonisers (Tuso & Flaherty, 2016). It is vitally important for our young people that they have access to pūrākau about their tīpuna as lovers, peacemakers and peacekeepers, to counter

balance the negative stereotypical dogma that exist. It is hoped that this knowledge will increase a level of awareness about these traditional aspects of life, inspire a reconnection with the cultural values of Indigenous people, and highlight the impact on marginalised communities and descendants of colonial settlers.

These Indigenous peace histories have long been buried by the effects of colonisation through the New Zealand education system, where stories of peace-making were at odds with the 'native savage' or more recently 'warrior' monologue. The 'etmic' approach is realised through the collective efforts of each member of the rōpū, working individually and collectively with their own people, towards upholding the space of Indigenous peace as an alternative narrative to challenge dominant discourses, either at flax roots community, whānau, hapū, Iwi level, and / or within academia.

4.3 Ahi-kā-roa

4.3.1 Ahi-kā-roa

The importance of Papatūānuku as the sacred Mother Earth is inextricably linked with human beings. Māori are not separate from Papatūānuku but direct descendants of her. Humans belong to the earth, and her resources do not belong to human beings to plunder (Henare, 2001; Marsden, 2003). Whilst Māori established ancestral claim to harvest the bounty provided by Papatūānuku through cosmic whakapapa with the natural world, Māori do not own the animals, birds, fish and trees (Marsden, 2003; Henare, 2001). "This spiritual, humanistic value of land and environment makes things vital, holy and sacred in Māori understandings" (Henare, 2001, p. 204). Ahi-kā-roa is the customary practice of authenticating territorial occupation through long burning

ancestral fires, which traditionally established tribal claims to the whenua (Moorfield, n.d).

All four tuhika all show strong connections to ahi-kā-roa through previous occupations and also people's desire for whenua to be returned to the ancestral tribe in the future. Throughout this thesis, whānau and tribal leaders have described the connections between each other, with whānau, their tīpuna, and the identifying features within their surrounding landscapes. Within each of these four texts, whānau show that they are strongly connected to their tīpuna, tohuka, prophets and ahi-kā-roa.

Ahi kā is a common thread between the four tuhika, and loss of land resulted in the decimation of Māori and Moriori society, initially experienced through the introduced diseases, loss of sovereignty, followed closely by the loss of large tracts of land. This resulted in economic, political, psychological and spiritual domination. The traditional Māori world has been shaped through the process of colonisation, as immigrants travelled to Aotearoa from Britain and Europe. The physical trauma of losing almost half of an Indigenous population at the point of contact with Europeans due to illness, murder (and wars), is the first phase of colonisation, conquering through violence and spread of disease (Fenbed, 2009). At this time, Māori were also suffering from economic hardship after the wars due to the loss of men, disruption of planting cycle and use of reserve supplies (Belich, 1998). British colonisation resulted in an entire foreign central system of power and domination imposed onto the Indigenous people with devastating effects which resulted in a shift from Indigenous ways of life, to a different way of thinking and

being (Jackson, M., 2017b). The process of colonisation disrupted the millennial traditions of ahi-kā-roa into a foreign mind-set.

Many Aboriginal people have said that to understand ourselves and our situation today, we must know where we have come from and know what has influenced us. The historical and intergenerational effects of colonisation and assimilate still affect our people and communities today (Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiem, 2008, p. 43)

Commentaries on the threat of colonisation and the impact on the abilities of Waitaha, Moriori and Parihaka people to maintain ahi kā is a common theme throughout this thesis. The British Crown played a major role in subjugating and ignoring aboriginal title and human rights in Aotearoa since the early 1800s. Soon after Te Tiriti was signed, the Crown changed the parameters of a partnership to favour the interests and so called 'safety' of settlers over the rights, protection, participation and partnership with Māori. No challenge to Crown authority was permitted and colonial forces were sent to squash sites of resistance and/ or collaboration. Opposing parties, or potential threats, were met with large scale warfare (Belich, 1998, Wirihana & Smith, 2014). Land confiscation and imprisonment without a trial were used as threats to control Māori into submission. Cultural domination and land confiscation is the third phase of how colonisation was inflicted on Indigenous Peoples (Fenbed, 2009). It was a violent, race-based privileging of Pākehā realities that soon became the dominant norm (Jackson, M., 2016).

For Waitaha and Parihaka people, the Crown and its military and para-military forces were the nemesis, on account of their deceptive means of acquiring land, the armed invasion of the Māori villages at Te Ao Mārama and Parikaha, the destruction of their crops, untethering of livestock and the unconceivable method of razing of their homes to the ground through the 'scorched earth tactic' to ensure nothing was left to return to. In

the case of Parihaka, “the colonial invaders ruined acres of growing crops and bought hardship and deprivation to hundreds of tribespeople, and especially to the children” (Riseborough, 2002, p. 222).

The New Zealand education system, as an instrument of the Crown, has been subsequently complicit through keeping the peace traditions of the Moriori, Waitaha and Parihaka histories hidden from mainstream education system until recently. The initial portrayal of Moriori in a 1916 School Journal by Ministry of Education was both mythological and slanderous history of the Moriori people (Neale, I., 20 March, 2011). A more accurate historical account has recently been written in Moriori: A Story of Survival (School Journal, Part 4, number 3, 2020). The story of Parihaka in ‘Ngā Tātarakihi o Parihaka’ (Bailey, L., 4 May, 2016), partially based on oral history, is only now being introduced to schools. The story of the Waitaha people is not represented in school journals. It is important to educate the younger generation on aspects of Aotearoa history that have been kept largely invisible. Educating society about Indigenous peace traditions is one of seven government strategies to embed and normalise Indigenous peacemaking processes within mainstream education (Tuso & Flaherty, 2016).

4.3.2 ‘Kaore Te Whakaheke Toto’ and Ahi-kā-roa

The importance and concept of re-igniting ahi-kā-roa throughout the Waitaki Valley is a key feature of the first half of the ‘Kaore Whakaheke Toto’ book chapter which describes some of the challenges for Southern Māori at the time of colonial interface in mid Canterbury during the late nineteenth century. It explored Waitaha as an historical case

study of traditional tribal non-violence in Te Waipounamu, Aotearoa, and offered some ideas for future consideration today. Ahi-kā-roa is established within this chapter through the exploits of the Waitaha founding tipuna Rākaihautū. Further to this, a millennia later, Te Maihāroa and his followers on Te Heke reasserted their ahi-kā-roa through occupation and the establishment of a spiritual refuge at Te Ao Mārama, and by re-establishing their cultural, social, and political sovereignty. Although this chapter highlights Treaty of Waitangi breaches in the Canterbury and Otago regions, these violations are experiences also shared by many Iwi across the motu: inadequate native lands, restricted access to traditional food sources, the encroachment of uninvited and unwanted settler occupiers upon ancestral land, the struggle for assertion and recognition of tribal ownership and the call for physical occupation to assert ownership at Parihaka and Te Ao Mārama on the late nineteenth century.

After the signing of Te Tiriti of Waitangi, whenua and the ancestral right to continue ahi-kā-roa became a political battleground for Māori, scattered with broken promises. In Te Waipounamu, the Kemp Deed Purchase promised, but failed, to set aside 1/10th of the eight million hectares of land sold as Māori reserves for villages and access to mahika kai sites. Te Maihāroa held strong views that Papatūānuku was not for sale, but accepted that the Kemp Deed Purchase included land from the east coast to the foothills of the Southern Alps, leaving the middle and west coast of the South Island as ancestral land, known as “The Hole in the Middle” (Mikaere, 1988). However, the purchasers failed to set aside adequate native reserves and when they were established, Māori were often left with only marginal land that they could not live off. Access to mahika kai sites were cut off, leaving Māori unable to sustain a traditional way of life. New settlers were also

encroaching on Māori land, seeing it as their God-given right to work the land, even if they did not own it (Mikaere, 1988). If there were land disputes, they were adjudicated in land courts, a completely foreign space for Māori to voice their concerns.

As European settlers spread throughout Aotearoa, Māori were faced with the introduction of foreign diseases, cultural demise and loss of significant amounts of land. It was during these turbulent times that Te Maihāroa rose to be a vision of hope and a staunch advocate for ahi-kā-roa, lecturing his people not to sell their land to Pākehā. The scale of devastating land loss was also felt throughout the country, and prophets such as Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi from Parihaka in Taranaki established themselves as spiritual leaders for their thriving pan tribal community. As prophets and tohuka, Māori leaders held the responsibility for the spiritual welfare and the future of their people, which included the challenge of maintaining ahi kā.

4.3.3 'Te Ara o Rakimārie' and Ahi-kā-roa

'Te Ara o Rakimārie' documents the importance of ahi-kā-roa to reaffirm mana status of Waitaha. This journal article provides a different colonial narrative and approach as compared to pōua Te Maihāroa, who advocated for segregation and isolation from Pākehā in order to establish ahi-kā-roa. Anne has adopted a bicultural approach to building cultural understanding, environmental awareness, and partnerships within her North Otago community. As mana whenua, Anne sees the traditional role as kaitiaki, which is extended through the cultural concept of manaaki, as sharing the whenua with northern tribes, settlers and people that have more recently settled in Te Waipounamu.

She sees it as her duty to share the whenua, bound within a reciprocal relationship that honours the First People of this land.

One of the most important links between Waitaha and ahi-kā-roa is the Waitaha taoka held in the Willets Family Collection (1990), exhibited at the North Otago Museum, which showcases a millennia of Waitaha occupation recovered from the ancient Huruhuru Manu kāika at the mouth of the Waitaki River. Another example of the connection between mana whenua and ahi-kā-roa, is reflected in the Relationship Agreement between Waitaha Tai Whenua Trust Board and the Waitaki District Council (2011). This local government agreement recognises the important role of Anne and her Waitaha community, to engage on local Māori issues of importance.

Each event described in 'Te Ara o Rakimārie' has sustained and maintained ahi-kā-roa, re-igniting tangible experiences for whānau to keep the memories of tīpuna burning brightly. Anne's presence at community events represents her mana as a kaumātua within the North Otago community. Alongside her brothers, whānau, friends and community members she celebrated the 150 year signing anniversary of the signing of Te Tiriti in a trip from the Ocean to Alps trip up the Waitaki River in jet boats. A pillar within her community, Anne has led numerous peace-based activities on ancestral lands, such as the Maungatī peace walk (2012), Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012), the Tungia Baker play 'Te Maihāroa and Te Heke 1877' in 2002 at Elephant Rocks, Castle Hill, which attracted six hundred people, and the peaceful protest against Project Aqua (2003-04) which attracted 800 people in a silent march across the Waitaki Bridge to demonstrate community concern over the health of the Waitaki River.

As kaitiaki for Papatūānuku, Waitaha has focused on various political and environmental concerns over the last twenty five years. When Project Aqua (2003-04) was replaced with the North Bank Tunnel Scheme (2007-2010), Waitaha made further submissions against damming the Waitaki River and this project was also put on hold in 2013. The awarding of formal standing in the Environmental Court 2008 acknowledged that Waitaha clearly represented both public interest and issues that were significant to Māori (Bruce, 2009). Although Anne was in her seventies at the time, and incurred personal expenses, she was not deterred from speaking on behalf of the environment, a calling that Indigenous women lead around the world:

Native women, have the best interests of all aspects of their tribe in mind, from those issues listed above (child care, reproductive rights, spousal and child abuse, health care, education, and welfare) to environmental issues, including concerns over land, water, and air pollution as well as worries about how that pollution affects humans (Mihesuah, 2003, p. 143).

Another contentious issue surrounding Waitaha and ahi kā, is the outstanding Treaty of Waitangi Claim and blocked access to the ancestral urupā of Korotuaheka where Pōua Te Maihāroa and his son Taare lie in rest. Despite Crown and local council negligence and lack of goodwill to address these issues, Anne has continued to promote and showcase the mana of Waitaha and her tīpuna through her peace-based events and political activities, thus highlighting the fact that descendants of Rākaihautū continue to exercise ahi-kā-roa within the Waitaki Valley.

4.3.4 'Retracing Ancestral Footsteps' and Ahi-kā-roa

The journal article of 'Retracing Ancestral Footsteps' clearly illustrates the importance of ahi-kā-roa for Waitaha. It begins by highlighting the hīkoi that other Iwi have undertaken over the last five years to maintain ahi kā, such as the footsteps of Te Ruki Kawiti (Forbes,

2016), Te Kooti Arikiranga from Gisborne to Rēkohu by Poverty Bay Iwi (Smith, 2016),
Tainui rangatira (Napier, 2013), Maungapōhatu prophet Rua Kenana by the
Tamakaimoana people (Te Karere, 31 December, 2016), and the children of Parihaka who
followed the trails of their prophets Tohu Kākahi and nephew Te Whiti o Rongomai from
Taranaki to Christchurch, Dunedin and Hokitika (Martin, 2012).

This article documents whānau experiences on Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012) as recorded
in their pūrākau of whānau journals as they followed in the footsteps of Te Maihāroa and
Te Heke (1877) through the Waitaki Valley to Te Ao Mārama. On this journey, the korero
on ahi kā extended well into the nights. Here, Waitaha whānau were exercising their
ancestral right and customary practice of ahi-kā-roa in contemporary times,
demonstrating strong connections between the present, past and future. Proven
intergenerational occupation is an important component of ahi-kā-roa (Mead, 2016, p.
10). Here, ahi-kā-roa is maintained, not only in terms of time, but also in regards to the
layers of relationships between tīpuna, tāua, pōua, pakeke *adults* and mokopuna, or what
Mead (2016, 2013) describes as take whenua, proven whakapapa connections to the
whenua.

The importance of ahi kā and kōrero on this theme was reflected in several whānau
journals, that described a strong physical presence, bonding with each other, the legacy
of their tīpuna, and the features within the surrounding landscape. The journals also
referred to breath-taking walks along the lakes edge circled within majestic mountains
and the joy of spending time with each other on this journey. Whānau connected with
the whenua, not only in a physical sense, but also through areas of cultural and spiritual

significance. There was a real feeling of connection between the earthly elements of whenua, water, fire, with human and spiritual energy. One example of this is the ancient Takiroa site, where Waitaha rock art can be seen and several whānau journals reflected a connection with tīpuna and wairua.

4.3.5 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively' and Ahi-kā-roa

The 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively' manuscript is the first collective effort from a group of people that were concerned with how Indigenous peace histories in Aotearoa have been subjugated. In doing so, this manuscript directly challenges the dominant discourses that have served to keep this knowledge and history hidden. As a collaborative manuscript, this text differs from the three previous tuhika, in that each author identifies the process of land alienation and colonisation from their own tribal perspectives, and the subsequent disruption of cultural systems for their people. Each account describes ahi-kā-roa within the different landscapes and context across three islands of Aotearoa: the Waitaha people of Te Waipounamu, the Moriori people of Rēkohū and the people from Parihaka, Taranaki, in Te Ika a Māui.

All three peoples faced multiple challenges of colonisation and disruption to ahi kā, as discussed by an Iwi endorsed māngai. This manuscript identifies that it is not just the Crown that was an instrument of colonisation, but for Rēkohu and Rangihau, invasion by two Northern Taranaki Iwi of Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Mutunga in 1835 also falls into this category, as they assumed power and domination over the Indigenous Moriori people. For the Moriori people, this domination of control was further compounded after the

Treaty of Waitangi was signed, with the Crown failing to protect their ahi kā rights and ignoring the continued genocide of the Moriori people (King, 1989; Solomon, April, 2018). Although the Crown is slowly working through Treaty of Waitangi claims, there are common issues between all three people's in terms of the disruption to ahi-kā-roa and tino rakatirataka.

The Waitaha, Moriori and Pārihaka people all have histories derived from their ancestral whenua. From the outset, the thesis introduction, each publication and this discussion chapter point to the tribal traditions of Rākaihautū and his wife, Waiariki o Aio, who established ahi kā within Te Waipounamu (Beattie, 1935-1945, 1939; Brailsford, 1984; Mitchell & Mitchell, 2004; Taylor, 1952). The tribal histories of the Moriori people recall that they are derived from the whenua at Rēkohū, whilst the people from Parihaka also have ancestral ties to the whenua and Taranaki Iwi.

In each case, the three communities also offered a place for others on their traditional whenua. Moriori offered no resistance to the two invading Māori Iwi that arrived on Rēkohū from the mainland. Parihaka became a pan-tribal home for Māori from many Iwi who were dispossessed and homeless after the Crown invasions and land confiscation across the North Island. Parihaka was a strong site of resistance, along with Te Urewera, whilst the King Movement held almost one sixth of the North Island territory in 1884 (Belich, 1998). The Māori village at Te Ao Mārama also became a political site of resistance against the Crown and a place of refuge for Southern and some North Island Māori.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi was not signed by Waitaha, Moriori or Taranaki Iwi. They did not extinguish their traditional aboriginal rights to their ancestral land, yet they were all subjected to loss of their Indigenous ways of life, dispossession, and loss of ancestral land. All three Iwi put forward Treaty of Waitangi claims.

Waitaha Tai Whenua Trust Board updated their Treaty claim in 2014, but this has been dismissed by Judge Savage. The Crown and Moriori have signed an Agreement in Principle on the 16 August 2017 and are working towards a settlement of historical claims (New Zealand Government, 2017). The Crown and Parihaka have signed a Trust Agreement with He Puanga Haeata /Parihaka Reconciliation (Ministry of Justice, He Puanga Haeata / Parihaka Reconciliation, n.d). There are continuing debates around the country about land taken by dominant tribes just prior to colonisation, or through the process of colonisation, which has resulted in mana whenua being dispossessed within their own tribal boundaries (Te Maihāroa, R., 2013). There are also ongoing discussions about the possibility of the two Taranaki tribes returning land to the Moriori people as part of a peace settlement between the tribes (Wharehoka, M., 2016).

4.4 Rakimārie

4.4.1 Rakimārie

The overarching theme for this thesis is rakimārie, a way of living that brings about contentment, peace and ultimately happiness. Living harmoniously with inner contentment and peace of mind is the balanced state of a human being. This segment examines how the concept of rakimārie fits with the three publications and manuscript.

4.4.2 'Kaore Whakaheke Toto' and Rakimārie

The sole authored book chapter 'Kaore Whakeheke Toto, Do Not Shed Blood: Looking into the Past for Messages to create a Peace Based Future' began within the first year of undertaking this thesis. The opportunity to contribute towards an international academic initiative to investigate the "Thou Shall Not Kill" commandment was the first platform for the author to share the story of Te Maihāroa and Te Heke and secure a publication that would begin the thesis-within-publications process. The peace-based theme guided how this chapter was compiled and provided the basis to explore and glean new insights for the 21st century to prevent further violence and to build killing-free societies (Pim & Dhakal, 2015).

As discussed at the end of Kete Tuatahi, the motivation behind this book chapter derived from the premise of researching non-killing spiritual traditions sourced from archival records about Te Maihāroa and his conviction of nonviolence held within his sacred spiritual traditions. A central theme to this thesis is based on the whakataukī: "Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua: *I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past*", which also forms part of the title for this book chapter. This whakataukī refers to Māori perspectives of time and how esoteric cosmic forces are an intertwined continuum threading the past, present, and future together, where the past shapes the present and informs the future, guided by the lessons learnt from tīpuna (Rameka, 2016). Within this chapter, the writer has drawn on rakimārie as the guiding principle, interwoven between the past and the future to inform the present.

The story of Te Maihāroa and Te Heke has been shared in each publication, but this discussion segment will touch on some of the actions Te Maihāroa undertook to maintain rakimārie and uphold his traditional peacekeeping practices. In an era where conflict and violence over land issues was rife, Te Maihāroa chose to withdraw from the unfolding colonial world, in an effort to maintain tino rakatirataka, protect whakapapa lines, uphold te reo and tikaka, and assert ahi-kā-roa over their ancestral whenua. In spite of the disappointment of finding that the Promised Land had become home to new settlers, Te Maihāroa and his people established a peaceful life at Te Ao Mārama, and lived harmoniously with their Pākehā neighbours (until Pākehā farmers started to complain about the Māori dogs killing and maiming their sheep). Te Heke could be viewed as one of the earliest forms of passive resistance against settler encroachment and Crown negligence to protect Māori.

Both Te Maihāroa and his cousin, Horomona Pohio, tried to allay the fears of Pākehā and the Crown, stating that they were the rightful land owners and that the settlers had no occupancy rights. On the 11th of August 1879, Māori were told that they were illegitimately squatting on land that Māori firmly believed remained ancestral land at Te Ao Mārama, and ordered to leave immediately by John Sheehan, the Minister of Native Affairs. Te Maihāroa and his people continued to abide by rakimārie and to search for a peaceful solution. The vision of Te Maihāroa to relocate his people in peace to Korotuaheka at the mouth of the Waitaki River was guided by his instruction: “kaore i au pera ki whakaheke toto, *I do not wish to shed blood*” (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945, E-21, p. 11).

Another example of rakimārie in this chapter was the offer of sacrifice. When discussions with the para-military Armed Constabulary were not progressing favourably, and it was uncertain what would happen with their people, Te Mairie, a close friend and confidant of Te Maihāroa, gave himself over to the armed police to ensure peace would be maintained (Mikaere, 1988). Te Maihāroa and his people were so committed to rakimārie, that even when the armed force seized their village and deployed the ‘scorched earth tactic’ of razing their crops and homes, they peacefully turned their backs on their ‘Promised Land’ rather than break their covenant of peace.

The mokopuna of Te Maihāroa continue to uphold his legacy and live under the kaupapa of rakimārie, as discussed in the second half of this chapter. The whakataukī at the start of this piece of writing, interlinks with the history of Waitaha, Te Maihāroa and the journey of Te Heke and through the future focused peace messages from Waitaha kaumatua to be shared with a wider audience. Peace and nonviolence is a central theme to this brief kōrero, reminding humankind that survival depends on the actions taken now. The challenge laid is to make changes at a whānau and Iwi level, by ensuring that relationships are harmonious and peaceful. It also requires conscious and active participation to shape a world that will sustain our mokopuna.

One of the most powerful actions that support rakimārie is that of collective peace based vision and prayer, calling for shared visualisation to realise a united future. The invitation to develop relationships based on commonality rather than difference is another message of peace and hope which requires a shift in thinking, energy and potentially resources. Shared experiences create opportunities to build an inclusive culture and society, which also produces tolerant and diverse communities. The closing message

from the Waitaha elders is the right of Indigenous people to return to their ancestral homelands, which loops back to the history of Te Maihāroa and Te Heke, acknowledged through a formal apology from the mayor of Ōmārama to the descendants 135 years later on Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012).

4.4.3 'Te Ara ō Rakimārie' and Rakimārie

This journal publication highlights twenty-five-years of peacebuilding efforts by the Tumuaki: Waitaha Tai Whenua Trust Board, Anne Pate Sissie Titaha Te Maihāroa Dodds. It documented the activities and events undertaken by Anne, alongside her whānau and friends in North Otago and provides an historical account of how localised peace based action can raise awareness of tribal and ecological preservation.

The article begins with an introduction to the early life of Anne Te Maihāroa, the importance of her whānau, local community, the significance of being Waitaha, and how her approach of rakimārie has shaped her life, identity and unwavering commitment to Papatūānuku. Throughout her kōrero, it was apparent how much value Anne placed on quality relationships, including her 62-year marriage, and friendships with whānau and communities. She declares her embrace and love of all people as 'tikanga', which includes the northern tribal migration south of Kāti Māmoe (16th century) and Kāi Tahu (17th century), but she clearly maintains the independent mana of Waitaha as a separate Iwi and First Peoples of Te Waipounamu.

The concept of rakimārie is interwoven within the three main themes of this article: peace based, bicultural approaches, cultural revitalisation and political interventions. The

peace based activities include commemoration of events such as the regular Waitangi Day celebrations, Ocean to Alps (1990), and Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012). Her desire and commitment to cultural restoration can be seen through the celebration of Waitaha taoka in the Willets Family Artefacts Collection (1990), dramatization of Tungia Baker's play 'Te Maihāroa and Te Heke' (2002) and the Relationships Agreement with the Waitaki District Council (2012). Her political advocacy is evidenced through her commitment to drive submissions against Project Aqua (2003-2004), the North Bank Tunnel (2007-09), Holcim Submission (2007) and the Waitaha Treaty of Waitangi Claim (2014).

4.4.4 'Retracing Ancestral Footsteps' and Rakimārie

The theme of rakimārie is a familiar thread that is woven within the whānau journals gathered from Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012). They show a connection between past, present and future thoughts about peace and how important the concept of rakimārie remains for whānau today. The journal article of 'Retracing Ancestral Footsteps' clearly illustrates the importance of ahi-kā-roa for Waitaha. It begins by highlighting the hīkoi that other Iwi have undertaken over the last five years to maintain ahi kā, such as the footsteps of Te Ruki Kawiti (Forbes, 2016), Te Kooti Arikiranga from Gisborne to Rēkohu by Gisborne Iwi (Smith, 2016), Tainui rangatira (Napier, 2013), Maungapōhatu prophet Rua Kenana by the Tamakaimoana people (Te Karere, 31 December, 2016), and the children of Parihaka who followed the trails of their prophets Tohu Kākahi and nephew Te Whiti o Rongomai from Taranaki to Christchurch, Dunedin and Hokitika (Martin, 2012). Along with other hapū and Iwi that have also undertaken these spiritual journeys, each experience following in the footsteps of ancestors, strengthens the uri of today with the strength of the ancestors that have travelled before them.

Rakimārie was often described by whānau as a feeling of a spiritual presence, the strength of companionship and a shared commitment to the kaupapa of peace. Whānau talked about the “honour and privilege to be part of such a tapu journey” (Participant E), or anchoring the energy of the peoples, their spirits, and their strength through their journey (Participant C). Another participant commented “this is huge what we are doing, and the tears were flowing down my face as they are now as I type this. It is very close to my heart and the people have been able to return to their true home in the mountains where Te Maihāroa took them” (Participant B). The remembrance of tīpuna through a celebratory event is also valued by other Indigenous people as a way to bring the wairua of living and the deceased together:

It is a bringing into consciousness for the people who are still on this side, still living, that those who are in the spirit world are present with us and are an integral part of who we are and who we will be. The event teaches us and brings to our awareness that this is a part of our identities and beings as Cree people, and it brings into reality the connections we have with the rest of the family or clan or the community, including present and ancestral beings. We experience ourselves through the talking, the dancing, the drumming and the feasting as a physical expression of the collectively as it exist across time and space (Weber-Pillwax, 2014; in Denzin & Lincoln, 2014, p.13).

The participants on Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012) also made connections between past, present and future generations on a personal and collective spiritual journey. For many whānau participants on this heke, rakimārie is something that people feel and live by, rather than a concept that is overtly discussed, it is a feeling that can make a profound difference for those that experience it.

Before starting the journey I was aware that we would be laying a pathway of ‘Light’...as the journey progressed I became aware of the whānau who were with us. The people and the horses were returning as we opened the pathway of ‘Light’, rekindling the fires that allowed them to travel back to Ōmāramataka (Participant B).

4.4.5 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively' and Rakimārie

The collaborative manuscript of 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively' explored the peace traditions of Waitaha, the Moriori from Rēkohū and the people of Parihaka, as told by Iwi leaders and a Pākehā academic. The genesis of this article developed as a response to the lack of awareness and knowledge of these Indigenous peace traditions, within Aotearoa and academia, despite these peaceful histories deriving from this whenua. This text also aimed to shed light on these peace traditions in an effort to provide alternative narratives to the label and stereotype of dubious research that has tried to claim that Māori are inherently a 'warrior race', genetically built for violence (Lea, 2007, 2005).

The start of this manuscript explores the reputation of Aotearoa as a peaceful country, which is at odds with the historical stereotype of Māori as only a 'warrior culture'. The text then moves on to briefly explore the damaging portrayals of Māori as dysfunctional and broken as portrayed in the movie *Once Were Warriors* (1994) based on the novel by Māori writer Alan Duff. Arguably, this view has become a common default image, compounded by conjecture that Māori are pre-wired with a 'warrior gene' linked with risk-taking and aggression that may lead to criminality (Lea, 2007, 2005). This research is highly disputed by a number of academics (Hook, 2009; Jackson, 2017b, 2009; Perbal, 2013; Whittle, 2010, 2009) who argue this claim is scientifically incorrect and geared for media sensationalism rather than scientific rigour.

Rakimārie was a balanced part of pre-European tribal life. The role of peace is highlighted within the pōwhiri process, which identified the traditional place of peace

within a marae ātea context and the balance between states of tapu and noa. This is followed by an introduction of two atua that are entwined in the balance between peace and war: Roko and Tūmataueka. The roles of Roko and Tūmataueka are explored within the pōwhiri process, emphasizing the interplay between te ao Māori and how this worldview shaped and influenced traditional life and marae processes (Hiroa, 1949). This setting provided the historical context to challenge and counter balance the long-held belief by the majority of New Zealanders that war was a common day occurrence for Māori and dominated over peace.

Māori society would not have survived, let alone thrived, without maintaining the balance between peace and war, yet the gentler side is seldom mentioned. This manuscript aimed to challenge this perspective and shed light on the peaceful histories that have been subjugated and lost within colonial histories and education system. It introduced the histories of three Indigenous peoples who share their peace traditions with a society that has largely not been privy to this knowledge. It served to challenge the dominant hegemonic discourses that have suppressed and repressed Indigenous voices within colonial paradigms.

As one of the reputedly most over researched populations on earth, Māori are well aware of how Indigenous knowledge has been taken from and used by 'others' of a different intellectual tradition, which has largely failed to serve or benefit Māori (Jackson, 2017, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Williams, 2010). The different roles of etic (outsider) and emic (insider) perspectives when working with and for Indigenous people are explored

within the text, settling on and adopting the 'etmic' research approach proposed by Williams (2010) as a collaborative process.

This collaboration threaded together the three unique peace traditions held by the Indigenous people of Waitaha, Moriori and Parihaka. The Waitaha and Moriori people share a history of First People peace traditions developed from their founding relationship with the whenua, and centuries later, with the northern Māori tribes as they migrated south to Te Waipounamu and Rēkohū. The pan tribal people from Parihaka developed a pacifist approach towards the colonial encroachment in the 1800s as a tool to retain ancestral land and fight the colonial military with the power of words rather than the might of war. All three peace traditions have provided the foundational pathways of non-violence and pacifism, which have subsequently shaped the peace histories of Aotearoa. All three peoples were endeavouring to combat the loss of whenua and seek new ways of keeping their people alive in the face of adversity against all cultural markers.

Each Iwi developed its own unique creative responses to these challenges and sought to uphold their cultural integrity through enacting non-violent resistance. Belich (1998) identified two approaches that Māori responded to colonial domination a) through centres of resistance and b) centres of collaboration. The peaceful histories of the Waitaha, Moriori and Parihaka people are also the earliest known centres of passive resistance in Aotearoa, possibly the world, building on Maui Solomon's (2018, 2012) hypothesis that passive resistance stems from Aotearoa. These three Indigenous peace traditions were not only centres of resistance and relief from a foreign way of thinking, but also offered pockets of political, social and cultural resistance, by following their

covenants with prophets, tīpuna, karapuna and Papatūānuku. The Māori villages of Te Ao Mārama, Parihaka, and sites in Rēkohu were also beacons of hope for the dispossessed and homeless, as centres of collaboration and moral upliftment. All three peace traditions had their own prophets: Nunuku Rongomai; Te Maihāroa, Te Whiti o Rongomai, and Tohu Kākahi, who led their people to preserve peace at all cost, uphold their integrity, and maintain the mana of their whenua.

4.5 Synergies and Divergences of Themes between Waitaha, Moriori and Parihaka People.

4.5.1 Synergies and Divergences of Mana Whenua and He Tohu

As with any First Nations or Indigenous peoples, there is cultural diversity in regards to language, identity, beliefs, and world views. Similarly, the Indigenous culture consists of uniquely diverse peoples within different tribal rohe. This segment of the discussion chapter draws attention to the parallels and divergences between the three peace traditions highlighted within this thesis: the Waitaha, Moriori, and Parihaka people. The synergies and divergences fall into two kete: mana whenua and he tohu *instruct, guide*. There are four identified themes within the kete of Mana Whenua: mana whenua, identity, villages, peace, war and non-violence. There are four themes within the kete of He Tohu: wairua and spiritual leadership, symbols of peace, peaceful strategies, peace prophets and their legacies.

4.6 Mana Whenua Themes

There are four identified themes within the kete of Mana Whenua: mana whenua, identity, villages, peace, war and non-violence.

4.6.1 Whenua

Te Maihāroa, Te Whiti and Tohu were all highly literate in both Māori and English, and strategically engaged in political advocacy to address the multiple legal injustices within the foreign Pākehā system (Mikaere, 1988; Riseborough, 1983). Direct links were made in the late nineteenth-century, connecting the Māori villages at Te Ao Mārama and Parihaka, as they were both established in the same era, they both sought tino rakatirataka, and caught the attention of the Crown and national newspaper interest at the time.

The spiritual and political unity between Taranaki and Te Maiharoa made it inevitable that the southerners would mount their own struggle for the preservation of their land and identity. Two years before Te Whiti's famous campaign, Te Maiharoa found his cause in the loss of the Hakataramea reserve in the Waitaki Valley (Mikaere, 1988, p. 66).

The Māori villages of Te Ao Mārama and Parihaka were under scrutiny by the Native Affairs Ministers, John Sheehan (1877-1879) and John Bryce (1879-1884), who shared similar views on native policy (Riseborough, 1993). The invasions of the villages of Te Ao Mārama and Parihaka were both ordered by the Native Affairs Minister of the time. The Native Affairs Minister, John Sheehan, ordered the removal of Te Maihāroa and his followers at Te Ao Mārama on August 11th 1879 (Mikaere, 1988). In 1881, just two years later, the new Native Affairs Minister in 1881 was John Bryce and the commanding officer Colonel J. M. Roberts ordered the invasion of Parihaka on November 5th 1881

(Riseborough, 1993). The military forces consisted of 945 volunteers and 644 armed constabulary who were met in silence by 2,200 people at the marae (Riseborough, 1993).

These strategic political and military moves were highly organised, armed, operationalised attacks against two pacifist Māori villages that sought peaceful solutions for their people against illegal land dispossession and cultural annihilation. Without the whenua, Māori were unable access traditional mahika kai sites, support themselves or retain ahi kā. “That having lost his lands, estates, forestry, fisheries and other ‘taonga’ he has been pushed to the extreme lower end of the economic spectrum. He has no resources whereby he might build an economic base for himself” (Marsden, 2003, p.133)

Both villages were dispensed with in the same manner through enacting the scorched earth policy, which resulted in the people being physically driven out of their homes by the presence of the military, threatened with violence, destruction of crops, their villages looted and then razed to the ground. The men from Parihaka were held under arrest and imprisoned for several years, forced into hard labour without trial or the hope of release. In a different tangata whenua context, Moriori men suffered a similar fate at the hands of the two northern Taranaki tribes during and after the invasion of Rēkohu in 1835.

4.6.2 Identity

Te Ao Mārama and Parihaka are some of the earliest known sites of passive resistance, with the Moriori people holding a unique place in world history of passive endurance and survival despite years of genocide. The Māori villages at Parihaka was established in 1877 and Te Ao Mārama was established in 1877, as a consequence of ongoing colonial

encroachment on Māori whenua and armed colonial advancement in Taranaki. The three communities of Te Ao Mārama, Parihaka and Rēkohū were exposed to the Victorian notions of racial and cultural superiority. Fenbed (2009) refers to cultural domination as part of the third phase of how colonisation was inflicted on Indigenous Peoples through the outlawing of their Indigenous beliefs and the imposition of Christianity and European ways. Te Ao Mārama and Parihaka communities were unprotected through the disregard of their plight and invasion of their Māori villages. The Moriori people were ignored by the Crown in the aftermath of the invasion of Rēkohū in 1835 by Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Mutunga. Their invaders forbade the speaking of the Moriori language, their cultural practices and they were forbidden to marry with each other (King, 2011).

All three sites have suffered at the hands of invaders and colonisers, resulting in a disruption to traditional ways of life, where kinship and whānau ties were the anchor of the whānau and hapū. Socio-psychological values such as sense of security, belonging and social approval were known, respected and “psychological security as a sense of belonging/ sense of safety/ source of approval as pre-requisites to self-esteem, identity and dignity are provided by the members of one’s society” (Marsden, 2003, p. 41).

All three communities are recognised as being some of the earliest global sites of passive resistance (Beattie, 1939-1945; Binney, 1995; Elsmore, 1999; Karena, n.d; King, 1996; 2011; Mikaere, 1988; Riseborough, 1989; Te Maihāroa, K., 2017, 2016, 2015), although these peaceful leaders and communities are not widely recognised within Aotearoa.

There is little understanding, even within Aotearoa, that these Indigenous peace traditions emanated from the effect of disruption to tribal society and ongoing

colonisation processes. There is little understanding in the country, from which these Indigenous peace traditions emanated regarding the strength and passive resistance exercised by these three communities. The survival of these three communities and their stories offer a sense of resilience and a beacon of hope “... to live by a code of honour and love for humanity: Peaceful societies demonstrate the human capacity to prevent, limit, and deal with conflicts non-violently, and this offers hope for diminishing the violence in the world” (Fry, 2006, p.194).

In the fourth Tuhika, Maui Solomon (n.d. unpublished manuscript) highlights a number of cultural and spiritual events and rituals that re-affirm and regenerate Moriori identity. These include: the building and opening of the Kōpinga Marae (2005), hosting the international Me Rongo Congress for Peace (2011), re-affirming Nunuku’s ancient covenant through the tōhinga ritual and symbolic placement of weapons on the tūāhu. In the same paper, Maata Wharehoka (n.d) drew attention to Parihaka as the largest pan-tribal, sustainable Māori community by 1867, as a refuge for Māori who had been displaced and dispossessed. She highlights that despite over 500 men being imprisoned from south Taranaki for removing survey pegs, dismantling fences and ploughing their own ancestral land, the village remains to this day, and is actively involved in, and facilitating reconciliation processes.

The mid-nineteenth century villages of both Parihaka and Te Ao Mārama were self sufficient, with a community hall, garden, livestock and whare karakia *church*. The government of the day tried to extinguish both villages through the ‘scorched earth policy’ by burning to the ground the village at Te Ao Mārama in 1879 and Parihaka in

1881. There are some houses that remain today at Parihaka and further plans to rebuild this once prosperous village as part of the Deed of Reconciliation (2017). There is almost nothing at Te Ao Mārama today to indicate this early site of passive resistance. The displacement of Parihaka and Te Ao Mārama villages and their tribal systems during colonial expansion is the fourth phase of how colonisation is inflicted on Indigenous Peoples (Fenbed, 2009). Cultural displacement is furthered through the economic hardship caused by losing men through war, disruption of agricultural processes to feed and sustain their people, and use of dwindling reserve supplies (Belich, 1998). The constant threat and disruption of war, damaged families and destroyed Indigenous cultural values (Fenbed, 2009).

Tuhika I, II & III outline a variety of political, cultural and spiritual events that uphold Waitahataka. These include commemorative events such as Te Heke (1887-89), the National Ocean to Alps event (1990), Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012), Te Heke ki Korotuaheka (2016) and Te Maihāroa whānau reunion (2003). It includes political and environmental causes such as Project Aqua (2004), Te Ana Raki (2007), Holcium Submission (2007), North Bank Tunnel (2007-2009), Relationship Agreement with Waitaki District Council (2012) and the Treaty of Waitangi claim (Te Maihāroa, R. & Te Maihāroa-Dodds, A., 2014). The cultural events include: Willet's Family Artefacts (2000); Ōamaru Stone Carving (2000), Te Maihāroa and Te Heke theatrical play (2002), Tohu (2006), Maungatī Peace Walk (2012), Scott 100 (2012), documentaries on Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012) and Te Heke ki Korotuaheka (2016).

4.6.3 Villages

For both Waitaha and Parihaka the villages gained popularity as sites of passive resistance in an attempt to maintain ahī kā. The Māori village at Te Ao Mārama was established by Te Maihāroa and his people in 1877 on ancestral land. By the late 1860s, the charismatic leadership of Te Whiti and Tohu attracted displaced northern tribes to Parihaka, which became a pan tribal community of 2,000-3,000 people (Riseborough, 2002). Life at Parihaka was originally focused on survival, and law and order was overseen by their two prophets. Monthly meetings were established on the 18th of each month, to discuss the challenges and strategize a way forward. Both populations were strongly influenced by their prophets' spiritual visions and strong belief in peace and goodwill. Under the visionary leadership of these Māori prophets, these places became important sites of passive resistance, where their separate identity was established through regular the teachings and preaching opportunities.

Parihaka had been ancestral land for Taranaki Iwi for several hundreds of years, and consisted of rich fertile soils that could sustain the growing community. Waitaha, living in the, at times, inhospitable southern climate of Te Waipounamu, needed to travel between mahika kai food gathering sites. It was not until the late seventeenth century that Māori villages and pā fortification arrived with the northern tribes. Te Maihāroa and his people, migrated on Te Heke 1877 to Te Ao Mārama, the Promised Land, to retain ancestral birth right to the land that he believed remained Māori land. Te Maihāroa espoused separation and isolation as the way forward for moral regeneration and cultural protection. The Māori village that they created consisted of comfortable homes, a church, meeting hall and sustainable gardens and livestock. Both the villages of Te Ao

Mārama and Parihaka were subjected to the scrutiny of the Crown, and both communities were ousted from their ancestral land, permanently for the people at Te Ao Mārama.

The peaceful protests at both Te Ao Mārama and Parihaka drew national attention, and both Māori villages were viewed as threats to the British Crown's authority and sovereignty (Binney, 1995; Elsmore, 1999; Mikaere, 1988; Riseborough, 1989). Beattie (1939-1945) describes an official view that highlighted the growing Crown concern about Te Ao Mārama and Parihaka:

In August 1879 some natives in the North Island trespassed on and ploughed some land in the North Island, proceedings were taken against them and they were evicted and I was instructed to deal similarly with those at Omarama, a force of forty constables from Canterbury and twenty from Otago in addition to those of my own district (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945, E-21, p. 17).

The para-military Armed Constabulary delivered a trespass order on the 11th of August 1879 to the people at the Māori village of Te Ao Mārama, evicting them from their 'Promised Land' immediately. Similarly, but on a much larger scale and with more intense consequences, Parihaka was invaded two years later, on the 5th November 1881. Both of these invasions were ordered by Native Affairs Ministers of the time, Mr John Sheehan (1877-1879) and Mr John Bryce (1879-1884), who shared a similar approach to dealing with the natives (Riseborough, 2002). In both instances, Māori were living peacefully on their ancestral land and issued evacuation warnings. At Te Ao Mārama, although the government had previously given Te Maihāroa and his people the ultimatum to vacate, the August 1879 invasion was unexpected, except Te Maihāroa was warned a few hours beforehand by his cousin Jim Rickus. Despite their armed presence,

the police were greeted with a traditional karaka, a welcoming call into their village (Mikaere, 1988).

Although Te Ao Mārama was much smaller in numbers when compared to the larger Parihaka settlement, both sites similarly met the colonial invasion in peace. Parihaka continued to have monthly Rā day hui, with 2-3,000 Māori and Pākehā present at the June 1881 hui (Riseborough, 2002, 1989). Parihaka could see a build-up of military forces surrounding them, which included 1600 armed militia and a cannon aimed at the village (Scott, 2014, 1975, 1954; Riseborough, 2002, 1989). When the troops stormed Parihaka, their first encounter was with waiata and poi of tamariki, who also offered kai and drink in accord with the cultural concept of manaakitaka. The wāhine sat on Papatūānuku in silence, with the men standing behind them unarmed. Just forty short years since the signing of Te Tiriti, the traditional and peaceful life at Parihaka was being forcefully conquered. Only a few decades prior, the idea of European land acquisition, ownership, and occupation would have been totally foreign.

Both Te Ao Mārama and Parihaka were subjected to the 'scorched earth policy', which undermined the ability of Māori to live on the land by destroying all crops and buildings. The earlier invasion of Te Ao Mārama (1879) by the Armed Constabulary saw the people leave freely, possibly due to the smaller population and/or perceived threat to the government. At Parihaka, however, the men were forcefully removed from their passive resistance protest and shipped off to South Island jails in Christchurch and Dunedin. The Crown "destroyed the most prosperous Māori village in the country, at a time when Māori needed the encouragement to re-establish themselves after the wars" (Riseborough, 2002, p. 222).

Some wāhine and tamariki remained on the whenua in an effort to resurrect their lives whilst waiting for their tāne *male* to return and to maintain claim to the land (M. Okeroa, personal communication, July 4, 2013). The militia also remained at Parihaka after the invasion of Parihaka (Okeroa, M., 2013; Wharehoka, M., 2016). “Further in the aftermath of the invasion, rapes were committed by Crown troops, causing enduring harm to the women of Parihaka and the community” (New Zealand Parliament, 26 September, 2017). Children were born from relationships (including forced relationships) recognised as ‘speckled’ children by Te Whiti on his return from prison (Okeroa, M., 2013). The Crown has apologised for its actions that destroyed the Parihaka community which included:

- Imprisonment of Parihaka residents and their detention without trial;
- Invasion of Parihaka in November 1881 and destruction of homes, sacred buildings, cultivations, and livestock;
- Arrest and detention of Tohu Kākahi and Te Whiti o Rongomai without trial (New Zealand Parliament, 26 September, 2017)

All three peace communities approached the invaders non-violently. All three invasions occurred through a process of domination by physical force and subsequent assimilation over the minority culture. The dominant culture is perpetuated through the mental imprinting of those that step outside of the norm risk being categorised as ignorant, radical, eccentric, criminal or anti-government (Marsden, 2003). As a result of all three incursions, Moriori, Waitaha, and people at Parihaka were all forced to share their resources and ancestral land with the invaders, and have received minimal, if any, compensation for this. However, one of the major differences between these histories is the aggression against the Moriori people at Rēkohū by two Northern Taranaki tribes, in contrast to the colonial invasions at Te Ao Mārama and Parihaka.

4.6.4 Peace, War and Non-Violence

Both Waitaha and Moriori had ancient traditions of non-killing, based on their ancient cultural rituals and philosophies. The people from Parihaka developed their commitment to non-violence as part of the philosophy movement advocated by their two leaders: Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi. For the people at Te Ao Mārama and Parihaka, their peace movements were a combination of tikaka Māori and Christian teachings. The Christian ethos that Troughton (2017, p. 12) refers to as love of their neighbours, blessed peacemakers and promotion of non violence were principles lived by Parihaka, Waitaha and the Moriori people. All three peoples have a history of significant disruption due to warfare, and the developed response and vision of achieving peace through passive resistance.

Both Moriori and Parihaka had rituals associated with ensuring that the weapons of war were abandoned. As described in 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively' a strong thread linking all three peace traditions is the rejection of violence. As previously discussed, fighting and physical violence is only one aspect of traditional tribal life, as the majority of hapū time would have been focused on gathering food and other resources. With no war artefacts for the period of earliest occupation, Waitaha value the ancestral lifeways of being the 'peaceful tribe', and have not broken this covenant with Papatūānuku or Rokomaraeroa to engage in warfare (Te Maihāroa, R., 2013; Te Maihāroa Dodds, 2013).

There are no war artefacts within the Waitaha period of occupation, although it could be argued that the relics of wooden weapons would not survive, there are pounamu artefacts of this era, which show no association with war implements. The majority of

Waitaha taoka are held in the Willetts Collection at the North Otago Museum and relate to the Waitaha period of occupation (Gilles, 2017; MacLean, 2018, 2016; North Otago Museum, 2017; Searle, n.d). These taoka, discovered at the ancient archaeological site of Huruhurumanu, situated at the southern mouth of the Waitaki River, North Otago, date back to 1300AD (Walter & Reilly, 2018).

Archaeologists turned to radiocarbon dating for a more secure chronology and, after several decades of controversy over dating protocols and standards a consensus is emerging that the earliest secure dated sites in Aotearoa are mid-fourteenth century where there was a major settlement event shortly after 1300 AD (Walter & Reilly, 2018, p. 69)

The korowai of peace includes the Moriori people, who have customary covenants set in place by Nunukuwhenua, the sixteenth century pacifist, placing protocols around 'acceptable' levels of violence being tolerated. The Moriori cultural protocols acknowledge the role of the atua Tūmatauenga, God of War, that may prompt people to fight, but only until the first drop of blood is spilt and then all fighting must cease (Solomon, M., 2018). It is important to note that the fighting on Rēkohu was initially intertribal, but after accepting Nunukuwhenua's covenant, they adhered to the passive resistance stance against the invasion from northern Taranaki tribes in 1835.

Some of the men at Parihaka would have been involved in fighting for land and mana within their ancestral homelands and possibly further afield, uniting with other tribes to fight against the military and the Crown during the first and second Taranaki wars. Similar to the 16th Moriori century pact to disengage from warring, the people of Parihaka also chose to extricate themselves from warfare and buried their patu *weapons* in exchange for a plough to till the land (Okeroa, M., 2013). The act of turning your back on

violence, in pursuit of peaceful resistance and a peaceful outcome, shows an evolved collective consciousness. The Moriori people and the people of the Parihaka refer to objects of war as symbols of a life of violence, left in the past.

Rakimārie was, and remains, a way of life for many of these people. The Waitaha people have no history of warfare, the Moriori people renounced it over half a millennia ago, and the Parihaka people also repudiated fighting in the late nineteenth century. Unlike the dominant discourse that pigeon holes Māori into the fighting warrior category, peace is not a foreign concept to Māori; it has just not fitted European narratives of Māori. As outlined in the 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively' manuscript, Rokomaraeroa, the Māori atua, is the complementary balance to the well-known atua of war, Tūmatauenga. Tribal hostilities were settled under the korowai of Rokomaraeroa, the peace atua, founded in ceremonial rituals, karakia, waiata, tribal alliances, and marriages (Hiroa, 1949). The domains of Roko are adhered to by each of the three Iwi, which include peace-making, manaakitaka, kotahitaka, generosity, kindness, compassion, and emotions.

All three Iwi have adopted and embodied rakimārie as a way of life, refusing to engage in warfare, even when faced with the most extreme challenges. Rakimārie is an embodiment of peaceful living. The Moriori words Me Rongo means 'in peace', which signifies both an affirmation and can be used as a farewell salutation. Rongo can also symbolise being peaceful and means to listen in Māori and the Moriori language. Me Rongo suggests one can be at peace if you humbly listen to the beat of the humanity and the world (Solomon, 2018).

4.7 He Tohu Themes

There are four themes within the kete of He Tohu: wairua and spiritual leadership, symbols of peace, peaceful strategies and the legacies of Māori peace prophets.

4.7.1 Wairua and Spiritual Leadership

Wairua underpins all three Indigenous peace traditions and the tribal leaders that represented its essence. As *tohuka ahurewa expert priests who deity provides prophetic advice*, Nunukuwhenua, Tohu Kākahi and Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Te Maihāroa were strategists at the highest level, with the potential fate of their people in their hands. Their people looked to them not only for survival and spiritual guidance, but also for wisdom and inspiration of a hopeful future. Traditionally, Māori looked to *tohuka* for this spiritual leadership, the chosen ones to read and/or interpret the signs of manifestation. These spiritual leaders exhibited many of the traditional tribal leadership characteristics Marsden (2003, p. 14) identified: a true leader, charismatic, confident, decisive in actions, secure in technical ability, visionary, perceptive, and confident in ability and skills.

The rise of a line of prophets was probably inevitable in the religious development of the Maori, because in the traditional system the mana of the chief and that of the tribe and land were almost identical. With the break down in the orders of chiefs and *tohunga*, and with the loss of the land, the mana of the people diminished. This was rebuilt to some extent by the continuing order of prophets, particularly after 1860 (Elsmore, 1989, p. 355).

As Waitaha navigated across Te Moana nui a Kiwa from Te Pātū Nui o Aio to Aotearoa, they brought with them a highly developed spiritual connection between themselves and the physical world. Several centuries on, Te Maihāroa, trusted explicitly in wairua and *atua* to guide him as *tohuka* and spiritual leader of his people. Te Maihāroa was steadfast

in his belief that Papatūānuku was to be cherished, cared for and nourished, not abused or traded off. The Waitaha people have been described as “carriers of ancient wairua” and “kaitiaki ō Rongo”, custodians of the God of Peace (Te Maihāroa, R., 2013).

As part of the Māori prophetic movement Te Maihāroa, like his counterparts, was determined to affirm mana Māori and re-assert self-worth within his people. Te Maihāroa was a healer and a prophetic figure. The mystical powers of Te Maihāroa and his addresses to his people were witnessed by hundreds of people and recorded in the local newspaper (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945; Mikaere, 1988; *Oamaru Mail*, 1879). Te Maihāroa openly exercised his spiritual prowess through karakia, clearing the whenua of taipō *inhabitants of the dark*, halting oncoming trains, summoning lizards from the sky, stopping time, bringing animals to life and throwing a child the length of a town hall (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945; Mikaere, 1988; *Oamaru Mail*, 1879). Although a different world to how we live today, if we view these actions through a tohuka lens, it could be interpreted that Te Maihāroa was acting as an extension of atua by calling on the divine spirits to help him on these auspicious events.

Te Maihāroa may have also seized these occasions to reveal his spiritual abilities to his followers and provide leadership confidence in his future visions. His prophetic calling gathered several hundred southern Māori, to follow his leadership and vision into the interior of Te Waipounamu. One of his letters written in the old Waitaha dialect to the Queen and government of New Zealand has recently been discovered, with possibly others still archived and waiting to be re-discovered. Te Maihāroa also exercised his spiritual powers through the prophesy that the next leader for his people would come

from the base of the maunga, and his followers also believing that Rātana fulfilled this prophecy (Elsmore, 1989).

In 'Retracing Ancestral Footsteps', several whānau journals refer to wairua or spirit in a number of ways; as a being, as a feeling, signified in objects and experienced in activities such as the dawn and closing ceremonies. There was also the spirit of companionship and comradery, altering spiritual energy levels and places of spiritual significance such as the rock art at Takiroa. Another common spiritual connection was the reference to ahi kā and the presence of tīpuna felt by several whānau participants. The opportunity to connect with the whenua in a physical way seemed to strengthen the ties between the earthly, human and spiritual elements. "Other than language, spiritual events themselves play an important role in the maintenance of both personal and collective identity. Spiritual events ensure the well-being and vitality of both the individual and the collective" (Weber-Pillax, 2014; in Denzin & Lincoln, 2014, p. 11). The manifestation of spiritual and tīpuna presence, and the connection with the whenua through ahi kā, is a familiar theme throughout.

The Moriori people have a deep spiritual connection with Rēkohu, valuing the depths of listening and attending to the natural rhythms and resonances of Mother Earth. The Moriori people follow the peace covenant founded over 600 years ago by their spiritual leader, Nunukuwhenua, and continue to abide by this pledge of a peaceful life, even in the face of tribal invasions, occupation, slavery and death. In the face of genocide, the Moriori people held onto their faith and sacred covenant. When contemplating the fate of following Nunukuwhenua's covenant, one can only imagine the steadfastness of the

Moriōri elders that modelled passive resistance when facing death. The ancient covenant was a spiritual pact between the atua and Moriōri that could not be broken (Solomon, 2018).

When the Taranaki Iwi turned their back on the ongoing aggression from the British military in 1860, 1863 and attacks by the ship Niger, and retreated into the hinterland of Parihaka, a new era of passive resistance and spiritual leadership developed. Spiritual guidance at Parihaka was provided by Tohu Kākahi and his nephew, Te Whiti o Rongomai. As tohuka ahurewa, they relied solidly on their interpretations of visions and dreams as healing prophecies to save their people. They were confident spiritual leaders in both the Pākehā world and their vast knowledge of the Bible, and steeped in tikanga Māori through traditional wānaka.

The prophets of the period around the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century were seen alongside the Maori political and social leaders of the time; but it is interesting to note that the prophets possessed more mana as they had spiritual backing. This was in line with both traditional custom and the notion of divine designation gained once again from the scriptural models (Elsmore, 1989, p. 355).

They were perceptive, educated and informed leaders, having seen the devastation of the Taranaki and British wars of 1860 and 1863, they identified an alternative to fighting and war. Their charismatic form of leadership drew Māori to Parihaka through land dislocation, but also support for the political stance against the Crown.

The Bible also played a profound part in the spiritual teachings of Te Maihāroa, Te Whiti and Tohu, who incorporated their ancient traditions with the Bible, to counteract the missionaries' messages of a new God that could deliver bountiful gifts. Te Whiti and Tohu

are world renowned for their charismatic abilities to mobilise their community and engage eloquently within the political domain of Europeans.

They drew whānau and hapū from many quarters of Aotearoa to support their cause and to seek shelter and solace (Elsmore, 1999; King, 1996). Te Whiti and Tohu were not only charismatic orators, they were also prolific writers, leaving a vast amount of literature, waiata and whakataukī for future generations. They were very aware of the power of the spoken and written word, as exemplified by Tohu Kākahi (1895) “Kei te Pakanga kē te matamata o taku ārero hei taonga mō ngā whakatupurana | the very extremity of my tongue is at battle as a treasure for the generations” (Parihaka newspaper leaflet, n.d.).

It is almost incomprehensible to try and imagine the dedication and faith of the Moriori people who followed their sacred covenant to the end of their lives. This sense of obligation and commitment to their leaders resulted in a life of hardship or slavery and the death of many Moriori people. At the Māori villages of Parihaka and Te Ao Mārama, the people followed their spiritual leaders and dedicated their lives to rakimārie. The leaders of these villages went on to become pacifist leaders at a time that land alienation was rampant and the loss of Māori language and culture equated to ‘cultural genocide’.

For all three peace abiding narratives, the power of the word is resolute and resounding. These Māori and Moriori leaders held onto their sacred lore and tribal traditions. Each of these Iwi and subsequent events follow prophetic visions. These spiritual leaders were confident in their pacifist responses and prepared to risk their lives and the lives of their people to maintain what they believed in. Subsequent generations have kept these

oracles alive through living these espoused values and principles. The ancient covenant handed down orally by Nunukuwhenua, and then restated by Torea and Tapata, was so commanding that the Moriori people faced death rather than break this pledge to their gods. These spiritual leaders held onto their dream of a higher level of living and being for their people, and through their visions and actions, they became founders of the passive resistance movement in Aotearoa, if not the world.

4.7.9 Symbols of Peace

Symbols of peace are found in two of the three peace traditions, with no known artefacts associated with peace or war associated with the earliest tribe of Waitaha. The Waitaha Taoka displayed within the Willetts collection at the Ōamaru Museum are currently undergoing anthropological analysis and may reveal some hidden treasures.

Interestingly, the raukura or the white albatross feathers are used by both Moriori and Parihaka. Traditionally Moriori people wore the albatross feathers in their hair, and the men wore them in their beards, as symbols of peace (Solomon, 2018).

The raukura, or feathers of peace, are now also synonymous with Parihaka as a representation of peace through the presence of three, one or no feathers worn at the back of the head to signify which of the two prophets; Te Whiti o Rongomai or Tohu Kākahi they followed. The adornment of three feathers showed allegiance to the philosophy of the Holy Trinity, Te Ātiawa Iwi and Te Whiti, whereas those that supported Tohu, rejected the symbol of feathers.

Marsden (2003, p. 38) notes that taonga can also represent a time or place, becoming an heirloom of historical associations with people and events. Parihaka has become

synonymous with white feathers, as they represent not only an object of desire and adornment, but also a contemporary visual representation of the wāhine and tamariki that wore them when photographed prior to the invasion of their village on 5th November 1881. The wives of prisoners exiled to Te Waipounamu also wore raukura in their hair as a badge of remembrance and honour their tāne (Scott, 1975).

As with all things Māori, there is tikaka associated with wearing raukura in the hair. This information is held by the wāhine that wear and protect the tikanga of them (Wharehoka, M., 2019). The wearing of raukura is both an historical and contemporary tangible symbol that visibly links the wearer with Parihaka, often worn to commemorate important occasions. Therefore the raukura is a taoka tuku ihu and a ngākau pūmanawa (Marsden, 2003), that is, an ancestral treasure that is bequeathed or given as an object of the soul and heart.

There are also rituals related to the abandonment of weapons of war by both Moriori and Parihaka. The Moriori people chose to abolish weapons of war and to enshrine them on the tūāhu altar. They then became bygone artefacts, used only for ceremonial purposes at the coming of age ritual, as a reminder of what the weapons were used for, followed by a reaffirmation of the ancient peace covenant set by Nunukuwhenua. This whānau and community event, also affirms how valued and precious Moriori children are within this unique, peaceloving culture. The people at Parihaka chose to bury their war implements in exchange for a plough (Okeroa, M., 2013).

Both approaches were equally strong in ritual symbolism as they chose to exclude the use of what was once a utilitarian taoka for their people. Marsden (2003) identified how taonga holds utilitarian, cultural, aesthetic or social value. The Moriori people chose to display a relic from their past to commemorate the important occasion when the Moriori elders chose to uphold Nunukuwhenua's covenant. The people at Parihaka chose to inter their weapons in exchange for the plough as a symbol of freedom and self-determination. The renouncement of violence and the disarming by the Moriori and Parihaka people left them vulnerable and potentially exposed. By taking a higher consciousness pathway, both the Moriori and people at Parihaka suffered further land alienation, loss of life and end of whakapapa lines.

4.7.10 Peace Strategies

In 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively', the three peace traditions discussed within this thesis are introduced by Iwi leaders who have held the role as kaitiaki to protect this knowledge. Each Iwi narrative shares its own unique encounter to that takiwā, knitted together through shared holistic experiences of belonging, thinking and being. Each history shares the spiritual connections between Māori, atua and Papatūānuku, and the encounters of peace and war. As is the case with most Indigenous people, these histories were passed down orally through pūrākau, reciting the peace traditions of their tīpuna to the next generation to ensure that goodwill and harmony prevailed. For the Waitaha as First Nations People, without pressure for competing resources, the peace abiding strategy was a pact with atua, to carry the spiritual sanctity, within their everyday way of life. The Moriori people developed their own peace traditions, which involved upholding the ancient vow to never kill, despite being hunted

and killed by north Taranaki tribes in the 1830s. The Moriori and Waitaha people were not conquered, because they did not fight. The people of Parihaka maintained the peaceful teachings of their original leaders, despite being violently evicted from their own land.

4.7.10.1 Waitaha Peace Strategy – Te Heke

Details of the peace strategies of Waitaha are contained in all of the four written pieces in this thesis. The ‘Kaore Whakaheke Toto’ book chapter outlines some of the challenges that Southern Māori were facing in regard to land alienation and cultural decimation that were similar to those experienced by the people of Parihaka. As the last prophet of Te Waipounamu, Te Maihāroa championed tino rakatirataka *absolute sovereignty* and believed that cultural and geographical isolation would protect them, maintain their cultural beliefs, including their language, and assert ahi kā to retain ancestral land (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945; Mikaere, 1988). One of his primary aims was to live separately from foreign influence and the imposition of missionary values from another world (King, 1996). The lack of Crown goodwill and the deterioration of living conditions for Southern Māori led Te Maihāroa to the extreme measure of moving a community of people into the middle of the South Island, some 181 kilometres away.

Te Maihāroa called to his people to refrain from selling ancestral land to the British Crown or new settlers, claiming that it was ‘blood money’. He advocated for Māori to continue pure whakapapa lines and refrain from having children with mixed heritage. Like the leaders of Parihaka, Te Maihāroa also wrote frequently to the Queen of England and

the Crown to advocate for Māori rights and remind them of Te Tiriti breaches. It has been said that the persistent efforts of Te Maihāroa were continually ignored. Despite living for almost two years on the whenua peacefully, cognisant of the fact that they were living on ancestral land that had never been sold, when the final eviction notice was delivered by armed police with the threat of violence, Te Maihāroa and his people maintained their peaceful stance and left their 'Promised Land' in silence on the 11th of August 1879 (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945; Mikaere, 1988).

4.7.10.2 Moriori Peace Strategy – Ritualised Peace Covenant: Do Not Kill

An ancient ritual based on the rejection of killing and warfare in a covenant set by some of the earliest karāpuna (ancestors) on Rēkohū and Rangihaute, has been endorsed and handed down from generation to generation. The men symbolically placed their weapons on the tūāhu to reiterate their sacred vow never again to take the life of a human life. This symbolic ritual began the pathway into a tohinga, a binding covenant with their deities, which separated the power of taking life from a man to their gods. The sacramental rite of the tohinga ceremony became a cherished ritual, handed down from father to son.

During this initiation ritual, the weapons were taken down from the tūāhu and the father placed them in the hands of his child and told the whakapapa behind the weapons. Once the weapon was returned to the tūāhu, the child had then symbolically renewed the covenant and completed the tohinga ceremonial process. Maui Solomon (2018, 2016) acknowledges that fighting was still permitted, as people are the embodiment of the atua

Tane and Tū. The point of difference is that that fighting became a ritual encounter until the drop of first blood and then all fighting concluded.

The ancient peace covenant was reaffirmed by Nunukuwhenua over 600 years ago and is renewed regularly by descendants today. This binding covenant has remained an integral part of being Moriori, and endured through one of the most challenging times in history when Rēkohu was invaded by the Taranaki tribes, Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Mutunga, in 1835. It was reaffirmed again by Moriori in 1836 at Te Awapatiki Rēkohū as a response to the invasions and killing of their people by the northern Taranaki tribes. Understandably, the young men wanted to defend their island and people, but two elders, Torea and Tapata, dissuaded resistance and held steadfast to the sacred teachings of Nunuku. Solomon (2018) confirmed that the covenant was entered into as a spiritual agreement between the Moriori people and their gods and to break this pact would signify a betrayal of the highest order with their god. The resolution was to pose no resistance, to share the resources of their ancestral home and offer friendship through peace.

4.7.10.3 Parihaka Peace Strategy – Peaceful Resistance: Fight the Enemy with Peace

The narrative about the invasion at Parihaka on the 5th of November 1881 is recounted in ‘Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively’, which outlines the numerous peace strategies employed on the day. Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi initiated passive resistance in Taranaki in an attempt to try and turn the situation around for tangata whenua. Parihaka subsequently became a pan-tribal beacon of hope and a place of refuge during the late 1860s, as a consequence of ongoing fighting with the British military and colonial forces, the brutal and unethical confiscation of ancestral land and diminished papakāika land holdings (Buchanan, 2018, 2013, 2010; Karena, n.d; Kennan,

2009; Riseborough, 2002, 1989; Smith, 2001, 1990). The whenua here is lush and bountiful, and Parihaka sits beneath the beloved Koro Taranaki monga *ancestral mount Taranaki*. It is here that Tohu and his nephew Te Whiti rose to prominence as Māori prophets, with their masterful minds, visionary abilities and ability to make an impact in both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. At this time, Parihaka was a self-sustaining community of between 2,000-3,000 people, offering shelter to other Iwi that wanted to support this thriving Māori village or who had been displaced from their own land.

Under the noses of Te Whiti and Tohu, the government set about surveying for sale the seaward Parihaka block of 5,000 acres between Warea river and Taranaki monga *mountain* (Riseborough, 2002, 1989). This called for a communal response at Parihaka, where the community gathered on the 18th of each month to strategically plan how to deal with the ongoing challenge of cultural assimilation and land alienation. There were several peace-based strategies that were employed. They also buried their weapons and replaced them with the plough as a spiritual tool of resistance, to work and till the land that was then being surveyed by the colonial powers (Riseborough, 2002, 1989; Okeroa, 2013). Another strategy was to remove the fences and survey pegs used by the Crown to seize land for roads, infrastructure and confiscation. An additional strategy to warfare was to ‘fight the enemy with words’ rather than with weapons, which resulted in a major philosophical mind shift as the community relied upon their prophets for leadership and spiritual guidance (Riseborough, 2002, 1989; Scott, 2014, 1975, 1954). Another example of this is Te Whiti’s proclamation: “pātū tatou katoa kia mate” (Riseborough, 2002, p. 80), “strike us all until we are all dead” (translation Tahau, S., personal communication, 24 August, 2018).

However, all this resistance was seen as a direct threat to the government. The men of Parihaka were arrested for their peaceful resistance against Crown encroachment on ancestral land. “The government agonised over the best way of bringing about ‘the inevitable collision’ and hit on the expedient of labelling Parihaka’s peaceable inhabitants as a riotous mob who could be arrested and dispersed” (Riseborough, 2002, p. 220). The bloodless Crown victory through arrests and the destruction of the Parihaka village removed 1,507 people by 21 November 1881, with over 500 men arrested over a twenty year period for ploughing the whenua, removing fences and withdrawing survey pegs on their own land (Riseborough, 2002, 1989). The men had displayed unfathomable commitment and courage, prepared to die for their land and cause, knowing that another brother would step in and take up the plough if they were detained.

Parihaka had watched the militia assemble around them and prepare their cannons. The response by the Parihaka villagers was equally well executed. As the militia approached the village, they were greeted first by the tamariki who offered them kai and drink. The wāhine sat on Papatūānuku in silence, surrounded by their tāne. Such was their mana, that they had the grace and courage to carry out their cultural responsibilities of manaakitaka and greeted their enemy with peace, kindness and respect. This did not deter the militia from invading the village, arresting the men, raping the women, and destroying the homes and other buildings (Buchanan, 2018, 2013, 2010; Karena, n.d; Riseborough, 2002, 1989; Smith, 2001, 1990). The power of uplifting words rang true, with Te Whiti and Tohu instructing their people to “Patu te hoa riri ki te rangimarie”, *‘fight the enemy with peace’*.

4.8 Legacies of Peace Prophets

The predominant thread between all three peace traditions is the strong leadership and vision of peace prophets from within these communities under threat for their very survival. For the Moriori, it is the strict adherence for 600 years to Nunukuwhenua's calling for violence to cease, that was upheld in particular by Torea and Tapata in 1836 after the invasion of their islands. Waitaha is continuing to follow and worship Rokomaeroa, the atua of peace, who Te Maihāroa also called upon in order to maintain ancestral land and cultural preservation. For the people at Parihaka, they continue to follow the teachings of Tohu and Te Whiti, their strategic, charismatic, prophetic leaders who led passive resistance as a means to quell the aggression from the Crown, militia and new settlers. Included in the tuhika of this thesis are accounts of the way in which the peaceful traditions and teachings of the three Indigenous communities are being upheld and regenerated by the descendants. With my direct ancestral link to the Waitaha leader, I have focussed primarily on Waitaha peace tradition in three of the articles, but I also acknowledge the links made with other peacebuilding communities in Aotearoa.

The rise of a line of prophets was probably inevitable in the religious development of the Maori, because in the traditional system the mana of the chief and that of the tribe and land were almost identical. With the breakdown in the orders of chiefs and tohunga, and with the loss of the land, the mana of the people diminished. This was rebuilt to some extent by the continuing order of prophets, particularly after 1860 (Elsmore, 1989, p. 355).

4.8.1 Waitaha Peace Legacy – Kaitiaki o Mana Wairua

The focus of this thesis is the Waitaha legacy of peace. The primary motivation for undertaking the commemorative Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012) derived from the collective wishes of Waitaha Tai Whenua Trust Board to honour Te Maihāroa and tīpuna on Te Heke 1877 and to highlight the waning mauri of the Waitaki River. The whānau

journals, capture first-hand the experiences of whānau as they journeyed along the ancestral trails following the legacy of Te Maihāroa.

The article 'Retracing Ancestral Footsteps' includes accounts of whānau experiences retracing tīpuna trails and connects this commemorative heke with journeys of other Iwi.

The practice of making a heke is also seen in a Te Waipounamu visit by the people from Parihaka (2011). A few years later the descendants of Te Kooti Arikirangi from Gisborne returned to Rēkohu (Smith, 2016), and the footsteps of the prophet Rua Kenana of Maungapōhtu were retraced by the Tamakaimoana people (Te Karere, 31 December, 2016). The narratives of these journeys describe them as epic, spiritual and life-changing.

All these events have all been undertaken in the last eight years as a way of honouring the teachings of our prophets and leaders. This suggests a cluster of activity and desire to follow the footsteps of tīpuna may be operating at the level of spiritual calling. The Waitaha whānau journals represent participant experiences on the five-day journey of Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012) in an attempt to preserve this experience for generations to come. Newspaper articles, Te Heke Facebook page, and the journal publication of 'Retracing Ancestral Footsteps', all go some way to highlighting the plight of Waitaha and the Waitaki River.

Mana wairua connects the past, present, and future of Waitaha to create a Peace Legacy continuum. This was described within whānau journals as tīpuna, ancestors, spiritual whānau and waves of energy. One whānau member described the human and spiritual element: "(I'm) just feeling this energy of those who have taken part in this walk, their pain, their companionship with each other, their tears and tiredness, their strong resolve touched my heart and soul so deeply" (Participant C). Another identifies the pull of

wairua into another dimension “a sense of our Tupuna being near us, we feel their Wairua, we recall the kupu o aku waiata ‘hoki mai e nga whānau I Te Ao nei’ and ‘See the Hawk soar above the mountain’ brings us back to reality” (Participant J).

The interplay between the human and metaphysical realm is a common thread throughout the four publications, but highlighted in the first person voice through the experiences of Te Heke Ōmāramataka and whānau journals. Many of these journal entries describe spiritual encounters that are of a highly personal nature, but shared openly and willingly within this circle of trust. Following the spiritual legacy of Waitaha is an important component in order to uphold the sanctity of the sacred covenant between Papatūānuku and humanity. One whānau member believed that “we have blessed Papatūānuku and her sacred waters, sea and sky with our actions and the Waitaha people are very happy to be back in Ōmāramataka” (Participant B). Another member talked about laying a spiritual pathway of light throughout the valley, including the many tīpuna that had lived within this basin.

Given the millennial span of occupation within the Waitaki Valley, there are many important landmarks and significant cultural sites located along the trails that Te Heke followed. A key tribal site for Waitaha is Takiroa which houses the limestone caves of Māere Whenua. This visit was described as “good for all” (Participant E) and a place “...to acknowledge the Ancestors at the site of the waitaha rock art ... reflecting on the Heke 135 years ago and ... the hardships they endured” (Participant D). Here the tā or rock art memories of tīpuna are remembered through the body: “Walking into these areas brings goose pimples, another world almost, for within the towering lime stone cave is a strong

feeling of spirituality ...it is as if the ghost of our tupuna still exists and is watching over us, we feel that as a blessing” (Participant J).

This spiritual peace journey reconnects the whakapapa threads between tīpuna and whānau today. Several participants make the interconnections between the Te Heke and their uri that continue to carry on their memories. “The whakapapa behind Te Heke, the karaka of Aunty to take her whānau back into the hinterlands to visit the Hummock where our Tāua rests... a place of spiritual significance, for our whānau to experience together” (Participant A).

The Waitaha legacy is carried on in the life work of Anne Te Maihāroa, as recorded in ‘Te Ara o Rakimārie’. Anne Sissie Pate Titaha Te Maihāroa is the grand-daughter of Te Maihāroa and together with her brothers, whānau and friends, initiated and participated in on-going peaceful activities to keep the peaceful teachings of their ancestor alive and alight. As she is the last surviving sibling of fourteen, it was important to record Anne’s lifetime of experience, cultural knowledge and rich wisdom that she holds in order to preserve this body of knowledge for future generations (Selby & Laurie, 2005). For twenty-five years her brother, Rangimārie Te Maihāroa, was the Ūpoko of Waitaha Taiwhenua o Waitaki Trust Board (2015-1990), with Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds taking up the role as Tumuaki (2019-2015) after Rangi passed away in 2015. They have dedicated their lives to serve their whānau and Waitaha and they both fully supported the whānau celebrations of Te Heke Ōmāramataka.

In the 'Te Ara o Rakimārie' journal article, the last twenty-five years of Anne's peacebuilding activities have been documented not only to record these events, but also to provide the next generation with peace-based signposts to follow. Employing a similar kaupapa to her pōua, she has been able to highlight cultural and environmental issues through various celebrations, events, marches and court hearings to speak on behalf of Waitaha and Papatūānuku. Almost every event that Anne described is linked with the strain of cultural, political, or environmental issues that have been described in each of the four journal articles. Anne has continued the legacy of Pōua Te Maihāroa, Te Whiti and Tohu, with numerous submissions to the Crown, pacifist protests, and peaceful campaigns to inform the Government and local community.

One major difference is that some 140 years later, many of the cultural events aimed at raising awareness now also involves Te Tiriti partners as advocates and Māori female leaders. Unlike the prophets of the previous era, Anne has taken a different approach to Te Maihāroa, Te Whiti and Tohu, choosing inclusion rather than racial exclusion as espoused by these historic spiritual leaders, but the tīpuna voices remain alive and active through the prophets' descendants and the method of passive resistance and rakimārie remains an unmovable foundation.

Each annual Waitangi Day, Anne is involved in some kind of celebratory event, with one of the largest being the 1990 Ocean to Alps celebrations that symbolically involved taking a kōhatu from the Waitaki River mouth back to the founding source of Aoraki. These braids of the Waitaki River represented not only the bloodlines from Aoraki, but also the interconnecting threads between the Treaty partners; Māori and Pākehā that now share

the whenua. The re-enactment of Te Maihāroa and Te Heke within the authentic setting of Elephant Rocks, near Duntroon on Waitangi Day 2002, left over 600 people more informed about their local history. In 2007, Anne and her brother Rāngi, drew on their communities for support to hold a Treaty of Waitangi celebration upon the hilltop of Te Ana Raki. This national day of commemoration was used as a platform to raise community awareness about potential mining of this ancestral site. Both of these events drew thousands of people to commemorate the coming together of two people, with different histories but to also celebrate a shared future.

Anne believes that love for humanity is the universal way to achieve peace. She affirms that it is Waitaha tikaka to embrace all new people to these lands and to live from the premise that “you are special, but not more special than the next person beside you”. This approach ensures the mana of each person remains intact and is enriched through positive relationships. Celebrating these qualities as a model of biculturalism, demonstrates the effectiveness and power of collectively working together. This relationship paradigm is yet to be recognised by the Crown which continues to delay Treaty of Waitangi discussion with Waitaha ki Waipounamu since the claim was first made by Rangimārie Te Maihāroa in 1996.

Much of her peace legacy is concerned with the self-determination and sovereignty of Waitaha. Anne has continued to advocate for the recognition of Waitaha as an Iwi, to stand in the distinguished identity and own mana of Waitaha. Although not a formal ‘strategy’ by running local events that involve the community to celebrate occasions, for entertainment, cultural experiences, political and social awareness and cultural issues are

kept alive. Engaging with cultural events such as the Waitaha Taoka Willets Family Collection exhibition, help to enrich and connect the past, present and future together.

4.8.2 Moriori Peace Legacy

The peace legacy of the Moriori people is one of endurance and hope despite great loss and suffering. As the First Peoples of Rēkohū and Rangihau, the reclamation of identity and culture by the current generation brings inspiration and future hope. As briefly described within the 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively' manuscript, the movement towards creating a Moriori peace legacy has been realised through the intergenerational process of the coming of age tūāhu ritual, the opening of the Kōpinga Marae in 2005 and the Me Rongo Congress in 2011. These events ensure ongoing respect for the Moriori karāpuna, the 600 year old Nunukuwhenua covenant, and the cultural practices that sustain and protect this knowledge.

The renewal of the Me Rongo covenant is not only affirmed by Moriori people, but also formed part of the cultural induction at Kōpinga Marae for the International Society of Ethnobiology 12th International Congress. The revitalisation of this covenant with international participants outside of the Moriori culture, models the cultural practices of peace as not only an aspirational ideal, but a pledge to live peacefully by. This ceremonial rite not only upheld the ancestral vision, but also contributes to the collective worldwide efforts to create a more peaceful and sustainable world. It reaffirms the stance that Moriori have held for centuries, that peace is a freedom worth standing up for and a treasure to uphold. Like the development of relationships by Waitaha under Rangimārie Te Maihāroa and Anne Te Maihāroa-Dodds, and at Parihaka, the mahi of whaea Maata

Wharehoka and Toopu Tikanga, Moriori are also embracing Pākehā and other peoples into their legacies of peace.

The Moriori peace legacy lives on through the adherence to cultural values such as manaaki and inclusivity through the Moriori history of sharing their precious island resources and ancestral homelands with the North Taranaki invaders and colonial settlers. The Moriori peace covenant was not a strategy for physical survival, but a spiritual pact not to be transgressed at any cost. In 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively', Maui Solomon (manuscript) states that the challenge left to us by our karāpuna is whether we can learn to live together peacefully and share what we have, respecting each other and the environment that we live in. This key message carries forward the essence of the Me Rongo Declaration (2011):

We are convinced that the Moriori message of peace is something to be proud of and is worthy of sharing with the rest of the world, as an unbroken commitment over countless generations to peacekeeping, and as a beacon of hope. Moriori history on Rēkohū demonstrates that it is possible to consciously and successfully change from a culture that accepted occasional warfare and killing to one of peace and the outlawing of killing.

4.8.3 Parihaka Peace Legacy

Out of the three peace traditions of Aotearoa discussed within this thesis, Parihaka is the most well-known peace legacy, documented through not only the writings of Te Whiti and Tohu Kākahi, but also through other scholarly publications (Buchanan, 2018, 2013, 2010; Elsmore, 1999, 1989; Karena, n.d; Keenan, 2015, 2009; Riseborough, 2002, 1989; Scott, 2014, 1975, 1954; Smith, 2001; 1990). Parihaka has now become synonymous with bringing about social change through passive resistance (Low & Smith, 1996). The discipline and resolution to live by a philosophy of faith and goodwill to all remains the

legacy of peace for Parihaka. This adopted peaceful way of living and non-violent protest to land confiscations by the Crown in the 1860s, identifies Parihaka as potentially ground breaking in non-violence movements.

After returning from prison in 1883, Tohu and Te Whiti led the rebuild of Parihaka, which included a tribal justice system, overseen by elders in regard to restorative justice. As described in 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively' the people of Parihaka became divided when Te Whiti returned home whilst Tohu remained incarcerated. The followers of Te Whiti and Te Ātiawa tribe continue to wear three feathers to reflect the philosophy of the Holy Trinity. This symbolic tradition was rejected by those that followed Tohu, choosing not to adorn themselves with any feathers. The people also adopted different days of the month to gather, with supporters of Te Whiti congregating on the 18th and followers of Tohu on the 19th of each month.

Notwithstanding their differences, the adherence to these Rā Days on the 18 & 19th of each month, is testimony to the steadfast dedication of the hau kāinga, the people that breathe life into the village through keeping the home fires burning.

The failure to resolve these differences propelled the Toopu Tikanga movement, a group focussed on healing Parihaka. Reconciliation continues between the two fractured parties through regular kanohi ki te kanohi hui, dialogue and a resolution to focus on the rebuild of Parihaka as a peaceful settlement again. The legacy of these two prophets continues to reach not only the descendants at Parihaka, but also those of the invading government troops. Another reconciliation process includes a healing restorative process between the people from Parihaka and descendants of the government troops. This

offer of peace and reconciliation from the descendants of Parihaka to the soldiers' families may be the realisation of Te Whiti's vision, as shared by Tohu: "patu te hoa riri ki te rangimārie" *'fight the enemy with peace'*.

Although this thesis set out to explore rakimārie in a wider sense, it has focused primarily on Waitaha, supported by leaders from other Iwi and peace traditions through the collaborative relationships. There are other peace traditions that could have been included, but the relationships had been built with colleagues who represented the Moriori people and the people from Parihaka. The co-contributors were also self-consciously peace-oriented in their discourses.

4.9 Strengths and Challenges of the Publications within the Thesis Approach

In reflecting on the strengths and challenges of the PhD based on publications within the thesis, the writer contemplates the thesis writing journey, through the challenges and benefits of writing and publishing throughout the process. This thesis is primarily written to record Waitaha history for Te Maihāroa whānau and the Waitaha Iwi. There is still much work to do in the area of Indigenous peace traditions within Aotearoa, particularly a wider national and international consideration of the peace traditions from other Iwi in Aotearoa and international Indigenous peace traditions.

One of the driving forces for publishing the material as it became available was because it was considered important by the three peace communities to ensure that these narratives became available to a wider audience including academia and the Indigenous

peace communities. New material emerged throughout the course of the PhD which was important to share where Iwi developments needed urgent attention.

At the beginning of this PhD journey in 2012, two previously unknown archival photos of tīpuna from Te Heke Ki Te Ao Mārama were re-discovered by the researcher and shared with the Waitaha whānau. The finding of these two taoka, reinforced the drive to research personal whakapapa and histories, in order to preserve written and photographic records for future generations. Through archival research, the account by Taare Te Maihāroa to historian Herries Beatties recalled the words of Te Maihāroa when he was faced with an armed eviction: “Kaore I au pera ki whakaheke toto | *I do not shed blood*” (Beattie Collection, 1939-1945, E-21, p. 11). This early research period coincided with an international email calling for abstracts on *Global Nonkilling*, with a proposed ‘Indigenous spiritual traditions’ theme. This led to the above first publication.

The beginning of the PhD journey also coincided with the commemorative heke in December 2012, and ethics approval was acquired urgently so that the whānau journals recording the journey could be used as part of the research. Again, the importance of sharing the message of this heke available for both the Waitaha whānau and for academic knowledge, spurred on the researcher to submit this for publication as the article ‘Retracing Ancestral Footsteps’. It is part of the southern Māori heritage in Te Waipounamu; a pūrākau that captures the interest to both Māori and Tau Iwi.

The importance of recording oral history by Waitaha elders was highlighted in the passing of the Waitaha Taiwhenua o Waitaki Trust Board Ūpoko, Rangimārie Te Maihāroa, in

2015. Rangimārie and Sissie were kaumatua for Te Heke Ōmāramataka 2012, offering wisdom and spiritual guidance for this journey. There was now a special urgency to record his sister's account of their lives involved in the peaceful activities of Waitaha. The interviews with Anne Sissie Pate Titaha Te Maihāroa, were published in 2017 in the article 'Te Ara o Rakimarie'.

Around the same time, I was involved in a collaborative group of Māori, Moriori, and Pākehā colleagues who were engaged in the same mission: to help to document the peace narratives of the Indigenous people of Aotearoa. The 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively' manuscript records the process of our work together looking at Parihaka, Moriori, and Waitaha peace traditions. As a new lecturer at the University of Otago, the expectation was for me to 'publish or perish'. Through perusing the online support services for doctoral students, the process of Publications within Thesis was identified. Publishing within the tenure period is a requirement of the Confirmation Pathway to permanent employment, which seemed to align well with the process of acquiring a PhD through Publications within Thesis. Earning a doctorate through publications within a thesis is relatively new at Otago, and not common practice for Humanities students in Aotearoa New Zealand.

There have been some academic challenges and advantages to writing and producing a PhD through publications. One of the strengths is that the material is accessible in published form as the research comes to light. This therefore provides access to peace and Indigenous communities, as well as academia and a wider audience, without the wait for completion of a doctorate. Publishing within the thesis process gave the writer

confidence to submit abstracts, write and present papers at the regional, national and international level, well within the time of completing a traditional PhD. One of the key features is that it provides an opportunity to co-write and co-present with a supervisor, such as the case for 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively', which led to four co-written papers with my supervisor Dr Heather Devere and four oral co-presentations. An opportunity arose from one of these international presentations, in the invitation to co-edit the book *Peacebuilding and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* with my supervisor Dr Heather Devere and colleague Professor John Synott. It also enabled me to engage with other Indigenous writers looking at peacebuilding, and to be able to make connections and identify synergies and differences in a variety of traditions and countries around the world. Another benefit was that it also added editorial experience to my curriculum vitae and added potential value within the academic job market.

Publishing early in the thesis process offers the timely opportunity to attain achievable writing and publishing goals, through immediate feedback from supervisors, reviewers and editors. Once a text is published, it becomes a visible component of the thesis, evaluated and completed through the peer-reviewed publishing process. Whilst this may help to relieve the final six-month thesis rush, it can also result in constant pressure to produce publications throughout the process. There are several challenges of early publishing within the PhD journey. The first one relates to the standard of publications, in that the material submitted will go through the peer review process. In regard to this process, three publications were submitted for publication four times, with one being rejected for not being a good fit with the journal kaupapa. A significant challenge is writing four separate publications, where each text may be focussed on different

kaupapa. This poses the challenge of trying to ensure that there is a common thread between publications and the draw these together into one cohesive thesis. There is also inevitable repetition as the background information and context to each article / chapter/ manuscript needs to be provided for the range of readers who may be new to each piece of writing.

The drawback to publications within thesis is the pressure to publish and for the writer to be drawn into publishing opportunities versus trying to write a complete thesis focussed on addressing a thesis question, which also then requires an attempt at stitching together themes from multiple publications. A factor to consider when embarking on this process, is the need to gain permission from the publishers before a publication can be included within the thesis. The proposal to achieve a PhD qualification this way was new to some of my supervisors. It was usually understood as a 'science process', for disseminating cutting-edge scientific research while researching. However, without previous experience of supervising this hybrid process, there were many discussions about what it entailed and how it would come together as a coherent thesis.

In hindsight, although there was an added win-win of publications within a thesis and gaining eligibility as an emergent researcher through the tertiary education sector quality evaluation of the Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF) round, I would not have chosen this process. Although it is exciting to be one of the first to produce social science based work through this avenue, the short term gains of publications, can be a trap for an emergent researcher if s/he is not strategically focused on the overall kaupapa of the thesis. That is, opportunities to publish work can be enticing, and provide peer

feedback on work and research developments, but it can also make it more difficult to provide a cohesive thesis if individual publications are shaped to fit the kaupapa of each journal or book, rather than an academic thesis.

4.10 Discussion Summary

This discussion chapter summarises the four tuhika within this thesis and provides a theoretical context for the thesis to be read as one complete text. It shows how the principle of rakimārie was exemplified through the lives and actions of tīpuna and continues to inspire whānau today. The chapter begins with a discussion on how Indigenous epistemology has philosophically shaped each tuhika and the process of kaupapa Māori methods to elicit the information. It explores the positioning of an Indigenous researcher, and how this role incorporated working within whānau, wairua, hapū/ Iwi and peace circles. The focus then draws on the overarching themes of ahi-kā-roa and rakimārie to analyse the four tuhika. A discussion of the synergies and variances between each tuhika provides an overview of the links and gaps between the texts and the uniqueness of each tribe, peoples, whānau and individual response to maintaining ahi kā and upholding the mana whenua status of their tīpuna. There were two identified themes between the three sites of passive resistance: Mana Whenua and He Tohu. Mana Whenua discusses concepts such as whenua, identity, villages, peace, war and non-violence. He Tohu considers the themes of wairua and spiritual leadership, symbols of peace, peace strategies and the legacies of Māori peace prophets. This chapter concluded with an examination on the strengths and challenges of the Publications within Thesis approach.

Chapter 5: CONCLUSION

This thesis focusses on the First Nations People of Waitaha ki Te Waipounamu and pōua Te Maihāroa, a Waitaha prophet and tohuka. The initial karaka to action was motivated by the desire to provide counter narratives to the Māori Warrior image, to unmask some of the peaceful Māori histories and narratives and therefore preserve a knowledge base that has been largely hidden from mainstream Aotearoa New Zealand society. In doing so, this piece of work will make a contribution towards a body of knowledge on Indigenous peacemaking which can be preserved for future generations. The opportunity to research, reclaim and regenerate this mātauraka, highlights the depth of three Indigenous peace traditions, and provides alternative narratives on the lengths that tīpuna went to maintain peace at all cost.

The thesis is comprised of three inter-connected sections, presented as three kete of mātauraka. Kete Tuatahi: Introductions consists of three chapters. Chapter 1: Te Tīmataka Kōrero | Introductions presents an opening space, focused initially on te ao Māori and the intricate relationship between Māori cosmology, Papatūānuku and the realm of ira takata, the essence of human beings. Included in this supernatural setting is the atua Rokomaraeroa, the deity responsible for peace, and Tūmataueka, the god of war. This metaphysical positioning is then contrasted with the ideology and effect of colonisation after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840). Following on from this era of disruption, the foci turns towards the Māori Prophetic Movements as a response to colonisation and healing Māori from the challenges of large scale land loss, wars,

economic damage and potential cultural destruction. This segment is followed by a brief overview of Indigenous peace traditions within academia over the last fifty years.

The pursuit of understanding the challenges faced by tīpuna ignited the proposed research question: *Titiro ki Muri, Kia Whakatika ā Mua*, Look to the Past to Proceed to the Future: Why did tīpuna use rakimārie to maintain ahi kā with the whenua during early colonial contact and does it hold validity and relevance for whānau today? The chapter is concluded with an outline of the research rationale 1) to record and retain intergenerational knowledge, 2) explore archival information, 3) highlight the history Indigenous peace traditions, and 4) provide alternative narratives for future generations.

Chapter Two: Indigenous Epistemology, Kaupapa Māori and Research Methods provides the theoretical framework for this thesis. This thesis uses a theoretical lens of Indigenous epistemology and kaupapa Māori methods, derived from, and grounded within the whenua of Aotearoa. Indigenous epistemology investigates how experiences translate to Indigenous knowledge systems in order to develop further understandings and potentially enlightenment. For First Nations Peoples and their communities, this abstract way of philosophising has enabled a refocus on humanitarian issues, such as race, gender, power, class and the development of decolonisation as a theoretical tool to transform Indigenous lives. Indigenous epistemology is linked to and with kaupapa Māori, in that it is a localised response to the Indigenous People's renaissance of the 1970-80's. Kaupapa Māori is a dynamic and fluid concept that can be adopted as a theory, methodology, method, approach or praxis.

Within this thesis, the kaupapa Māori concept of whanaukataka, is utilised as a methodology through whanaukataka, the concept of working with people known to the researcher, and as a method of participant recruitment. The two kaupapa Māori methods of whanaukataka (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Cram & Kennedy, 2010; Hutchings, et. al., 2012, 2010; Graham, 2009; Royal, 1998; Te Rito, 2007a, 2007b; Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata, 1998) and pūrākau (Lee, 2009) are discussed. Whānau has been identified as both kinship and positional: “relational positions that describe how people are connected through whakapapa and kaupapa – through a shared heritage or a commitment to a particular philosophy” (Hutchings, et. al., 2012, p.5). Whanaukataka is the process that binds whānau together, or “the glue that connects people to each other” (Ritchie, 1992, p.1). Whanaukataka as the kaupapa Māori method of recruitment is valid, authentic and affirming for Māori (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Cram & Kennedy, 2010; Graham, 2009; Hutchings, et. al., 2010, 2012).

Pūrākau are the “...philosophical thought, epistemological constructs cultural codes and world views that are fundamental to our identity as Māori” (Lee, 2009, p. 1). Within this thesis, pūrākau has been incorporated as a written method of storytelling within whānau journals and applied in the traditional method of telling stories through “interviews as chats” (Bishop & Berryman, 2008). The kaupapa Māori method of pūrākau, gathering narratives, was realised in three ways, through: 1) whānau kōrero through ‘interviews as chats’ (Bishop, 1996), 2) whānau journals, and 3) collective Iwi histories. As the sole author for the first three tuhika, I position myself as a First Nation’s ‘insider’ Indigenous Researcher, able to also operate within the boundaries of an etmic (insider / outsider) relationship in the collaborative manuscript with two other Indigenous peacemakers,

Maui Solomon (Moriōri) and Maata Wharehoka (Kaitiaki of Te Niho Marae, Parihaka), and our much valued Pākehā academic colleague, Dr Heather Devere. I also position myself within the research context of wairua, working with and for whānau, and within broader Indigenous peace circles of Aotearoa, Asia Pacific and Internationally.

Chapter Three: Background Information on Publications and Manuscript provides additional context material. Background information on the international book chapter 'Kāore Whakaheke Toto | Do Not Shed Blood' highlights the desire to undertake this research with and for whānau, and to gather information in preparation for Te Heke 2012. This research uncovered two whānau photographs from the original Te Heke, taken in 1878, and an additional photo taken 50 years later of Moven whānau commemorating Te Heke in 1927. 'Te Ara o Rakimārie, *The Pathway of Peaceful Living*' documents twenty five years of peacebuilding by Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds in her North Otago community. This descriptive journal article, chronicles the social, cultural, political and environmental actions of Anne, her brothers, whānau and supporters for the various kaupapa that she has led out on.

'Retracing Ancestral Footsteps' documents whānau experiences trekking their tīpuna trails of Te Heke (1877-79) through the Waitaki River Valley on Te Heke Ōmāramataka (2012) some 135 years later. This research formed a chronology of this four day trek, and provides an insight into whānau experiences and grants an opportunity for mokopuna to gain an insight through their pūrākau in whānau journals. The background information on 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively', briefly describes the inter-connections between the four co-authors: Maui Solomon, Maata Wharehoka and Dr

Heather Devere and myself. The locality of the researcher is then discussed, settling on an 'emic' insider location for the majority of this thesis, accompanied by the adopted 'etmic' position when writing collaboratively. This thesis argued for working 'within' as the preferred locale, rather than the assumed position of an 'insider' which can be construed as a presumptuous position. A summary of the three chapters contained within *Kete Tuatahi: Introductions*, provides a synopsis of the first Kete.

Kete Tuarua: Publications within Thesis consists of four tuhika (pieces of writing). The four tuhika introduced in Kete Tuarua consists of three publications and one manuscript:

- Tuhika I: Te Maihāroa, K. (2015). *Kaore Whakaheke Toto, Do Not Shed Blood*. In Pims, J. and Dhakal, P. (Eds.). *Nonkilling Spiritual Traditions, vol. 1*, pp.97-109.
- Tuhika II: Te Maihāroa, K. (2017). *Te Ara o Rakimārie, The Pathway of Peaceful Living*. *Te Kaharoa, vol. 10*. <https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v10i1.151>
- Tuhika III: Te Maihāroa, K. (2017). *Retracing Ancestral Footsteps'*. *Te Kaharoa, vol. 10*. <https://doi.org/10.24135/tekaharoa.v.10i1.158>
- Tuhika IV: Te Maihāroa, Devere, Solomon, Wharehoka, M. *Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively* (unpublished manuscript).

Tuhika I, is a published book chapter: 'Kaore Whakaheke Toto, Do Not Shed Blood'. It provided an historical and contemporary lens on the peaceful history of the Waitaha Iwi and focused on the prophet Te Maihāroa and his people on Te Heke 1877. This chapter also made a contribution towards how this peaceful legacy can inform future peace-based intentions.

Tuhika II, a published journal article named 'Te Ara o Rakimārie' described the cultural and peace-based activism of Waitaha Ūpoko Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds within her North

Otago community. It focussed on flax roots events and activities that raised community awareness of rakimārie, Waitahataka, environmental advocacy, and bicultural relationships.

Tuhika III, also a published journal article called 'Retracing Ancestral Footsteps', provided a contemporary record of Te Heke Omaramataka 2012, where up to fifty trekkers retraced the ancestral trails of Te Heke 1877 from the mouth of the Waitaki River into the hinterland of Te Ao Mārama. This article records the walkers' experiences in pūrākau within whānau journals, to provide a running commentary on their experience of following in the footsteps of tīpuna.

Tuhika IV, an unpublished manuscript on 'Exploring Indigenous Peace Traditions Collaboratively', identifies three Indigenous peace traditions unique to Aotearoa: Waitaha of Te Waipounamu, the Moriori of Rēkohū, and the pan-tribal community of Parihaka on the West Coast of the North Island. This collective research effort provides a model of respectful relationships within a research context, in an effort to raise awareness of the peaceful histories of Indigenous traditions, models of Indigenous peacemaking, and revitalisation within each of these three communities. This study aims to share the Indigenous peace traditions from the people that have been kaitiaki of their tribal peace traditions. It examines these histories through an historical and contemporary lens on the Waitaha people and the regeneration of peacemakers and keepers within the Moriori, Waitaha and Parihaka . This thesis privileges each history as told by a māngai of the tribal knowledge keepers, and provides a theme-based analyses of the synergies and discrepancies between the different struggles and experiences. It

discusses the peace legacy that has been forged by these ancestral prophets and how their spirit remains to shine through their descendants, as lights on the pathway of rakimārie, a peaceful way of living.

Each of these three Indigenous peace traditions has been handed down from one generation to the next in order to preserve and protect the ancestral wisdom and knowledge of these practices. Each history recounts some of the challenges experienced through invasion and oppression. This thesis contributes towards a body of knowledge that attempts to document these histories as shared by tribal leaders in an effort to uphold the mana of the tīpuna that lived during these times and held onto the mantle of peace. It also endeavours to present alternative narratives to the media stereotypes of war and violence. These peace traditions are currently being reignited and sustained through a range of measures targeted to re-establish and maintain the peaceful traditions of Māori and Moriori. Each peace tradition has its own unique, tailored strategy to encompass three very different histories and achieve the moemoeā *dream* of their peace prophets, tohuka, and visionaries.

Kete Tuatoru: Whakakapī | Closure is comprised for three chapters. Chapter Four: Discussion Review of Theoretical Base and Research Publications. This is followed by Chapter Five: Thesis Conclusion and Chapter Six: References, images, table, map, glossary and abstract appendices. The discussion chapter began with a summation of the four publications and how each text links together within the wider thesis context of Indigenous epistemology and kaupapa Māori methods. The four tuhika are then analysed through the lens of rakimārie and ahi-kā-roa. This is followed by an exploration of the

synergies and divergencies of two emergent themes between Waitaha, Moriori and Parihaka: Mana Whenua and He Tohu. The Mana Whenua themes consist of: whenua, identity, villages, peace, war and non violence. The He Tohu themes contain themes on wairua and spiritual leadership, symbols of peace, peace strategies and legacies of peace prophets.

The thematic links between the three peace traditions of Waitaha, Moriori, and Parihaka were discussed. The importance to Māori and Moriori of peace and war, whenua and wairua were highlighted, and the essential role of spiritual leadership was identified. Colonisation and the alienation of land was responded to by attempts to challenge the colonial dominance by all three communities, and this was conducted by the use of peaceful strategies. For Moriori, a peace covenant was a promise not to kill; for Parihaka, peaceful resistance was accompanied by a vow to fight the enemy with peace; for Waitaha, peaceful migrations were the actions of their commitment not to shed blood. All three communities have left legacies of peace that are followed today by descendants, and the symbols of peace are also passed down through the generations.

Although each of these groups of tribal peoples had different experiences, subjected to various measures of violence, each case study revealed similarities and challenges in the struggles that they each faced. There is no oral tradition or archaeological evidence of violence from the occupation period of the Waitaha period in Te Waipounamu, but the history of this First Nations Peoples and their stories are almost invisible. The Moriori people have chosen to minimise violence to the first drop of blood and refused to engage in warfare against two invading tribes in 1835. The people of Parihaka actively chose to

fight the colonial enemy with words, burying their patu and replacing it with a plough, in what has been deemed the first worldwide act of passive resistance. This thesis has explored the social systems that supported rakimārie as a mechanism for transforming higher levels of thinking and human interactions.

This is followed by a consideration of the synergies and divergences of themes between Waitaha, Moriori and Parihaka People, which fell into two categories: Mana Whenua and He Tohu. The Mana Whenua themes include whenua, identity, villages and peace, war and non-violence. This thesis is primarily focussed on the peace histories of Te Maihāroa and the Waitaha people, who have held uninterrupted occupation of Te Waipounamu for over one thousand years, including peaceful relationships with southbound migrating tribes of Kāti Māmoe (16th Century) and Kāi Tahu (17th Century). Waitaha adhere to the ancient deity of Rokomaraeroa, embedded through harmonious relationship with Papatūānuku, Māori, and Tau Iwi, and all living creatures. These connections are regenerated through Te Heke, journeying through the Waitaki Valley to maintain ahi-kāroa. For more than 600 years, the Moriori people from Rēkohu have preserved their peace covenant, despite invasions from two northern Taranaki tribes. Their established peace traditions are kept alive through the ritualised rite of passage for the next generation of young people. The Taranaki Iwi and pan-tribal people from Parihaka have sustained their pacifist stance for almost 170 years, igniting a world-wide passive resistance movement. These three Indigenous peace traditions have endured the test of time across three separate islands of Aotearoa.

The themes in He Tohu consist of: wairua and spiritual leadership, symbols of peace, peace strategies, legacies of peace prophets. This thesis highlighted the expansive capacities of tīpuna as philosophical and moral leaders within a colonial world of turmoil and destruction. Their legacy created a peaceful pathway for not only their descendants to follow, but also as a signpost for resistance leaders throughout the world. Despite great odds, the stories of courage, dignity, and bravery of these Indigenous prophets remains a shining beacon of hope for humanity. Their spiritual prowess and moral integrity endure and live on through their descendants and those who prescribe to rakimārie, a peaceful way of living. The discussion chapter concludes with some personal reflections of the PhD journey, which included observations on the advantages and challenges of writing a doctorate through the Publications within Thesis process.

This thesis focused on the uniqueness and complexity of Indigenous peacemaking and peacekeeping and the processes, diversity, and events that sustain this balance, versus dominant discourses of Māori as aggressive and war focused. It aims to highlight Indigenous voices of the people that have been kaitiaki for these peace traditions, and to provide a model of how to work collaboratively with and for Indigenous people. In many ways, this is what this thesis attempts to do, to provide a counter narrative about Indigenous history within Aotearoa, in order to create discussions about how we can relate better with each other and Papatūānuku.

Parihaka was not a centre of passive resistance to European encroachment; it was a centre of active resistance to social disintegration. It was not a centre of negative prohibitions, it was a centre of positive teaching, and a fount of aroha, something the government could not recognise and would not accept (Riseborough, 2002, p. 178-179).

This research invites an alternative lens through which to view Māori history and leaders as ‘peacemakers and peacekeepers’, to essentially educate our communities about the peaceful existence and traditions of Waitaha, Moriori and the people of Parihaka. These aspirations align with the dreams of our tīpuna and offer a counter narrative for future generations to reclaim higher thoughts of consciousness: “... when consciousness has achieved omega point and spirituality comes into its own, freed from the restrictions and constraints of time and space” (Marsden, 2003, p. 46)

This research makes a contribution towards an historical overview of how Māori and Moriori engaged in peace making and peace keeping activities as a way of holding on to their identity as takata whenua of Aotearoa and Rēkohū. It demonstrated that tīpuna chose alternative strategies over aggression and violence, to maintain and assert ancestral rights over their whenua and to keep and to ensure peace at all cost. Humanity has much to learn from the peace histories of the Māori and Moriori people as the world comes to terms with the delicate interconnections between people and Papatūānuku. The systems that have been put in place by Pākehā, the dominant people in Aotearoa over the last 180 years, is a broken system based on exploitation, environmental degradation and isolation (Bristowe, 2019). We need to find a more sustainable way to live, with each other and our planet. The desire to find connection and peace, with each other, and our living world, is one of the most important challenges for humankind today (Jackson, 2016). Not only are nations seeking alternative ways to find peace, but whānau are also:

...different people from the persons who started this journey as we have been enriched by the learning and the experience of the journey. The time was right for this to happen and it was completed with the respect and grace to

our Ancestors, Aoraki, the Guardians of the Waitaki River and sacred places. We have much to learn and it is a wonderful experience to learn within the framework of Waitaha whānau and the world about them (Participant B).

In a world seemingly obsessed with broadcasting stories of violence and destruction, the connections between Indigenous peace traditions and the significance of peace in contemporary lives for whānau today remains strong. We need each other now more than we ever have before, not only for our own survival, but the survival of the human species and Mother Earth. The challenges of a unified future will be met through a sharing of power, resources, harmony and peacebuilding. One of the largest challenges for Indigenous People and colonised countries, is that the bureaucratic systems are dominated by descendants of the colonial settlers, which continues to marginalise Indigenous interests, cultural practices, languages and traditions (Tuso & Flaherty, 2016).

It is critical that Indigenous scholars and scholars of colour take the lead in framing their stories (Dunbar, 2014, p.43). In these increasingly perplexing times, the process of looking backwards to guide the future: *Titiro ki muri, kia whakatika ā mua*, Look to the past to proceed to the future, remains as true today as it did previously. For “it is living with ‘friends’ respectfully of the fullness of each other’s humanity and mindful that such respect is itself an antidote to the ‘othering’ that too easily leads to war. Therein lies the hope” (Moana Jackson, 2016, in foreword, Devere et al., 2016, p. vi).

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KAPUTAKA | GLOSSARY

ahi kā	burning fires of occupation
ahi-kā-roa	long burning fires of occupation
ahi tapu	sacred fires
āku	my, mine
anei	here, here it is
Anne Te Māihāroa	great grand daughter of Te Maihāroa
Aoraki	Mount Cook, Aotearoa highest mountain
Aotearoa	New Zealand
ara	path
ariki	high born
aroha	to love, feel pity, feel concern for
aroha ki te tangata	love for the people
Arowhenua marae	mid Canterbury ancestral building
atua	gods
āu	your, one person, possessive determiner
awa	river, stream, creek
hākari	sumptuous meal, feast
haki	flag, ensign
hākoro	father
hākui	mother
hāngī	earth oven
harakeke	flax
Hauhau	Taranaki founded faith
hau kāika / kāinga	home, true home, local people of a marae
heke	migrate, move
hikoi	step, stride, march, walk
hīnaki	father eel trap, wicker eel basket area
hue	calabash, gourd
hui	meeting
hurae puruhau	long gourd used as a musical instrument
Huruhurumanu	ancient Waitaha village
ikoa / ingoa	name
ikoa / ingoa tawhito	ancient place name
ipu	container, bowl, vessel, calabash
i taoka tuku iho	treasures handed down
kā ara tawhito	ancient trails
kaihautū	navigator
kāika / kāinga	home, village, settlement
kāika nohoaka / kāinga nohoanga	occupational settlement

kai moana	seafood, shellfish
kaitiaki	trustee, custodian, guardian grandmother
kaitiakitaka / kaitiakitanga	guardianship
kākano	seed, kernel, pip, grain
kanohi kitea	seen face
kanohi ora	living face
kā pākitua	name of the Uruao waka prow, adze of Rākaihautū
karaka / karanga	to call, call out, summon
karakia	to recite ritual chants, pray, prayer, incantation
karāpuna	Moriori word for ancestor
Kāti / Ngāti Rākaihautū	sub tribe
Kāti Māmoe	16 th century tribe
kauahi	bottom fire stick
kaumātua	elderly, old, aged
kaupapa	topic, matter for discussion
kaupapa Māori	Māori approach, Māori topic, Māori customary practice
kaupapa Māori methods	Māori research methods
kei te mamae ahau	I am in pain
Kenana Hepetipā, Rua (1868/69-1937)	Ngāi Tūhoe prophet
kete	basket, kit
kete tuarua	second basket (of knowledge)
kete tuatahi	first basket (of knowledge)
kete tuatoru	third basket (of knowledge)
kō	to dig, wooden implement to dig
kōauau	cross blown flute
kōhanga	language nest
kōhatu	stone, rock
Kokiro	mother of Te Maihāroa
Kooti, Te Arikirangi Turuki Te (?-1893)	Rongowhakāta leader, prophet
Kōpinga Marae	Moriori meeting house at Rēkohu
kōrero	talk
korimako	bellbird
Koro	grandfather
Korotuaheka	ancient Waitaha cemetery, North Otago
korowai	chiefly cloak
kōrua	two people
kotahitaka / kotahitanga	unity, togetherness, solidarity, collective action
kōtiro	girl, daughter
ko wai au	who am I
kuputaka	glossary

Māere Whenua	celestial people
māhaki	to be inoffensive, mild, calm
mahika / mahinga kai	garden, cultivation, food gathering place
mana	hospitality, kindness, generosity
manaakitaka / manaakitanga	
mana wairua whenua	spiritual prestige
mana whenua	territorial rights, power from the land
māngai	spokesperson, speaker, representative
manu aute	kite
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand
Māoritaka / Māoritanga	Māori values
marae	ancestral meeting house
marae ātea	courtyard, open area in front of whareniui
matakite	to see into the future, prophesy, foretell
Matariki	Pleiades, cluster of many stars
mātauraka / mātauranga	knowledge, wisdom, understanding
mauka / maunga	mountain mount, peak
Maungapōhatu	sacred Tūhoe mountain
Maungatī	town, North Canterbury
Maungatua	mountains at Taieri, Otago
mauri	life principle, life force, vital essence
me rongō	in peace
mihi	speech of greeting
mihi whakatau	formal welcome
moemoeā	to have a dream, have a vision, dream
Moeraki	coastal village, North Otago
mohua	small, rare, endemic yellow headed bird
mōkihi	raft made of bundles of raupō, flax stalks
mokopuna	grandchild
mōrehu	survivor, remnant, follower
Moriori	Indigenous peoples of Rēkohu
mounga	mountain, Taranaki dialect
ngā atua	gods
ngā haki	flags
Ngāi / Kāi Tahu	tribal group of much of the South Island late 17 th century
Ngāi / Kāi Tahu Rūnanga	Southern Tribal council
Ngāi Te Rangi	tribal group of Matakana Island and north Tauranga
Ngāti Apakura	tribal group of Te Awamutu area
Ngāti Kōata	tribal group of Rangitoto
Ngāti Kuia	tribal group of Marlborough Sounds

Ngāti Mutunga	tribal group of the west coast of the North Island and Chatham Islands
Ngāti Rārua Ātiawa	Waikato and Taranaki tribal groups of the top of South Island
Ngāti Tahinga	tribal groups between Port Waikato and Whāingaroa Harbour
Ngāti Tama	tribal group of the west coast of the North Island, Northern South Island and Chatham Islands
Ngāti Toa	tribal group south of Kāwhia, Kapiti-Ōtaki, and northern South Island
nō	from
noa	non sacred, common
nō hea au	from whom do I descend from
nohohaka / nohohanga	place, encampment
Nunukuwhenua	Sixteenth century Moriori pacifist
o	of
Ōamaru	coastal town, North Otago
Ōmārama	inland town, North Otago
Ōtākou	coastal village, Otago Peninsular
pā	fortified tribal village
Pākakohi	tribal people of South Taranaki
Pākehā	English, foreign, European
pakeke	grown up, adult
pāpā	father, uncle, dad
papa kāika / papa kāinga	original home, home base, village
Papatūānuku	Earth, Earth mother, wife of Rangi-nui
Parihaka	ancestral Taranaki village
Parihaka Papakāinga Trust	Parihaka communal land trust
patu	to strike, hit, beat; weapon
piopio	banded dotterel bird
pīpipi	brown creeper bird
poropiti	prophet
pou	post, pillar, upright, support, pole
pōua	grandfather
pouākai	ancient Haast eagle
pounamu	greenstone
pōwhiri	to welcome, invite
puke	hill
pūkāea	long wooden trumpet
Puketeraki Marae	meeting house at Karitane, Otago
pūkāki	inland lake
puku tāwhai	silver beech bracken
puna	spring, pool
pūngāwerewere	spider
pū pakapaka	conch shell trumpet
pūrākau	legendary, myth, ancient legend

pūtātara	conch shell trumpet
Rākaihautū	founding ancestor of Waitaha tribe
rakahau / rangahau	research
rakatira / rangatira	chief, high rank
Rakihouia	son of Rākaihautū
rakimārie / rangimārie	peaceful living
Rakinui / Ranginui	sky father
rangatira	chief
Rangihaute	island off Rēkohu
rāraki pukapuka	bibliography
rāraki ūpoko	chapter outline
Rarotonga	Pacific Island, Cook Islands
raruraru	dispute, debate, hostility
Rātana, Wiremu Tahupotiki (1873-1939)	founded Rātana religion, Ngā Rauru, Ngāti Apā
rātou	three of more people
rauemi	resource material
raukura	feather, plume, treasure
raupatu	to conquer, overcome, take without any right
Rēkohū	Mori Indigenous name for Chatham Islands or Wharekauri
riroriro	grey wabler bird
Rokomaraeroa / Rongomaraeroa	atua of kūmara, offspring of Rakinui and Papatūānuku, god of peace
rohe	boundary, district, region
roko / rongu	to hear, feel, smell, taste, perceive
rōpū	group
roto	lake
Ruapekapeka	village built by Kawiti (Ngāpuhi chief), near Kawakawa, Northland.
Taare Te Maihāroa	son of Te Maihāroa
tahā	side, calabash, gourd
taiaha	long wooden weapon
teina	younger sibling
tēina	younger siblings
taipō	ghost, goblin, unwanted supernatural visitors not of human origin that haunt the living
Takata whenua / tangata whenua	people of the land
take	topic
taki	challenge
Takiroa	ancient rock art site, North Otago
Takitimu waka	Takitimu ancestral canoe
takiwā	area, boundaries, region
takohaka / takohanga	abstract
tamariki	children

taniwha	water spirit, monster, powerful creature
taoka / taonga	property, goods, possession
taoka pūoro	treasured musical instrument
Tāne Mahuta	god of the forests and birds
Tapata	Moriori pacifist ancestor
tapu	sacred, prohibited
tāua	grandmother
Tau Iwi	non Māori
Tāwhirimātea	atua of the forests and birds, one of
te	the
te ao Māori	Māori worldview
Te Ao Mārama	the world of light, town known today as Ōmārama, North Otago
te ao Pākehā	European worldview
te ara o rakimārie	the pathway of peaceful living
Te Heke	the Migration
Te Heke ki Ōmārama	the migration to Ōmāramathe Migration
Te Heke ki Te Ao Mārama	of Enlightenment
Te Heke Ōmāramataka	the migration of remembrance / dreamtime
Te Ika a Maui	North Island
teina	younger sibling, singular
tēina	younger sibling, plural
Te Kohurau	town known today as Kurow, North Otago
Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki (c. 1832- 1893)	Rongowhakaata leader
Te Maihāroa (?-1886)	Waitaha chief, tohuka and prophet
tēnā	that
Te Niho o Te Ātiawa marae	name of marae at Parihaka
Te Pānui Rūnaka	Ngāi Tahu tribal magazine
Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū	storehouse of Rākaihutū
Te Patu nui o te ao	Pacific homelands also known as Hawaiki
Te Rehe	Arowhenua chief, father of Te Maihāroa
Te Ruki Kawiti (?-1854)	Ngā Puhi chief and warrior
Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu	statutory body of Ngāi Tahu
te tīmataka kōrero	introduction
Te Tiriti Moana	Southern Alps
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	Treaty of Waitangi
Te Umu Kaha	town known today as Temuka, North Otago
Te Waipounamu	South Island
Te Waiteruati	ancient South Canterbury Māori village
Te Waka Uruao	Uruao canoe
Te Whare Wānaka o Otāgo	University of Otago
Te Whiti o Rongomai (?-1907)	Te Ātiawa Taranaki leader and prophet
tikaka / tikanga	correct procedure, custom, habit
tino rakatirataka	absolute sovereignty
tipuna	ancestor

tīpuna	ancestors
tīpuna mauka	ancestral mountain
Tiriata Te Maihāroa	daughter of Te Maihāroa
titiro	look, observe, inspect
tohinga	baptismal rite
tohu	instruct, advise, guide, direct
Tohu Kākahi (1828-1907)	Taranaki Te Ātiawa leader and prophet
toki	adze
tōku	mine
tohuka	expert, priest
Toopu Tikanga Movement	Parihaka Peace Group
Torea	Moriori pācifist ancestor
tūāhu	sacred place for ritual practices
tuakana	elder brother or elder sister
tuākana	elder brothers (of male), elder sisters (of female), or elder cousins
tuhika	pieces of writing
Tūmataueka / Tūmatauenga	atua / god of war, one of the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku
tumuaki	head, leader, chief executive
tūpāpaku	corpse, deceased, deceased persons body
tūrakawaewae /tūrangawaewae	ancestral tribal homelands
tūturu	authentic
Ūpoko Ariki	head spiritual leader
uri	descendant
Uruao Kapuaraki	Waitaha ancestral canoe
urupā	ancestral burial ground
waharoa	entrance to pā, gateway
wāhi tapu	sacred place
wāhi tohu	locators
wai	water, liquid, tears
Waiariki o aio	Waitaha ancestress, wife of Rākaihautū
waiata	song
Waihao Marae	meeting house, North Otago
Waimate	town, South Canterbury
wairua	spirit, soul, spirit of a person which exists beyond death
Waitaha ki te Waipounamu	the tribe that first occupied and settled the South Island prior to Ngāti Māmoe and later Ngāi Tahu
Waitahataka	being Waitaha
wai tapu	sacred water
waka	canoe
waka ama	outrigger canoe
waka taua	warrior canoe
wero	challenge
whaea	woman, aunt, mother

whaikōrero	welcoming speeches
whakakapi	closure
whakapapa	genealogy
Whakaririka Te Maihāroa	grandson of Te Maihāroa
whakaroko / whakarongo	listen, hear
whakawhanaukataka /	process of establishing relationships,
whakawhanaungatanga	relating to others
whakataukī	proverbs
whānau	family
whānau whānui	extensive family
whare	house
wharenuī	meeting house
wharepaku	toilet
whēkau	laughing owl
whenua	land, country, nation
Wikitoria Te Maihāroa	daughter of Te Maihāroa

WHAKATAUKĪ | PROVERBS

- Aroha hou te rongo *new lovely sounds*
- Aroha kit e takata *love for the people*
- Kaitiaki mātua o ngā tatou o te rangimārie me te ora *Parental guardians for us all of peace and wellbeing*
- Kāore Whakaheke Toto *do not shed blood*
- Kā Pākihi Whakatekateka a Waitaha *the plains where the Waitaha strutted proudly*
- Kā Poupou a Te Rakihouia *the posts of Te Rakihouia*
- Kā Puna Karikari a Rākaihautū *the lakes along the spine of the South Island*
- Kei te mamae ahau *I am in pain*
- Kei te pakanga kē te matamata o taku ārero hei taonga mō ngā whakatupuranga. *The very extremity of my tongue is at battle as a treasure for the generations (Tohu Kākahi, 1895)*
- Ki tai ki uta *from the sea to inland*
- Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua *my past is my present is my future, I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past*
- Kororia ki te atua, i runga rawa *Glory to God on high*
Maungārongo ki runga i te mata o te whenua *Peace on Earth*
Whakaaro pai ki te tangata katoa *Goodwill to all people*
Rirerire hau pai mārire
- Mariki noa te awa o Waitaki, he roimata nā Aoraki *the Waitaki River flows freely as they are the tears of Aoraki*
- Pakiwaitara o Te Pouākai *the Legend of the Wedge Tailed Eagle*
- Patu te hoa riri ki te rangimārie *fight the enemy with peace* - Te Whiti ō Rongomai
- Te ao tangata me te ao wairua *the world of people and the spiritual world*
- Te hao te kai a te aitaka a Tapu-iti *the eel is the food of the descendants of Tapu-iti, wife of Rakihouia*
- Titiro ki muri, kia whakatika ā mua *look to the past to proceed to the future*

- Tōku Awa, ko tōku Mana, Tōku Awa, Ko Tōku kaha, Tōku Awa, Ko tōku ora, Tōku Awa, Ko Tōku Wairua, Tōku Awa ko ahau!! *My river is my authority, my river is my strength. My river is my spirit. My river is me!!* (Anne Te Maihāroa Dodds)
- Tuku tōu kākau, tōu wairua, tōu ihi mauri, kia rere pūrerehua ai, mai te moana ki kā mauka tū tonu *release the heart, the wairua, the essence of life, flying like a butterfly, from the sea to the mountains again* (Peter Ruka)
- Tuku tō ngākau *release your love*
- Waitaha kawē Wai Taha *Waitaha carries the tears*
- Waitaha ngā kaitiaki o te korowai o RongoMaraeRoa *Waitaha are the protectors of Peace*
- Waitaha tiaki ranui *Waitaha protects the day*

APPENDICES A-I

Appendix A: Tides of Endurance: Indigenous Peace Traditions of Aotearoa New Zealand

Tides of Endurance: Indigenous Peace Traditions of Aotearoa New Zealand

Authors: Devere, H., Te Maihāroa, K., Solomon, M. & Wharehoka, M.

Unpublished

Abstract

Mason Durie, one of New Zealand's leading Māori scholars, uses the metaphor of the tide to explore endurance, founded on the two dimensions of time and resilience. We will be using Durie's concept of Ngā Tai Matatū (Tides of Māori Endurance) to consider three Indigenous communities of Aotearoa New Zealand that have demonstrated endurance and resilience in maintaining their unique peace traditions in the face of opposition from both Western and Māori cultures of violence. The Moriori of Rēkohu off the East Coast of New Zealand (also known as the Chatham Islands in English and Wharekauri in Māori) have a peace tradition that dates back more than 800 years. The Waitaha people of New Zealand's South Island (Te Pounamu) had no weapons of war recorded in their historical memory nor among their ancient artefacts, and the Parihaka community in the Taranaki region of the North Island was established explicitly around non-violent principles in the 19th century. All three peace traditions are currently being resurrected by descendants of the original peace-makers.

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H. Devere
K. T. Maihāroa
M. Solomon
M. Wharehoka

Tides of endurance: indigenous peace traditions
of Aotearoa New Zealand



Sérgio Lira

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Appendix B: Regeneration of Indigenous Peace Traditions in Aotearoa New Zealand

Authors: Devere, H., Te Maihāroa, K., Solomon, M. & Wharehoka, M.

Publication: Devere, H., Te Maihāroa, K & Synott, J. (Eds.). (2016). *Peacebuilding and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Experience and Strategies for the 21st Century*.

Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

In this chapter, we are re-tracing what is known about some of the Indigenous peace traditions in Aotearoa New Zealand. While New Zealand has gained a reputation as a peaceful country, judged as being near the top of the Global Peace Index, Māori, the Indigenous people, have historically been typecast as a 'warrior culture'. Both past and current literatures have emphasised the warrior archetype of Māori culture. During the New Zealand Wars (1820–1872), Māori warriors were described in English-language literature as 'proud and warlike', 'masters of bush fighting' who 'built sophisticated defence forts' (Knight 2013). Alan Duff's 1990 novel *Once Were Warriors* has been described as a 'watershed in social realism in New Zealand, and Māori writing', (Macdonald, 1991). Wilson (2008: 116) claims that the film version 'commodified the novel's images of the Māori as a marginalised, broken race grasping at the remnants of its heroic warrior heritage in the death-driven rites of black power gangs, and in the psychologically disturbing domestic violence'. Controversial research into the warrior traditions of Māori, claims that a 'warrior gene' exists in the Māori community (Perbal 2013; Hook 2009). We are working to redress the balance by ensuring that there is academic research about peace traditions that exist within Māori and Moriori cultures. This academic research includes whakapapa (genealogy) and historical tribal knowledge. Each of the three peace traditions discussed in this chapter is narrated by an 'insider' researcher, closely involved in the regeneration of these peace traditions. A non-Indigenous researcher has acted to coordinate the chapter.

Appendix C: Conclusion: Peacebuilding and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Experiences and Strategies for the 21st Century

Authors: Devere, H., Te Maihāroa, K. and Synott, J.

Publication: Devere, H., Te Maihāroa, K & Synott, J. (Eds.). (2016). Peacebuilding and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Experiences and Strategies for the 21st Century.

Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Abstract: This chapter functions as a conclusion to this volume of studies of peacebuilding and the rights of Indigenous Peoples. It reviews major developments in global institutions, centred on the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and consequent academic scholarship in the various fields of Indigenous Studies. In particular, this chapter examines the synergy between these achievements in international policy and scholarship in respect to the rights of Indigenous Peoples with key principles and discourse in peace studies, specifically the interrelated concepts of peacebuilding and nonviolence. The chapter reviews the contents and approaches of the wide-ranging studies presented in the book, identifying important cohesions and insights across the different nations and cultures researched in this set of studies. It reviews the four interlinked themes that provide an organisational pathway for the chapters and concludes with some considerations of methodology, emphasising the value of emerging distinctive Indigenous approaches to contemporary research.

Appendix D: Restoring Hope: Indigenous Responses to Justice in Aotearoa New Zealand

Abstract on Restoring Hope. Indigenous Responses to Justice in Aotearoa New Zealand

Authors: Devere, H., Te Maihāroa, K., Solomon, M. & Wharehoka, M.

Unpublished

Abstract: 'Restoring Hope: An Indigenous Response to Justice' is the title of a documentary on the Māori restorative justice model. This chapter explores the ways in which three Indigenous traditions in Aotearoa New Zealand are using peaceful means to restore hope to their communities. These case studies of Waitaha, Moriori and Parihaka provide examples of Māori and Moriori approaches to justice that are also reflected in the development of restorative justice in Aotearoa. The chapter will begin by exploring the historical background to restorative justice processes that have adopted since the 1990s, including the criminal justice system, in prisons, the education system and the community. These restorative justice processes will then be examined for how they have been influenced by traditional Indigenous practices to create this blend of Western systems and customary processes. The last part of this chapter explores three Indigenous traditions that are currently working on restoring hope to their communities by addressing harms done in the past and the regeneration of the traditions of Waitaha in Te Waipounamu (South Island), Moriori on Rēkohu (Chatham Islands) and Parihaka pā in Te Ika-a-Maui (North Island).

Appendix E: Indigenous Peacebuilding: Lessons from Aotearoa New Zealand

Abstract on Indigenous Peacebuilding: Lessons from Aotearoa New Zealand.

Authors: Devere, H., Te Maihāroa, K., Solomon, M. & Wharehoka, M.

Unpublished

Abstract: Nineteenth century New Zealand was the site of much conflict. There were wars between Māori tribes, wars between the European settlers' and the Indigenous Māori, conflict between Māori and Moriori. While Māori are renowned as brave and fearsome warriors, what is less well known about these Indigenous communities, is their peaceful stance in the face of attacks. Three of these peace traditions are currently rebuilding their communities in a way that could provide lessons for peacebuilding as they work on issues related to respect, integrity, collaboration, consultation and consistency. This paper outlines the peaceful tactics used by three Indigenous communities of Aotearoa New Zealand to confront their attackers, and the ways in which these traditions are being regenerated. The people of Waitaha have re-traced the peace walk of their ancestor and the spiritual leader Te Maihāroa; the Moriori of Rēkohu who were almost wiped out as a people, are renewing their ancient peace covenant; and Parihaka, a pan-tribal community which used non-violent resistance against British troops is in negotiation with the Crown and the ancestors of the militia to bring about reconciliation. We conclude with an assessment of how these peacebuilding efforts might provide wider lessons about memorialisation, communication and negotiation as the basis for rebuilding communities after conflict.

Appendix F: The Ethics of Friendship in Cross-Cultural Research: An Aotearoa Case Study

Abstract: The Ethics of Friendship in Cross-Cultural Research: An Aotearoa Case Study

Authors: Devere, H., Te Maihāroa, K., Solomon, M. & Wharehoka, M.

Unpublished

This paper/article presents an account of collaborative cross-cultural academic research related to Indigenous peace traditions in Aotearoa New Zealand. It reviews the decolonizing research methodology developed by Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith, kaupapa Māori, and the principles of friendship espoused by Professor Preston King to assess how the two approaches are linked. We find that the collaborative model that we have developed incorporates friendship principles that are generally in accord with kaupapa Māori principles for conducting ethical, respectful cross-cultural research. Research based on both friendship and a decolonizing methodology allows for sensitive material to be revealed in a way that avoids some of the harm that can be caused by researchers to communities that have already experienced a painful history.

Appendix G: What Does it Feel like to be an Uri (descendant) of a Māori Prophet?

Abstract: What does it feel like to be an Uri (descendant) of a Māori Prophet?

Authors: Te Maihāroa, K. & Joyce, J.

Unpublished

This presentation explores the experience of whānau members' on Te Heke Ki Korotuaheka 2016 as they considered and shared with us 'what it feels like to be a descendant of a prophet'. This paper draws on the kaupapa Māori method of pūrākau, a traditional form of Māori storytelling that contains 'philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes and world views that are fundamental to our identity as Māori (Lee, 2009:1). The pūrākau developed organically on the last night of Te Heke through a discussion led by Tumuaki o Waitaha, Anne Sissy Te Maihāroa Dodds. The pūrākau evolved naturally from the focus question: what does it feel like to be children of a peacebuilder? At the same time a documentary was made by film maker Bronwyn Judge on Te Heke Ki Korotuaheka 2016. Each author watched this documentary several times, independently recognising and collating themes. Five interrelated themes emerged: Papatūānuku, whakapapa, relationships, environmental concerns and spiritual practice. In this presentation, the authors will share the themes as understood within the context of the former pūrākau. This research created the space for uri to deeply consider and share with each other what it means to be a child of a peacemaker in their daily lives. In this process, it became clear that whānau were happy to share their experiences, vision, practices and unremitting commitment to ongoing peace legacy of Te Maihāroa.

Appendix H: Guidelines for the Inclusion of Material from a Research Candidate's Publications in their Thesis:

Source: <https://www.otago.ac.nz/administration/policies/otago073763.html>

Guidelines for the Inclusion of Material from a Research Candidate's Publications in their Thesis

Category	Research
Type	Guideline
Approved by	Board of Graduate Studies, 5 June 2014
Date Guideline Took Effect	5 June 2014
Last Approved Revision	
Sponsor	Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research and Enterprise)
Responsible Officer	Dean, Graduate Research School
Review Date	5 June 2016

Purpose

The aim of these guidelines is to provide students, supervisors and other staff with information on the inclusion of a candidate's own published material in a graduate research thesis.

Organisational Scope

These guidelines apply to all PhD and professional doctorate candidates.

Definitions

Published material: Content, in this context arising from a candidate's research towards their graduate research degree, formally or currently being made available to the public in a permanent form, for example conference proceedings, book chapters or journal articles.

Policy Content

1. Overview

- (a) The University of Otago encourages publishing during candidature for a doctorate, and the inclusion of published material and/or work submitted for publication in theses where appropriate. Such published material must have been prepared during the candidate's enrolment in the research degree.
- (b) If candidates are planning to include published material in a thesis, they should discuss the most appropriate format for this with their supervisors. Practices differ across academic disciplines and it is important to obtain advice from experts within the relevant discipline. Individual disciplines are encouraged to develop and disseminate their own practices.
- (c) Two formats are commonly used for including published material in a University of Otago thesis:
 - i. a hybrid thesis format, whereby published material is inserted either wholly or partially as chapters or sections in the thesis (usually with modification – see 2(a) below); or
 - ii. a thesis with publications appended, whereby published material is not included in the body of the thesis but is appended to the thesis in an unmodified format.
- (d) For the PhD and professional doctorates the University of Otago does not offer a formal 'thesis by publication' option, whereby the thesis is composed solely of a portfolio of publications.

2. Thesis Requirements

- (a) The thesis must be an integrated and coherent body of work.
 - i. It may be necessary to alter the format of published materials for inclusion in the thesis, including standardising formatting and/or deleting duplicated material.
 - ii. Publications included sequentially may need to be linked by short bridging sections.
 - iii. A chapter or sections that synthesise the findings across the thesis should be included.
- (b) Where published material is included, the thesis introduction should include:
 - i. How the thesis is structured, including details on direct inclusion of published material (as chapters, sections or appendices) and identification of any chapters or sections which are substantially based on published material;
 - ii. Bibliographical details of included published material (including material on which chapters or sections are substantially based) in paragraph or tabular form; and,
 - iii. The contributions of the candidate and any co-authors to each publication included in the thesis (note: it is expected that for any published material presented in the body of the thesis, the candidate will be the first author).
- (c) It is the candidate's responsibility to ensure that any published work (or parts thereof) included in the thesis comply with the copyright provisions of the publisher and that any guidelines with regard to self-citation are followed. More information on copyright is available on the University of Otago Library Thesis Information webpage.

3. Examination of the Thesis

- (a) The inclusion of published material in a thesis does not guarantee a pass in the degree for which the thesis is submitted. The thesis must stand on its own merits and will be assessed as a single document. Examiners may require changes to any part of the thesis regardless of whether that

material has been previously published or not.

(b) All aspects of the thesis including publications and appendices are examinable and may be raised at an oral examination. For example, if a co-author of an included publication conducted some analyses, the candidate may be required to answer questions regarding those analyses.

Related Policies, Procedures and Forms

- [Examination and Assessment Regulations 2014](#)
- [PhD Oral Examination Guidelines](#)

Contact for Further Information

If you have any queries regarding the content of this policy or need further clarification, please contact the Dean of the Graduate Research School at dean.grs@otago.ac.nz

Appendix I: University of Otago Ethics Approval



23 November 2012

Academic Services
Manager, Academic Committees, Mr Gary Witte

12/306

Dr L Paterson
School of Māori, Pacific & Indigenous Studies
Division of Humanities

Dear Dr Paterson,

I am writing to let you know that, at its recent meeting, the Ethics Committee considered your proposal entitled “Looking Backwards into the Future: Why was Passive resistance used by Tupuna as a means to lay claim and maintain ahi ka to the whenua and does it currently hold validity and relevant for whānau today?”

As a result of that consideration, the current status of your proposal is:- Approved

For your future reference, the Ethics Committee’s reference code for this project is:- 12/306.

The comments and views expressed by the Ethics Committee concerning your proposal are as follows:-

While approving the application, the Committee would be grateful if you would respond to the following:

The Committee would be grateful if you could keep us updated on progress on the issues raised by the Ngai Tahu Research Consultation Committee.

Please ensure the following statement on contacting the Human Ethics Committee is included at the end of your Information Sheet:

“This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.”

Please provide the Committee with copies of the updated Information Sheet and Consent Form, if changes are necessary.

Approval is for up to three years from the date of this letter. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, re-approval must be requested. If the nature, consent, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise me in writing.

Yours sincerely,

Mr Gary Witte
Manager, Academic Committees
Tel: 479 8256
Email: gary.witte@otago.ac.nz

c.c. Professor M P J Reilly Dean School of Māori, Pacific & Indigenous Studies

