

TUĀKANA/TĒINA: RELATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF PACIFIC TAUIWI TO MĀORI  
AND TE TIRITI O WAITANGI

BY

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## Abstract

This thesis aims to fill a gap in literature concerning relationships between Pacific tauwiwi and Māori in Aotearoa, and further, our engagements with Te Tiriti o Waitangi as tauwiwi. Research on Māori and Pacific relationships regularly focuses on the negative statistics we often find ourselves lumped together under (i.e. education; health; poverty; crime). As a result, the research tends to look at how we can be helped, not at how we can help ourselves and each other. Te Tiriti-tauwiwi research, on the other hand, often looks at Pākehā and other tauwiwi from outside of the Pacific region and their roles in honouring Te Tiriti. Consequently, it does not look at the role of Pacific tauwiwi. Though more attention has been paid to tauwiwi and Te Tiriti in recent years, through the work of groups like Tauwiwi mō Matike Mai Aotearoa and Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga, there has not been enough focused attention on the role of Pacific peoples, both as one that is separate to Māori and also as one that is distinct from other tauwiwi. Recognizing these gaps, this thesis examines the complexities of Pacific-Māori relationships in Aotearoa in order to propose strategies of engagement Pacific (non-Māori) tauwiwi can use with regard to Te Tiriti and navigating Pacific-Māori relational space.

Integrating thoughts and perspectives from existing literature and from talanoa with Māori and Pacific participants, this thesis explores our relationships with one another and the histories that have shaped them. Responding to previous literature, this thesis provides a thorough analysis of our relationships from Pacific and Māori lenses. Additionally, because this thesis is concerned with the role of Pacific tauwiwi, there is careful consideration of the Pacific lived experience in Aotearoa, particularly in the last fifty years. While the goal of this thesis is to centralise our relationships with each other, the role of the Crown and the distinct relationships that Māori and Pacific peoples have with the New Zealand government, as tangata whenua and migrants respectively, cannot be ignored and will therefore be part of the analysis. After a thorough analysis, the thesis turns its attention to Pacific-Māori relationships as understood through a tuākana-tēina framework shaped by my own Cook Islands Māori heritage and Aotearoa Māori cultural understandings. It concludes that returning to a relationship based on the values and principles of tuākana and tēina can serve as an invaluable strategy for engagement with Te Tiriti and with Māori.

**Keywords:** Pacific peoples, Māori, Te Tiriti, tauiwi, Aotearoa, Indigenous, tuākana, tēina

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Who am I?

My family did not migrate to New Zealand<sup>1</sup> by accident. It wasn't fate or destiny. Instead, I refer to an incredibly considered and domino-like series of events that took place to lead to both my paternal and maternal lineages finding their way to New Zealand. Like many others, I am sure, there is a careful and complicated history that influenced choices and decisions over generations and generations, which led to my grandparents moving to New Zealand with their young children in the latter half of the 20th century, some from the other side of the world, the others from just over 3,000 kilometres away. Life is funny like that.

Without the colonisation of Aotearoa and the rippling effects of such a process taking place over 125 years, New Zealand, in the eyes of the Pacific and beyond, would not have become the “Land of Milk and Honey”, and my Nana, a Cook Island mother, would not have packed up four of her six children and hauled them to distant shores. Meanwhile, at almost the same time on the other side of the world, an Englishman would not have been offered a position in a new factory nestled in Hawke's Bay, and he would not have packed up his wife and his three boys and hauled them through the skies. Their movements were no accidents, but results of the colonial project in full flight.

Perhaps I am unique, and perhaps I am lucky. As the child of a British man and a Cook Island woman, born and raised in Tairāwhiti, I have the ability to come and go as I please. From New Zealand to England, from England to the Cook Islands, I can choose to traverse through each space, bar a few cultural insecurities and discomfort. Through this, it seems to me at times, that I enjoy more benefits of Te Tiriti o Waitangi than the Māori descendants of those who signed it. If that document had not been signed all those years ago, the dominos would not have fallen, and the ripples of the colonial project would not have reached those distant shores to bring me into being.

That burden of luck, of privilege, or of absolute colonial anti-serendipity weighs heavy on my shoulders. It is a burden that has dug itself deeper and deeper into my skin, forcing my

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<sup>1</sup> Many people use 'Aotearoa New Zealand', 'Aotearoa/New Zealand', or some other combination of the English and te Reo Māori names commonly used for this country. How the names Aotearoa and New Zealand are used in this thesis is explained in Section 1.3.1: Terminologies & Definitions.

feet to feel the land that I walk on just a little bit more each day. The weight on my shoulders gets a little bit heavier with each march, protest, petition, and Instagram post swipe-up-story sign-here-and-share moment, while I rest on the lands of the iwi who make up Taranaki Whānui ki Te Upoko o Te Ika a Māui, and as I become more critical of my comfort and thoughtful of the places that I allow myself to call home. It is one thing to feel like you do not belong to a place; it is another to embrace and overcome that and to simultaneously feel the responsibility to nourish and care for it as if it were your own.

This is my story, and before I engage with the content of this thesis, I believe it is important to make myself known. My name is Kaitlin Tara Rose Abbott. I identify as a Cook Islands Māori and Pākehā woman who was born and raised in Aotearoa New Zealand. I still experience discomfort using the language of the Cook Islands and have only recently begun using the term Pākehā, as I am only in the first generation on either side of my family to be born here. In the Cook Islands, I am connected to the islands of Rarotonga, Aitutaki, and Mangaia, to the villages of Puaikura in Rarotonga, and Tautu and Amuri in Aitutaki. I am not familiar with the specificity of my connection to Mangaia; I just know my grandfather and his family are from there. On my Pākehā side, I am connected to England and Wales, mostly, and my dad was born in the town of Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire. I have been lucky enough in my life to feel the earth of Puaikura, Tautu, and Amuri beneath my feet and to stand atop Maunga Pu in Aitutaki, the mountain that backs up against the resting place of one of my namesakes, Tara. One day I hope to see, feel, and breathe in Hemel Hempstead and to look towards the Cook Islands and Aotearoa and feel the places I have come from and the places I have been to connect with one another.

## **1.2 Research Question and Aim**

Motivated by my personal story and experiences, this thesis will examine how Pacific peoples living in Aotearoa articulate and understand our relationship with tangata whenua, and similarly or by extension, our relationship with Te Tiriti o Waitangi. I will do this by examining the literature and exploring what has already been said about Māori-Pacific relations in New Zealand. To build context for this examination, I will also look at experiences shared by other tauwiwi of colour living on Indigenous lands they are not Indigenous to. To add to my examination



and analysis of Māori-Pacific relations, I will discuss interviews I conducted with Māori and Pacific peoples to further extrapolate how Māori-Pacific relations are understood on cultural, individual, and national scales. Through this research, a trajectory of Māori-Pacific relations will become clear, one that will provide context for the complexities and intricacies of the Pacific experiences in a settler colony.

To unpack Māori-Pacific relations in Aotearoa, however, it is important first to acknowledge that Pacific peoples are here as tauwiwi—a term I will engage with in section 1.3.1. Regardless of whether Pacific peoples came to fulfil a labour shortage, or because of the impacts of colonisation and capitalism removing equitable access to self-sustaining lifestyles in their Pacific Islands of origin, Pacific tauwiwi in Aotearoa are cooperating in the settler colonial project. Unpacking this history and reality is imperative to understanding both Māori-Pacific relations today and the role of Pacific tauwiwi in Aotearoa into the future. In this thesis, this will be done by looking at the history of New Zealand’s colonial presence in the Pacific region and at the relationships Pacific places and Pacific tauwiwi have with the New Zealand nation state. Once these relationships are clearly unpacked and understood, the different facets of Māori-Pacific relations and Pacific tauwiwi history and experience can be utilised to understand the ways Pacific peoples have interacted with Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the past, how we interact with it today, and how we can, or should, interact with it in the future. This work will allow the final goal of this thesis to be achieved, which is to see how understanding Pacific peoples’ relationships with Māori can shape how we engage with Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

## **1.3 Thesis Overview**

### **1.3.1 Terminology and Definitions**

Before discussing these relationships, I will go through some of the key terms that will be used in this thesis, explaining my rationale for choosing specific terms over those that might be more socially familiar.

Pacific peoples: I will be using “Pacific peoples” to refer to those who whakapapa<sup>2</sup> to, or descend from, the islands of the Pacific Ocean. More common terms used to refer to this community, particularly in New Zealand, are “Pasifika” or “Pacific Islanders”. Some less common terms are “Oceanian” or “Moana people/s”. In terms of “Pasifika”, I have elected to not use this word because of its roots in the New Zealand Ministry of Education, its exclusivity, and the ways it does not recognize diversity. Officially, “Pasifika” in New Zealand is used to refer to the seven most common groups of Pacific peoples who are residents of New Zealand. These include peoples from Sāmoa, the Cook Islands, Tonga, Niue, Fiji, Tokelau, and Tuvalu (Chu, 2016, p. 2). This therefore excludes the many diverse island nations of what we refer to as the regions of Micronesia and Melanesia, while also excluding other islands in Polynesia. My choice to divert away from “Oceanian” and “Moana people/s” are for similar reasons. “Oceania”, a term popularised by Epeli Hau’ofa in his groundbreaking essay “Our Sea of Islands”, “denotes a sea of islands with their inhabitants...people raised in this environment were at home with the sea” (Hau’ofa, 1994, p. 153). However, this term has been rightfully critiqued for homogenising the Pacific regional experience into one that is centred on the sea, while many larger islands in the Pacific region retain substantial inland lifestyles that are distanced from the ocean. For instance, in Aotearoa, Tangaroa, the god of the ocean, became less of a prominent god to some iwi and hapū, particularly those who settled inland rather than on the coasts (Addis, 2012, p. 22). “Moana people/s” has the same exclusivity and homogenisation because of the language used. Although “moana”, meaning ocean, is a common word in te reo Māori, Cook Islands Māori, and other Polynesian languages, it is vastly different to the words used across the rest of the region. Like “Pasifika”, “Oceanian” and “Moana people/s” exclude a large population of the Pacific region despite the 2018 New Zealand census confirming that thousands of Pacific people who do not fall under the “Pasifika” countries also live here (*Pacific Peoples Ethnic Group*, n.d.). Not only are these terms exclusive, but using them in this research could imply that conclusions drawn about Te Tiriti o Waitangi do not apply to those outside of the Pasifika, Oceanian, or Moana groups. For these reasons, the term “Pacific peoples” will be used to refer to all those living in Aotearoa New Zealand. “Pacific peoples” is inclusive of those who are New Zealand-born and

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<sup>2</sup> Whakapapa is defined by H. W. Williams as “place in layers, lay one upon another” and “recite in proper order genealogies, legends, etc.” (Williams, 2006, p. 259). In this context, I am using whakapapa to refer to genealogical connections to the islands of the Pacific. Whakapapa is discussed further in Chapter 2 Section 2.1

those who are island-born. Although internationally “Pacific peoples” may include Māori, in this thesis, due to the nature of this research and the focus on Māori-Pacific relations, “Pacific peoples” will only include non-Māori Pacific people.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi: In this thesis, Te Tiriti o Waitangi and The Treaty of Waitangi will not be used interchangeably as they refer to two separate documents. When Te Tiriti o Waitangi, or Te Tiriti in its shorter form, are used, I will be referring to the document that is in te reo Māori. When The Treaty of Waitangi, or The Treaty, are used, I will be referring to the English translation of the document.

Indigenous: The 1983 working definition of “Indigenous” produced by Jose R. Martinez Cobo and used by the United Nations is as follows:

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems. (Cobo, as quoted in, Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2004, p. 2)

This working definition implies that Indigenous peoples are those who have been colonised and are therefore minorities in their homelands. Consequently, Indigenous peoples are often characterised by their colonisation. Due to this association, “Indigenous” doesn’t apply to all Pacific peoples. This is because not all Pacific Island nations were colonised and because, at present, some Pacific peoples are the dominant population of their societies in the region. Though Cobo’s working definition is commonly used, and often frames the ways Indigenous peoples are understood, other interpretations, such as Mason Durie’s explanation of Māori Indigeneity, suggests an alternate view (2005). Durie attributes Indigeneity with characteristics that are intrinsically tied to and derived from “a relationship with the environment that has endured over centuries” (M. Durie, 2006, p. 12). Considering the various interpretations of “Indigenous,” this thesis will use the term to refer to Māori as tangata whenua who identify as Indigenous to Aotearoa.

Settler: In colonial contexts, “Settler” is defined as “a person who arrives, especially from another country, in a new place in order to live there and use the land” (‘Settler’, 2022). While commonly used to refer to people who are not Indigenous to the places they live, it can be a homogenising term that fails to capture the experiences of non-Indigenous people of colour and minority groups that are—though in fundamentally different ways—also oppressed by settler colonial structures<sup>3</sup> (Glenn, 2015, pp. 62, 70). Lorenzo Veracini states “the settler colonial situation establishes a system of relationships comprising three different agencies: the settler coloniser, the indigenous colonised, and a variety of differently categorized exogenous ‘Others’.” (Veracini, 2011, as cited in Case, 2021, p. 85). Emalani Case builds on Veracini’s framework, noting that “Others” can also be homogenising. She however acknowledges that Veracini’s three agencies allow space for people who are non-Indigenous and non-colonial settlers in the structure of settler colonialism to be considered distinct from settler colonisers. In this thesis I use “settler” in the context of settler colonialism, or where it aligns with the terminology used by sources and participants. In other instances, I use “tauwi”.

Tauwi: The available definitions of tauwi in the online Māori Dictionary include “foreigner, European, non-Māori, colonist,” or a “person coming from afar,” and therefore includes Pākehā and people of colour (Moorfield, 2003). Arama Rata and Faisal Al-Asaad use tauwi to refer to all settlers, specifying Tauwi of Colour (ToC) for non-white tauwi (2019, pp. 212–213). In this thesis I will always add a qualifier in front of “tauwi” when referring to specific groups of people, and “tauwi” will be used on its own in contexts that refer to all non-Māori across Aotearoa New Zealand. The use of “tauwi” as an identity amongst Aotearoa New Zealand citizens, particularly non-white migrants, has grown considerably in recent years, and I have made this decision in light of that. Additionally, using “tauwi” centralises Māori ways of articulating relationships between tauwi and Māori. Pacific tauwi will be used interchangeably with Pacific peoples, but only when referring to those actively living in Aotearoa New Zealand. This is inclusive of those who were born in Aotearoa New Zealand, those who moved as children or adults, and those who have migrated recently. The use of “tauwi” with “Pacific” highlights a specific relationship that is only relevant to Pacific peoples based in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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<sup>3</sup> I discuss Patrick Wolfe’s articulation of settler colonialism further in Chapter 4.

Tangata Tiriti: The term “tangata Tiriti” refers to the people of Te Tiriti, or those who have been allowed to come to Aotearoa and settle as tauwi because of the agreement made with tangata whenua through Te Tiriti o Waitangi. “Tangata Tiriti” is not used in this thesis in favour of using “tauwi”.

Aotearoa/New Zealand: In this thesis, Aotearoa and New Zealand will not be used interchangeably. Aotearoa will be used when referring to a country inhabited by the Indigenous people, tangata whenua, and when discussing events, situations, or opinions that are relevant to a country that upholds the values of tangata whenua and acknowledges and honours Te Tiriti. New Zealand will be used when referring to the nation state, government, and settler colony that continues to uphold and enforce the ideals of colonisation and continues to ostracise, oppress, and undermine the needs and values of tangata whenua, Pacific peoples, and other minority and immigrant groups. In places where these distinctions are difficult to determine, or where both names are relevant, the common combination of “Aotearoa New Zealand”, will be used.

Tuākana-Tēina: Tuākana-tēina refers to the relationship between an older and younger sibling or cousin. This dynamic appears in Aotearoa, the Cook Islands, and in other parts of Polynesia. It is often used by Māori and Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand when referring to our relationship with one another. A more in-depth definition and analysis of the tuākana-tēina relationship is in Chapter 2: Pacific and Māori Relationality.

Any other words or terms that are used, but are not regular features of the thesis, will be defined and explained in associated footnotes or as they appear in the text.

### **1.3.2 Research Context**

This research, including the interviews and the development of the thesis itself, took place across 2021. The year itself started in the middle of the global COVID-19 pandemic, and as the year progressed the effect of COVID-19 on this research was evident. The pandemic and how it was affecting people across the world was on the minds of all participants involved. This was especially true for the participant Pī, who I had intended to interview in person, but due to the COVID-19 Level 4 lockdown in Auckland that began in August 2021, had to talanoa<sup>4</sup> with me

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<sup>4</sup> Talanoa is a method of conversation used heavily in Samoan, Tongan, and Fijian contexts. As a methodology it is used to engage in meaningful conversation from a Pacific lens. Talanoa is explained further in section 1.3.3.

online. As COVID-19 restrictions impeded on the ability to have talanoa in person with those outside of Auckland as well, the nationwide Level 4 lockdown that also began in August—but ended much earlier for the rest of the country than for Auckland—pushed several of the interviews to a later date. This meant that two of the interviews took place several months before the remaining interviews, and some of the conversations differed because of this.

Another significant event that impacted this research in 2021 was the New Zealand government’s announcement that they would be delivering a formal apology to Pacific peoples in New Zealand for the Dawn Raids<sup>5</sup>. The announcement came after the delivery of a petition calling for an apology, a statement declaring that they would not happen again, and an allocation of funding towards continued education on the history of the Dawn Raids and the impact they have had on Pacific peoples. The Dawn Raids apology took place at the Auckland Town Hall on August 1st 2021, after being delayed from June 26th due to COVID-19 complications. The timing of the research talanoa meant that several took place soon after the apology was announced in June, and the rest taking place in the weeks just after the apology. As I conducted this research, and engaged in talanoa with the participants, many of them referred to the Dawn Raids and the apology as examples in our conversations. To provide context for their comments, the Dawn Raids and the apology are explained in Chapter 3.

### **1.3.3 Methods & Methodologies**

#### ***Storytelling***

Occasionally throughout this thesis I include anecdotes, stories, or narratives of my own life and experiences as a Cook Islander living in Aotearoa New Zealand. These stories engage with moments in my life that now act as points of reflection, spaces where I can consider my positionality, how my relationships with people and place have been built and shaped, and how my identity as a Cook Islands tauivi has influenced this research and this thesis. In Albert Wendt’s seminal essay “Towards A New Oceania”, he reflects on the value and power of creativity in the Pacific, describing the region as “a fabulous treasure house of traditional motifs,

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<sup>5</sup> The Dawn Raids were government sanctioned police raids on homes in New Zealand in the early 1970s. Pacific peoples, Māori, and other people of colour were targeted in these racially biased raids. Further discussion of the Dawn Raids appears in Chapter 3.

themes, styles and material which we can use in contemporary forms to express our uniqueness, identity, pain, joy and our own visions of Oceania and earth” (1982, p. 212). He encourages the use of storytelling, describing our writing as “a revolt against the hypocritical, exploitative aspects of our traditional, commercial and religious hierarchies, colonialism and neocolonialism” (1982, p. 214). Storying in the Pacific can occur in separation to chronology and time, as stories and connections are sometimes told in whatever order the storyteller deems fit. Emalani Case’s book, *Everything Ancient Was Once New: Indigenous Persistence from Hawai‘i to Kahiki*, tells stories that weave together the past, present, and future, and regularly highlights the importance of these temporal spaces intersecting and informing one another (Case, 2021). Branching from Case’s book, Emma Powell writes in her PhD thesis that “temporally spiral-like narration is crucial to understanding the relevance of ‘akapapa‘anga<sup>6</sup> to Māori,” and uses stories to inform her analysis, explaining that while they may seem like “disparate contemporary moments”, they are “centres” from which she can move “not backward - but outward” (2021, p. 26). While I am not engaging with temporal space as directly as Case and Powell have done, I use storytelling to reflect on the past, present, and future simultaneously, to create checkpoints of analysis throughout the thesis, and to ground this research in my own identity, positionality, and journey.

### ***Talanoa***

For this thesis I used talanoa methodology of engagement with participants. Talanoa is a widely accepted and utilised method of qualitative research in academia, particularly in Pacific contexts where it is used to guide conversations between researchers and participants. Though it has roots in Tongan and Samoan cultural contexts, it has been useful in other Pacific cultural contexts as well. Talanoa is described as “a conversation, a talk, an exchange of ideas or thinking, whether formal or informal,” and, “literally means talking about nothing in particular, and interacting without a rigid framework” (Vaiote, 2006, p. 23). As Timote Vaiote writes, a “cultural synthesis of the information, stories, emotions and theorising made available by Talanoa will produce relevant knowledge and possibilities for addressing Pacific issues” (Vaiote, 2006, p. 21). Providing space for information, stories, and emotions to be shared, as Vaiote highlights,

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<sup>6</sup> ‘Akapapa‘anga is the Cook Islands term for genealogies and genealogy making, it is discussed further in Chapter 2.

talanoa aligned with this research, enabling personal examples about Te Tiriti engagement and Māori-Pacific relationality to be brought to the forefront. To help the conversations get started, I crafted a list of guiding questions rather than strict ones that needed to be adhered to. These questions were used in the talanoa as a stepping off point from which the participants could lead our conversations.

Talanoa requires a level of social and relational responsibility and reciprocation, and encourages relationship making and building to strengthen talanoa (Tecun et al., 2018; Vaoleti, 2006). Because of the time constraints of this thesis, which allows one year for research and thesis writing, the interviews with participants had to be carried out over the span of a few months. I contacted people I already had personal relationships with as I didn't have time to develop new relationships with participants. In doing so, I ensured that the participants would feel comfortable sharing their stories, perspectives, and opinions on the topics we discussed. Because of my own positionality and my relationships with participants, many held similar sentiments to my own. Consequently, this means that there are numerous voices that are left out of this conversation. While I tried to incorporate perspectives from a range of identities from Māori and Pacific communities, the scope of this research meant that I could not include nearly as many as currently exist. I will discuss this more when the participants are introduced.

Before each talanoa, participants were informed that the conversation would be allowed to flow in whatever directions arose, and for however long the participant felt it was necessary to go down a particular path. It was important that participants knew that I would be part of the conversations as well, as “the reciprocal nature of talanoa requires sharing and openness from the researcher”, which includes, “the politics of the research, the purpose or intent, and even the personal” (Tecun et al., 2018, p. 162). Prior to and throughout the talanoa, I was transparent with all participants and explained my personal standings in this research, answering any questions they may have had about the research and my intentions. I also shared my own personal narratives, encouraging them to do the same, and ensured that I was being mindful of the reciprocity we were showing one another. I also gave consideration to individual koha for each participant, including books about Māori or Pacific kaupapa and/or handmade gifts. To respect the relationships I have with participants, I have elected to refer to them in-text by their first names, using a pseudonym for those that requested anonymity. Additionally, rather than confining consideration of the talanoa to a specific chapter, comments and stories from



participants will be incorporated throughout the thesis, acknowledging that their shared knowledge is vital and applicable in all conversations.

### **1.3.4 Talanoa Participants**

The nature of talanoa-led conversations and interviews means that the length of discussions vary depending on the flow of the conversation, the enthusiasm of the participants, the facilitation of the researcher, and the ways conversations unfold (Vaiotei, 2006, pp. 25-26). It also depends on what the participants have to offer and their comfort or familiarity with the topics being discussed. As much as I could, I encouraged the participants not to worry about whether they thought their stories were relevant to the topic. I reminded them that I was interested in hearing anything that they had to say because of their unique perspectives and understandings. What mattered more than anything, in other words, was their lived experience and what the prompting questions and subsequent flow of conversation brought to the forefront.

With that in mind, of the eight interviews that took place, all but one tipped over the one and a half hour mark and of the seven that did, most tipped into the two and a half to three hour mark. All of the interviews were filled with personal stories, recounting situations that had occurred in recent months, years, and over lifetimes. I recognise these stories as taonga<sup>7</sup>, ones that I am privileged to hear, to write about, and to contribute to the consciousness of Pacific studies and wider academia. I recognise, as well, the empathy, honesty, and trust that these participants brought to our conversations. I thank everyone for their willingness to share with me.

While in talanoa with participants, it became increasingly clear that introductions, positionalities, and whakapapa are paramount to Māori and Pacific peoples. Ani Mikaere writes that “whakapapa embodies a comprehensive conceptual framework that enables us to make sense of our world” (Mikaere, 2013, p. 172). Because of this, I asked the participants to introduce themselves. Despite already having an established relationship with everyone, it was important at the beginning of the interview to have the participants identify themselves in whichever way or form they felt best. I have included their introductions, in their own words, below.

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<sup>7</sup> Taonga is defined as “treasure, anything prized - applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas and techniques.” (Moorfield, 2022)

**Anne - (she/her)**

Anne Waapu, nō Kahungunu Rongomaiwahine, Te Atihaunui-ā-Pāpārangī, and because the Crown will only interact with “iwi” in Māori-Crown relationships, my hapū—who two of our tīpuna signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi—we now assert our hapū name as an iwi. So, Ngāti Hinemanu.

**Meredith - (she/her)**

Ko wai au? Ko Karioi te maunga, ko Whaingaroa te moana, ko Tainui te waka, ko Waingaro te marae, ko Tamainupō te hapū, ko Waikato te iwi, engari e noho ana ahau ki Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, ko Meredith Akuhata-Brown tōku ingoa. And I’ve grown up in Ngāti Porou, York Street in Kaiti.

**Jason - (he/him)**

I used to always refer to myself as Māori, Ngāti Porou, but I’ve been getting into my Māoritanga. Now I refer to myself as part Tūhoe, but I haven’t really investigated that part yet. But my father has some Irish in him, but Te Whānau-o-Hine-Tapora is our hapū through my dad, and through my mum it’s Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti and Te Whanau-a-Ruataupare. And all of those fall under the umbrella of Ngāti Porou.

**Pī - (she/her/ia)**

Kia ora tātou. Ko Pī ahau. I te taha ō tōku pāpā, he uri ahau nō Ngāti Uenuku ki Raetihi, te whenua o Kōtīrana, Ngāti Kahu ki Whangaroa, Ngāpuhi, me tētahi iwi taketake o Amerika, Ko Wampanoag hoki - K8eequason! N8tômâs mâseepeut. I te taha ō tōku māma, he uri ahau nō Ngāti Whātua ki Kaipara me Ngāpuhi ano hoki. Weaving a beautiful mix of whakapapa, I hold a staunch connection to my roots in the Far North. I identify as Māori, Scottish and First Nations.

**Rob - (he/him)**

Aloha mai kākou. My name is Rob. I’m a native Hawaiian from Hawai‘i. I’m from Wai‘anae, O‘ahu. My mother lives in Hilo. My mum is half white, half Japanese. My dad is Chinese-Hawaiian. My Hawaiian side of the family comes from Moloka‘i, particularly in Pūko‘o, Moloka‘i, on the east end of the island. My grandpa on my dad’s side is of course Hawaiian-Chinese, my grandmother as well, Hawaiian-Chinese. My great grandfather on my

Hawaiian side comes from Canton, China. In the late 1800s he met my Hawaiian great grandmother. As for my mum's side, her dad was in the military and is from the Midwest, and she was raised by a Hawaiian family in the North Shore, in Kahuku and Lā'ie on O'ahu at a young age. Her mum is Japanese, and her dad is Portuguese and German, the general haole-ness that comes from the Midwest. I currently live in Wellington since October 2014, where I currently live with my husband.

**Helena - (she/her)**

Kia ora. I'm Helena. I am Samoan-Irish. My father was born in American Sāmoa in Leone and then moved to Vaimoso, just outside of Apia, when he was a bit older. And my mum is Irish; she's from Dublin. And I was born and raised in Ōtautahi, so a Christchurch girl. I identify as a Pasifika, European, queer woman, and my pronouns are she/her.

**Vero - (they/them)**

Kia ora, talofa, fakalofa lahi atu. I'm Vero. And I'm Samoan, from Salimu in Fagaloa. And I am also Niuean from Makefu.

**Rose - (she/her)**

I was born in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, Arawa. My mum and my mum's side of the family are Indigenous to the Baitsi region of Bougainville, Papua New Guinea. That's our clan, Baitsi. I'm also of Polish and English descent, third generation Canadian-English-Polish. Settlers on my dad's side. My dad grew up in Ontario, Canada, and I spent the last 12 years there, so it's home to me as well, on First Nations, Coast Salish territories especially. Also called Vancouver. I also grew up in Australia for a lot of my childhood and moved around also throughout South America when I was a teen.

As expressed previously, I am lucky enough to have personal relationships with all of these participants. I have known Meredith since I was a child, when she and her family were my neighbours and her children and I went to school together. In my time at high school, I was fortunate to get to know Jason as one of my teachers. Having already known his wife through the Pasifika Club at my intermediate school, our friendship has continued past high school and I now

consider Jason as one of my mentors and a significant influence in my personal and professional life. The remaining six participants I have all gotten to know over the past two years, as peers in a classroom or in other organising capacities, as mentors outside of the university, and as friends. I highlight the different dynamics of these relationships to show how the knowledge gathered from each individual may also have been influenced by our connections with one another. Importantly, my choice to interview people that I already knew well, namely people that I consider friends, meant that I was choosing participants from social circles that share similar outlooks and perspectives on Māori-Pacific relations, Te Tiriti obligations, and the lived experiences of Māori and Pacific peoples under the New Zealand government. I emphasise this because it means that many of the opinions expressed in this thesis, by myself and by the participants, are similar. As discussed before, the constraints of an MA thesis—both in length and time—prevented me from exploring a more diverse range of perspectives. What was shared in our talanoa, however, is invaluable.

The participants included four Māori and four Pacific people. While most of the participants identified as Māori and something else, or Pacific and something else, it was important that none of the participants were both Māori and Pacific. While the perspectives of mixed Māori and Pacific identifying peoples would add another insight to the consideration of Māori-Pacific relations and engagement with one another, that was beyond the scope of this research. Additionally, I felt that interviewing people who were both Māori and Pacific could impact how they navigated cultural relationships. Knowing that many of the participants might share similar sentiments in response to the research topic, I aimed to include people working and living in different contexts. I also chose participants who reflected each other across the Māori and Pacific groups, either in age, or in previous and current career roles, so that I could have comparable representation. This included: educators, local government employees, activists, and young people who had recently left university environments. Within the Pacific group, I aimed to include a range of different Pacific experiences and perspectives. Helena and Vero, for example, were both born and raised in Aotearoa New Zealand; Helena was raised in a Samoan and Irish household; Vero was raised in a Samoan and Niuean household. Rob's experience of living here is contextualised by being Hawaiian and moving to New Zealand in 2014; he has also married a Pacific person that is based in New Zealand. Rose, as the most recent arrival to New Zealand at the beginning of 2020, has an experience that is contextualised by being from Bougainville and

Canada, the latter being through generations of settler heritage, and through living in Australia and South America for significant periods of her life. Within the Māori group, I aimed to achieve a similar range of experiences and perspectives. Though two participants were interviewed in Te Tairāwhiti, the iwi that they each identified connections with ranged across Aotearoa. The experiences between each Māori talanoa participant also varied due to their ages, some having experienced different parts of Māori resistance and renaissance movements over the last fifty years that other participants were not alive during or did not have a significant memory of. I hoped that the diversity of both Pacific and Māori participants would illustrate how differing experiences have shaped cultural relationships between Pacific peoples and Māori.

Each participant provided their own unique perspectives. Though they often aligned thematically with other participants' talanoa, they introduced interesting and informative considerations influenced by their personal contexts. As previously mentioned, I was unable to include as many perspectives as there are available in our Māori and Pacific communities. Consequently, this thesis does not provide consideration of—amongst many other identities—differently abled Māori and Pacific bodies' experiences and a multitude of other Pacific island identities living in Aotearoa New Zealand that undoubtedly have notable effects on articulations of Māori-Pacific relations and responsibilities to Te Tiriti.

### **1.3.5 Thesis Structure**

The title of this thesis went through several different iterations. In the beginning it was an homage to a chapter in *Tangata O Le Moana: New Zealand and the People of the Pacific* written by the late Teresia Teaiwa. While I never had the opportunity to meet Teaiwa, who created the Pacific studies programme at Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington (VUW), I was fortunate to have been awarded the Teresia Teaiwa Memorial Scholarship when studying towards my Honours degree in Pacific studies in 2020. At the time that I completed my undergraduate degree, majoring in Pacific studies, the programme itself was still largely built on the courses that Teaiwa had developed herself. In that sense, my welcome to, and love and passion for, Pacific studies was not possible without Teaiwa and the hard work of everyone else in the programme at VUW. Without the scholarship I would not have been able to pursue further study, and would not have found myself here conducting this research and writing this thesis. It

therefore felt fitting to apply that love to the title of this thesis, and to play with the title of Teaiwa's chapter, "Good Neighbour, Big Brother, Kin? New Zealand's Foreign Policy in the Pacific". However, as the thesis progressed and the research continued, the original title began to constrain my ideas and felt more like a fence keeping me from exploring different themes and ideas. When I stripped back this title and returned to the core of the thesis itself, the tuākana-tēina aspect grew and became the centrepiece of the overall thesis. The current title, while simple, reflects the importance of that tuākana-tēina relationship, and while it is no longer an homage to Teaiwa's chapter, I hope that the journey and content of the thesis conveys the love and passion for Pacific studies that I felt while writing it. This thesis is titled "Tuākana/Tēina: Relational Responsibilities of Pacific Tauwi to Māori and Te Tiriti o Waitangi", and is structured as below:

In Chapter 2, I investigate the relationship between Māori and Pacific peoples, identifying the historical kinship ties that have persisted since early migration into the present day. Though Pacific peoples and Māori have a kinship relationship that stretches back long before colonial settlers arrived in the Pacific, colonial systems have shifted how we interact with one another. Chapter 2 therefore introduces and defines methods of relationality, including 'tuākana-tēina', to understand how we might engage and support one another as Māori and Pacific peoples. This chapter identifies how those kinship ties and methods of relationality influence contemporary relationships with Pacific tauwi and Māori.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the experiences of living in Aotearoa New Zealand as Pacific peoples. To build historical context, which is necessary for understanding Pacific peoples' experiences in Aotearoa New Zealand, I look at the beginnings of New Zealand's colonial presence in the Pacific and how that has shifted and been maintained over time. I also look at how living in New Zealand has affected the lives and families of Pacific peoples in this country, taking into consideration the racism, prejudice, and stereotypes that Pacific peoples are faced with. As mentioned previously, the context of the Dawn Raids and the recent apology will be discussed here to illustrate the dynamics of our relationship with the New Zealand government and where it intersects with Māori as well.

In Chapter 4, I continue conversations from the previous two chapters and discuss some of the ways Te Tiriti affects Pacific peoples. I provide a thorough analysis of Te Tiriti o Waitangi,

including the differences between Te Tiriti and The Treaty, and I also explain how breaches of Te Tiriti interact with settler colonialism in New Zealand.

In Chapter 5, I discuss examples of tauwiwi engaging with Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and navigating responsibilities as tauwiwi to Māori and Te Tiriti. I also provide a deeper analysis of the tuākana-tēina relationship, including both Aotearoa Māori and Cook Islands Māori conceptualisations of it. This chapter illustrates how we can engage with and honour Te Tiriti through the values of, and responsibilities to, our tuākana-tēina relationship with Māori, with guidance from the examples offered by tauwiwi.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I synthesise all of these ideas into key points and conclusions. I also discuss the critiques and limitations of this research and provide some recommendations for expanding on this research in the future.

## 2. Pacific and Māori Relationality

### 2.1 Introduction

When I was eleven years old I went on a school trip to climb Te Ara ki Hikurangi in Te Tairāwhiti. My teacher at the time was the adventuring type, and the trip was only an option for a small group of students who had performed well in class and felt confident enough in their physical fitness to take part in the climb. Now I wouldn't say that I was physically unfit, but when this teacher questioned whether or not I was *positive* I could take part in the climb, my conviction to go on the trip was purely out of spite. The idea was that we would do the climb and reach the summit in time for the sunrise so that we could confidently be the first to see the light, something Tairāwhiti prides itself on. From the top of the mountain we looked to the East and watched the sunrise. Each of us cracked open a can of Coca-Cola that one of the parents had given us at the start of the climb to save for this moment. They told us that by the time we got to the top the drink would be nice and cold, a reward that we could look forward to at the end. We all laughed when the fizz coming out the top of the can turned to slushed ice.

A lot can be said about the ways in which my eagerness to climb Hikurangi out of spite could challenge the comfort I felt in te ao Māori spaces. To do something out of spite is to ignore the greater relationship and responsibilities to the activity and to the place. In only engaging with the climb out of spite I was dismissing the privilege of being on someone else's maunga. I can say with confidence that I didn't see that mountain as anything more than an achievement that I could hold over my teacher's head. I have been a people-pleaser from the beginning and nothing could bring me more satisfaction and joy than making sure that everyone's expectations of me, especially those who determined my academic success, were blown out of the water. I look back on the trip now and wonder how it could have been approached differently, or if there are approaches that I have simply forgotten since. Was a karakia spoken before we set out to climb the mountain? It's possible. There is a smudgy inkling of a memory, but perhaps it's one that I am superimposing to settle my mind now. But even so, if a karakia had been spoken, little had been done throughout my childhood to help me understand why it was needed, how I should feel in that moment, and in which ways I could be able to connect with it. Upon reflection, I can reach back into that memory and hold that younger version of myself close. I can sit with that



discomfort and feel it in different ways now too. I had no way of knowing at the time how much that moment would stick with me, but thirteen years later I can reflect on it and see the beauty in it. Since learning about the cognates of the Hikurangi name that are found throughout the Pacific, for example, and about ‘Ikurangi maunga in Rarotonga that looked down over the villages of my own people 2,822km away, I can imagine my young self lifting my can to the horizon and toasting to the mountains that bind us.

When I look back at my past and notice the moments that unsettle me, those that were poignant moments of discovery and discomfort that I did not yet have the knowledge or confidence to unpack and understand, I realise the tools I now have at hand to help me deal with them best. I have attained an understanding of who I am, where I come from, where I am going, and who I am bringing with me. I have begun a process of truly unpacking what it means to have whakapapa to lands that I do not live in and to live in lands that I do not whakapapa to, lands that are tied together in a multitude of ways nonetheless. In Indigenous communities, and noticeably so in those of the Pacific, whakapapa is paramount. To understand where you come from is integral to understanding where you are, and even more so, central to understanding where you are going and how you are going to get there. Therefore, in the context of this thesis, it is vital to know and consider where Māori and Pacific people have come from, where we—Māori and Pacific peoples—are now, and where we could go in the future. This is all tied into whakapapa.

Whakapapa, as a method of relationality, literally means “to place in layers, lay one upon another, stack flat”. In layering identities upon each other, in other words, we build a genealogy, or more specifically, a whakapapa (Apirana, 2019; Mahuika, 2019; Moorfield, 2022; Paki & Peters, 2015). In te ao Māori, an individual’s whakapapa connects them both to people and to land and environment. It is “a matrix for understanding and relating to the world...it describes and illustrates the connections between Māori and the environment from the creation to the present” (Rangiwai, 2018, p. 639). According to Lily George Te Kapotai, “whakapapa is the inalienable link that binds us to the land and sea, to people and places, to time and space, even when we are not aware of it” (George Te Kapotai, 2010, p. 242). Emma Powell, when discussing the Cook Islands genealogical practice of ‘akapapa‘anga, says that it is “central to identity-making, relationality and subjectivities” (2021, p. iii). She goes on to say that “papa‘anga enables Māori to learn who and where they come from. In knowing this, they are able to build a solid foundation of relational cognisance on which they can set about carving new

ways forward” (Powell, 2021, p. 78). Not only does ‘akapapa‘anga enable us as Cook Islands Māori to learn about ourselves and where we come from, it also “is about understanding that everything and everyone has a place in the Māori<sup>8</sup> world” (Powell, 2021, p. 79). Whakapapa and ‘akapapa‘anga connect us to the land, to the past, present, and future, and to each other, across time and space. It is constantly present and can act as a port of call to quickly meet and know one another. Through reciting connections to sea, land, and people, we can strengthen underlying relationships. Utilising the term “whakapapa” in this thesis is about strengthening our relationships as Pacific tauwi with Māori, as its usage acts as an unwavering acknowledgement of the lands in which we recite and act upon our connections.

I have spent my life in Aotearoa trying to understand my own identity as a Pacific person. For years I questioned what it meant to be here on lands that are not my own, how it made me feel to have to spend hundreds of dollars to travel back to the islands my family came from, and what it meant to feel more comfortable here in Aotearoa, in Māori spaces, than in the Cook Islands, in a different kind of Māori space. I have grown accustomed to being called tuākana, or an older sibling, of Māori in Aotearoa and to being in pōhiri spaces and welcomed as tangata moana, or Pacific kin. I have always thought of myself as a distant relative of Māori, but now I have come to realise that it is time to engage that relationship by understanding the nuances of our interactions. In order to understand my own identity as a Pacific person in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is important to acknowledge the whakapapa that we have with Māori as Pacific peoples. This chapter will therefore provide historical context, exploring our relationships with one another, our ancestral kinship ties, and the impact contemporary Pacific migration has had on our relationships. In considering these relationships, I will also discuss two methods of relationality that Māori and Pacific peoples implement when navigating socio-spatial obligations in the hope that they will provide a framework for meaningful relational engagement with one another.

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<sup>8</sup> In Aotearoa and the Cook Islands, both peoples use the demonym Māori. Cook Islands Māori use the term “as an identifier of ethnicity, race and national identity” (Emma Powell, 2021, p. 117).

## 2.2 Ancestral Connections: Peopling of the Pacific and Aotearoa

The first settlements of the Pacific and the migration of Pacific people sailing against prevailing winds was proven by the renaissance of navigation and voyaging that started in the 1970s at the foundation of the Polynesian Voyaging Society based in Hawai'i (Finney, 1977). The efforts of this group, with the guidance of Mau Piailug from Satawal in Micronesia, affectionately called Papa Mau, proved that the steady settling of all habitable Pacific Islands was not an accident, as it was claimed to be by Andrew Sharp, but a skilled process of intentionality (Brown, 2010; Honore, 2014; Miller, 2010). While explanations of some parts of the migration—the migration of people from South East Asia into what is now commonly known as Micronesia; the movement of people into the subregion now known as Melanesia; the migration of Pacific peoples into what is now known as Western Polynesia; the migration from Western Polynesia into Eastern Polynesia, ending with the cooler lands of Aotearoa—might be contentious, contemporary understanding of this mass migration and the long-lasting period of spread and settlement are largely agreed upon. Due to the efforts of the Polynesian Voyaging Society, amongst many others, the story of Pacific Island settlement continues to round itself out and our understanding of it solidifies (Finney, 1991, 1994).

The settlement of Aotearoa was one of the last parts of this initial Pacific migration period. Peter Addis writes that “about 800 years ago, in a dramatic finale to [the migration and settlement of the Pacific], settlers from East Polynesia arrived in Aotearoa to begin a new life” (2012, p. 17). As a result, Addis states that the link between Māori and their Pacific kin “became a progressively more distant memory” while still remaining important for identity and social hierarchy in the developing Aotearoa Māori society (2012, p. 17). While memories and interactions may have grown few and far between, the whakapapa connections between Māori and Pacific peoples remained in our stories. For example, Paikea, the legendary ancestor of those in Whāngārā-mai-Tawhiti, also appears in stories of Mauke and Mangaia of the Cook Islands, with some of his descendants still living in Mangaia to this day. In the Cook Islands story, the whale upon which he arrived to the East Coast of Aotearoa is inspired by the tohorā vaka he departed Rarotonga on, which was specifically carved in the shape of a whale (*Paikea - Memories of Home*, n.d.). Additional connections that remained as tangata whenua made their new homes in Aotearoa can be seen in the continuation of the naming pair of Aroa'i and

Hi'ura'i, places found in Tahiti. These names also appear in Rarotonga, where the mountain pair of 'Ikurangi and Arorangi can be found, and subsequently in both Te-Ika-a-Māui and Te Waipounamu, with the pairs Hikurangi and Aorangi in the North, and Hikuraki and Aoraki in the South (Taonui, 2008). I discussed these names earlier in my own interactions with Hikurangi and 'Ikurangi.

There are many stories that remind us of our connection with one another. Jason, one of the talanoa participants shared a story that he had come to know through learning about his Māori whakapapa, one that recounted a meeting of Pacific and Māori in Aotearoa. He recalled an exchange on a beach in Whakatāne between Toi-kai-rakau and a group who had come from Hawaiki and brought with them dried and powdered kūmara, or kao, that was familiar to Toi-kai-rakau (Devery, 2021). It is this story, Jason says, that intertwines us as Māori and Pacific peoples and helps us realise we are all connected. As another example, two groups that identified each other as kin recognised that the Takitumu village in Rarotonga shared the same name as the Takitimu waka that arrived in Aotearoa during the final stages of Pacific migration and the settlement of Aotearoa. Upon recognising that kinship they chose to strengthen their relationship with one another through a formal acknowledgement (Etches, 2020; *Tākitimu Te Waka, Tamatea Te Ariki*, n.d.; Te Ao Māori News, 2015). By doing so, that historic kinship has been rekindled. The names discussed previously, our shared histories through Paikea, Jason's story, and the connection between Takitumu and Takitimu are but a few examples of how historic tangata whenua and Pacific kinships are remembered in Aotearoa today.

### **2.3 Contemporary Pacific Migration**

Perhaps the most influential text that looks at Māori-Pacific relations in Aotearoa New Zealand is *Once Were Pacific: Māori Connections to Oceania* (Somerville, 2012). In it, Alice Te Punga Somerville talks about Pacific peoples in Aotearoa, beginning Chapter 6, 'Manuhiri, Fānau: Pasifika Write Connections' stating, "Pasifika communities are in two places at once: in New Zealand, as citizens and residents of a settler nation, and in Aotearoa, as manuhiri in a group of islands in the Pacific populated by relatives" (Somerville, 2012, p. 139). Somerville's words were instrumental to articulating the central point of this thesis: understanding a relationship that for Māori and Pacific peoples stretches back hundreds of years, but for the state of New Zealand

started with colonisation, exploitation, and intense cultural shifts. Somerville’s statement encapsulates the complex relationships that Pacific peoples navigate in Aotearoa New Zealand, and in order to explore our relationships with Māori and our engagement with Te Tiriti, it is necessary to examine the foundation of these relationships and how we connect with one another.

Māori-Pacific relationships are fluid and dynamic, and in the 1960s when Pacific peoples began to arrive with their families and children to work in the factories and forestries scattered around the country, a significant shift in Māori-Pacific relations was inevitable. Considering what brought Pacific peoples to New Zealand, and our kinships with Māori, it is important to unpack the ways our being here affects Māori. Pacific peoples, who were not invited by Māori in the initial instance, were encouraged to migrate to New Zealand for education and to fulfil labour shortages and a capitalistic need by the New Zealand nation state in the 1950s and 60s. Consequently, “the Land of Milk and Honey”—the name attributed to New Zealand since colonisation, signifying it as a place of opportunity and abundance—became the intersection of recent history where Māori and Pacific peoples were brought together again after years of minor migrations from the Pacific to Aotearoa (Mallon, 2012, pp. 79–80). “The Land of Milk and Honey” became a key phrase during this period of migration as Pacific peoples sought what was sold as a better life for themselves and their young families (Māhina-Tuai, 2012, p. 177). Considering that Pacific peoples were invited to New Zealand by the government, and not by Māori, it is here that we are introduced to the fact that Pacific peoples have benefited from the government’s active dishonouring of Māori sovereignties. Rob, a Native Hawaiian participant, says that “in order for somebody to acknowledge The Treaty they have to honour themselves first, because they have to understand how they fit here... The Treaty is the ticket that allows everybody, every non-Māori to be here<sup>9</sup>” (2021). Knowing this history is important because it helps to frame the relationship between Pacific peoples and Māori today, and provides context for examining how, or if, any aspects of the relationship need to be addressed before improving and strengthening our engagement with Te Tiriti. Acknowledging that we would not be here without Te Tiriti helps us understand another layer of our relationships with Māori, and take that into consideration when considering our relational responsibilities to one another.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, our connections are sometimes articulated by others, including the New Zealand government and Pākehā. Māori and Pacific peoples are regularly lumped

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<sup>9</sup> Further discussion of how we benefit from Te Tiriti as Pacific tauiwi is in Chapter 4 and 5.

together in often damaging ways. Existing literature discussing Māori and Pacific peoples, for example, often looks at the two groups collectively, especially in relation to our experiences of welfare systems, youth and educational achievement, incarceration, justice, and rehabilitation (Naepi et al., 2019; Rodriguez et al., 2017; Stoner et al., 2016). Not only is looking at our poor statistics reductive and enforcing of stereotypes, but through lumping Māori and Pacific peoples together, our challenges become homogenised and the problems causing poor statistics become difficult to extrapolate and address. In doing so, not only does the homogenisation of our issues lead to a lack of considerate and effective problem solving, but it also damages our perceptions of, and relationships with, one another. For example, Meredith, one of the wahine Māori talanoa participants, reveals some of those damaged perceptions while talking about New Zealand's use of Pacific peoples as sources of labour. She reflects on how the relationship is further strained when the power dynamic shifts and Pacific tauwi eventually find success and prosper in Aotearoa—however few that may happen to—while Māori continue to struggle, saying:

You know, how many Pasifika have you seen rise to be CEOs in New Zealand, even when Māori are still struggling in that space? So I think there's layers of tension between our tangata whenua, even around the Pasifika people coming into our space, taking the jobs and making a life here. (Akuhata-Brown, 2021)

While acknowledging that there are Pacific peoples who are aware of that narrative and feel the weight of that truth, Meredith does not feel there are enough safe spaces for Māori and Pacific peoples to sit down and talk about the layers of tension that are there. Knowing the history and layers that make up our relationships is important and helps us understand why we're put into these positions and why we're experiencing tension in our relationships. Meredith's example speaks to how we're often put into competition with each other and how our relationships are strained by lateral violence when we could be effectively working together to pursue better outcomes.

An existing tension may come from the fact that the lumping together of Pacific tauwi and Māori can sometimes lead to the rest of the country turning a blind eye to the specificities of colonisation against Māori. Helena, a Samoan and Irish woman who was born and raised in Christchurch, for instance, says that when we are represented together in negative statistics “the rest of the country doesn't have to acknowledge the damage that was done specifically to Māori in colonisation, or acknowledge what that looks like” (H. Cook, 2021). If Pacific tauwi don't

understand the colonial structures in place that oppress Māori, in other words, even if they also oppress Pacific people, albeit in different ways, then resentment can grow. Helena identifies how resentment can occur when we are positioned against each other for resources, saying:

I think that it's sometimes pitting the two groups against each other, particularly around competing for resources, and I think that's really harmful, and basically an act of racism. Because I think it does those in power no good to have unity and to have all the brown people working together, because they want groups divided. And I think sometimes it's like an either/or situation, right? Like either Māori can do well, or Pacific can do well, but not both of you. (H. Cook, 2021)

Helena sees us being pitted against each other as an active choice made by the government to foster resentment and division, recognising that there is power in our solidarity that the New Zealand government is against. Anne, a wahine Māori participant, comments “as Māori living in New Zealand, hosting our tuākana, we would do much better to not position Pacific Islanders as our competition for Crown scraps” and to “call for solidarity over competition” (Waapu, 2021). However, recognising the need and calling for solidarity is not only a burden for Māori to bear. We have a responsibility in our relationships to be reciprocal in our care, and to carry some of the relational work ourselves. An important part of recognising our responsibilities to Te Tiriti, and to Māori as tangata whenua, is to reframe our relationships with one another, acknowledging the structures in place that keep all of us down, so we can work in solidarity to dismantle them together.

## **2.4 Māori and Pacific Methods of Relationality**

Anne made the important distinction of recognising our tuākana-tēina relationship, saying that “this long history of relationships, and that we actually whakapapa to each other, that to me trumps all of the other political alliances...our very existence together is a political assertion to a colonising Crown” (Waapu, 2021). It is this long history of relationships and connections that I offer as a strategy for framing our approach as Pacific tauiwi to Te Tiriti and Māori relationship engagement. In order to engage fully with Māori in relationships framed on our own terms, it is important to recognise what the responsibilities of those relationships are from our own perspectives. Our relationships with one another already exist, but they have at times been made

fraught by colonial imposition. I therefore suggest that we learn from Māori and Pacific methods of relationality in order to revitalise and nourish the relationships that we already have, feeding them and strengthening them through frameworks that are wholly our own. Our responsibilities and obligations to achieve strong and nourished Māori-Pacific relationships will be discussed in the following sections, and will shape the suggestions made in Chapter 5. Not only does a prioritising of our whakapapa connections act as a political assertion to the Crown, as Anne mentioned, it also calls forth values of relational space and care that occur naturally in the tikanga<sup>10</sup> and cultural values of Māori and many Pacific nations. While there are many relational models across the Pacific, this thesis looks at the vā and tuākana-tēina relationships specifically.

### 2.4.1 The Vā

The vā, sometimes spelled without the macron and sometimes capitalised<sup>11</sup>, refers to sociospatial connection. Tēvita O. Kaʻili, from a Tongan perspective, explains that “the word *vā* is not unique to Tonga, for cognates are found in many Moanan languages. *Vā* can be glossed as ‘space between people or things.’ This notion of space is known in Tonga, Sāmoa, Rotuma, and Tahiti as *vā*, while in Aotearoa and Hawaiʻi it is known as *wā*.” (Kaʻili, 2005, p. 89). ‘Okusitino Māhina, also from a Tongan perspective, posits *vā* into four main categories: physical, social, intellectual, and symbolic, clarifying that “within human social contexts, *vā* is experienced in social, sociospatial relations, and space between people” (cited in Kaʻili, 2005). “For Tongans,” Kaʻili writes, “human relationships are both socially and spatially constituted. Since *vā* is the social space between individuals or groups, it also relates and connects individuals and groups to one another” (Kaʻili, 2005, p. 90). Creating connections in the *vā*, and utilising relationships that the *vā* fosters between people, can encourage camaraderie, a sense of belonging to a community, and a comfort in unfamiliar spaces. Kaʻili also says that “for Tongans overseas who are related, no matter how far apart they are dispersed in physical space, they can still be sociospatially connected to one another through genealogy” (Kaʻili, 2005, p. 92). This demonstrates the reliability of the *vā* to provide points of connection across distance, but Kaʻili also suggests that

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<sup>10</sup> Tikanga can be defined as “the customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context” (Moorfield, 2022)

<sup>11</sup> As a non-Samoan learner of gagana Sāmoa, I was taught to use the fa’amamafa, or macron. Not all people choose to use the fa’amamafa, as context can typically provide insight on what word is being used. In this thesis, though, I will be using the macron.



the vā provides points of connection across time as well. Tauhi vā, “the social practice of reinforcing people’s connection in space”, for example, can be achieved across generations, as the past history of tauhi vā is remembered (Ka’ili, 2005, p. 92). Because of this, “children are born into multiple, preexisting social spaces,” that have been affirmed and reaffirmed across previous generations (Ka’ili, 2005, p. 93). Pī alludes to something similar in her own understanding of manaakitanga from a Māori perspective, saying, “if anyone was to rock up into my house...and all of a sudden they started telling a story about my grandad, that manaaki of sharing with me...I’m gonna remember that, because he remembers when we looked after him. It’s not an expectation of reciprocity...it doesn’t mean we give it cause we’re in debt, it’s a respect to that relationship that has been bonded before” (Pī, 2021). In Pī’s hypothetical, she is acknowledging the importance that past relationships have on how we interact in social spaces now, and much like what Ka’ili mentioned, how relational responsibilities and ties can be passed on through generations.

From a Samoan lens, Melani Anae describes the vā as “the social and sacred space that separates and yet unites” (Anae, 2016, p. 2). While similar to the Tongan vā, Anae highlights how navigating the vā and ensuring it is closely nurtured also means navigating it during disagreements or rises in tension. Familial relationships can often be filled with tension, like that between cousins or siblings, and that between Pacific peoples and Māori. When different situations arise that create a bump in the waters, like when competition for resources impacts how Māori and Pacific peoples consider one another in Aotearoa New Zealand, as seen above, the relationship can be threatened. Anae asserts that navigating the vā through the process of “teu le va” “insists that direct action must follow to correct the relationship and/or the relational arrangement if a breach of the tapu in the va has occurred” (2016, p. 3). An understanding of the vā helps people operate within socio-spatial contexts and informs how to behave based on the relationship type shared between two or more people. Within the vā, I’Uogafa Tuagulu identifies, for example, “va fealofani [that] refers to the brotherly and sisterly love that people should show one another” (2008, p. 110). Within households, this can be seen in the obligations older siblings have to care for younger ones when parents or caregivers are busy working. Between Māori and Pacific peoples, this can be seen in the way we relate as tuākana-tēina, and how we use that relationship to navigate the vā between us, foster solidarity, and decolonise and strengthen our connections with one another.

It is important to note that acknowledging the *vā* is about acknowledging the many ways we can relate in the same time and space, as “it is possible to simultaneously be granddaughter, daughter, sister, niece, aunt, wife, and mother” and none of these relational identifiers cancel out or take precedence over another (Lee-Ann Forrest et al., 2021, p. 6). Rather, they inform the way an individual interacts with others, or the way that others interact with them. The same approach can be taken towards Māori-Pacific relationality in that we can value and perhaps even prioritise our ancestral connections and *whakapapa* to one another. Our relationships with the New Zealand state do not have to be at the centre of our relationships with each other, but consideration of it must be present. Ignoring our connections with the New Zealand state, after all, would put us in danger of forgetting the ways colonisation impacts people differently and dismisses the need for specific strategies to dismantle those structures, in the same way that our presence in negative statistics, mentioned previously, has done in the past.

#### **2.4.2 Tuākana-Tēina**

The familial relationship paradigm that has been adopted by many countries colonised by the West has introduced a foreign language to describe family relationships, thus impacting relationship development. There is a distinction in the English language between the role of sibling and the role of cousin, for instance. In Western contexts, brothers and sisters are given distinct roles, while cousins are commonly seen as separate to the nuclear family. In *te reo* Māori and other Pacific languages, on the other hand, this is far from the case. In *te reo* Māori, the words “*tuākana*”, “*tēina*”, “*tuahine*”, and “*tungāne*”, can all be used to refer to both siblings and cousins, with the gender of the speaker determining which word is used. This is common in other Polynesian languages as well. In *gagana Sāmoa* the words “*uso*”, “*tuafafine*”, and “*tuagane*” are used for both siblings and cousins, depending on the speaker’s gender. In the Cook Islands, the Manganian dialect uses “*tuākana*” and “*tēina*” for older and younger siblings and cousins of the same gender, while both Manganian and Rarotongan use “*taeake*” to refer to relatives of the same generation regardless of gender, which includes both siblings and cousins. These trends in language are not only specific to Polynesia, as Kiribati, a liminal Polynesian space which stretches through both Polynesia and Micronesia, shares similar characteristics. In *taetae ni Kiribati*, where the words for siblings of the same and opposite sex are “*tariu*” and “*m’anneu*”

respectively, the words used for cousins of the same and opposite sex are “ai tariu” and “ai m‘aneu” respectively. When considering that “ai” means “such” or “like”, these terms for cousins are describing them as *like* siblings, identifying that the relationship shared between cousins is similar to that between siblings. We can see that very little distinction is made in these Pacific languages between cousins and siblings, implying that very little distinction is made during our interactions with each other as well. I enjoy a close relationship with my cousins, for example, often relaxing into a familial comfort that is as strong as the one I have with my own brother. Understanding that relationship, while looking at the wider relationship between Pacific peoples and Māori, helps me to structure my approach to understanding Māori political issues, engaging with Te Tiriti, and uplifting the fight for Māori tino rangatiratanga<sup>12</sup>, self-determination, and sovereignty.

Looking to the tuākana-tēina dynamic of Māori relationality feels appropriate, as it prioritises our whakapapa relationship with Māori and decentres relationships with the New Zealand nation state. Ashlea Gillon, providing an apt description of what the tuākana-tēina relationship dynamic means, writes “tuākana-tēina relationships from a Te Ao Māori and Kaupapa Māori understanding encompass notions of kinship and relationality, specifically between older siblings (tuākana) and younger siblings (tēina)”, the word “sibling” being applied in a way that includes cousins, as expressed above (2020, p. 82). When the tuākana-tēina dynamic is applied to Māori and Pacific peoples, it is recognising Pacific peoples as tuākana and Māori as tēina, referencing the fact that Māori developed as a separate people and culture from other Pacific peoples, following a period of separation discussed earlier in this chapter. Gillon notes that “the role of a tuākana is usually as an overseer or kaitiaki and as someone who has experience and the ability to make decisions”, and the tēina are “often given different tasks than a tuākana, which arguably may be considered more menial tasks” (2020, pp. 82-83). While this may be the case, Gillon affirms that these roles are not fixed, and have a fluidity of their own depending on the context (Gillon, 2020, p. 83). This fluidity is vital. It allows for the relationship to stretch when necessary, adapting to trials and tribulations as it moves, ensuring that there is always a relationship there no matter the impacts. In relationships that have been influenced by colonisation, leaning into the tuākana-tēina dynamic, and into the fluidity it offers, provides us

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<sup>12</sup> Tino rangatiratanga has been defined as “self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, domination, rule, control, power,” but is a complex term (Moorfield, 2022). Further discussion of tino rangatiratanga appears in Chapter 3.

with the tools we need to tend to and feed our relationship when needed. Additionally, that fluidity allows us to switch roles when necessary. As tuākana in the wider relationship, Pacific peoples may possess our own tools and skills to share with Māori, and we have the ability to make decisions, but as residents in Aotearoa, our role can also be that of tēina. Māori, as tangata whenua, have been in Aotearoa far longer than we have as Pacific tauiwi, and that gives them the experience, and makes them the kaitiaki of Aotearoa. In this way, Pacific peoples should be able to shift between tuākana and tēina with Māori when necessary.

I have ultimately chosen to use tuākana-tēina in this thesis as the method of relationality through which to frame Māori-Pacific relations. Tuākana and tēina have a long history in both Cook Islands and Aotearoa Māori contexts, and as a Cook Islands Māori woman the cultural specificity of tuākana-tēina feels like an integral part of this thesis. Utilising tuākana-tēina also acknowledges the importance of the relationship in Aotearoa contexts. Operating within a tuākana-tēina model means we are nurturing or tending to the vā between us as well. I therefore suggest that the tuākana-tēina method of relationality between Māori and Pacific tauiwi is a valuable strategy for Te Tiriti engagement, for decentring the New Zealand nation state in our relationships, and for nurturing our whakapapa connections and responsibilities to one another. I will discuss the tuākana-tēina dynamic and how it can be implemented in Chapter 5.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

At the beginning of this chapter I shared my own experience of climbing Hikurangi in Te Tairāwhiti. I connected myself with Hikurangi as someone who grew up in Tūranganui-a-Kiwa and travelled through the rest of Te Tairāwhiti frequently. I also established the connection between Hikurangi here and 'Ikurangi in Rarotonga, one of the mountains that my own ancestors lived around. In naming that connection I established a genealogical link in the vā between myself and Aotearoa. This link also illustrates the history of Māori and Pacific peoples, representing our whakapapa and the ancestral connections we share. After discussing our relationships, though, and the ways we relate with each other through the vā and through tuākana-tēina, as I have done in this chapter, my connection with Hikurangi also presents complexities. It is complex because other Māori may not have the opportunity to climb their own maunga in Aotearoa, but as a kid I was given the privilege to climb someone else's. And it is

complex again because being born and raised in New Zealand, as a result of colonisation's impact on the Pacific and Aotearoa, means that I am one of those 'other Māori' that may not have the opportunity to climb my own maunga in Rarotonga. What has been illustrated in this chapter is that complexities need to be understood, and bringing those complexities to attention when nurturing the vā and our tuākana-tēina relationship is necessary and keeps us accountable to one another. Through doing that, the tuākana-tēina relationship can be nurtured and nourished, and Māori-Pacific relations can be strengthened. Through operating within a tuākana-tēina model, articulating the complications in our relationships, and addressing them, I believe that our engagements with Māori as Pacific tauiwi will be more reflective and accountable.

### **3. Being Pacific Peoples in New Zealand**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

I have been lucky enough in my life to have gone to the Cook Islands four times. Each subsequent time my experience there became more and more complex. On my first visit, as a seven year old girl, I did not understand much other than being somewhere that I knew I came from. The feeling was so assured, and sitting in the front lawn of my nana's house—after we had spent two days mowing the lawns, cleaning the gardens, and burning the weeds and fronds that had fallen from the coconut trees—I felt at home. My nana instructed me on which flowers to pick from the trees and bushes and then we sat on the blanket my mum had put out and threaded them together into three 'ei, one for each of us to wear to the Island Night event at the resort past the airport. For me, the unfamiliarity of the home we were staying in, the lumpy beds we slept on, and the mosquito net tucked into the mattress each night—keeping out more than just mosquitoes—fell away when I was wrapped up in the smells of tiare around my neck, the sheen of coconut oil on the dancers' bodies, and the beats in my chest that thudded along with the drums at the front of the restaurant. I look back on it now and think about how the only place I truly saw myself in was a show put on for tourists. But, when the performance ended and dinner was finished, the other people there on the beach returned to their rooms at the resort and we drove back across the island to the house my great-grandfather built.

When I was twelve years old we returned, this time for a family reunion. There was no doubt in my mind that this was where I was meant to be. Dozens of us had gathered from across the scattered islands, as far as Aotearoa and Australia, to come together and recognise our shared ancestry; if I did not belong there, then where did I belong? On one of the days of the reunion, my brother, older cousin, and I were walking up a road towards the maunga that loomed over our family lands while my mum and nana pointed out the homes and patches of land that belonged in our family, attaching to places the names of people they thought we might recognise. As we passed a particular home and patch of land, a name that we did not recognise was attached to it and a short tree that was pushing into the road dropped one of its coconuts onto the gravel. Naturally, we picked it up, and a shout came from the house behind the hedges. We stayed silent while mum listened, trying to translate in her head, and nana started to shout back. As my nana

yelled at the woman on her porch, the dynamic shifted and the woman began to apologise instead. After she had retreated inside we walked a little bit further up the road. Only two houses further we reached what was left of the house Nana was born in. After many years it was overgrown with all sorts of life, and while the walls still stood, the roof had been lifted away by decades of cyclone seasons. Later, Mum would explain to us that the woman had accused us of being on land where we did not belong, which I found ironic considering we had been walking through land my Nana had been born and raised on. We laughed when Nana told us that because of their ages and where Nana was in our family tree, she had more of a claim to the house and land than that woman had, and that because of this, the woman had become embarrassed after accusing my Nana, and by extension, us. Even though we had laughed, and our Nana had reassured us that everything was okay, there is nothing quite like being exactly where you come from and being told to leave.

On my third and fourth visits I felt like everything had changed. Being a child the first two times had helped; I had no understanding of what it meant to be or feel “plastic”. No one had questioned my identity before. But the third and fourth times were after I had moved out of Tūranganui-a-Kiwa to Te Whanganui-a-Tara, where the Pacific community was larger and the expectations were different. Before leaving high school no one had asked me if I could speak Cook Islands Māori, but at university, it was often one of the first questions people asked after learning where I was from. Returning to the Cook Islands in 2019 and 2020 was difficult; my skin felt too white, my hair was short, so I felt like people could not see that it was curly, and I felt like I had to make sure I was using te reo phrases that were not common so everyone would know that I was supposed to be there. Even though I thought that I had come to terms with being less connected with my Cook Islands culture than others, it turned out that no matter how many times I opened my emails with ‘Kia orana’ and ended them with ‘Meitaki atupaka’ I still did not feel like I belonged.

These different experiences continue to leave me questioning how my own Cook Islands identity has been shaped, how it has waxed and waned over the years, and has helped me to understand where I am now. I continue to feel uncomfortable in spaces that demand my Cook Islander-ness from me, like interactions with distant relatives that I do not quite know and situations in which my identity is called into question. At the same time, I find comfort in the spaces that are not made for me but can accommodate my desperate want for cultural connection

all the same, like tourist attractions and island nights that romanticise my culture but act as some of the only spaces where I can be immersed in it without judgement. I continue to seek out why I am uncomfortable in the Cook Islands but comfortable in my Te Whanganui-a-Tara flat, and what that means for me as a Pacific woman in Aotearoa New Zealand.

I reflect on my own experience as a Pacific tauwi living in Aotearoa New Zealand to illustrate how being a Pacific migrant in this country inevitably changes how I know my own culture and identity. Being born and raised in Aotearoa New Zealand means that I did not grow up surrounded by my culture. The impacts of colonisation means that when my family migrated to New Zealand it became easier for my Mum and wider family to start speaking English and stop speaking reo Māori Kūki 'Airani. When my cultural competency is called into question, whether I am in the Cook Islands or in Aotearoa New Zealand, I am reminded of how New Zealand's role in the colonisation of the Pacific region has stripped me of the natural opportunities to learn about myself. This chapter argues that while our current existence as Pacific migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand is often perceived through our relationships with the New Zealand government, there is strength in learning from tuākana-tēina and building on our solidarity through a framework that is informed by values that are wholly our own. I do this by drawing on the history of New Zealand's colonial presence in the Pacific, establishing context for understanding Pacific peoples living here and how we position ourselves in relation to the New Zealand state and government. I unpack events that shape Pacific lives in Aotearoa New Zealand, including: New Zealand's colonisation and administration of islands throughout the Pacific—particularly the South Pacific—region, drawing close attention to The Mau Movement in Sāmoa; the destruction of Banaba for phosphate extraction by New Zealand, Australia, and Great Britain; and the Dawn Raids of the 1970s and the recent government apology in 2021. By unpacking these events, I illustrate how being Pacific tauwi and living in New Zealand as migrants is often challenged by our histories with the New Zealand state. Finally, I argue that to achieve solidarity, which is conducive to understanding our positioning in Aotearoa New Zealand, we learn from the tuākana-tēina method of relationality. Doing so provides opportunity for Pacific tauwi to engage with and honour Māori relations and Te Tiriti o Waitangi on our own terms.



## **3.2 New Zealand and the Colonisation of the Pacific**

Unlike other tauwi in Aotearoa, Pacific peoples have a unique history with the New Zealand state that complicates New Zealand-Pacific relations, and by extension, further complicates Māori-Pacific relations as well. Somerville explains that “Māori-Pasifika connections are deeply inflected by the colonial project within which Māori and a number of Pasifika communities are rather tightly bound” (2012, p. 21). In other words, the complexities of Pacific-Māori relationships are interwoven with the colonisation of the Pacific and Aotearoa, which will be more closely discussed here in chapter 3 as well as in chapter 4. The impact of colonisation has changed how we perceive one another, drawing attention away from the ways we have been connected in the past, and calling more attention to how colonisation pits and posits us against one another in the present. It is important, when looking at how Pacific peoples engage with Māori and Te Tiriti, to first consider how the New Zealand state’s role in the colonisation of the Pacific shapes the lived experiences of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand. Acknowledging that these two separate relationships intersect with each other, through analysing New Zealand’s role as a coloniser in the Pacific, I unpack the layers of complexity that contribute to how Pacific tauwi navigate Māori and Pacific relations.

### **3.2.1 New Zealand and Sāmoa**

Following Germany’s occupation of Sāmoa, New Zealand took over administration of the country in 1914. This started out on rocky terms, however, as the New Zealand administration was blamed for the death of more than one fifth of the Samoan population in 1918. Following the arrival of the New Zealand passenger and cargo ship, the *Talune*, passengers sick with the highly infectious influenza were allowed to disembark and the disease quickly spread, decimating a large portion of the Samoan population (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2020b). As tensions continued to build and Samoans were already tired of being oppressed by German occupation, the Mau movement, which was a Samoan led opposition to New Zealand’s administration, was established. This movement began in the 1920s as the organisation O le Mau a Samoa, with the slogan “Sāmoa mo Sāmoa”, or “Samoa for Samoans”, advocated for a Sāmoa without New Zealand’s involvement or presence (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014). Over the next

forty years, the Mau movement rose in prominence and violent clashes occurred between the Mau and New Zealand's administration .

The Mau movement regularly showed their intelligence in overcoming New Zealand's attempts to dampen the resistance. When New Zealand's Minister of External Affairs threatened non-Samoans taking part with deportation in 1927, for instance, Samoans took greater control of the movement. Anyone who was deported back to New Zealand continued the resistance there, petitioning the government and spreading the reality of Sāmoa's desire for independence across the country. When 400 members of the Mau were arrested, and the detention centres were almost filled, several hundred more gave themselves up and forced the facilities to admit their inability to cope, resulting in prisoners being released and the administrator at the time being replaced, to his embarrassment. When Colonel Stephen Allen replaced the previous administrator, he believed that the Mau movement would eventually settle and fade out. However, tensions simmered beneath the surface and eventually erupted into a day of violence in 1929. What is commonly believed to be the worst incident in the history of New Zealand's relationship with Sāmoa are the events of December 28th, 1929, otherwise known as Black Saturday. On that day, in a culmination of years of unrest and tensions, police opened fire on a Mau march and killed at least eight people, including the prominent Samoan leader, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III. The New Zealand administration's response to the day did nothing to tend to the damage and resulted in 1500 Mau men moving into the bush to avoid arrest or deportation. The men were supported by Samoans with food, water, and information, while the New Zealand administration did what it could to try and quell the Mau movement. When the Labour Party won the New Zealand general election in 1935, they recognised the Mau as a legitimate political organisation and some progress was made towards Sāmoa's independence. The process was slowed by the Great Depression and the Second World War, but eventually, on January 1st, 1962, Sāmoa gained its independence and was no longer administered by New Zealand (Campbell, 1999; Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014, 2020a, 2020b).

Many years later, on June 4th 2002, New Zealand's Prime Minister Helen Clark returned to Sāmoa and delivered an apology on behalf of the New Zealand government. This Sāmoa apology was the first of two official apologies made by the New Zealand government to Pacific peoples, the second being the Dawn Raids apology in 2021, which will be discussed in a later section of this chapter. Even though the tragedies of New Zealand's administration took place

within Sāmoa itself, it has caused trauma for many Samoans (Laumea, 2021). While not all Pacific peoples living in New Zealand carry the trauma of the administration in Sāmoa, this facet of New Zealand’s colonial administration in the Pacific is impossible to ignore.

### **3.2.2 The New Zealand Realm**

Sāmoa is not the only Pacific Island nation to have had a colonial and administrative relationship with New Zealand. To varying degrees, the Cook Islands, Niue, and Tokelau, which make up part of the New Zealand Realm, are still administered by the New Zealand state. For each of these island nations, the people are legally considered New Zealand citizens and they benefit from certain administrative responsibilities that New Zealand has with them, namely regarding their defence and foreign affairs. As New Zealand citizens, people from each of these nations are free to work and live in New Zealand should they wish to, while also being able to travel to their home islands as well. In addition to having these benefits, the Cook Islands and Niue also exercise self-governance (Quentin-Baxter, 2021). Arohia Durie writes that “the constitutional arrangements between the Government of Aotearoa New Zealand and the three island co-nations is one that Māori might well envy,” as they have their own form of government and are “enjoying a form of tino rangatiratanga that Māori have sought since 1840” (2011, p. 52). Tino rangatiratanga is a complex concept that has no single equivalent translation in the English language. As stated earlier, tino rangatiratanga<sup>13</sup> can be defined as “self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, domination, rule, control, power”, but this does not fully explain what tino rangatiratanga refers to (Moorfield, 2022). Luke Fitzmaurice defines tino rangatiratanga as “self-governing; having absolute independence and autonomy,” which takes the previous definition a step further into establishing the role of autonomy (2020, p. 71). Annie Te One and Carrie Clifford explain tino rangatiratanga in fine detail, unpacking the root words of “ranga” and “tira”, revealing how detailed of a concept the final phrase actually is. They state that tino rangatiratanga as self-determination “refers to Māori control over Māori lives, and the centrality of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge)” (Te One & Clifford, 2021, p. 2).

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<sup>13</sup> In this thesis, “tino rangatiratanga” refers to Māori having the power to determine for themselves what their lives as Māori looks like in Aotearoa and my use of it is guided by each of these explanations above.

Furthermore, as a key word used in Te Tiriti, tino rangatiratanga is central to the discussions in this thesis.

In the Pacific, Tokelau remains a dependent territory of New Zealand and is considered non-self-governing by the United Nations. However, in practice, “Tokelau is largely self-governing with a system of government based on traditional village leadership,” despite on paper being a territory of New Zealand (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d., para. 1). While New Zealand has an obligation to aid Tokelau to self-determination should they desire it, the two referendums held in 2006 and 2007 resulted in a decision to remain a dependent territory of New Zealand. However, New Zealand worked with Tokelau to establish a Tokelauan form of governance that worked for the Tokelauan people. Eventually, a form of self-governance, the Taupulega, incorporated the Tokelauan importance of village-led governance and the authority of New Zealand’s appointed administrator was transferred to the Taupulega.

Reflecting on the New Zealand Realm and on the New Zealand government’s willingness to work with the Realm nations in different ways, it is hard not to feel some level of guilt as a Cook Islander, recognising that I am lucky enough to have New Zealand citizenship, having been born here, while also maintaining the freedom to return to the Cook Islands when I want to. However, in addition to recognising my privilege in this situation, I also choose to be critical of what it means to live in New Zealand, under the New Zealand government, as a Cook Islands Māori woman. The Cook Islands, while having the benefit of self-governance, have also been impacted by the force of colonisation, introducing food and job insecurity, language loss, and increased emmigration from the islands to New Zealand, Australia and beyond. Being a part of the New Zealand Realm, for Cook Islanders, Niueans, and Tokelauans, means that a large part of our ability to live in Aotearoa New Zealand as tauiwi is dependent on our New Zealand citizenship, and therefore dependent on the New Zealand government.

### **3.2.3 New Zealand’s Exploitation of the Pacific**

New Zealand’s colonial power in the Pacific was spurred by a need for capital expansion, agricultural growth, and a desire to be seen as a viable Southern Empire for Great Britain (Phillips, 2012; Pickles & Coleborne, 2016). These driving factors and the choices that they led to did not only impact New Zealand’s close neighbours, but stretched further out into the Pacific,

into places and spaces that many New Zealanders today may be unfamiliar with. Katerina Teaiwa's exhibition, *Project Banaba*, which was displayed in Napier in 2019, tells the history of the island of Banaba<sup>14</sup> in Kiribati and its destruction at the hands of the New Zealand, Australia, and United Kingdom governments for the extraction of phosphate to fuel a growing agricultural industry. People's homes and lives were destroyed. The British began relocating Banabans to Rabi island in Fiji in 1945 as they could no longer live on an island that had the majority of its surface strip mined away (K. Teaiwa & Ngata, 2019). The phosphate was spread across New Zealand, Australia, and the United Kingdom (Bertram, 2010; K. M. Teaiwa, 2015; K. Teaiwa & Ngata, 2019). The lack of care by the colonial powers for Banaban lives is reflected in the statements of Teaiwa. She says, for instance, that "because [the phosphate] was directly underneath Banaban homes and villages, the people had to be removed" (K. Teaiwa & Ngata, 2019, p. 4). Teaiwa also highlights the fact that buried in the land of Banaba, nestled in with the phosphate that the colonial powers sought, were the remains of Banaban people and ancestors. Now, as a result of the "industry [that] thrived on and eventually decimated Banaba", the lands and ancestral remains of Banaba have been scattered across Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom to benefit that industry (K. Teaiwa & Ngata, 2019, p. 3). The agriculture and horticulture industry of Australia and New Zealand in particular then turned around and used the Pacific as a dumping ground for nutritionally deficient offcuts and as a cheap labour pool for seasonal workers (Brickenstein, 2015; Enoka, 2019; Gewertz & Errington, 2007, 2010; Prochazkova, 2010).

Although the destruction of Banaba at the hands of colonial powers is not widely known in New Zealand, an important part of honouring Te Tiriti and our relationships to Māori is educating ourselves on our own history and the history of Aotearoa New Zealand. The journey that Banaban people have been forced to take by the colonisers of the Pacific reminds us that our histories as Pacific peoples are intertwined with the history and land of Aotearoa New Zealand. For some Pacific tauiwi, like Banaban peoples, the blood and bones of their ancestors have been forced into the land itself. As a Pacific person, I drive across New Zealand state highways and reflect on the rolling green hills that push up against me on either side, thinking about who has had to suffer for New Zealand's green image. The exploitative process of Māori land alienation paved the way for New Zealand's agricultural industry to take root, and the destruction of

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<sup>14</sup> Also known as Ocean Island.

Banaba and Banaban lives helped that industry to grow. Ongoing effects of the agricultural industry include the often exploitative Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme and the environmental impacts of farming, which directly contribute to the effects of climate change (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2021; New Zealand Immigration, n.d.; NIWA Taihoro Nukurangi, n.d.). Ironically, while the phosphate mined from Banaba contributed significantly to the development of the agricultural industry in New Zealand, the effects of agriculture and primary industries on climate change disproportionately impact Pacific peoples (Barnett, 2011; Keener et al., 2012; Ritchie, 2021). As the rest of the world slowly comes to grips with enacting effective action against climate change, Pacific peoples in Aotearoa are consistently aware of the ways in which climate change is impacting our friends, families, and our villages in the Pacific. Unpacking what role the New Zealand state has had in the Pacific in the past and present further illustrates how the New Zealand-Pacific relationship impacts the lives of Pacific tauiwi, sometimes in violent, life-changing ways.

### **3.3 The Dawn Raids and the Intersection of Pacific, Māori, and New Zealand Relations**

As the agricultural industry grew, fueled by the phosphate mined from Banaba that was spread across stolen Māori land, a need for labour grew as well. The import and export dynamic of the Pacific and neighbouring countries meant that Pacific lifestyles were drifting away from being self-sustaining, and globalisation following the Second World War changed the way that consumerism and capitalism drove the lifestyles of Pacific peoples (Firth, 2000; Fresno-Calleja, 2017; Hughes & Lawrence, 2005). To fulfil New Zealand's need for labour, in agriculture, manufacturing, and primary production sectors, cheap labour was imported in the form of Pacific migrants. Globalisation and the spread of neoliberal capitalist lifestyles led to mass consumption, and greater dependence on the monetary economy. As a result, families in the Pacific depended on Pacific migrants in New Zealand and Australia to support their families at home with remittances. While Pacific peoples had been encouraged by the New Zealand state to migrate for work, their relational responsibilities to the families they left at home meant that they were still doing everything they could to send most of that money back to the people they had left behind (Lee, 2009; Mila, 2017). While this worked out well for the New Zealand labour shortage, and for Pacific peoples as well, the sentiment began to change when the economy took a turn for the

worse in the late 1970s (Locke, 2010; Singleton, 2008, sec. 4). When the economy began to suffer, and people began to lose their jobs, Pacific migrants were used as a scapegoat by the New Zealand government (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021b, sec. 4).

The blame was turned to so-called Pacific ‘overstayers’ (Anae, 2012; Loto et al., 2006). Racial prejudice and desperation led to the targeting and profiling of Pacific peoples by the New Zealand government, police, the media, and eventually the public (Loto et al., 2006). Many Pacific homes—as well as those of Māori and of other communities of colour—were targeted by police raids in the early hours of the morning. Although the approach was to blame all ‘overstayers’, the targeted policing of non-White people revealed where the government’s sentiments truly were. The targeted deportation of overstayers was sanctioned initially in 1973 by Norman Kirk’s Labour government and continued by Robert Muldoon’s National government afterwards. The raids “targeted only people from the Pacific Islands,”<sup>15</sup> revealing the racial prejudice that was not reigned in by the police force or government at the time (Cooke & Basagre, 2021, para. 11). Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern, in her apology on behalf of the Crown to Pacific peoples in 2021, says that “there were no reported raids on any homes of people who were not Pacific; no raids or random stops were exacted towards European people”, despite an inquiry report from the Race Relations Conciliator at the time revealing that overstayers from the United States and Great Britain made up a third of all overstayers (Ardern, 2021, sec. 5). Although the Dawn Raids primarily took place in major cities amongst Pacific populations, such as Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch, the attitude towards Pacific peoples that the raids represented have permeated Pacific experiences of living in New Zealand across the country (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021b, sec. 7).

In 2021, the New Zealand government announced that they would deliver a formal apology for the Dawn Raids. It was delivered on August 1st, 2021. In responding to the apology, Dylan Asafo writes that it “served as an opportunity to continue the facade of a ‘diverse’ and ‘kind’ government while also maintaining the racist immigration and policing structures that oppress Māori, Pacific peoples, and other people of colour every day” (Asafo, 2021, para. 24). While they apologised, the government’s actions continue to target and exploit us. Pacific peoples, for example, are still being brought to this country through the RSE scheme to fulfil labour needs and are still being treated poorly. “Unions and economists say fruit and vegetable

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<sup>15</sup> This also led to Māori being targeted as they were mistaken for being Pacific peoples.

pickers from the Pacific Islands suffer high costs and poor pay and are often left with almost no money to send home” (Fagaiava-Muller, 2021, l. 4). As another example, soon after the apology was announced, it was revealed by Torika Tokalau that in 2021, Immigration New Zealand (NZ) continued to carry out raids on overstayers in the early hours of the morning (Tokalau, 2021). Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern is quoted in Tokalau’s article, saying: “It is not police banging down doors, terrorising people in their houses, taking them away in their pyjamas and putting them in jail cells. It is vastly, vastly different” (Ardern, as quoted in, Tokalau, 2021, para. 26). Though Tokalau clarifies that, according to Immigration NZ, none of the 36 people deported as a result of the 223 raids carried out between May 2020 and May 2021 were Pacific peoples, there is no way to know how many Pacific homes and Pacific peoples were targeted and traumatised, as those numbers were not provided (Tokalau, 2021, paras 3–4). Prime Minister Ardern’s dismissal of the trauma caused to Pacific peoples by the Dawn Raids in the 1970s shows a lack of consideration for how ongoing immigration raids can continue to reinforce the effects of that trauma, instilling it into further generations of Pacific—and non-Pacific—migrants. While the RSE scheme continues, further exploiting Pacific peoples as cheap labour, and a version of these immigration raids continues as well, the trauma of the Dawn Raids will not be given the opportunity to heal.

Anne, a wahine Māori who often works in proximity to the Crown, reflected on the Dawn Raids apology as an event that revealed the intersection of a three-way relationship between Māori, Pacific peoples, and the New Zealand government. The presence of each community at the apology created an opportunity for relational analysis. When prompted to speak on Māori-Pacific relations, she says:

I wish that we weren’t so quick to be defensive of spaces or take up spaces that’s not ours to take but ours to manaaki. Case in point, recently, the apology for the Dawn Raids, and the long ass whaikōrero that was coming from the pae was ill-placed when that was not about us. That was about our tuākana, and our moment to be able to hold a space for them to heal... What I did see [during the apology] was a grabbing of a space of power with effectively three parties there, right? There’s the Crown. There’s us. And we’re in this constant dichotomous battle with them all through our saga of the Treaty. And then you have the third party who actually needed to be centred that day, but were not centred by the pae. (Waapu, 2021)



Reflecting on Anne's comments, from the perspective of a Pacific tauiwī, they suggest that the apology was shaped by the ways Māori and Pacific peoples interact with the New Zealand government individually, and that this changes how we interact with one another in the moment. In other words, Anne is suggesting that Māori grievances with the Crown affected how Māori taking part in the apology sought to manaaki Pacific needs and wellbeing. Arama Rata and Faisal Al-Asaad write that "the white/non-White binary underpinning settler colonialism, and refracted through diversity discourse, means the only direct relationship open to both Indigenous Māori and peoples of colour is one with Pākehā," and this is reflected in the Dawn Raids apology and Anne's comments on it (Rata & Al-Asaad, 2019, p. 218). Where there was potential for Māori and Pacific peoples to engage with one another on our own terms, Anne instead saw Māori engaging with the Crown first, where the apology was really meant to be between the Crown and Pacific peoples. Whether or not the grabbing of power that Anne witnessed was intentional, it serves to keep Māori and Pacific peoples from uniting against the Crown in these situations. Where Anne saw Māori grabbing for power, in other words, she did not see a strong demonstration of solidarity between tuākana and tēina.

In my reflection as a Pacific tauiwī, however, I could see the whaikōrero's length as appropriate, given that we have a responsibility to the land that we are on and an acknowledgement of Māori as tangata whenua is integral to the honouring of our relationships with one another. Additionally, incorporating and ensuring that Māori are given a prominent voice at the Dawn Raids apology created space for acknowledging that Māori were also targeted in the Dawn Raids, even though this was rarely—if ever—mentioned in the apology itself (de Bres, 2021, sec. 4; Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021b, sec. 4). Rather than accepting Anne's comments as being hard and fast Māori truth—as she would not want them to be accepted as such—it is vital that the conversation be broadened to consider how Pacific peoples could interpret such a display. This is important for strengthening our relationships separately and collectively and for ensuring our relationships are strong and can withstand challenging each other when necessary. Rata and Al-Asaad write that "solidarity between Māori and [tauiwī of colour] presents a strong challenge to the settler colonial social order" (2019, p. 218). The importance of our solidarity is echoed by Rose, who is Papua New Guinean from Bougainville, and Anne. Rose says:

When you told me that you were doing this research, I instantly thought of [Rata and Al-Asaad's article] and how important it is to ultimately build good relationships with Māori that fosters solidarity. And I think the power in that is really important. And foundational. That research in that article really spoke to having meaningful dialogue and a safe space for that. That's generative, but not extractive, and in solidarity. (Rose, 2021)

Anne says that "our solidarity is the absolute nightmare of the Crown" (Waapu, 2021). Anne's comments about the apology, however, suggest that at times during it, Māori-Pacific relations functioned through the presence of the New Zealand government and not in solidarity. She therefore critiques Māori for having taken a space for themselves that she believes was intended for Pacific peoples, while I offer that as Pacific tauwiwi I would expect and encourage a Māori presence as an acknowledgement that Māori were similarly targeted in the Dawn Raids, and as an acknowledgement of their place as tangata whenua. These differing perspectives are important, and in order to strengthen our relationships with one another, they are perspectives that we need to share, unpack, and discuss on our own terms, in our own ways. Pī talks about the ways that Māori and Pacific peoples are often packaged together in negative statistics, as discussed previously, and calls for spaces where we are communicating on our own terms between ourselves, saying:

Everywhere I look its MPI (Māori and Pacific Islanders). We're coupled quite a bit as minorities. Like every week you can look at negative stats about us on the news, just look at COVID. But maybe that's the problem, our relationship is mirrored back to us in a Western lens. So what are the channels where only Māori or Pasifika talk amongst themselves where Pākehā is funding it or paying for it? (Pī, 2021)

Vero says "it will be nice to be able to work together to decentre that relationship from the arrival of palagi as the thing that connects us" (Vero, 2021). Learning from our tuākana-tēina method of relationality and having open discussions using frameworks that are wholly our own is how we can engage in the meaningful solidarity between Māori and Pacific tauwiwi that Rose, Anne, Rata and Al-Asaad highlight.

### 3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined some of the ways that living as Pacific tauiwī in Aotearoa New Zealand is impacted by our shared whakapapa with Māori, New Zealand's history as a coloniser in the region, and by the Dawn Raids of the 1970s and the apology delivered in 2021. I have chosen to use this chapter to portray how the New Zealand state—and at times the public—perceive Pacific tauiwī. Because we are frequently lumped with Māori in statistics, our lives as migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand is often articulated through our interactions with the New Zealand state, not through our whakapapa with Māori.

When given the opportunity to relate on our own terms, Māori and Pacific tauiwī relay our connections to one another, we embrace each other as kin, and we discuss our whakapapa openly and without fear of judgement. Our whakapapa is something we have saved for ourselves, in spaces where we interact one on one, in pōhiri where we are Pacific manuhiri, in activism where we have joined in solidarity, and in friendships and whānau where hundreds of years of whakapapa are reconnected. However, in this chapter I have looked to the Dawn Raids apology for a consideration of how the tensions in our relationships are revealed when we are in the spaces where we have to navigate our relationships with the government and each other at the same time. The voices in this chapter have highlighted the potential strength of our solidarity with one another, or that when we work together, we can overcome the structures of the government trying to keep us apart. In the following chapters I argue that we can foster solidarity by learning from our tuākana-tēina model of relationality and honouring the responsibilities of tuākana and tēina. In working alongside each other, through frameworks that are inherently our own, we can build stronger relationships that are able to withstand external challenges and necessary internal challenges as well. By embracing our roles as tuākana and tēina, instead of relying on the Crown to mediate our relationships, we can develop our own methods, techniques, and strategies for helping each other and helping ourselves without our relationships hinging on the New Zealand state. In order to truly embrace our roles as tuākana and tēina however, it is important to first examine the colonisation of Aotearoa, the structures of settler colonialism, and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. In the next chapter, I expand on this necessary background to build a foundation upon which we can more fully engage in our relational responsibilities.

## **4. Dishonouring Te Tiriti**

### **4.1 Introduction**

When I was 21 years old I learned about The Treaty of Waitangi. I had learned about it once before at primary school, as an agreement between Māori and the Europeans, one that meant Europeans could move to New Zealand and build the country we live in today. This time around, though, I was taught about Te Tiriti o Waitangi as well, about the ways that it related to The Treaty and the ways that the two documents were drastically different. I learned about how the differences between them, and the ways they had been forgotten or ignored since they were signed in 1840 had shaped the country that I was born and raised in. I was taught about them by a wahine Māori, and I was given perspectives that I didn't have the privilege of getting when I first learned about them. I came to understand that The Treaty was not something solely forced upon Māori, that the intentions behind it, for those Māori that were involved, were ones to strengthen the position of Māori and bolster relationships between Māori and the Crown. Additionally, I finally learned that Te Tiriti o Waitangi was something that had to do with me, and that just because I was of the first generation of my family born in Aotearoa did not mean I was not, and could not, be affected by Te Tiriti. Without The Treaty or Te Tiriti I would not be here in Aotearoa New Zealand because, as explored previously, my family coming here was never an accident.

Through learning about Te Tiriti at 21 years old, and continuing to learn and process more of my own connection to it, I have been lucky to learn more about myself. When interviewing Meredith, a wahine Māori who works in local government, she spoke of Te Tiriti being the story of our nation, one that everyone should find a way to connect with, not just Māori and Pākehā (Akuhata-Brown, 2021). In trying to connect with it, I've realised that my life has been, and continues to be, shaped by the breaches of Te Tiriti. Without those breaches, the migration of my family would not have happened, and I would not benefit from the privilege of living on Māori land as a non-Māori. Though sometimes difficult, identifying how I relate to Te Tiriti is one way that I can find comfort and belonging in Aotearoa. Furthermore, considering how the tuākana-tēina relationship changes the ways we as Pacific peoples can relate with Te Tiriti, with the land, and with Māori is important because it pulls our relationships away from

Western frameworks and allows us to explore solutions and strategies that are grounded in our understandings of each other from our own perspectives and ways of being.

This chapter will provide analysis of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and The Treaty of Waitangi, briefly touching on how the two documents came to be and what role they play in Aotearoa New Zealand in the present day. Settler colonialism, and the distinct roles it plays in the lives of Pacific tauwi and Māori, will be unpacked in this chapter. This chapter also reflects on how the cycle of dishonouring Te Tiriti and upholding settler colonialism is damaging for everyone, not just Māori, and while this is a contributing factor to why we as tauwi should care about honouring Te Tiriti and our engagement with Māori, it is not the only reason. An analysis of why Pacific tauwi should care about Te Tiriti and our engagement with Māori is also explored in this chapter. In breaking down Te Tiriti and the ways that the New Zealand state has continually dishonoured and breached their agreement with Māori, this chapter will identify what the challenges are for achieving a future for Aotearoa that is truly Te Tiriti honouring, and will provide the necessary context and foundations for Chapter 5.

## **4.2 The Initial Colonisation of New Zealand**

On the 21st of May 1840, William Hobson declared the Crown's sovereignty over New Zealand. New Zealand became an official part of the British Empire, and formal colonisation of New Zealand began (Windsor, 2007). But formal colonisation came as a result of the years prior, and the actions that had been taken by European settlers, and by Māori, in the lead up to 1840. A lot happened in the years between James Cook's arrival in 1769 and the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840. The population of European settlers in New Zealand grew, while the population of Māori diminished due to newly introduced disease and violence between Māori and Europeans (Lange, 2018). As the years went on, and the number of Pākehā grew, Māori hapū in Te Tai Tokerau recorded in oral tradition that they "had become increasingly concerned at the lawlessness of the Pākehā living among them," and had been "making increasing demands for the Pākehā to control their own people" (Mutu, 2011, p. 3). Eventually this resulted in the documents He Whakaputanga in 1835, and The Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, both in 1840.

Preceding Te Tiriti o Waitangi was He Whakaputanga and the Declaration of Independence, its inaccurate English translation sent to the King of England. He Whakaputanga was “drawn up by the English, and was a declaration of the rangatiratanga and the mana of the rangatira of Te Whakaminenga in respect of all their lands” (Mutu, 2011, p. 18). Although Te Whakaminenga only included hapū from the North, the translation sent to the King of England “stated that *New Zealand* [emphasis added] was an independent state under the name of the *United Tribes of New Zealand* [emphasis added],” ignoring that Te Whakaminenga was not inclusive of all Māori hapū and iwi across the motu (Mutu, 2011, p. 19). He Whakaputanga was a demonstration of Māori rangatiratanga<sup>16</sup> and highlighted how rangatira were engaging in international diplomacy by reaching out to the King of England, and by altering the document’s translation the rangatira involved were misrepresented. He Whakaputanga was then ignored in favour of The Treaty of Waitangi and is another example of the purposeful failure of the Crown to recognise and honour Māori sovereignty. The inaccurate translation of He Whakaputanga, and subsequent inaccurate translation of Te Tiriti, continues to cause problems in New Zealand today. Pacific peoples have a responsibility to learn about the complexities of He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti, and the problems caused by the inaccurate translations, because knowing and understanding the injustices of these documents will inform how we see and engage with Māori. Without knowing these truths our engagement isn’t fully informed and our perspectives of Te Tiriti are not accurate, meaning our efforts to engage with Māori could be aiming to achieve the wrong outcomes.

When discussing Te Tiriti with Meredith and what it means to her as wahine Māori, she says that:

Te Tiriti o Waitangi is one of the most beautiful narratives of hope. When things were not going so well, [and] things were looking real bad, those tangata whenua, those rangatira really believed that this could be a change, and a hope for a future for their children.

Because that’s what they were thinking about, not just for me now, for my mokopuna.

(Akuhata-Brown, 2021)

In saying that, Meredith grapples with the intentions of Māori at the time of Te Tiriti’s signing, and acknowledges what Māori hoped Te Tiriti could achieve. Margaret Mutu writes that “Te

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<sup>16</sup> “Rangatiratanga” separate from “tino rangatiratanga” is defined as “chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, chiefly authority, ownership, leadership of a social group, domain of the rangatira, noble birth, attributes of a chief.” (Moorfield, 2022)

Tiriti ...is a treaty of peace and friendship between the British Crown and the rangatira” (2011, p. 30). Repeated breaches of Te Tiriti, and continual action from the Crown to diminish Māori rangatiratanga, however, highlights that while Te Tiriti ensures that Māori would maintain their rangatiratanga as a treaty of peace, friendship, and hope, the Crown has failed to uphold their promises and instead has damaged the lives and culture of Māori for almost 200 years (Ka‘ai-Mahuta, 2011; Treaty Resource Centre - He Puna Mātauranga o Te Tiriti, 2019; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, 2014). In spite of this damage, the resilience of Māori in response to the challenges posed by colonialism has persisted. Māori have remained committed to the efforts made during the Māori cultural renaissance, for example, a movement dedicated to ensuring the continuation of Māori language and culture for generations to come.

#### **4.3 Te Tiriti and The Treaty (in)Differences**

The differences between Te Tiriti and The Treaty are immediately apparent when simply comparing the number of rangatira signatures across the two. Te Tiriti, after several months of travelling around Aotearoa, garnered more than 500 signatures, while The Treaty had fewer than 40 Māori signatories (Waitangi Tribunal, 2016, sec. 3). Since Te Tiriti could be understood by Māori easier than The Treaty could, it makes sense that the reo Māori Tiriti would have more signatures. In many cases the English version was not even shown to Māori. Therefore, as Mutu writes, “in the minds of the rangatira and Hobson’s superiors in England, as well as some Pākehā historians, and for some time now at international law, it is Te Tiriti and not the English language document that is the official treaty,” namely because “it was the only document the rangatira understood and the one almost all of them signed” (2011, p. 20). In the years since Te Tiriti and The Treaty were signed, there has been a continuing tension around the two languages used and how they can be interpreted differently, as the words employed in Te Tiriti compared to The Treaty invoke different meanings. There have been numerous translations of Te Tiriti, most of which have similar conclusions. However, I have used Mutu’s translations and discussion to support my analysis in this section. Mutu’s conclusions are agreed upon by others as well (Jones, 2013, pp. 708–711; Palmer, 2015; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, pp. 519–529). Mutu discusses the use of kāwanatanga, saying, “for Māori in 1840 having little or, for most, no experience of a governor or of the practicalities of government, the word [kāwanatanga] would have had little if

any meaning,” and given that “assurances that the role of a governor—kāwana—was to control the Queen’s people on her behalf” there was little reason for Māori to disagree with this statement in Te Tiriti (2011, pp. 21–22). The sentences following the preamble of Te Tiriti appear to confirm that kāwanatanga was being used as the system to control lawless Pākehā who were quickly growing in number. Te Tiriti then goes on to recognise the Confederation, the United Tribes of New Zealand, which the King of England had previously acknowledged with his signing of He Whakaputanga. Mutu writes that “it is also significant that while the acknowledgement of Te Whakaminenga and hence He Whakaputanga is clear, nowhere in either Te Tiriti or [The] Treaty is He Whakaputanga or any part of it rejected or nullified,” further cementing He Whakaputanga and the recognition of independent statehood that it contained (2011, p. 23).

The first article of Te Tiriti, like the preamble, further confirms that the Queen of England will control the Pākehā living throughout, and continuing to move to, New Zealand. The second article refers to the trade of land, but conveniently does not discuss “the notion of sale or permanent and complete alienation of land”, choosing instead to refer to “the practice of allocating temporary land use rights that was a very old Māori and Pacific custom,” despite the fact that Pākehā in New Zealand at the time had begun pushing the boundaries of these agreements and engaging in land sale and land theft (Mutu, 2011, p. 24). In this article, the translation of tino rangatiratanga is also contentious. It is often translated as Māori sovereignty, but that English translation fails to capture the complexity of the term and is “essentially different and much more restricted in its nature than mana and tino rangatiratanga” (2011, p. 24). The third article—which several of my talanoa participants commented on previously, regarding being considered British subjects and having access to British passports—refers to the Queen of England “ensuring that [Māori] could access the ways of her English subjects” (2011, p. 24). As far as Te Tiriti o Waitangi was concerned, Mutu writes that “there [was] nothing in this document to indicate that the Queen of England was seeking agreement to anything other than what the rangatira had been seeking for several years”, but the English translation of Te Tiriti, The Treaty of Waitangi, told a different story (2011, p. 25).

Mutu explains that while there have been several attempts at translating Te Tiriti into English over the years, the problem with these translations stems from a lack of contextual understanding. More accurate translations of Te Tiriti, and particular key terms within it, rely on



the context of 1840. Mutu says that while others translate rangatiratanga as chieftainship, she translates it as paramount authority (2011, p. 26). She also considers the use of hokonga in the second article when land trade is discussed. While most translations interpret hokonga as meaning permanent alienation or permanent sale, she identifies that “in 1840 the word hoko did not have the meaning of permanent alienation because at that time there was no word for sell in Māori” and that because the concept of permanent land sale did not exist for Māori at the time it is unlikely that hokonga in article two was understood as the permanent sale of land (2011, p. 26). In addition to the translation issues for particular words between the two documents, Mutu also highlights that “apart from having very different meaning and content from Te Tiriti, the manner and tone of [The Treaty of Waitangi] are also very different” (2011, p. 27). The Treaty is much more demanding and asks rangatira in the first article to “willingly, knowingly and without any reservation give over to the Queen of England those aspects of their mana and rangatiratanga that give them absolute power and authority in respect of all their lands, their resources and their people”, while the first article of Te Tiriti communicates that the Queen will take responsibility for her lawless British subjects, not the sovereignty over all people (2011, p. 28). Mutu highlights that this appears to uncover the true intentions of the missionaries in their translations, as they had previously used mana and rangatiratanga to accurately convey the meaning of sovereignty in He Whakaputanga. She states that they chose to use kāwanatanga in Te Tiriti “almost certainly because they knew that if they had [used terms like “rangatiratanga” instead], it would have been a gross insult to rangatira to which they would never have agreed” (2011, p. 28). The second article states that Māori will continue to own all their lands and estates, but Mutu highlights that the “English cultural concept of land ownership does not permit the exercise of mana and rangatiratanga”, and simply makes Māori occupiers of their own land, in the same sense as the system of allocated, or leased, use rights to lands that were common practice in Māori and Pacific cultures (2011, p. 29). This again, Mutu says, would have been unacceptable to rangatira at the time, and appears as a deliberate choice by missionaries to ensure that Māori would agree with Te Tiriti without fully understanding what the English document stated. Finally, Mutu compares the third article between Te Tiriti and The Treaty and recognises that it is the least problematic article, as it “appears consistent in meaning and intent” (2011, p. 29). Mutu’s analysis of Te Tiriti and The Treaty, and her comparison of the two documents provide a vital contextual understanding of how Te Tiriti and The Treaty became a source of tension in New

Zealand. Mutu reiterates that the intention of Te Tiriti is clear, but that the contradictions of The Treaty tell a different story. While Te Tiriti tells a story of “peaceful co-existence”, “the English version was crafted by the British Resident as a treaty of cession of sovereignty by the rangatira” (2011, p. 30). The dismissal of Te Tiriti in favour of The Treaty to justify the ensuing actions of missionaries, the Crown, and the New Zealand government over the following decades of colonisation acts as the first major breach of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and the first place that Te Tiriti was dishonoured.

#### **4.4 Breaching Te Tiriti**

Since that first major breach of Te Tiriti there have been countless times where the Crown has acted dishonourably and damaged Māori culture and wellbeing. The systemic theft of Māori land across the North and South islands of Aotearoa at the hand of the Crown pushed some Māori away from the lifestyles they had always known (Kino, 2020; Thom, 2020, pp. 7–16). Te reo Māori was almost completely lost within the span of two generations when children were punished in schools for speaking it, and a generation of Māori distanced themselves from the language to protect themselves and their future families from the same treatment (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, sec. 3.2.10). This was exacerbated by the fact that economic and education systems introduced by the Crown required Māori competency in English. As such, many Māori parents encouraged their children to only speak English so that they would not be disadvantaged (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, sec. 3.2.11). Over time, systemic cultural destruction occurred through legislation, societal conditioning, and government controlled urbanisation and capitalisation of life in the modern New Zealand colony (Keenan, 2014, pp. 112–123, 201–213; Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 9). In response, Māori became frustrated with the New Zealand government, and protests about unresolved and ignored Treaty grievances grew in frequency (Harris, 2004; Walker, 1984). In 1975 the Treaty of Waitangi Act resulted in the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, “a permanent commission of inquiry set up to investigate Maori claims relating to the Treaty of Waitangi”, addressing the previously ignored grievances that Māori laid claims against (Melvin, 2000, p. 1; Waitangi Tribunal, 2017). It is a Crown derived process designed to address the mass loss of Māori land that had occurred since 1840, and since its

establishment in 1975, the Tribunal has produced over 100 reports from claims made (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021b)

By the time the Waitangi Tribunal was established, 135 years had passed since the signing of Te Tiriti and The Treaty. In that time, Māori had gone from owning all of the land in Aotearoa, to owning 80% of the North Island in 1860, which halved to 40% thirty years later in 1890 (Keenan, 2021; Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021a, 2021c). By 1865, the Crown<sup>17</sup> owned 99% of the South Island. There had been ongoing conflict between Māori and Crown forces beginning in 1843. The exact years of the New Zealand wars are not settled, ranging anywhere between the 1840s and the 1880s. Vincent O'Malley claims that “the New Zealand wars were a series of conflicts that profoundly shaped the course and direction of our nation's history” (O'Malley, 2019, p. 9). British and colonial forces were fighting Māori to claim land for themselves, and the death toll for Māori hugely outnumbered that of the British (O'Malley, 2019, Chapter 11). By 1910 Māori held less than 27% of the land in the North Island, by 1939 Māori owned around 9%, and by 2000 this had fallen again to approximately 4% (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021a).

With the loss of land, culture and language were subsequently severely impacted. In regards to language, Rachael Ka'ai-Mahuta attributes a loss of language “to colonisation and the State policy of assimilation which eroded the status of the language,” stating that “the New Zealand Government has continually passed legislation that has been detrimental to the Māori language and furthered the Government's agenda of cultural assimilation and language domination” (2011, p. 196). The intentional agenda of assimilation has continued to negatively impact Māori, and Ka'ai-Mahuta identifies the State education system as the epicentre of that agenda of assimilation. The Education Ordinance introduced by Sir George Grey in 1847, Ka'ai-Mahuta says, contributed to the process of assimilation, as it insisted that English be used for instruction in schools, not te reo Māori (2011, p. 201). Additionally, the ordinance called for more boarding schools to be established to separate Māori children from their whānau, further distancing them from Māori culture and encouraging assimilation with European and Pākehā culture. Ka'ai-Mahuta says that “the Education Ordinance was the first formal move towards

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<sup>17</sup> The New Zealand Company was also responsible for a large portion of land loss in the mid-1800s, having founded the Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth settlements. However, many of their purchases between 1840 and 1845 were deemed invalid because of the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. The New Zealand Company was formed in 1839 and dissolved in 1858 (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2014).

language domination and hegemony” (2011, p. 201). Te reo Māori continued to be suppressed into the 1900s through school systems, and “in the mid-1980s Sir James Henare recalled being sent into the bush to cut a piece of pirita (supplejack vine) with which he was struck for speaking te reo in the school grounds” (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021d). The psychological trauma of corporal punishment for speaking te reo Māori had longlasting effects, and Ka‘ai-Mahuta writes, “if speakers of *te reo Māori* did not have positive attitudes towards their native tongue, they were reluctant to transmit their knowledge to new generations regardless of how proficient their language skills were” (2011, p. 208). The State education system, and legislation introduced by Grey, eventually led to the almost complete loss of te reo Māori, and if it were not for the actions of Māori in the late 1900s and their establishment of Kaupapa Māori schooling, it is possible that te reo Māori would have been lost completely (Tocker, 2015, p. 23; Vercoe, 1995, pp. 120–126). Mutu’s translation of Te Tiriti says that the second article states that “the Queen of England agrees and arranges for the heads of the tribal groupings, for the tribal groupings and all the people of New Zealand, their paramount and ultimate power and authority over their lands, their villages and all their treasured possessions” (Mutu, 2011, p. 8). The term “treasured possessions” comes from the reo Māori word used, “taonga”, which was affirmed by the Waitangi Tribunal to include te reo Māori. In actively dismantling the systems that allowed for te reo Māori to be taught, used, and learned, the New Zealand state was actively breaching Te Tiriti in their pursuit to assimilate Māori into an English-speaking majority.

Understanding how Te Tiriti has been breached, and the systems New Zealand currently has in place for addressing these breaches, is important for Pacific peoples. By making a conscious effort to learn about the ways Te Tiriti has been breached, and acknowledging that it is continuously breached, Pacific tauwi can better understand the role that Te Tiriti has had, and can have, in Aotearoa New Zealand, and as a result we can develop effective strategies to fulfil our responsibilities to it. We can learn a lot by looking at the Waitangi Tribunal, which has been faced with historic iwi claims and settlements as well as the more recent Kaupapa Inquiries. Whereas iwi claims are specific to certain iwi, the Kaupapa Inquiries pertain to Te Tiriti breaches that affect Māori on the national scale rather than at individual iwi level (Waitangi Tribunal, 2022). These include housing claims, health services and outcomes, identity and culture, and many more. The Crown has continued to assert that Treaty settlements are full and final, and that the process set up by the Waitangi Tribunal is sufficient for addressing the numerous and

ongoing breaches of Te Tiriti (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2003, pp. 59–61). As Renika Siciliano says, “the purpose of Treaty settlements in Aotearoa New Zealand is, at its most basic level, *to fully resolve historical Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi claims* [emphasis added] by providing redress to claimant groups” (2020, p. 31). However, while there is now an expected end to iwi settlements relating to historical events, New Zealand has only recently begun examining contemporary claims addressing current breaches of Te Tiriti. Claims made to the Waitangi Tribunal act as the formal method of addressing Te Tiriti breaches, and Māori are forced to work through this system to receive very little in return. As Pacific tauiwi, understanding that the process is long and disruptive, and that it ultimately results in very little for Māori, is vital to knowing how we can stand in solidarity with Māori and confront these unjust and unequal processes together (Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2003, p. 58).

While it is important to know about the many ways the New Zealand government has breached Te Tiriti, it is also important to acknowledge how Māori have remained resilient in the face of a changing nation. In the context of COVID-19, for instance, Māori demonstrated their agency and resilience while continuing to fight against the systems and structures that stop Te Tiriti from being fully honoured in this country. In their examination of Māori self determination in response to COVID-19, Annie Te One and Carrie Clifford unpack five case studies to illustrate how Māori were equipped to effectively deal with the COVID-19 pandemic arriving in Aotearoa. These were: Māori storytelling practices; iwi checkpoints; kōhanga reo remaining closed when other ECE centres were allowed to open; care packages; and adapting tikanga to an online environment (Te One & Clifford, 2021, pp. 5–8). A vital point made in the article that must also be stressed here is that the Māori response to COVID-19 was possible because of the generations of work that had been done by Māori “over the last 30 years [which] allowed for a swift, culturally tailored, Māori health response” (Te One & Clifford, 2021, p. 5). Te One and Clifford affirm that “while significant struggles still exist for Māori, we have continued to reaffirm our tino rangatiratanga in diverse ways, which have helped us to respond proactively to Covid-19” (Te One & Clifford, 2021, p. 5). In December 2021, the Waitangi Tribunal found the New Zealand government guilty of breaching Te Tiriti in their COVID-19 response. The national vaccination strategy, the COVID-19 protection framework, and the Crown’s engagement with Māori were all found to be in breach of several Tiriti principles (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021a). While the Waitangi Tribunal and Treaty settlements are not as beneficial for Māori as they could

be, it is because of the work of Māori academics, activists, people, and whānau that the government is being held accountable, and, that Māori were able to action effective strategies for their communities against the encroaching global pandemic.

While recognising agency and resilience, it is still important to be critical of the breaches of Te Tiriti that continue around us every day. Looking at these recent examples, while considering the ways that Te Tiriti and The Treaty interact with one another and are used to frame the government's actions and inactions, highlights the fact that breaches of Te Tiriti have not ended, and likely will not end as the years continue. It is therefore vital to remain vigilant and understand Te Tiriti as a living document that can form the basis for rectifying the relationship between Māori and the Crown. Addressing ongoing breaches of Te Tiriti, and indeed the lasting effects of colonisation, will continue to be a challenge for Māori and Pacific peoples alike if the Crown continues to fail to meet their responsibilities to Māori.

#### **4.5 Settler Colonialism**

I have discussed my privilege several times in this thesis. I have been privileged to receive a university education in Aotearoa New Zealand, where I was lucky to learn about Te Tiriti o Waitangi in ways that many are not given the opportunity to. I have had the privilege to learn te reo Māori in different spaces across my life, while many Māori still struggle with intergenerational trauma when trying to learn the language themselves. But above all of that, I have the immeasurable privilege to have been born and raised and to continue to live on land that is not my own. Due to the nature of Te Tiriti and The Treaty, my family was welcomed to New Zealand and encouraged to build their own lives and families here. In my case, our New Zealand-based lives and families have only been built over the last forty to fifty years, while a large amount of tauwi Pākehā have been building their lives and families here since the initial waves of European migration in the nineteenth century. Regardless of how long my family has been in Aotearoa, though, I exist here as tauwi, and as part of being tauwi, I am engaged with settler colonialism and the settler colony of New Zealand on a daily basis. This engagement is complicated by being a tauwi of colour, and further complicated by being a Pacific tauwi as well.

Settler colonialism, as Patrick Wolfe states, is when “settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure, not an event” (2006, p. 388). Settler colonialism occurs when settlers—typically European, though not always<sup>18</sup>—invade a country, use different strategies and processes to remove the existing Indigenous peoples and culture, build a new country for themselves, and settle there for the long term. Wolfe outlines the strategies of elimination that settler colonial projects implement in order to erase or forcefully assimilate Indigenous peoples into the—perceived to be better—European culture. They include “officially encouraged miscegenation, the breaking-down of native title into alienable individual freeholds, native citizenship, child abduction, religious conversion, resocialization in total institutions such as missions or boarding schools, and a whole range of cognate biocultural assimilations” (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388). Wolfe argues that “whatever settlers may say—and they generally have a lot to say—the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilisation, etc.) but access to territory. Territoriality is settler colonialism’s specific, irreducible element” (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388). Without territory, the settler colony cannot be built. Indigenous peoples, therefore, stand in the way as long as they are insistent on being connected to the territory.

In Aotearoa, settler colonialism took root swiftly following the signing of Te Tiriti. As discussed earlier, the discrepancies between Te Tiriti and The Treaty meant that Māori were not fully aware that they were agreeing to open up the sale of their land to the Crown. As Mutu highlighted, the understanding of sale, particularly in relation to land ownership, was not present in Māori society, as Māori and Pacific cultures employed systems that offered occupying rights, not total ownership. This breach of Te Tiriti, to act on the translation discrepancies for profit and gain, acts as a massive step in the settler colonial project for elimination and claims to territory. Many of Wolfe’s aforementioned logics of elimination were discussed earlier in this chapter when looking at breaches of Te Tiriti. The breaking-down of land into alienable individual freeholds, for example, was apparent through the nineteenth century as the theft of Māori land grew (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021a). Religious conversion was apparent both in Aotearoa and across the rest of the Pacific with the arrival of Christianity and missionaries beginning with the first arrival of the London Missionary Society in Tahiti in 1797 (*South Seas / Pacific - London Missionary Society*, 1796). Religion played a vital role in assimilating Māori

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<sup>18</sup> Indonesia, for example, has used the assumption that colonisation is predominantly carried out by Europeans to maintain their own control of West Papua (Banivanua-Mar, 2008; McNamee, 2020).

and Pacific peoples into European cultures. Through the introduction of Christianity and the Bible, the written word was taught to previously oratory-based peoples. Waikaremoana Waitoki writes that “the colonisation of New Zealand has a whakapapa—a genealogy, premised on brutality, Christianity, an enduring belief in racial superiority, and a view of Māori as the noble savage” (Waitoki, 2019, p. 141). The emphasis on boarding schools by Governor George Grey, as previously discussed, removed Māori children from their whānau and assimilated them into Eurocentric systems. Jessica Terruhn argues that in the case of New Zealand, the alienation of Māori from land “not only destroyed the economic basis of Māori communities but also undermined tribal collective identity and belonging which were intrinsically linked to land” (2019, p. 5). These are all strategic processes of settler colonialism as identified by Wolfe.

The logic of encouraged miscegenation that Wolfe mentions, while more commonly recognised in our close neighbour Australia, can be recognised in the attempted assimilation strategy of “pepper-potting”. “Pepper-potting” was driven by the government following the publication and release of J. K. Hunn’s “Report on Department of Maori Affairs”, commonly referred to as the Hunn Report, in which Hunn called for the “evolution” of Māori through integration and intermarriage of Māori and Pākehā (Hunn, 1960, p. 14, as cited in, Biggs, 1961, p. 361). This process was enacted through the state provision of homes for Māori in predominantly Pākehā neighbourhoods with the intention of distancing them from their whānau and support networks and to drive them towards assimilation instead (Hill, 2012, p. 263). In actuality, though, Richard S. Hill writes that pepper-potting “tended to push many into proactively seeking out people of their own ethnicity and some into establishing formal or informal collectivities in which Indigenous customs were nourished,” thereby having the opposite effect than what settler colonialism would have desired (Hill, 2012, p. 263). As Māori began seeking out people of their own ethnicity, they began to form new urban communities. At the same time, Pacific peoples who had migrated away from their islands and families began to form communities of their own, and occasionally these neighbourhoods would overlap (Hill, 2010, p. 297; Salesa, 2017, pp. 34-54). In the present day, this has led to the segregation of neighbourhoods, such as the suburbs of South Auckland, which are known for having large Māori and Pacific populations. According to Damon Salesa, in Auckland, “Pacific neighbourhoods frequently have some large proportions of Māori, but few other ethnic groups frequently live alongside Pacific people in significant numbers” (Salesa, 2017, p. 47). Where



successive government actions to continue the processes of settler colonialism through pepper-potting attempted to separate Māori, the strong desire for a sense of community and support led to the development of new urban communities, and new ways of living in and engaging with culture, that would sometimes include living with and alongside Pacific peoples. The movement of Māori into these areas, though, was not solely a result of the pepper-potting policies, as Hill affirms that “the main push factor was the inability of a burgeoning population (demographic revival had begun at the turn of the century) to find sustenance from the remaining lands in Maori ownership” (Hill, 2012, p. 259). In other words, one of the main factors for the increased urban migration of Māori, and the subsequent formation of new communities following the Second World War, was the loss of Māori land and ways of life, which are results of settler colonialism.

In addition to assimilation through urban migration and integration, Wolfe also highlights the complications of selective Indigeneity that occurs in settler colonies like Australia and New Zealand. Wolfe argues that in Australia, and the same can be applied to New Zealand, “the erasure of indigeneity conflicts with the assertion of settler nationalism” (2006, p. 389). His claim is that the settler colony’s ultimate goal is to separate itself from the colonial mother country and assert its own individual nationhood. In order to do this, as Wolfe identifies, Australia incorporates aspects of Aboriginal indigeneity into their national identity and branding. Similarly, New Zealand co-opts aspects of Māori culture to set itself apart on the international stage: Air New Zealand, for example, utilises Māori symbolism in its branding and uniforms; New Zealand’s national sports teams—particularly the All Blacks—are known internationally for performing a haka before games; and Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern wore a korowai when attending a Commonwealth Summit and meeting Queen Elizabeth II in 2018. Through selectively exploiting aspects of Māori culture in order to distinguish itself from the mother country, the New Zealand settler colony continues to take what it needs and attempts to destroy—through assimilation and elimination—what is left, which reinforces the power imbalance between the Crown and Māori.

Settler colonialism as an active structure, rather than a single event, continually seeks to assimilate the “other”. The “other” does not only refer to Māori. It includes all those who are not within the dominant Pākehā “norm”, which includes Pacific peoples. Although not all Pacific peoples living in Aotearoa New Zealand have come from historically colonised places, or from

countries that are still in an administrative relationship with the New Zealand government, as a part of the “other” we all suffer under the settler colonial regime of the New Zealand state. Settler colonialism, for instance, calls for the assimilation of all non-White peoples into the dominant White culture, which in the case of New Zealand, is Pākehā culture. Pākehā are not expected to put aside their own culture and assimilate into something else. Their culture is considered to be the norm, while everyone else is considered to be “other” (Tuari Stewart, 2020; Veracini, 2010, pp. 20–28). Regular microaggressions and systemic structures experienced by Māori and Pacific peoples emphasise our “other”-ness and the effects of settler colonialism’s quest for assimilation. Racial profiling through targeted policing, denied work opportunities based on culturally-presenting tattoos (i.e. tāmoko, tatau, tatatau), and the criminalisation of young Māori and Pacific peoples when they are followed around stores, for example, are all regular experiences (Checkpoint, 2019; Makiha, 2021; Pihama, 2019; Smith et al., 2021; Tapaleao, 2021). Māori and Pacific peoples face the systemic structures of settler colonialism everywhere, notably in the education and academic fields, and in the justice system. New Zealand’s justice system, for example, has been heavily criticised in recent years for its racially biased treatment of non-Pākehā, particularly Māori and Pacific peoples (Bingham & Penfold, 2016; L. Cook, 2021). Recent research has shown that Māori are almost twice more likely to be sent to court than Pākehā, and statistics have shown that in 2017, 7.3 per cent of Māori convicted for low-level drug use or possession crimes went to prison, while only 2 per cent of Pākehā received the same sentence for the same conviction (Fyers, 2018; Johnsen, 2020). In academia and education it has been reported that the disparities between Pākehā, Māori, and Pacific employment for higher positions has a fundamental impact on Māori and Pacific academic success, and that there is a significant wage gap for those employed in academia between Pākehā men and women, and Māori and Pacific men and women (Naepi, 2019; Naepi et al., 2019). Each of these examples, whether they be systemic or racial biases that are seemingly entwined with our society, emphasises our positionality as the “other” and creates a hostile environment intended to push us to assimilation or elimination. In each of these instances, however, it is important to remember that how we suffer under settler colonialism as separate groups is often conflated, and as a result, the specificities of how we are impacted differently, and why that matters, is often overlooked.

While Pacific peoples suffer under settler colonialism in New Zealand, we have a responsibility to recognise that we are privileged to be living in Aotearoa, and it is critical to acknowledge that our being here is as a result of settler colonialism and therefore at the expense of Māori. While this thesis aims to recognise how our unique whakapapa relationships with Māori position us differently than other tauwi, it is important that we are aware of our role in the continuing colonisation of Aotearoa. Doing so is integral to how we support Māori and engage with Te Tiriti. As non-Māori, we must remember that settler colonialism enables us to live, work, study, and be here in this country. Acknowledging that, and recognising that, even while we also face oppression and attempts at forced assimilation or elimination due to our status as “other”, we must hold ourselves accountable for the privileges we have. As has been set out by this chapter so far, the structures of settler colonialism are upheld by the deliberate dishonouring of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Since it is through settler colonialism that non-Pākehā tauwi are routinely “othered”, the call to honour Te Tiriti not only benefits Māori but also benefits Pacific peoples. This can act as a reason for Pacific peoples to care about our engagement with and responsibilities to Te Tiriti, but this should not be the primary motivation for how or why we honour it. As 傅梦竹 (Mengzhu Fu) writes:

...all oppressions are interdependent and bound together—that liberation is not possible for some if there is no liberation for all... But I think there is also danger in the discourse represented by one of the Pākehā banners at Waitangi I saw one year that said “Māori sovereignty is good for all New Zealanders” Māori sovereignty is important for its own sake and should be respected and honoured regardless of whether it is good for anyone else. It would certainly also benefit tauwi of colour communities but that should not be the central message. (Rata et al., 2021, p. 66)

Standing in solidarity with Māori, fighting for tino rangatiratanga and for the honouring of Te Tiriti is our responsibility as Pacific tauwi because acknowledging how we benefit from settler colonialism without committing to tino rangatiratanga and Māori sovereignty is not only dismissive of our role in settler colonialism, but is being actively complicit in its application. To avoid this, I believe that we can draw on our tuākana-tēina relationships, and the relational responsibilities we have as kin, to guide us in standing in active solidarity with Māori and in honouring Te Tiriti,

## 4.6 Conclusion

This chapter provides important foundational and historical context for how and why Te Tiriti and The Treaty came into existence. Through examining the (mis)translations of these documents, and the ways in which the New Zealand government has regularly relied upon those differences to undermine the sovereignty of Māori, this chapter illustrates the ways in which Te Tiriti and The Treaty and settler colonialism are intrinsically linked. These documents and the process of settler colonialism exist in a cycle, where dishonouring one allows for the reinforcement of the other, and the reinforcement of one allows for the continued dishonouring of the other. Through analysing settler colonialism and the role it plays as a continuing process, it is clear that even while Te Tiriti, and the continued dishonouring of it, negatively impacts Pacific peoples and other tauwiwi, it is also a process that privileges and benefits tauwiwi as well. Without Te Tiriti and settler colonialism we would not be able to exist in this country, and acknowledging that positionality is integral to how we show our commitment to Māori and to tino rangatiratanga. This chapter also highlights that as Pacific tauwiwi our commitment to tino rangatiratanga and the honouring of Te Tiriti should not rely solely on addressing our own struggles and oppressions. Rather, we should be standing in solidarity with Māori and fighting for the honouring of Te Tiriti because it is the right thing to do.

An integral part of how we show our commitment to Māori sovereignty and engage in meaningful relationships of solidarity is by reflecting on the methods of relationality that were discussed in Chapter 2. The vā and tuākana-tēina are central to how Māori and Pacific peoples can build and honour our relationships with one another in Aotearoa. The next chapter will engage with tuākana-tēina as a method of relationality that can be applied to Māori-Pacific relations and will identify specific strategies and skills that Pacific peoples can utilise to strengthen engagement and nourish our relationships.

## **5. Honouring Te Tiriti as Tuākana-Tēina**

### **5.1 Introduction**

As explored in the previous chapter, dishonouring Te Tiriti upholds structures of settler colonialism, and upholding settler colonialism often leads to dishonouring Te Tiriti, the two actions existing in an endless and enabling cycle. In the same cyclical way, by honouring Te Tiriti we can help to dismantle structures of settler colonialism and by working to dismantle those structures, we can honour Te Tiriti. These latter actions better enable us, as Pacific tauwiwi, to act upon our tuākana and tēina relationships, to stand in solidarity with Māori, and to support tino rangatiratanga. In this chapter I continue to explore our positionality as Pacific tauwiwi and people who benefit from settler colonialism, even while suffering from it. I also consider who gets to decide what honouring Te Tiriti looks like and what it means to hold ourselves accountable to it. I then analyse what honouring Te Tiriti can look like, drawing on examples from tauwiwi engagement of recent years, looking specifically at the group Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga (ASTR) and the Polynesian Panther Party (PPP), and reflecting on examples and suggestions given by the talanoa participants. This chapter considers the calling for constitutional transformation through a reflection on the Matike Mai report and the values it sets out as possible guidelines or points of contact for developing strategies of Te Tiriti engagement. I also return to the tuākana-tēina method of relationality, drawing on Aotearoa and Cook Islands based discussions to illustrate the different forms that tuākana and tēina take. This chapter then considers how all of these things intersect and interact with one another and synthesises the discussion into an explanation of how Pacific tauwiwi can honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi by honouring our tuākana-tēina relational responsibilities to Māori.

### **5.2 Positionality: Who gets to decide what it means to honour Te Tiriti?**

Before diving into how different tauwiwi have suggested we honour Te Tiriti, it is important to ask who gets to decide what honouring Te Tiriti looks like. Presumably it should be something that Māori decide and direct us on as tauwiwi. However, that would be placing the labour on Māori rather than taking the responsibility for ourselves, or it would mean we aren't working together

in consultation. For this research, it is important to note that I asked Māori to explain how they honour Te Tiriti and if they had suggestions for how Pacific peoples and other tauwi can honour Te Tiriti as well. As I said in the introductory chapter to this thesis, I conducted interviews with people I have personal relationships with, knowing that what we would be discussing was going to be privileged and personal information. Because of that, I was sure to tend to the vā between us so that I could maintain a safe space for meaningful conversation and sharing. While recognising that I actively placed labour on the Māori I interviewed, I know that there is so much to be learned from the work they have done and the suggestions they have made. This learning is integral to establishing how we can honour Te Tiriti as tauwi, and choosing to be guided by the work of Māori reflects a true engagement with our tuākana-tēina relationship, as it shows our commitment to our Māori kin. I am therefore thankful for what the participants shared with me. I hope that I was able to reciprocate their teachings with meaningful relational strengthening, and that this thesis does the kōrero they shared justice.

### **5.3 How tauwi are honouring Te Tiriti**

Different tauwi groups have been making strides in strengthening tauwi-Māori relations, unpacking how best to engage with Māori issues and Te Tiriti and how to foster solidarity as tauwi. While some Pākehā have been engaging in Te Tiriti education for a long time<sup>19</sup>, I have chosen to look explicitly at examples of how tauwi of colour, engage with Māori and strive for a future in this country that is Te Tiriti-honouring. It is important to focus on tauwi of colour in this examination because our experiences in the settler colonial state are different from those of Pākehā, even while they might be distinct between our groups, and I do this by looking at the Polynesian Panthers. It is also important to consider the work of non-Pacific tauwi of colour because their experiences and perspectives can provide valuable insight outside of our Pacific frames of reference, and I look to ASTR for this.

ASTR are “a group of tauwi from various Asian backgrounds who support tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake for Māori” (Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga, n.d.). Through analysing the ASTR Facebook page, as well as comments made by some ASTR members in an article written by Maggie Shui, I have identified several strategies that ASTR use

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<sup>19</sup> Examples include Catherine Delahunty, Kotare, and Tauwi mō Matike Mai Aotearoa.

to create a space of Te Tiriti education and tauwi-Māori relational engagement. Through their social media, ASTR has demonstrated that a key ethos of their community group is supporting Māori and standing in solidarity with tangata whenua. One of their strategies to achieve this is to hold regular events, organised and advertised through their Facebook page. The group has been doing so since August 5th 2017. Their events have included Te Tiriti workshops, public talks featuring speakers like Moana Jackson—a Māori lawyer, advocate for Māori justice and Te Tiriti issues, and Convenor of the Mātike Mai working group discussed later—events and marches to align with movements like those to protect Ihumātao and Pūtiki<sup>20</sup>, and meetings for putting together banners and placards to take to protests and marches (Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga, n.d.). As another strategy, the Facebook page also acts as a space for the members of the group to share educational resources that are often easily digestible and accessible for those on social media who might be unfamiliar with other activist spaces. These resources include quick articles, shared stories, and recordings of their workshops and public talks. The value of their Facebook page, as well as their presence on Instagram, is that it creates an accessible and open space for discussion between tauwi and Māori. Members of ASTR also believe that tauwi have a responsibility to use our privilege to educate ourselves and others about the realities of Te Tiriti and the colonisation of Aotearoa. A statement given by the group on their social media states, “many of us have been through the NZ education system and know that the system has fallen short of teaching Te Tiriti o Waitangi or the colonisation of Aotearoa fully and accurately” (Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga, n.d.). Their work therefore seeks to address this gap, recognising that many young people in this country may not have had the opportunity to learn. Shui writes “an underlying theme of [ASTR] seems to be that the onus is on those with the means to do so to educate themselves and help educate others. And through that education, we can dismantle the ways we both interpersonally and structurally contribute to racism in Aotearoa” (Shui, 2020). In addition to education, Shui suggests that a strategy for engagement between Asians and Māori is through whakapapa, reflecting on the often loaded question of “where are you from?” as “the basis of forming connections between Māori and Asians” with the goal of Asian-Māori solidarity in mind (Shui, 2020).

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<sup>20</sup> Ihumātao and Pūtiki are both movements that were fighting against Te Tiriti injustice, particularly around land and sea developments that sought to destroy the natural landscape without sufficient consideration of responsibilities to Te Tiriti (*Protect Ihumātao*, n.d.; *Protect Pūtiki*, n.d.)

These strategies are noteworthy and valuable for numerous reasons. In this country we seek out the pockets of the communities we are most familiar with to find people that we share similar genealogies or similar experiences with. ASTR have done this online. Through their social media presence and events, they have created a communal space for Asians and other tauwiwi of colour to safely unpack, unlearn, and educate ourselves and each other. Because their social media sites are open to all tauwiwi, there is space for us and other tauwiwi of colour to see how communal spaces like these can strengthen our engagement with Te Tiriti and our solidarity with Māori. Secondly, many of the members, or speakers for public talks, reflect on personal experiences or stories that demonstrate the values of ASTR, the necessity of Te Tiriti work, and the importance of striving for tino rangatiratanga. In doing so, ASTR effectively utilise storytelling in their activism, demonstrating that there is the space for our stories to benefit our spaces of solidarity. Finally, Shui's reflection on the importance of whakapapa in establishing connections and the foundations of solidarity between Asian tauwiwi and Māori illustrates that there is value in forming relationships by implementing Māori frameworks. There is much to gain from ASTR's efforts as all of their strategies are valuable methods for building relationships between Pacific peoples and Māori and can be used to build on the work of Pacific tauwiwi groups like the Polynesian Panther Party.

The Polynesian Panther Party (PPP) has long been an organisation associated with Māori-Pacific solidarity in Aotearoa New Zealand. While the Panthers are frequently referred to in relation to the Dawn Raids, particularly in the last few years with the Dawn Raids apology and the release of Melani Anae, Lautofu Iuli, and Leilani Tamu's book *Polynesian Panthers: Pacific Protest and Affirmative Action in Aotearoa New Zealand 1971 - 1981* in 2015 and of Anae's 2020 book, *The Platform: The Radical Legacy of the Polynesian Panthers*, I reflect on the particular actions of the PPP that involved supporting or standing with Māori struggles and protests through the 1970s. As a community group that engaged in many different strategies to address inequality for Pacific peoples following migration in the 1960s and 70s, including homework centres and legal advice and support for young Pacific men and women, the Polynesian Panthers were also regular supporters of Māori struggles at the time (Anae, 2012, pp. 226–227). Robbie Shilliam writes that Will 'Ilolahia, one of the founders of the PPP, "was confident that Māori and Pasifika youth shared the same problem: racism", and at a time where both Māori and Pacific peoples were facing similar issues, it was beneficial to establish



relationships with one another and to support each other's efforts to address those issues (Shilliam, 2012, p. 116).

Anae comments on her time as a Panther, saying that they “were integral in supporting many Ngā Tamatoa initiatives”, including spending “hours, days, weeks getting hundreds of signatures from inner-city Aucklanders on a petition to establish te reo Māori as an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand” (Anae, 2020, pp. 135-136). Anae's reflection, and 'Ilohia's understanding of where and how Pacific peoples, specifically the Polynesian Panthers, could support Māori, and in doing so support themselves, speak to a key strategy of the PPP to engage with Māori and build relationships. In doing the activism work that they saw as vital to the wellbeing of Māori and Pacific peoples, they centred their relationships with one another as a source of strength and power. Ngā Tamatoa—a group of Māori activists who could be seen as the Māori counterpart to the Polynesian Panthers—were often integral to many of the protests throughout the 1970s for te reo Māori and Māori land back initiatives, and the Panthers saw their movements as spaces where they could offer their support. The Panthers demonstrated their solidarity with Māori, for example, through the 1975 Land March; “the (re)occupation by the Ngati Whatua tribe of Bastion Point”; the confrontation between He Taua—“an activist group...made up of Ngā Tamatoa and Panther activists”—and engineering students at the University of Auckland in response to a long held racist “haka party” annual tradition; and during one of their last major actions as a group, protesting the 1981 Springbok Tour (Anae, 2020, p. TBC; Shilliam, 2012, p. 116). The Panthers' solidarity was reflected in some of their communications that read “the solution to our predicament lies in UNITY through DIVERSIFICATION, and not UNIFORMITY” (McDonald & Tuiasau, 1974 as cited in Shilliam, 2012, p. 116). The Panthers recognised that Māori and Pacific peoples are related through Pacific kinships, but that it is important we are aware of the differences that come with Māori being tangata whenua. They knew that unifying through acknowledging differences would result in stronger solutions. Shilliam emphasises that the Panthers were considerate of their positionality as Pacific peoples, often taking on supportive roles. “During the great Land March of 1975, for instance, the non-Māori Panthers took on security roles for parts of the journey; Rauhihi-Ness, a core Panther member and also Māori, took a much more involved part in organizing the Land March” (Shilliam, 2012, p. 116). An integral part of these supportive roles, and of the PPP's strategy for relationship building and standing in solidarity with Māori, was to not overstep into

spaces that were not their own and to always be “sensitive to the particular way in which Pasifika peoples had entered into existing historical sedimentations of colonial dispossession in Aotearoa New Zealand”, as explored earlier (2012, p. 116).

The Panthers prioritised their relationships with Māori in how they acted in solidarity with Ngā Tamatoa, remaining vigilant in acknowledging their positionality and what their responsibilities and roles were in those relationships and in those movements. The strategies of the Polynesian Panthers can be used with those of ASTR to inform more Pacific-specific tauwiwi methods of engagement. While ASTR’s strategies came from the tauwiwi of colour context, the methods utilised by the Polynesian Panthers provide the additional context of the direct whakapapa link between Māori and Pacific tauwiwi that was discussed in Chapter 2. Incorporating those kinship ties into their methods of engagement with Māori and how they stood in solidarity with Māori as a group of Pacific tauwiwi was critical to building solid relationships between the two communities. In recent years, former members of the Polynesian Panthers have taken on a much more educational role, travelling around Aotearoa to shed light on the experiences of Pacific peoples and Māori. In that time, the relationships between Māori and Pacific tauwiwi have had room to shift, grow, and change from how the Panthers had fostered them in the 1970s and early 1980s, as Māori and Pacific families have come together through marriage and new generations, as the challenges we have faced evolve with the times, and as the forces of settler colonialism shift their strategies for the times. Building on the work of the Polynesian Panthers, and considering the potential of our relationships, I now turn to the suggestions made by the talanoa participants.

Many of the participants’ perspectives on how to honour Te Tiriti were informed by their lived experiences. The strategies of Tiriti engagement and Māori relationship building that were suggested by the talanoa participants are broken up here into categories like those offered by ASTR and the PPP. In our talanoa, the participants highlighted the importance of conversations and storytelling, education of ourselves and others, and unpacking the intersectionality of whakapapa and positionality, as valuable strategies for relationship building between Māori and Pacific tauwiwi, and for engaging in Te Tiriti work. Like ASTR’s use of storytelling to educate tauwiwi, Rose, Anne, and Meredith all acknowledge the importance of sharing stories and platforms between Māori and Pacific tauwiwi to strengthen our relations. Rose says that “having meaningful dialogue and a safe space for that [dialogue], that is generative but not extractive,

and in solidarity, I think that perhaps feels like the most important way, at the moment, to honour Te Tiriti” (Rose, 2021). Anne recognises that building solid relationships between Māori and Pacific tauiwi, particularly those that are fostered outside of our shared connections to the New Zealand state, “could be as easy as like sharing of stories or platforms...just more relating with each other. And unpacking our stories, our shared traumas, histories, but also just like the commonalities of our cultures as sites of healing” (Waapu, 2021). Using storytelling as a method to make connections is critical to building relationships that do not rely solely on Western frameworks, as it prioritises and values a method of knowledge sharing and relationship nurturing that is integral to many Pacific cultures (Ellis, 1997). As well as storytelling, the participants identified education of ourselves and of others as an important part of navigating how we honour Te Tiriti, and how we incorporate Te Tiriti into our daily lives. Pī, from her perspective as a young wahine Māori, says that “for me honouring Te Tiriti means philosophically understanding what Te Tiriti being signed meant, and [what the] intentionality meant” (Pī, 2021). Understanding Te Tiriti, as Pī argues, and unpacking what the intentions of Te Tiriti were at the time of signing in 1840, is a critical part of conceptualising how we navigate Te Tiriti today. Without understanding what the positions of signatories were at the time, we are in danger of misrepresenting how Te Tiriti should be honoured today.

Lastly, the participants also acknowledged that it is important that we, as Pacific tauiwi, understand who we are, where we are coming from, and what values and strengths we can bring with us as Pacific peoples. This is the intersectionality of whakapapa and positionality. Helena is cognizant, for instance, that “part of us being good Treaty partners is listening and going ‘okay, we cannot make it all about us’, even though we are also people that have experienced colonisation and oppression” (H. Cook, 2021). Helena’s comments remind us that in our engagements with Te Tiriti, and in building and caring for relationships with Māori, we must also be critical of our positionality, and how our experiences with colonialism and settler colonialism have the potential to influence our actions. This supports earlier statements about how we must keep ourselves in check, recognising how we benefit from settler colonialism while we do the work of dismantling it as well. Another part of recognising who we are and our positionality is adapting and incorporating the strengths and values of our communities and cultures to support Māori. As Anne says in regards to the position of Māori:

Yes, we are in these lands, and so therefore we are tangata whenua and our tikanga will hold everything, but we don't have to do all that work. Pacific Island peoples are here and equipped in similar ways to how we are in customs, practises, and beliefs that I would say are way more in alignment than anywhere else in the world, that we might be able to share some of the burden of what it is to assert our various sovereignties, and self determining what is our future in the Pacific broadly, and especially here in New Zealand. (Waapu, 2021)

In alignment with Anne's comments, I recall earlier discussion of the Polynesian Panthers and the actions they took to support Māori causes, standing in solidarity with Māori and taking on some of the workload, while their Māori members and the members of Ngā Tamatoa led the charge in particular movements. Reflecting on what they do to honour Te Tiriti, Vero says "I think in that journey a lot of it has to do with connecting to my Samoanness and bringing that to the table in those discussions or in those relationships" (Vero, 2021). Vero did not dig deeper into what they meant as their "Samoanness", but they are likely referring to some of the customs, practises, and beliefs that Anne says Pacific tauwi are well equipped with to do some of the work with Māori. Vero, however, is also aware of keeping their positionality in check, stating that "I would never put myself in a position, unless it was with other tauwi Pacific, never put myself in a position to lead a Te Tiriti thing," similar to the PPP choosing to take direction from Ngā Tamatoa or from their own Māori members for other Tiriti-related Māori issues (Vero, 2021).

The methods offered by the talanoa participants reflect the strategies analysed from ASTR and the PPP above and demonstrate that, at least amongst the participants, much thought and consideration continues to be given to how we navigate the relationships between Māori and Pacific tauwi. As evidenced by the overlapping in methods and perspectives, the strategies used by ASTR are relevant to Pacific tauwi and can be built on with a deliberate recognition of our positionality and whakapapa as both can inform our relationships and hold us accountable to them. Considering all of the strategies discussed above—by ASTR, the Polynesian Panthers, and individual talanoa participants—I believe that incorporating these strategies into our daily lives as Pacific peoples, and bringing them to our friends and families, can create a community that we can rely on and trust to support us when the work is tough. This, I argue, can be done through utilising our tuākana-tēina framework as a method of relationality. An important part of the

tuākana-tēina relationship is to trust that those you are in relationship with are going to tend to their responsibilities while you are doing so as well. It is a relationship that requires full trust in your counterpart to do their part. Truly understanding who we are as Māori and Pacific communities when stepping into the tuākana and tēina roles, and knowing how our relationships have been shaped in the past, helps us to build strong relationships based on trust and solidarity. To build solidarity, it is important to have something to work toward together. The Matike Mai Report outlines the values of constitutional transformation in Aotearoa New Zealand and can add to the way we as Pacific tauwi navigate our responsibilities to Te Tiriti and to our Māori relationships. In using the Matike Mai Report we can work in collaboration with Māori.

#### **5.4 The Matike Mai Report**

The Matike Mai report, released in 2016 and written by the group, Matike Mai Aotearoa, who are the Māori-led Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation, outlined what constitutional transformation in Aotearoa could look like, and suggested some frameworks for how transformation can occur. The report was created after over 250 hui were held between 2012 and 2015 with hapū across the country. Margaret Mutu, who is in the working group, writes “it has been clear to Māori for a long time that the prospect of justice is unachievable under the current constitutional arrangements” (Mutu, 2019, p. 13). Without constitutional transformation, an Aotearoa in which Te Tiriti, He Whakaputanga, and Māori sovereignty are truly honoured can not exist. Mutu writes that “the [Matike Mai] group advised that [they] would not be considering how tikanga, kawa, He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti might be accommodated within the current Westminster constitutional system that has been in place since 1840. It was clear to the group and to everyone they consulted that the current system does not and cannot give effect to He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti” (Mutu, 2019, pp. 13–14). In other words, the group concluded that it was not possible to uphold He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti within the current Western structures, and that complete constitutional transformation is a vital step to truly implementing both documents. As tauwi, if we listen to the advice of Matike Mai, then the only way that we can support Te Tiriti—and He Whakaputanga—is through supporting constitutional transformation and its values as outlined by the 2016 report. I believe that some of the values outlined in this report can inform our engagements with Te Tiriti. The report identifies seven

values that were distilled from the comments and concerns shared in the numerous hui. These values include: tikanga; community; belonging; place; balance; conciliation; and structure (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016, p. 69). While the values of belonging, place, balance, conciliation, and structure all seem to apply more specifically to the development of a constitutional arrangement, the values of tikanga and community can be applied to how Pacific tauwiwi engage in honouring Te Tiriti, and how we build strong relationships that foster solidarity with Māori. I therefore discuss these two values, referring to how they are interpreted in the report, and discuss their relevance to our relationships.

The first value, tikanga, is discussed in the report as having “provided the law framework that sanctioned mana as a concept of power but it was also the source of values which underpinned its good and legitimate exercise” (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016, p. 70). Further, the values of tikanga demonstrated that “every Iwi and Hapū was nevertheless committed to a set of relational obligations and entitlements that derived from whakapapa and the links people had with each other and the land” (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016, p. 70). Not only then is framing our relationships through tuākana and tēina a reassertion of our own Māori and Pacific methods of relationality, but it is also a reaffirmation of the value of tikanga as set out by the working group. The report asserts that for many of those attending the hui “the obligation to govern was so important it could only be ‘mana enhancing’ for everyone if it grew out of clearly articulated values and expectations,” such as tikanga (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016, p. 70). The report highlighted that identifying the value of tikanga as a guiding principle of constitutional transformation was:

An acknowledgement that Te Tiriti is itself based on certain values or tikanga about relationships and that good government carries a certain ethical responsibility to respect all the different relationships that people have. To be entrusted with the right to exercise any concept of power in fact implies a tikanga obligation to value the relationships as well as the power to make the decisions that affect them. (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016, p. 73)

In the Matike Mai report, it is through tikanga that we acknowledge the importance of strong structures through which we navigate relationships respectfully and keep each other accountable. I argue that implementing this value into how we foster relationships with Māori as Pacific tauwiwi is through respecting our whakapapa ties and (re)learning from the relationships we have

shared in the past, identifying those connections through conversations and storytelling and implementing them through the structures of tuākana and tēina. It is also vital that we hold each other accountable through unpacking and understanding what our individual relationships with the New Zealand state are and recognising how and where those relationships impact the ones we have with each other. Is it also important that we, as Pacific tauiwi, are continually aware of how we benefit from settler colonialism and the continued suffering of Māori, as keeping ourselves accountable is critical. Additionally, I argue that using the tuākana-tēina framework can act as the tikanga that we apply to Māori-Pacific relations.

The value of community, as outlined in the report, is vital because “[the hui attendees] believed that a constitution could only be tikanga and Tiriti-based if it incorporated respect for the variety of human relationships as one of its most important values. Te Tiriti didn’t discriminate but was meant for everyone and a constitution needed to value the same openness” (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016, p. 74). Here, the report stipulates that

Many participants raised the relationship between Māori and Tangata Pasifica as a special case because of their shared traditions and whakapapa. While those cultural and historical links were readily acknowledged as the reason why all peoples in the Pacific are expected to interact with each other in certain ways they also epitomised the whakapapa values that Te Tiriti represents.” (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016, p. 75)

As this thesis has also argued, Māori and Pacific relationships are a special case, but we should still be held accountable to the same Te Tiriti obligations of other migrant communities, as the report later states “all immigrants still come here because of Te Tiriti and therefore have a Tiriti relationship with Māori. Te Tiriti is their immigration visa” (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016, p. 76). This value is integral to strong relationships that are built on mutual respect and reciprocity, and a clear understanding of roles and responsibilities. This is where we can see that tuākana-tēina relationships align with this value of community, as our responsibilities as tuākana and tēina require us to be respectful and reciprocal in our engagements. When applied to Māori-Pacific relations, and to Pacific tauiwi engagement with Te Tiriti, this value ensures that we maintain a mutual respect for one another and that through knowing our obligations to Te Tiriti we are ensuring that whatever we do as tuākana or tēina is never at the detriment of Māori sovereignty or tino rangatiratanga.

While there are other values outlined in the Matike Mai report, and all of them contribute significantly to the possible models of constitutional transformation that the report offers, I feel the two values of tikanga and community can be most readily applied to our relationships with Māori. Understanding that constitutional transformation, according to the Matike Mai group, is the only way to truly embrace and incorporate Te Tiriti and He Whakaputanga into how we operate as a nation, means that as Pacific tauwiwi we recognise our own obligations to fight for, and standing in solidarity with, the working group and other Māori who are working toward constitutional transformation. The values of Matike Mai in combination with the strategies offered by ASTR, the Polynesian Panthers, and the talanoa participants are valuable for building relationships, demonstrating solidarity, and engaging with Te Tiriti. These strategies have been, and are being, implemented by tauwiwi across the country. ASTR's and the Panthers' strategies both encourage the acknowledgment of privilege and positionality as tauwiwi, which is vital to how we honour and engage in relations with Māori, and the values outlined in the Matike Mai report allows collaborative work with tangata whenua to inform our actions, ensuring that the work we are doing to honour Te Tiriti is not dismissive of the work already done by Māori and doesn't indulge our unconscious biases as people that benefit from the continuation of settler colonialism. By embracing our tuākana-tēina relational responsibilities we can ensure that the core of these strategies and values are being implemented through a method that will respect and reaffirm them.

## **5.5 Tuākana-Tēina**

In Chapter 2, I introduced two methods of relationality: the vā and tuākana-tēina. As previously discussed, while the vā can be found in different Pacific cultures—sometimes with different spellings, but often with similar meanings tied to sociospatial relations, connection and nurturing—it is predominantly a pan-Polynesian concept. In my own experience, the vā is most popular in Pacific studies as Samoan and Tongan concepts. As a Cook Island Māori, I am therefore choosing to utilise tuākana-tēina as a method of relationality, as it is intrinsically tied to te ao Māori, and also has roots in the Cook Islands. I am electing to do this not only because it adds an extra level of specificity to my personal experience and context, but because it also prioritises our relationships with Māori in Tiriti honouring conversations. Additionally, as was



discussed in Chapter 2 when the two concepts were introduced, the values of each overlap with one another. While they have different names, the *tuākana-tēina* method of relationality and the *vā* encompass the same responsibilities to sociopatial relationship management and kinship. In this section I explore the Cook Islands and Aotearoa contexts of *tuākana* and *tēina*, unpacking what the responsibilities of *tuākana-tēina* relationships were understood to be in the past, and how they can be brought forward into the present. This section concludes with the synthesis of strategies discussed by the Polynesian Panthers, ASTR, the *talanoa* participants, and the values gleaned from the *Matike Mai* report with the responsibilities of *tuākana* and *tēina*. Conclusions will also be made of how Pacific *tauīwi* honouring our *tuākana-tēina* responsibilities is how we can also build effective relationships with Māori and honour our responsibilities to Te Tiriti as *tauīwi*.

### 5.5.1 The Responsibilities of *Tuākana* and *Tēina*

Michael Reilly outlines the values imbued in *tuākana-tēina* relationships in stories from Mangaia—an island of the present Cook Islands nation—through analysing the narratives and extracting from them the messages or values that they communicate. For *tuakana*<sup>21</sup>, Reilly states that they “have at all times to be mindful of their *teina* and to treat them with respect” and that “neither *teina* nor *tuakana* should act wrongly or inappropriately against the other in an ideal world” (Reilly, 2010, pp. 215, 217). Amongst other things, the *tuakana* and *teina* were known for feeling compassion and love for their counterparts. They were often friends and companions to one another and were prepared to do anything their counterpart needed. Reilly states that “a *tuakana*, almost without thinking about it, acted to seek appropriate *utu* (retribution, compensation) for their *teina*’s death” (2010, p. 223). Similarly, “a *teina* [was] expected to recognise the social obligations upon him to take up the cause in the event that his senior kin were murdered by others” (2010, p. 224). Ultimately, Reilly claims that the stories told, and the messages that they unveil, highlight that the relationships between *tuakana* and *teina* “were premised not on force or fear but on the stronger grounds of affection, loyalty and reciprocal

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<sup>21</sup> In *A Dictionary of the Māori Language of Rarotonga* by Stephen Savage, and in Reilly’s article, “*tuakana*” and “*teina*” are spelled without the macron, with no distinction made for pluralised forms either. I have elected to reflect that in this section when discussing the roles of *tuakana* and *teina* in the Mangaian Cook Islands context.

respect” (2010, p. 225). Reilly identifies the following responsibilities that are specific to tuakana in the Cook Islands context: to be mindful of teina; to treat teina with respect; and to seek utu for a teina’s death. For teina, Reilly identifies the following: the responsibility to take up the causes, roles, and responsibilities of a tuakana should they be killed or die. However, the two roles also have mutual responsibilities, and they are: to not act wrongly or inappropriately against the other; to have compassion and love for one another; to treat each other with affection, loyalty, and reciprocal respect. According to Reilly’s analysis of Mangaian stories used to pass down the knowledge of sibling relationships and expectations, these are the responsibilities of tuakana and teina in the Mangaian Cook Islands context. I use these responsibilities, in conjunction with those from the Aotearoa context discussed next, to identify how Māori and Pacific tauwi in the present day can foster strong relationships of solidarity through utilising our tuākana-tēina framework.

In the Aotearoa context, tuākana-tēina relationality is integral to Te Ao Māori and encompasses the “notions of kinship and relationality” (Gillon, 2020, pp. 82–83). While, as mentioned earlier, tuākana-tēina relationships have been used in education to develop pedagogies encouraging mentorship and peer relationship building, Ashlea Gillon writes that “tuākana-tēina relationships carry more than connotations of tutorship or mentorship; these relationships illustrate the responsibilities and rights of tuākana-tēina in order to have thriving, reciprocal, lasting whanaungatanga” (2020, p. 83). Judith Davey and Chris Cunningham also unpack the tuākana-tēina relationship in Aotearoa, analysing both ancestral stories and more recent studies of how sibling relationships are navigated and implemented in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. They write that “among siblings, traditionally, there are reciprocal relationships...intended to support the welfare of the *whanau*,” in which the tuākana “had responsibilities for leadership, protection and advice” and tēina “were required to serve and provide and to protect the *hapū* in times of danger” (Davey & Cunningham, 2021, pp. 91, 92). Davey and Cunningham also state that for tēina “respect for older siblings prompted care and compassion for older people” and those in the tuākana role were “to perform ritual acts of *tapu* removal” and looking after a teina’s welfare was seen as a tuākana-tēina obligation (Davey & Cunningham, 2021, pp. 94, 95). As well as these responsibilities to each other, which ultimately acted to nurture and strengthen the whole family unit, Davey and Cunningham also acknowledge that the tuākana-tēina framework also meant that “kinship peer-groups of cousins provided

independent advice and support during periods of need and refuge when tensions in the home become too great,” giving consideration to how maintaining the responsibilities of tuākana and tēina means each party benefits from a safety net or sheltered familial space where they can enjoy mutual respect, comfort, and support.

Gillon also argues that tuākana and tēina tasks are complementary to each other and therefore encourage growth of the tuākana and tēina as individuals, but also growth in their relationship with one another (Gillon, 2020, p. 83). Additionally, Gillon states that “tuākana-tēina roles [...] are not fixed; they are fluid and interchangeable depending on the context” (2020, p. 83). Davey and Cunningham echo this, saying that “*teina* and *tuakana* roles are fluid and children may move between roles, depending on the situation and its participants” (Davey & Cunningham, 2021, p. 97). This fluidity is important to remember when looking at the relationships between Pacific tauiwi in Aotearoa and Māori through a tuākana-tēina lens. As was discussed in Chapter 2, on the one hand, Pacific tauiwi are tuākana to our Māori tēina because of our long history of belonging in the Pacific, one that predates the evolution of a Māori culture after their early arrivals as Pacific peoples to Aotearoa. As Te Punga Somerville reminds us, “on arrival to our large, cold islands, these Pacific people became specifically Māori” (2012, p. 17). On the other hand, as Pacific tauiwi, we have been in Aotearoa for far less time than Māori, and as tangata whenua, Māori have the experience of tuākana in this context, making Pacific tauiwi the tēina. Gillon and Davey and Cunningham’s analyses of tuākana and tēina in the context of Aotearoa identifies several different responsibilities for tuākana and tēina. Many of them overlap with those identified by Reilly in the Manganian Cook Islands context. The responsibilities for tuākana to tēina that are specific to these Aotearoa-based analyses are as follows: to demonstrate a strong sense of leadership and responsibility; to avoid conflict through directed leadership; to guide interaction and individual treatment; to offer protection; to give advice; to have the interests of the wider collective at heart; and a responsibility to nurture and socialise tēina in order to prepare them for their own tuākana roles in the future. For tēina, their unique responsibilities are to serve with the guidance of tuākana and to contribute what they can as tēina. Together, their mutual responsibilities are: to provide support and care for each other; and to act as a shelter for each other when necessary.

It is important to highlight these two contexts and identify the responsibilities between them because we know that navigating the layers of these relationships are integral to honouring

the relationships themselves and to nurturing our connections. In understanding these responsibilities we can see how we have actually been carrying them out already. Many of the responsibilities identified here are also present in the strategies of tauwiwi discussed earlier in the chapter, particularly in the work of the Polynesian Panthers as they often carried out the responsibilities of tēina when supporting Māori fights and struggles during the 1970s and 80s. By being more deliberate in framing our Māori-Pacific relationships through the tuākana-tēina method of relationality, we can build better relationships that are grounded in solidarity and our own Pacific contexts. In doing so we can also ensure that the strategies we use to engage in Tiriti work, and support the Māori fight for sovereignty and tino rangatiratanga, has the strength of our tuākana-tēina relationships behind them.

## **5.6 Honouring Te Tiriti as Tuākana-Tēina**

This thesis hopes to incorporate the suggestions made by the communities and individuals that were discussed previously to produce strategies that combine the responsibilities of our tuākana-tēina relationship with our responsibilities to Te Tiriti. The themes that were gleaned from the suggestions made by talanoa participants, and from the examples of other community groups engaging with Te Tiriti, align with the responsibilities of tuākana-tēina relationships as well. I believe that engaging with these themes and strategies while also more intentionality acting upon our tuākana-tēina relationships, is the crux of our engagement with Te Tiriti. The first step for Pacific peoples in engaging with Te Tiriti is to outline what that engagement means for us. By synthesising the content of the thesis so far, we now understand the layers of Māori-Pacific relationships; what it means to live in Aotearoa New Zealand as Pacific tauwiwi; how Pacific tauwiwi relate to Te Tiriti and why it matters to us; and what differences honouring it would make for Māori and Pacific peoples. Engaging with Te Tiriti as Pacific tauwiwi means supporting and standing in solidarity with Māori as they fight for tino rangatiratanga and sovereignty. A vital part of doing so is acknowledging how we benefit from settler colonialism, continuing to fight to dismantle its structures, and ensuring that Te Tiriti is honoured, regardless of what we may gain or lose. In addition to standing with Māori, we must also remain cognisant of how our relationship with the New Zealand state has the capacity to change how we relate to Māori. This is why (re)framing our relationships through the tuākana-tēina method of

relationality is so essential. We must remember that in order to ensure that Te Tiriti is properly recognised and honoured in this country we have to fight for constitutional transformation and take on the roles and responsibilities that our relationships with Māori deem necessary for us to occupy. To engage with Te Tiriti, meaning to support and act in solidarity with Māori, we must build relationships of reciprocity, respect, and understanding, relationships that we navigate with our tuākana and tēina responsibilities. In this section I therefore explore how the strategies offered by ASTR, the Polynesian Panthers, the talanoa participants, and the values of the Matike Mai report are in alignment with tuākana-tēina responsibilities and thereby inform how we might build relationships of support and solidarity with Māori. I argue that these strategies, through this relational framework, are how Pacific tauwi can engage with Te Tiriti.

The strategies outlined in the previous sections, across ASTR, the PPP, the talanoa participants, and the Matike Mai report can be distilled into three strategies for tauwi. The first is to create spaces for tauwi to learn, discuss, educate, and demonstrate or action their solidarity with Māori. This strategy encompasses the focus on storytelling as a form of education and acknowledges the necessity to create spaces in which discussion and education can take place. This is a strategy that all tauwi can use, but by framing it through the tuākana-tēina method of relationality, we can see how Pacific tauwi can use this strategy to strengthen our relationships with Māori, and how utilising tuākana-tēina values can also strengthen our approach to the strategy itself. Because being tuākana or tēina is a fluid role that depends on context, I unpack here how this strategy implements both tuākana and tēina values and responsibilities. In creating spaces for education, Pacific tauwi can demonstrate the leadership expected of tuākana, and can guide a space of education and storytelling that fulfils the tuākana's responsibility of providing advice and support. Being active in our own education as tauwi is also being mindful of our responsibility to tēina. As tēina, creating spaces of education is also fulfilling the responsibility to serve the greater family unit, and tuākana, using the experience that a tēina has available to them. Safe discussion spaces that strengthen solidarity also act as sheltered spaces to freely explore Te Tiriti engagement and education, where tuākana and tēina can protect and care for one another.

The second strategy is to connect with our whakapapa to frame our relationships through kinship ties rather than through imposed Western frameworks and expectations, such as the negative statistics we are often lumped together in and the resources we often compete one

another for. This strategy acknowledges the Polynesian Panther Party's values of relationship building as necessary to working in solidarity with Māori. This second strategy also emphasises the importance of whakapapa between Māori and Pacific tauwi and respecting how our kinship ties have connected us, unpacking where and how those connections can frame our actions today. In engaging in relationship building and making whakapapa connections, we show respect between tuākana and tēina. Through acknowledging our ties we also acknowledge the responsibilities we have as tuākana and tēina to show compassion, love, and loyalty. As long as we commit to framing our relationships through kinship ties and whakapapa then we are also reaffirming a commitment to our tuākana-tēina responsibilities across our relationships. In doing so we are trusting that our tuākana-tēina connections are strong and stable, and will also be a shelter should we need it.

The third and final strategy is to acknowledge our positionality when we show up in solidarity with Māori, and to support them using the skills and experiences we have, while being guided by their leadership. This strategy incorporates the need to hold ourselves accountable and to recognise the customs, practises, and values that we bring as Pacific tauwi and can utilise in support of Māori struggles and issues. This is in acknowledgement of the Polynesian Panther Party's commitment to taking on supportive roles with Māori issues in the 1970s and 80s, and also acknowledges our responsibility as migrants to Te Tiriti engagement, as laid out in the Matike Mai report. This third strategy allows us as Pacific tauwi to move between tuākana and tēina when necessary, as positionality can dictate who is tuākana or tēina in specific contexts. Because this strategy recognises that we have skills and experiences to offer, it fulfils the notion of tēina taking up responsibility for tasks that support the role of tuākana, and also demonstrates the tēina's responsibility to serve and care. This third strategy also encourages reciprocity, as it acknowledges that either tuākana or tēina can fill in and support the other when their experience levels differ.

These three strategies implement the key themes that were pulled from the suggestions and offerings of ASTR, the PPP, the talanoa participants, and the Matike Mai report. Each of these strategies are complementary to the other, and when implemented, allow us to engage with Te Tiriti in ways that are conducive to fostering tuākana-tēina relationships as well. In using these strategies we reaffirm our commitments to our tuākana-tēina relational responsibilities and are able to stand in solidarity with Māori, engaging with Te Tiriti as Pacific tauwi.

## 5.7 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to consider how honouring Te Tiriti could be done through engaging with each other as tuākana and tēina. It also intended to unpack what a tuākana-tēina relationship is and what the values of tuākana and tēina were. Because it is well known as a te ao Māori concept, I elected to use tuākana-tēina because it centres a specific relationship that has a place of belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. Additionally, I felt that it was beneficial as a Cook Islands academic and researcher myself to engage with a concept that is familiar to me. While I grew up in Aotearoa New Zealand and more often engaged with Aotearoa Māori culture than with Cook Islands Māori culture, having Cook Island examples to draw on in my research has been exciting and enlightening. Considering our tuākana-tēina relationships more closely, alongside the strategies provided by ASTR, the PPP, the talanoa participants, and the values from the Matike Mai report, has revealed that relationship building through a tuākana-tēina method of relationality allows for Pacific tauwi to engage with Te Tiriti in the ways that are meaningful to us and honours our relational responsibilities to Māori.

## 6. Considerations and Conclusions

When I first started this thesis I knew that I wanted to open it with a personal narrative. It is the same narrative that I have thought about everyday since first starting Pacific studies in my undergraduate degree almost exactly five years ago. Studying day in and day out for six years straight, surrounded by the support and encouragement of who I know to be the kindest, bravest, and most selfless Māori and Pacific people, it's hard not think about where you come from, how you got here, and what that means for the lands that you stand on in Aotearoa. I have been lucky my whole life to call this country home, and for many years of that life, I was blissfully ignorant to the ways that my being here was tied to a legacy of dispossession, land theft, assimilation, elimination, and broken agreements. I opened with a narrative because it felt right to introduce who I was, where I came from, why I was here, and what exactly I was going to do about it. I felt lost, confused, distanced from my cultures, and lived in discomfort about being on land that was not my own while also wrestling with the fact that I still didn't feel welcome in the Cook Islands on the land that I belonged to. I was uncomfortable calling Aotearoa my home because I never felt like I truly understood what that meant. So I started this research and this thesis to find an answer to the question: what does it mean to be a Pacific tauwi in Aotearoa New Zealand, and what should I do about it?

Through the chapters of this thesis I have unravelled ways that Māori and Pacific peoples have been connected throughout history. Chapter 2 identified our early kinship ties and explored how we related to Māori through the *vā* and *tuākana-tēina* methods of relationality. In doing so, it established our early connections as Pacific peoples to Aotearoa. Chapter 3 then unpacked how the more recent migration of Pacific peoples to Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s brought with it a new experience of relating to Māori, one that was influenced by the impact of the New Zealand government. This chapter highlighted how our connections to this land can change, or can be changed, but that we have the power to reframe our relationships and engage with this country in our own ways. Chapter 4 then brought in the main piece of the puzzle, explaining how Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the founding document of this country and therefore is the agreement that makes us responsible to Te Tiriti and to our relationships with Māori. Finally, Chapter 5 then explored how we engage with Te Tiriti as Pacific tauwi, and what our responsibilities to it are based on everything discussed in the prior chapters. This thesis sought to



explain how our whakapapa connections to Māori, in conjunction with our colonial histories with the New Zealand government and how we benefit from settler colonialism as tauwi, should inform how we choose to navigate and engage with Te Tiriti. Ultimately, I argue that engaging with Te Tiriti as Pacific tauwi means building strong relationships of solidarity with Māori, and ensuring that the methods we used to relate with Māori and honour Te Tiriti are framed through the values and responsibilities of tuākana-tēina relationships. Through analysing the actions of other tauwi groups, like Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga and the Polynesian Panther Party, discussing the Matike Mai report produced by the Matike Mai working group to create constitutional change in Aotearoa, and conducting talanoa with Māori and Pacific participants, this thesis offers three key strategies of Te Tiriti engagement that encourage the honouring of tuākana-tēina relational responsibilities. These strategies are not perfect, and are also not only applicable to Pacific tauwi, but their ability to operate within the framework of tuākana and tēina are what make them invaluable to Māori and Pacific relationships. Through this research I have tried to answer my own question, asking what I should be doing as a Pacific person living in Aotearoa and calling this place my home, and now I have developed the strategies to use as a first step.

For a long time I thought that asking Māori to take part in this research was asking too much of them. I felt uncomfortable asking the Māori talanoa participants how they would suggest honouring Te Tiriti, as it felt like I should be able to answer that question myself. But through this research I realised that talanoa allowed each participant and I to engage in tuākana-tēina relationality. While I may have been asking difficult questions—that were also likely difficult to answer—creating necessary spaces for generous discussion, education, and action eventually led to the strategies of Pacific tauwi Te Tiriti engagement that were laid out in the previous chapter of this thesis. To continue to honour Te Tiriti as Pacific tauwi we have to continue to take guidance from Māori, and continue having difficult conversations with one another, unpacking our relationships, our connections, and our responsibilities as we go. Honouring Te Tiriti as Pacific tauwi is not possible without knowing what that means for Māori, but as tuākana and tēina we have the responsibility to support Māori however and whenever we can, knowing that our relationships will carry us through the heavy work.

To make this research and its findings more accessible in the future, I hope to use more creative elements, such as podcasts, creative fiction, and visual media that can take this beyond

academia. I believe that incorporating creative elements into Pacific research, particularly those about creating and maintaining relationships, is important to get more people involved in the conversation. Creative outlets also allow for different forms of research to be undertaken, such as song, dance, and multimedia artworks. Creative work like this is already being done by incredible Māori and Pacific academics, creatives, and activists such as Kahu Kutia, Dr Karlo Mila, FAFSWAG, Qiane Matata-Sipu, the HORI, Moana Fresh, and many, many more. I only hope to add to this bountiful array of creatives, making spaces in which tauiwi can discuss, unpack, and action our commitments to Māori sovereignties, tino rangatiratanga, constitutional transformation, and a Te Tiriti-honouring future for Aotearoa.

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