Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.
THE POLITICS OF IWI VOICE

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Maori Studies

at Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand

Selwyn Katene
(Ngati Tama, Ngati Toa, Nga Ruahine, Te Atiawa)

2006
Abstract

This doctorate thesis *The Politics of Iwi Voice* focuses on the struggle of a modern, urban iwi authority to secure political recognition from other iwi and the Crown as it attempts to assert an independent iwi voice, and exercise mana and tino rangatiratanga. The responses of the local iwi/Maori community, the Crown, and others to the re-emergence of the new iwi entity are critically examined.

The thesis demonstrates how a small iwi group resists attempts to assimilate into a broader coalition of iwi, hapu, whanau and marae interests, preferring instead to maintain and develop its own distinctive identity. It uses the iwi Ngati Tama to exemplify the diaspora of an iwi, and shows how iwi identity and fortunes are buffeted by both iwi and urban contestations as well as changing political directions. The study suggests that a Ngati Tama future away from its homeland will depend primarily on the development of pragmatic adaptive and innovative strategies, and a fervent resolve to retain a distinctive identity, while participating in a dynamic and often oppressive environment.

This thesis concludes that to maintain a distinctive iwi presence its members should have the right to decide who best represents them. An iwi is considered an appropriate vehicle to represent its members and manage its interests. In order to survive in a constantly changing environment, an iwi must be dynamic, flexible, relevant, and meet the needs of its membership. Further, its leadership should be focused on negotiating relationships in good faith - including third party interventions - and seeking pathways that will advance its interests into the future.
Acknowledgements

Ko Herewini Katene toku ingoa
Ko Ngati Tama, ko Ngati Toa, ko Nga Ruahine, ko Te Atiawa nga iwi
Tenei te tuku mihi atu ki a koutou katoa.

I have received much support in the construction of this thesis. There are many whom I wish to acknowledge. While I cannot mention them all, I sincerely thank them for their frank, fearless and sometimes provocative views without which this work would have been far less robust.

My supervisor Professor Mason Durie has made a profound contribution, which I readily acknowledge. His unstinting support and faith in my ability to complete this work, combined with insightful wisdom, made this thesis journey a humbling yet rewarding experience. I also acknowledge the professional support of Dr Gillian Durham and Dr Don Matheson.

Important also were the highly valued contributions of my kaumatua and kuia including Te Puoho Katene, Bill Matenga, Peter White, Grace Rupapera, and Freda Williams. Thanks to the generosity (in time and thought) of those participants who made this thesis a reality. To my colleagues and friends Karewa Arthur, Helmut Modlik, Rama Durie, Theresa Solomon, David Williams, Tamati and Diane Tapara, Bill Simpson, Martha Gilbert, Maria Grace, Tama Coker, Greg White, Tarawara Weston and Hori Manuirirangi; a sincere thank you.

Lastly, my heartfelt thanks go to my whanau for their collective support. To Bill (deceased) and Kahuwaero, Merania, Maraea (deceased), Kerehoma, Makea, Kayleen, Wiremu, Willis, Rahui, Ammon, Christian, Louise, Josiah, Michael, Evie, Terry, Ngahuia and Maraea, my appreciation and eternal love.

No reira, e mihi ana, e tangi ana te ngakau ki te hunga na koutou i awhi mai. He mihi aroha ki a koutou katoa mo o koutou tautoko, o koutou poipoi mai ki ahau. Noho mai koutou i runga i te rangimarie. Tena koutou, tena koutou, tena ra tatou katoa.

He kaupapa kotahi he ara whakamua

A shared vision is a pathway forward.
List of Figures and Tables

Figures

Figure 1.1 Tribal Re-emergence 22
Figure 2.1 Ngati Tama’s Tribal Boundaries at Poutama 85
Figure 2.2 Boundaries of Port Nicholson Block in Wellington 119
Figure 2.3 Main Kainga of Ngati Tama at 1840 in Te Tau Ihu 125
Figure 7.1 Stakeholder Inter-relationships and Interactions 405
Figure 7.2 Case Study I – Developing a Claim 410
Figure 7.3 Case Study II – Securing a Mandate 412
Figure 7.4 Case Study III – Mana Whenua 415

Tables

Table 1.1 Ten Largest Tribes in New Zealand 16
Table 1.2 Forces at Work 23
Table 1.3 Characteristics of Research Participants 37
Table 1.4 Treaty-based Structure 41
Table 3.1 Members of the Runanga 136
Table 5.1 The PNBC Mandate Team 270
Table 7.1 Summary of Case Study Themes 418
Table 7.2 Pre-1883 and Post-1883 Wakapuaka 441
Table 8.1 Themes and Issues 448
# Table of Contents

Abstract i
Acknowledgements ii
List of Figures / Tables iii
Table of Contents iv

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION
- Background 1
- Purposes of the Research 1
- Research Question 4
- Three Case Studies 5
  - Theoretical Context 8
  - Methodology 34
  - Relevant Literature 41
  - Thesis Structure 73

## CHAPTER TWO: THE PEOPLE OF NGATI TAMA 76
- Introduction 76
- Tribal leadership 77
- Ngati Tama ki Taranaki 79
- Ngati Tama ki te Whanganui-a-Tara 110
- Ngati Tama ki te Tau Ihu 122
- Summary 132

## CHAPTER THREE: MANAGING IWI RELATIONSHIPS 133
- Introduction 133
- Part One: Political Relationships 134
- Part Two: Commercial Relationships 175
- Summary 211

## CHAPTER FOUR: CASE STUDY I: DEVELOPING A CLAIM 213
- Introduction 213
- Waitangi Tribunal Claims for Wellington 215
- Crown’s Role 222
- Post-Waitangi Tribunal Hearing 226
- The Waitangi Tribunal Report 234
- The PNBC Interim Working Party 242
- Summary 265

## CHAPTER FIVE: CASE STUDY II: SECURING A MANDATE 267
- Introduction 267
- Selecting the Mandate Team 268
- Deed of Mandate 283
- Terms of Negotiation 319
- Summary 325