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NGĀI TĀNE ORAL RESEARCH REPORT

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NGĀI TĀNE ORAL RESEARCH REPORT

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Methodology	1
Interview questions	2
Interview findings	3
Themes for discussion	3
What it means to be Ngāi Tāne	3
Ngāi Tāne and Ngāti Pahauwera	5
Reconciliation and separateness	6
The loss of Ngāi Tāne <i>mana whenua</i>	8
Landlessness today	10
Conclusion - Future visions for the claim and Ngāi Tāne	11
Appendix 1 - Amended Statement of Claim	
Appendix 2 - Direction Commissioning Research	

Ngāi Tāne Oral Research Report

“All we want is the ability to be recognised as an entity in our own right and that all that belongs to Ngāi Tāne is as being of us, that is our whenua, awa, ngahere, reo, tikanga and kawa. This would mean the recognition of our Ngāi Tāne tanga and our place in the universe.”

(Wi Huata)

INTRODUCTION

This report represents the collation of oral data gathered for the Ngāi Tāne claim WAI 436. It provides *kinaki* (relish) to the written historical material of Richard Hill and the briefs of evidence of the claimants’ witnesses.

A thematic analysis is presented in this document.

The principal theme running through the oral data, gathered from various sources, is the recognition of Ngāi Tāne as an autonomous tribal group.

The genesis of this claim lies in the 1851 Land Sales in the Mohaka and Waikare areas.

These, and subsequent, sales led to the loss of Ngāi Tāne’s *mana whenua*, *awa* and *ngahere*. The ensuing negative effects of this loss have been both immediate and long term for Ngāi Tāne. These effects have been further exacerbated by the subsequent actions of the Crown.

Most of the informants were descendants of key Ngāi Tāne *kaumātua* who had been instrumental in instigating the Mohaka River Claim. These *kaumātua* (now deceased) were:

- Canon Wi Te Tau Huata
- Te Okanga Huata
- Tom Spooner
- Ariel Aranui

The essential historical and *whakapapa* knowledge came from Cordry Tawa Huata. That knowledge is described in the brief of evidence which he will present to the Tribunal.

The vision for the outcome of this claim most often expressed by the informants is the ability for Ngāi Tāne to exercise *mana* over their resources, and to be recognised as *tangata whenua* within their *rohe*. The informants felt that this basic right had been denied, and as a consequence physical, spiritual, political, cultural and economic dislocation from their *papakāinga* and identity had occurred.

METHODOLOGY

The interviewer worked with the claimants and their legal advisers:

- (i) To plan and co-ordinate the taking of oral, traditional and contemporary evidence from relevant *kaumātua* and *whānau* representatives within Ngāi Tāne. This evidence related to matters such as *ahi kā*, *rohe*, *whakapapa*, *manawhenua*, and traditional relationships with relevant *iwi* and *hapū* groups.
- (ii) To collate oral evidence.

Interviews were then carried out either alongside the legal advisers or separately. Nine informants came from Ngāi Tāne. One informant, Neville Baker, is the former Deputy Secretary of Māori Affairs and the former Māori Trustee. He provided information and insights into why Māori used umbrella organisations as lobbying bodies in their relationships with the Crown.

There were ten informants:

- Wi Te Tau Huata
- Ranapia Huata
- Cordry Huata
- Te Hira Huata
- Paraire Huata
- Tama Huata
- Tom Spooner
- Maraea Aranui
- Roger Aranui
- Neville Baker.

Before the interview proper, the interviewer and, if possible, the legal advisers met with the informants to brief them on the claim and the information that they might be asked to provide. A later time was set for the main interview to be held. All interviews were either taped and transcribed or directly typed into a computer.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The general format of questions followed:

- (i) What is your *whānau*'s connection to Ngāi Tāne. Can you provide *whakapapa*.
- (ii) Has your *whānau* ever occupied the Ngāi Tāne *rohe* – Upper Waikare, Maungaharuru, Mohaka Forest (western edge).
- (iii) Do you have any *whānau* recollections or experiences associated with your *mana whenua*, *awa* and *ngahere* in Ngāi Tāne e.g the burial of *pito* and *whenua*, *kai* gathering, historical events and so on.
- (iv) Does your *whānau* know of any pa sites, *mahinga kai* areas, or *wāhi tapu* in the Ngāi Tāne area, which are of significance to you.
- (v) What are your *whānau*'s thoughts and feelings related to:
 - the loss of your *whenua* through 1851 Land sales
 - Raupatu
 - Forestry
 - having to relocate away from your *papakāinga*
- (vi) Has the loss of your *mana whenua* caused loss in other areas of your life:
 - Psychological
 - Spiritual
 - Cultural
 - Economic

(vii) What is your vision for the outcome of the claim.

The questions were not answered by everyone.

INTERVIEW FINDINGS

This section of the report presents the findings of the interviews using the common themes that emerged from interviews. The bulk of the discourse shared with us, with the exception of Cordry Huata, tended to emphasise the contemporary nature of Ngāi Tāne, and the thoughts this evoked for its descendants. The informants usually recounted events in their own life times and had anecdotal knowledge of their history and early *whakapapa*.

In some instances references from non-interview sources are used to substantiate or add to the findings.

THEMES FOR DISCUSSION

The discourse begins with comments from the informants that give an insight into what it means for them to be Ngāi Tāne. This theme involves a consideration of Ngāi Tāne's *tuakana* status and the importance of the land to Ngāi Tāne.

The second major theme considered is Ngāi Tāne's relationship with Ngāti Pahauwera from the perspective of the informants. This theme delves into the historical incidents that caused a rift between the two *hapū* and about the attempts at reconciliation in more recent times.

The loss of Ngāi Tāne *manu whenua* is next examined accompanied by reflections on how this landlessness has affected Ngāi Tāne to the present day. The report concludes with the informants' visions for the future of Ngāi Tāne.

What it means to be Ngāi Tāne

Although Ngāi Tāne have lost their immediate physical connection with their *whenua* - their cultural, spiritual and political identity is strong.

In this section of the report informants describe how it feels for them to be affiliated to Ngāi Tāne.

A critical part of the informants discourse refers to their status as *tuakana* in the Ngāi Tāne and Ngāti Pahauwera dyad, and their striving to be recognised as a separate and autonomous entity operating alongside all the *hapū* in the Mohaka - Waikare *rohe*.

We are of the tuakana line

The enduring *mana* of Ngāi Tāne people today is derived from their status as *tuakana* in the Mohaka - Waikare area.

The significance of the *tuakana* – *teina* dyad is described by Nepe¹ who is a noted expert in *whānau* systems and interrelationships. Nepe describes the dyad as a relationship bound by the reciprocal commitments of the younger and older relative to each other. By virtue of their birth ranking both have ascribed roles and responsibilities to each other. The *tuakana* as the elder child is classified as the overseer, the convenor, the director of the *whānau*, *hapū*

¹ Nepe, Tuakana Mate Te Hoi Huawera Tipuna, Auckland 1991, pp 27,28.

or *iwi*. As such the *tuakana* are ascribed the status and *mana* within Māori society to make sometimes sole-decisions on behalf of their *whānau*. So their roles and responsibilities are numerous and often onerous.

For the younger relative, the ascribed status of *teina* is of lesser importance and often means relegation to carrying out the more menial tasks within the *whānau*. This often places a strain on the relationship, and more so if the *teina* happens to be more assertive and more intelligent than the *tuakana*.

The reality for both is that their ascribed standing is absolute in relation to each other. They will always be either *tuakana* or *teina* to one another. In relation to others their ascribed roles and responsibilities as either *tuakana* or *teina* may change. But never in relation to each other. These are fixed.

The evidence of Cordry Huata indicates that the Ngāi Tāne line belonged to the *tuakana* line of *hāpu* of which Ngāti Pahauwera was of the *teina* line. Both *hāpu* are affiliated to the *iwi* of Ngāti Kahungunu.

This evidence contradicts the view that Ngāi Tāne come under Ngāti Pahauwera. In Cordry's interview he explained how Ngāi Tāne descended from their *tīpuna* Kōtore who lived four generations before Ngāti Pahauwera's founding *tīpuna* *Kahu o te Rangi*.

“Ngāti Pahauwera and Kahu o te Rangi people are also descended from Kōtore. Kahu o te Rangi was a great grandchild of Kōtore.”

Ngāi Tāne is therefore the parent line.

Our mana whenua

Three informants spoke at length about their recollections of their *papakāinga* and the *mana whenua* their *tīpuna* exercised over their lands and waters. It is evident from the material shared by the informants that Ngāi Tāne ranged over a large land area spanning the Maungaharuru Ranges, Maungataniwha Forest, Lake Tutira, the upper reaches of the Waikare area and as far east as the fringes of Waikaremoana. It is evident that some of these areas were *mahinga kai* locations rather than occupation sites, and thus shared with other *hapū*.

Those informants who were lucky enough to live in or near *papakāinga* talked openly about their interactions with their homeland. Derek Huata recalls:

“Each hapū had their individual boundaries and shared some land and customary rights, especially during food gathering times and hunting. Ngāi Tāne had an established boundary within the Mohaka 1851 purchase area.”

He also talks about his own childhood experiences living near their *whenua*:

“Our family lived in a place by the forest where you could see Te Heru o Tureia. We hunted all through the bush around there for pigs, birds, deer, and we caught eels in the streams. It was rich in all that kind of wildlife.

My family was well known as hunters. My father knew the bush like the back of his hand. There were tracks made by Ngāi Tāne people when they lived there and the tracks were extensive and well marked. That was back when I was a child 30 years ago, now all those tracks would be covered by forest and undergrowth. The tracks connected with all the other communities they even went right down to Mohaka.”

Wi Huata describes the importance of the land to Ngāi Tāne:

“We believe we inherited our traditional land from God ... we do not say we own the land. We have traditional boundaries where we mingled with other hapū and iwi and we determined where we could state our identity as a people.”

“So Dad moved to Bridge Pa, and what I came to learn about Dad at an early age was that his heart was always back home. ...at every opportunity we would be taken back there, more to Wairoa where his mother and father are. But they always see Ngāi Tāne lands as home. It is too late for my father to think about moving back there but I think he has a different vision for his grandchildren.”

Ngāi Tāne and Ngāti Pahauwera

It is clear from *whakapapa* that in any alliances made between Pahauwera and Ngāi Tāne - Ngāi Tāne should hold the position as ascribed by its *tuakana* status.

The present situation, wherein Ngāi Tāne have been treated as *teina*, is contrary to the systems of *tuakana* and *teina*. In addition, past conflicts have had on-going implications for both *hapū*.

The following discussion illustrates the circumstances that led to conflict between the two tribal groupings.

The usurping of Ngāi Tāne’s tuakana status

It is clear that particular events in history have resulted in the role reversal of Ngāi Tāne and Ngāti Pahauwera. The *teina* line first sought and achieved ascendancy through Kahu o te Rangī, the *tipuna* from whom Ngāti Pahauwera are derived. In fact, Kahu o te Rangī not only came from a *teina* line, he was also *teina* in his own *whānau*. His eldest brother being Te Kapua Matotoru. Cordry Huata states:

“However, as events have unfolded, Pahauwera has come to be treated as the senior line. I believe this came about because Kahu o te Rangī was the man of his day, and Tapuwae’s favourite grandson, his mokai. Kahu o te Rangī would have derived influence and power from that fact, because Tapuwae held a lot of sway in the previous generation.”

Rana Huata reinforces the contemporary view of Ngāi Tāne’s *tuakana* status by saying;

“I am the eldest mokopuna of our line, and really that means that I should be the chief...”

As recognised in Nepe’s work, the *tuakana* and *teina* relationships are fixed, and resentment is the product born of such attempts to overturn the *mana tipuna* of the elder sibling line.

Ngāti Pahauwera involvement in the land sales

Aside from the *tuakana/teina* role reversal, the leading event that lead to the creation of conflict between Ngāi Tāne and Ngāti Pahauwera was the selling of the Mohaka Block in 1851.

The people who were consulted and who eventually agreed to the sale were from a section of Ngāti Pahauwera - the *teina* of the two *hapū*. Cordry Huata comments as follows:

“Ngāti Pahauwera also had land interests in the 1851 purchase block. The people of the time who led the push to sell the land were Ngāti Pahauwera people. Those names are Hoani Wainohu and Paora Rerepu.”

The role played by certain Pahauwera ancestors is echoed by Derek Huata and Wi Huata:

“It appears that Ngāti Pahauwera in becoming “friendlies”, and facilitating the 1851 Land Purchase, were rewarded accordingly by the Crown in that those who sold were not made landless. Not all members of Ngāti Pahauwera were willing sellers and those members similarly along with Ngāi Tāne and other Waikare hapū also became landless.”

The extent of Ngāi Tāne’s feelings of defilement are more than apparent in that they chose to take up arms against their own kith and kin.

“To say that they did not agree with the land sales is a gross understatement”,

comments Wi Huata.”

Derek Huata continues:

“And it wasn’t until Te Kooti attacked Te Huki that it became more prominent. That was the concrete expression of Ngāi Tāne and Waikare people’s discontent about what had happened to them. So there has always been ill feeling on both sides ...

“...We were attacking our own family and we wouldn’t have done that unless it was for a serious matter. According to my uncle we were never part of that Deed of sale. We became the most landless of the hapū and we lost all of our lands.”

Rana Huata also comments:

“Yes my great grandmother, who was still alive when I was a boy, was at Te Huki Pā the day of the attack. She jumped over the edge of a huge cliff with two of her brothers on her back, into the river below.”

As a result of the land sales, a rift emerged between the Ngāi Tāne and Ngāti Pahauwera. Derek Huata spoke about his perceptions of how this rift emerged several times in his interview:

“Because in the history of our people we had fought against many of the tīpuna of those who did not support us. So there are factions in the community. Ngāi Tāne went with Te Kooti against Ngāti Pahauwera. We attacked Te Huki Pā, we saw them as the traitors because they had sold the land, our land, without our consent. We were unwilling sellers. Ever since I can remember we have seen these people as traitors. Most of the Waikare hapū didn’t even know their land had been sold.”

Reconciliation and separateness

The enduring nature of the past is a common ideology in Maori society wherein the perception of history as being before you - *i ngā wā o mua* - and the future being behind you, creates your reality.

Therefore, the hurts between Ngāi Tāne and Ngāti Pahauwera are still as real today, for some descendants, as they were back in the 1800's. However, in the recognition of their common ancestors, at the inception of the Mohaka River claim it was seen as expedient for Ngāi Tāne to join forces with its Pahauwera cousins and bring a unified claim against the Crown.

Derek Huata tells us how Ngāi Tāne strove to work alongside Ngāti Pahauwera when the Mohaka River claim was first mooted:

“At the beginning we, Ngāi Tāne, tried to put all that aside and said to our people, yes we have our conflicts but in this instance the Crown is the enemy. So we need to put those aside and come together.”

The early attempts of the first Mohaka River claim team to bring the claim to the Tribunal with Ngāti Pahauwera failed. However, other leading Ngāi Tāne *kaumātua* persisted in this endeavour to fulfil the need to present a united front to the Tribunal.

The overarching drive of Ariel Aranui, Canon Wi Te Tau Huata and Te Okanga (Ossie) Huata was to form positive alliances and to heal the breaches of the 1800's.

Derek explains how his Uncle Ariel Aranui made approaches to Ngāti Pahauwera during the development of the Mohaka River claim.

“He actually approached many of the well-known kaumātua to put an objection to the application. They only had about two days to do it, to put a submission in, it was a very short span. None of us had any idea of what the implications would be, all we knew is that it was important and that it would be the first river claim.

So Uncle Ariel decided that day to put in a submission opposing the application ... in the beginning we were very alone on the issue.”

Canon Wi Te Tau Huata and his brother Te Okanga (Ossie) played a pivotal role in supporting the amalgamation of Ngāi Tāne and Ngāti Pahauwera.

They were both supporters of *hapū* identity and promoted amalgamation only to provide greater access to Crown resources and development. Explanations of why they considered this consolidation feasible are provided by informants.

Neville Baker explains the motivations of Canon Wi Te Tau Huata and Te Okanga, his brother, in his interview:

“In 1979, Kara Puketapu was the Secretary of Māori Affairs, and I was the Deputy Secretary. We began a renaissance of Māori development, which was notable in that it was the first time the Department of Māori Affairs had been led by a team of Māori.

Canon Wi Te Tau Huata and Te Okanga Huata were key players in the implementation of the Tū Tangata Programmes that were developed by Kara Puketapu, myself, and others. Tū Tangata aimed to address a void in training and development programmes for Māori.

Te Okanga and Canon Wi were both staunch traditionalists. They held fast to their tikanga, which meant that they ensured their turangawaewae was clearly identified and recognised. The Huata family strongly supported the retention of hapū and whānau lands in the area, so that the beneficiaries who were entitled to interests in those lands had their say.”

Tama Huata talks of his father (Wi Te Tau Huata) and his uncle's (Te Okanga Huata) philosophies about creating a collective alliance with the larger Pahauwera *hapū*:

“Ko te mea nui ki ahau mo tēnei kaupapa kia whakawhaiti mai nā whakāro me te hau oranga mo te hāpuu, te hapū kei roto i te poho o Ngāti Pahauwera. No te mea, nā te amorangi o Wi Te Tau, nā Te Okanga. I whawhai rāua i ngā wā katoa. Ko te whakāhua pai te hapū, te whānau, te iwi. Otira, ko te tirohanga mo Te Okanga rāua ko taku Pāpā kia whakapiri mai kei raro i te mahu o Ngāti Pahauwera.”

Translation:

Te Okanga and Canon Wi were leaders and drivers of their people, who believed that Māori would be better served in interactions with the Crown if they formed collective alliances across *hapū*. In Ngāi Tāne's case, they perceived that it was necessary that the smaller *hapū* align with the larger, Ngāti Pahauwera, even though Ngāi Tāne was the *tuakana*. They believed in the goodwill of the larger group and the enduring nature of the *tuakana* - *teina* relationship, in that Ngāti Pahauwera would recognise and uphold the *mana* of the other *hapū*.

Paraire Huata describes his father Canon Wi Te Tau and his Uncle Te Okanga as “the glue” - the instruments of *rangimarie*. This was especially so in relation to his father, who was a man of the cloth and believed in the goodness of all.

“...they had the ability to let people share visions, and as I said, Dad was the glue and Ossie had that acumen in leading. They were both hopeless managers but great leaders, they championed the people.”

Wi Huata comments about Ngāi Tāne and Ngāti Pahauwera and the philosophies of the leading Ngāi Tāne *kaumātua*:

“There are overlaps and there are significant differences. We have our own autonomy and therefore our own identity. We share similar boundaries, tīpuna, but we are different people. We are distinct. With the Mohaka River claim we needed to move quickly. ...”

However, as time passed it became apparent that Ngāi Tāne's voice and *tuakana* status was not being acknowledged by the “umbrella” grouping. This partnership was initially achieved through the Pahauwera society but as the (land) claim progressed even this deteriorated.

Present-day Ngāi Tāne are aware of the close association they have with all the *hapū* in their *rohe*, however they are in agreement that they need to remain as a separate voice - co-existing alongside their *whanaunga*. By doing so the future needs and wishes of their children will be heeded without prejudice.

The loss of Ngāi Tāne *mana whenua*

The leading event that began the erosion of the Ngāi Tāne land base was the 1851 Mohaka Land sale. All those who had knowledge of this sale stated that Ngāi Tāne were neither consulted or involved in the sale even though all their land was lost in the resultant transaction. Consequently, when the Crown went into the Mohaka *rohe* to negotiate the sales, they failed to ensure that consultation with the Ngāi Tāne owners and other Waikare *hapū* had occurred.

Cordry Huata in his evidence says that:

“When I was doing the research on the Mohaka River claim, I realised that Ngāi Tāne had a major land-holding in the area of the 1851 purchase.”

Ngāi Tāne were angered by the sale of land to the Crown. They showed their anger through *haka* and war.

Hira Huata went through the Ngāi Tāne *haka* which vehemently opposed the sale of their lands without their knowledge. It expresses an intention to fight against the laws that had made it possible to take Māori land. It is infused with *ihi*, and *wehi* so as to incite the whole *hapū* to rebellion. Ngāi Tāne invoked the *haka* to reinforce their opposition to the selling of their land. The *haka* expresses the anger and outrage of Ngāi Tāne people about the sale of their land.

Ngāi Tāne expressed their determined opposition to land sales to the Crown by joining forces with Te Kooti and participating in a battle against Ngāti Pahauwera at Te Huki Pā in Mohaka. It was at this time that the warrior ethic of Ngāi Tāne came to the fore. As discussed by Derek Huata:

“We have always stood up to anybody who attacked our rangatiratanga, we always stood up and defended our rights. That’s what we did back then and now with this application against the consent. We are known as the fighting family.”

“E rere e te Huata hopukia. E rere e te Manuka tomokia.”

Translation:

“We throw the spear, we catch it.”

Ngāi Tāne and forestry in the 20th Century

Ngāi Tāne suffered further dislocation and destruction of their *papakāinga* in the 1940s and 1950s with the development of forestry over large tracts of “their” land. This added to the feelings of powerlessness felt as a result of the loss of control over the use of their lands.

The development of forestry meant the destruction of the last concrete remnants of their people’s former occupation of these lands. Derek recalls:

“When the forest was being planted they made us plant over urupā, and other wāhi tapu, I always avoided that and others ended up having to do it, it was too tapu. There were many pā sites you could see those they were very evident the terraces, the trenches were visible, there were many sites like that and we planted over them. In my time I planted over one pā site, and I know of many others who also did that. Some were large sites too. It is quite a large area. A considerable amount of that forest would be in Ngāi Tāne territory. By the amount of sites people talked about there must have been a very active community/ties there, coupled with the well worn ancient tracks that led to other hapū and iwi, down to Mohaka and so on.

It was heart-wrenching for us but we were not the owners, they were the Crown. We were not the kaitiaki anymore we could not protect our taonga anymore, Te Heru O Tureia was even planted with trees.

But looking back if the land was still ours those pā sites and urupā would be here today for our children to see, for my body to lie when I go. So there was a sense of loss and sadness.”

Landlessness Today

Mana whenua gives its recipients a place to stand – their *turangawaewae* and defines their place in the socio-political life of a *hapū*. Without *mana whenua* the assertion of *rangatiratanga* becomes difficult and relies on the goodwill of others to recognise *mana whenua* in an abstract and spiritual form.

Ngāi Tāne landlessness, brought about by the 1851 Mohaka land sales and the later confiscations, has had a profound effect on the *whānau* of Ngāi Tāne.

Ngāi Tāne have always made great efforts to provide an economic base for their *whānau*, but to do this without a land base has been a struggle within their *hapū rohe*. Many *whānau* have, therefore, had to establish themselves outside their *papakāinga*. While economic deprivation was overcome by their hardworking and entrepreneurial efforts, psychological, cultural and spiritual dislocation has occurred for some. Almost half of the informants stated that they did not know their Ngāi Tāne *whakapapa* or history, and this saddened them.

Ngāi Tāne who have remained close to their papakāinga

Those Ngāi Tāne who remained close to their *whenua* have the benefit of maintaining a constant physical link with their resources. However, the retention of this physical link has not been without cost. For informants such as Derek Huata the experience of retaining a Ngāi Tāne identity has been fraught with external difficulties.

Derek described earlier (see page 11) how the development of forestry in the region caused the desecration of many Ngāi Tāne *wāhi tapu*.

“In those days you didn’t question your employers - they paid you so you did what you were told. Your family is reliant on you to take the money. Every other major industry was closing down, there were no benefits. The whole community was dependent on the forestry.

There were records kept of the pā sites by forestry but now I hear they were all destroyed which is a loss because they would have documented all our pā kainga. I don’t want the foot prints of my tīpuna to be erased so that my children will never know the vibrancy of our people.”

The introduction of forestry resulted in the desecration of *wāhi tapu*, however, at the same time it provided those who stayed close to their *papakāinga* with a livelihood. With the introduction of specialist logging practices and gangs, the need for local workers dissipated leaving those within their *whenua* without an economic base.

Ngāi Tāne who have moved away from their papakāinga

Ngāi Tāne away from their *papakāinga* have had to make spiritual, cultural and political sacrifices to be able to get on with life out side their *rohe*, but this has been at some cost to their *mauri* and *wairua*. Wi Huata is someone who has moved away from his *papakāinga* to establish an economic base for his family elsewhere.

Wi describes his feeling about his loss of *mana whenua* and the sacrifices his father made to move his family away from their homelands.

“My father spent some time living in or staying on at Maungataniwha which is traditional Ngāi Tāne land. He left there because he had a responsibility to carry on the family name. As the eldest child he had a responsibility to carry on leading the family. My father is the sixteenth eldest son in a straight line, so he couldn’t just do his own thing. He didn’t have land in terms of the Pākehā way of looking at things, but he still felt he was kaitiaki, with the other leaders like Tom Spooner, of their lands even if their names were no longer on the ownership papers. My father owns a piece of land in Bridge Pā, but its not the same to him or to me. We have the Pākehā title, but it is not our traditional land.”

Some Ngāi Tāne moved to locations that further added to their anguish. As recalled by Rodger Aranui, there is a cluster of landless *whānau* living in Maraenui, Napier, an area that was widely known as being an urban ghetto.

Roger’s *whānau* belong to those *whānau* who were relocated:

“Although we shifted to Maraenui with other whānau from the area, my roots will always be back in Raupunga and the surrounding area. I call that home. I try to get back there as much as possible. I would have liked the whānau to have remained there, because even though many of them shifted down here they still worked in the Mohaka and the Raupunga area.

Maraenui was once a rubbish dump, and although people have done well there, it’s like the collecting place, for all those who have been displaced. I don’t call it home, it has no meaning for me. It was a place to dump our people.”

Conclusion - Future visions for the claim and Ngāi Tāne

Many Ngāi Tāne have chosen vocations that allow them to interact on a regular basis with the land, even when the land is not their *mana whenua*. A feeling that emerged strongly from all the interviews was the informants’ love and passion for their land and a longing for a tangible reconnection with their *mana whenua* in their Ngāi Tāne *rohe*.

Informants spoke of their dream to regain their *mana whenua*. Wi Huata described what his *mana whenua* means to him:

“So for our land, Ngāi Tāne land, I’ve always wanted to own land in the way my father looks at it, in terms of Māori lore. But because our land was lost long before we were born we were never given the opportunity to feel what that was like, to have land that came from God and was passed on to you by your tūpuna who stewarded that land. I have a love and passion for the land and I’ve had to substitute my destined land with land that I’ve had to gain through Pākehā mechanisms many miles from my Ngāi Tāne homelands.

But I see it is my duty to my children to keep reconnecting them back to their land, to their river and ngahere. When they were christened I took water from the Mohaka river for this, and my eldest son Tāne has his whenua buried back home.

We weren't brought up in Wairoa, we weren't brought up in Maungataniwha, yet I'm closely linked to that area. So there are feelings of loss, in not having a papakāinga relationship."

The feelings of loss and dislocation shared by Ngāi Tāne informants have affected each *whānau* in various ways. Even though they became totally landless, they have usually managed to triumph over adversity to forge productive and satisfying lives for themselves and their children.

Many feel a deep sense of responsibility to their children and feel compelled to right the wrongs of the past so that their children can regain their *turangawaewae*, *mana whenua*, *awa* and *ngahere*.

This report concludes with the visions of the informants in relation to the outcome of the claim and the future pathway for their people.

Rana Huata:

"Very few people know how to whakapapa themselves back to Ngāi Tāne. That is because the knowledge has been lost to many of the families. However in my family we have kept the knowledge. I have ensured that my children keep that knowledge going.

I want to teach the rest of my whānau and hapū all about it. I don't want to let it die. I want to keep that part of my identity strong. I am in favour of having wānanga and sharing all that information with the Ngāi Tāne descendants.

I feel that the Ngāi Tāne people have been very badly treated. Their whole identity was really wiped out through the terrible things that happened to them. That's really the worst thing you can do to a person. To wipe out your identity is to lose everything.

Bringing this claim is a way of giving people a better idea of where they come from. There are the Ngāi Tāne people out there, but they don't know how to find that past."

Being Ngāi Tāne and having lost their *manu whenua*, many informants felt a responsibility to their children to ensure that their Ngāi Tāne identity was celebrated and affirmed.

Roger Aranui stated:

"I would like to establish an educational base back home in the papakāinga where we could all go back and learn about who we are, our tikanga and whakapapa. I'd like there to be satellites of such a facility located where ever we may be today. Here in Hastings, over in Napier and other locations.

"These resource and educational centres could be available especially to our children, so that they can understand who they are. I do not know my Ngāi Tāne whakapapa, but I want it to be available to my children when they are ready."

Tama Huata:

"For me the philosophy of the claim should be that it's acknowledgement of Ngāi Tāne in everything that it encompasses. That means everything gets acknowledged. It must be the history, it must be the whakapapa, it must be the transactions that were

made good and bad. It should include the acknowledgement of the mana of each whānau and hapū. This will allow us to get it right for all the dynamics of today to come into play and thus move us into the future.”

Paraire Huata speaks of achieving a positive outcome for his children:

“My vision for the outcome of the claim is that my children can show their Ngāi Tāne side and that they are able to do that without fear or blame. And that whatever takes them back there it won’t be because of conflicts over the claim.

“Another vision is that all that area becomes drug free and it has no direct bearing on the claim yet it does. My whānau and Ngāi Tāne to be drug free.”

Maraea Aranui said:

“I support the Ngāi Tāne claim to their lands as a way of asserting the rangatiratanga of Ngāi Tāne. I feel comfortable about supporting the rangatiratanga of Ngāi Tāne on the one hand and the rangatiratanga of Ngāti Pahauwera on the other hand. I believe both these groups have their rightful place.”

Derek’s vision is direct:

“All I really want is justice for our people.”

Wi Huata feels it is critically important that recognition of Ngāi Tāne as an autonomous entity is given:

“All we want to do is do our own thing and be given the recognition of ourselves as an entity in our own right, having our mountain Maungataniwha, the upper reaches of the Mohaka and Waikare, our traditional boundaries like Te Heru o Tureia. Recognition of our tīpuna.”

“We will always regardless of what happens seek out and create opportunities for our people and find alternate ways to achieve economic development. All we want is the ability to be recognised as a hapū in our own right and all that belongs to Ngāi Tāne.”