Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Questions & Answers

A Deeper Dive



Network Waitangi

2026

acknowledgements

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Cover image

Former Prime Minister Richard Seddon's Wellington statue outside Parliament House holds Te Kara, the 1834 flag of the Confederation of the Tribes of New Zealand, at the arrival of te Hikoi mō te Tiriti in 2024. Photo, Denis Came Friar.

Back cover image

The banner of Toi Tū te Tiriti, against the Treaty Principles Bill, is brought to Te Tii Marae on Waitangi Day 2024, Photo, Eda Tang, *The Spinoff.*

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Arowhenua whānau of Ngāi Tahu standing in front of the original wharenui, Te Hapa o Niu Tireni (commonly translated as The Broken Promises of the New Zealand Government), in Temuka, Canterbury in the 1890s.

From left: Billy Mihaka, Daisy Mihaka, Scottie Reihana, Frank Fowler, Hemi Paiki, Moki Reihana, Jack Leonard, Cope Waaka, Hana Kaitai, & Tarawhata Waaka.

The hui discussed what could be done about the wholesale theft of Ngāi Tahu lands, and re-launched Te Kerēme o Ngāi Tahu rāua Ko Ngāti Mamoe: The Claim of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Mamoe. From Temuka Museum.

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key terms

Hapū are kin groups, tribes, nations. We typically use hapū rather than Māori, to emphasise that hapū, represented by their rangatira, were the groups that signed te Tiriti and engaged with settlers.

He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tīreni is the Declaration of Independence of New Zealand 1835, commonly referred to as **He Wakaputanga**, a Declaration. Some groups use the contemporary spelling, **He Whakaputanga**.

Iwi is a grouping of hapū, often with a common ancestor.

Kāwanatanga is a governance provision for tauiwi, and Māori who choose to participate in it, established by te Tiriti. The Crown has enforced its governing powers over tangata whenua as well as tauiwi, contrary to the original meaning and intent of te Tiriti.

Mana motuhake is self-determination and independence.

Mana whenua belongs to those whose authority and identity is derived from particular lands.

Māori means ordinary, or human. When capitalised, it refers to an Indigenous person or people of Aotearoa.

New Zealander referred only to Māori until the mid-1900s. It now signifies residence or citizenship, geographic nationality, and not necessarily any particular identity among the many cultures here now.

Pākehā originally implied paleness, or those of a different breath. In te Tiriti it was a respectful term for all non-Māori, who were largely of European descent. It now mostly refers to those who are commonly identified as White, or of British or European origin.

Rangatira is a leader who embodies the authority and mana of a hapū.

Tagata moana are peoples from Pasifika nations.

Tangata Tiriti or Treaty people, is a term with many meanings, used in different ways by hapū and tauiwi. We use it to mean tauiwi who recognise that their right to live in Aotearoa stems from te Tiriti o Waitangi, *and* who are actively committed to tino rangatiratanga and decolonisation. It refers to a political practice rather than an ethnic identity.

Tangata whenua, people of the land, and/or **Māori**, refers to those with a Māori ancestor who identify as Māori.

Tauiwi encompasses all non-Māori settled here. While it includes Pākehā, it is now often used by people of colour to differentiate themselves from New Zealanders of European origin. Many tauiwi carry their own people's painful experience of colonisation from their country of origin. The word is also used by hapū to refer to other iwi Māori living within their rohe (territory).

Te tino rangatiratanga is ultimate, paramount authority originating from whenua (land) and whakapapa (genealogy).

Te Tiriti refers to the text in te reo Māori, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the authoritative text.

Te Wakaminenga o Nga Hapu o Nu Tireni is the Confederation of the Tribes of New Zealand, commonly referred to as **Te Wakaminenga,** the Confederation. Some groups use the contemporary spelling, **Te Whakaminenga**. We do not use macrons, as the original title did not.

The Crown originally referred to the power and authority derived from the UK sovereign; this power is now exercised by the Parliamentary Executive, or Cabinet, made up of government ministers.

The Crown's English-language version, the **Treaty of Waitangi**, and **Hobson's draft**, all refer to the document in English received by the British Colonial Office in October 1840. Some cited sources, such as the Waitangi Tribunal, use 'the Treaty' to refer to both the Crown's version and te Tiriti o Waitangi. We have left such usages unchanged in quotes.

Tikanga are laws and values of hapū.

Treaty 'Settlements' - We use quote marks around this word because government 'settlements' are colonial, tokenistic, unfair, and will have to be revisited (***see D6*** in the print book)**.**

Tuku whenua is when a hapū allows a person or group to use land with the understanding that its mana, and ultimate control, remains with the hapū.

Place names

Kirikiriroa (Hamilton)
Kororāreka (Russell)
Rēkohu (Chatham Islands)
Takaparawhau (Bastion Point)
Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland)
Te Pēwhairangi (Bay of Islands)
Te Tai Tokerau (Northland)
Te Waipounamu (the South Island)
Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington)
Tūranganui-a-Rua (Poverty Bay)
Whenuakite (Coromandel)

introduction

A Deeper Dive is a new online companion to the print edition of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi Questions & Answers*, expanding on its answers to 44 questions about te Tiriti.

The print edition is written for those new to te Tiriti and Aotearoa's history of colonisation. *A Deeper Dive* is written for those with some basic Tiriti knowledge who want more context and detail.

A list of Government breaches of te Tiriti, expanded with case studies, is also available for the first time as a separate online PDF from the websites of the publishers, Network Waitangi Whangārei and Network Waitangi Ōtautahi.

A Deeper Dive answers 25 additional background questions to those in the print book, as well as providing references for all three publications, further reading and websites, and contact details of independent Tiriti educators.

For more detail about the approach taken in this PDF, see the full introduction in the print edition.

Who we are

The original authors were part of Project Waitangi, which tauiwi initiated in 1985 in response to Māori challenges to raise awareness of te Tiriti among tauiwi communities, leading up to the 1990 commemoration of its 150th anniversary.

When the project funding ended, regional tauiwi groups formed an alliance under the banner of Network Waitangi to continue collaborating on this work, and this publication.

There are now many diverse, independent, tauiwi anti-racism and Tiriti educators, working alongside Māori educators.

Through workshops and in public fora, educators assist people to understand the contract that is te Tiriti. We also study the effects of ongoing colonisation and institutional monoculturalism; support organisations to build creative, practical and mutually beneficial relationships with hapū and Māori communities; and work towards decolonisation.

A Beginnings

1 Why did Europeans believe they were superior to Indigenous peoples?

MEDIEVAL Christianity in Europe developed a belief called the Great Chain of Being, ranking all matter and life in a hierarchy of exploitation of people and nature, placing God at the top, and European men next. It was based on class, gender, race, and human dominance of the natural world.

This concept of hierarchy, and capitalist exploitation of people and resources, were the foundations of colonising activity by the Christian monarchies of Europe, which competed with each other for discoveries of 'new' lands, and the resulting power and wealth.

Voyages to the 'new world' brought contact with aboriginal peoples (an early inclusive term for all Indigenous peoples), and led to debate about whether they were a 'sub-human' species.

Europeans variously described these peoples as animal-like, ape-like, child-like, heathen, savages, and uncivilised. This European thinking from the late 1400s is the foundation of arrogant, racist ideas.

These racist beliefs persist today, both consciously and subliminally, from ordinary Pākehā talk to White supremacist groups, summarised in the belief that 'my culture is better than yours and therefore I am better than you'.

Eventually however, a papal bull by Pope Paul III in 1537, *Sublimis Deus* (the sublime God) forbade the enslavement of Indigenous peoples, recognising them as fully rational human beings.

This decree kickstarted Christian missionary activity worldwide, aiming first to 'civilise' (teach native people how to live like Europeans) then Christianise them.

In Aotearoa, the Rev. Samuel Marsden of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) first brought three missionaries to work here in 1814. One introduced literacy in te reo Māori, one taught carpentry, and the third commerce, to 'give the gift of being British' to hapū before attempting to convert them.

> *This information can be used to counter statements that European peoples are superior to Māori and other Indigenous peoples (**see Appendix 1**).*

2 What is the Doctrine of Discovery?

THIS doctrine dates back to Roman law and was developed by the Catholic Church in the late Middle Ages. It influenced European law in New Zealand, Canada, the USA, Australia, and many other countries.

Roman law gave the right of first occupation to the power which discovered a new land if there were no previous inhabitants. If there were inhabitants, the 'discovering' power had the first right to trade with the Indigenous peoples. Later, 'discovering' nations assumed a right to occupy if lands new to them were not ruled by a Christian monarch.

Indigenous peoples whose countries have been colonised have created many coalitions and campaigns against the Doctrine of Discovery, and explored ways to work more closely together at this 2026 international conference organised by Māori in Rotorua.



In 1452, Pope Nicholas V released *Dum Diversas*, a Church decree (called a papal bull) sanctioning King Alfonso V of Portugal's plans to invade the Americas; this was the first of a set of documents that outlined the Doctrine of Discovery.

The decree gave full permission for Portuguese colonisers to 'invade, search out, capture and subdue … enemies of Christ wherever they may be … and reduce their persons to perpetual slavery'.

Under this doctrine, lands 'discovered' with non-Christian inhabitants were referred to as terra nullius (uninhabited), later re-interpreted as lands uncultivated to European standards.

Despite widespread Indigenous agriculture, Australia was declared terra nullius in 1779. This was overturned by the 1992 Mabo decision of Australia's High Court, which recognised Indigenous peoples' connection and rights to land.

Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson claimed the South Island by 'Right of Discovery' in May 1840, indicating the cultural assumption of White supremacy that underpinned European exploration.

The NZ government still uses this doctrine, which Moana Jackson called 'a crime against humanity' (Ngata, 2024). In recent Tiriti 'settlement' negotiations, government officials have told hapū negotiators that it is the Doctrine of Discovery that applies, rather than te Tiriti (Mutu, 2018, p215).

Indigenous peoples colonised under the Doctrine of Discovery have challenged the Catholic Church for decades to withdraw this doctrine. In 2022, during a pastoral visit to Canada, Pope Francis apologised for the treatment of Indigenous peoples in residential schools and other assimilationist abuses, but said nothing about the Doctrine of Discovery.

After many First Nations leaders expressed profound disappointment with this omission, Pope Francis apologised in July 2022 for the treatment of Indigenous peoples. Vatican agencies repudiated the doctrine on March 30, 2023, and apologised for atrocities carried out in its name, although Pope Francis avoided any Church responsibility for these colonising processes.

The doctrine reflects continuing European belief in their cultural supremacy over Indigenous peoples.

B He Wakaputanga

3 How did hapū allow outsiders to use their land?

TUKU whenua was the traditional way a hapū shared the use of whenua (land) with others. This equates roughly to the European idea of a use right, or lease holding, but was based on the strength of relationship between the hapū and the other party.

However, by the late 1830s, rangatira had witnessed what they thought were tuku whenua arrangements between missionaries and settlers being overridden by the 'lessees' selling parts of the land to others they did not know, and for greatly inflated prices.

There were enough examples of this to discourage rangatira from wanting to adopt a European land title system, and many rangatira did not sign te Tiriti because of this issue.

4 Who controlled the country from 1840?

IN 1840, Aotearoa was firmly under hapū control.

> *The cultural framework of New Zealand in 1840 was still essentially Polynesian; all European residents absorbed Māori values to some extent; most Europeans were incorporated, however loosely, into a tribal structure; and the basic social divisions were tribal, not the European divisions of race, class or sect. (Owens, 1992, p29).*

Hapū members had travelled the world, traded internationally, were adopting new technologies and commerce, and continuing to gain literacy. The written word provided a new way of inter-tribal communication, and opened up more trading opportunities.

The first bank notes were issued in New Zealand in March 1840 by the Union Bank of Australia, followed by the New Zealand Banking Company in September 1840. Private trading banks issued notes until 1934.

In 1857 the Bay of Plenty, Taupo and Rotorua natives – being about 8,000 people – had upwards of 3,000 acres of land in wheat; 300 acres in potatoes, nearly 2,000 acres in maize, and upwards of 1,000 acres of kumara. They owned nearly 100 horses, 200 head of cattle, 5,000 pigs, 4 water-powered mills, 96 ploughs, as well as 43 coastal vessels averaging nearly 20 tons each (Firth, 1959, p449).

This period, when rangatira adapted the most useful aspects of other cultures and controlled their lands and the other peoples here, was a time of peak prosperity for hapū. However, there were disputes with settlers over land use arrangements, and when Hobson arrived on January 28, 1840, rangatira asked him to resolve these disputes.

5 What was the British government context leading up to 1840?

BY 1830, the British had extensive experience in exercising their power over other countries. Private corporations were also active and often started the process of colonisation, as with the East India Company in India.

But British statesmen and political theorists were starting to debate the morality of settler-colonialism.

During the 1830s, several reforms were enacted, including the abolition of slavery and limits on child labour. Humanitarian concerns about Indigenous welfare, and basic human rights, gained traction in British public opinion, led by the Aborigines Protection Society.

British government policy recognised Indigenous sovereignty in colonial territories. But, as in India, it was a private corporation, the New Zealand Company, that forced a reluctant British government to engage formally with hapū.

C Te Tiriti

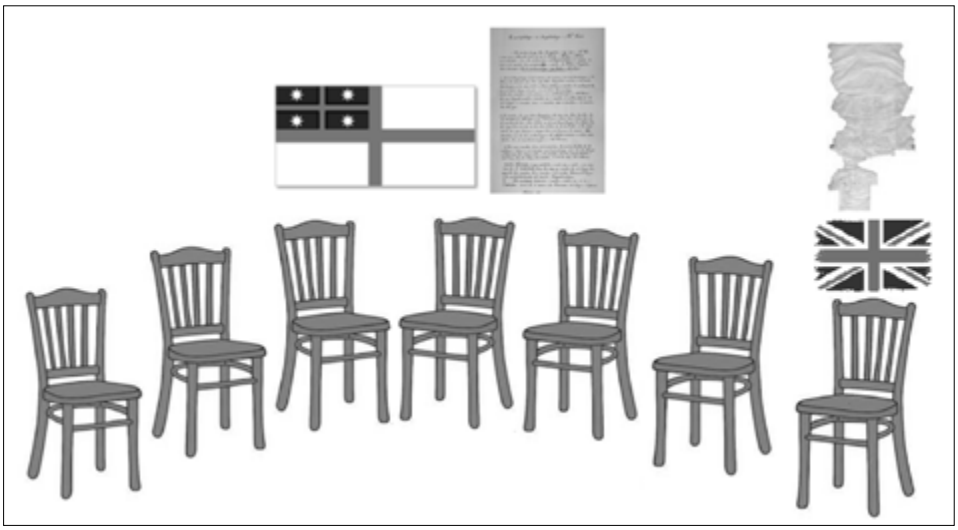
6 What are the differences between te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Crown's English-language version?

RECENT research on the political context and the texts (Fletcher, 2023) has found that the Colonial Office, Busby, and Williams did not see any contradiction between te Tiriti and the English language version. Fletcher asserts that the Colonial Office had no intention of imposing British common law over hapū.

During the formation of te Tiriti, the UK parliament was led by the Whig administration of Lord Melbourne. Following a general election in 1841, it was dominated by Sir Robert Peel's Conservative majority that had a different view of te Tiriti.

From 1845 Governor Grey, under instruction from this new government, wilfully interpreted Article 1 of the Crown's English-language version as meaning that hapū had ceded their entire sovereignty completely to the Queen.

Subsequent governments have operated on that erroneous basis, claiming that a monolithic British sovereignty was agreed to and that the rangatira ceded 'all their rights and powers of sovereignty absolutely and forever'.



How rangatira saw the place of the Kāwana (Governor Hobson) after te Tiriti in relation to Te Wakaminenga. Image by Tangata Tiriti - Treaty People.

But settlers, governments, and early court decisions overlook the end of the sentence. It says 'absolutely and forever … as the sole sovereigns thereof'.

In other words, their previous singular sovereignty over lands now entrusted to the Crown, was from that point on to be shared. Hapū sovereignty did not conveniently disappear.

Fletcher argues that a plurality of power was agreed. The Crown's laws would be applied to British citizens ('and the many more to come'), wherever they lived throughout the country ('o rātou whenua').

It was an allowance for and acceptance of dual power within a rohe (territory). This has been described as an act of radical generosity, and was consistent with tikanga based on mutually beneficial outcomes.

In the 1950s, Pākehā historian Ruth Ross researched the meaning of the reo Māori text, which had been ignored by settler governments and courts since it was signed. She later spoke to rangatira in the Hokianga to clarify her understanding.

Her research was itself ignored for 20 years until she published an influential article in the *NZ Journal of History* in 1972. Her view was that the Treaty was 'hastily and inexpertly drafted in English, which was then poorly translated', but that this did not matter as the text in te reo was the authoritative one.

Historian Paul Moon's 2002 book *Te Ara Ki Te Tiriti, the Path to the Treaty of Waitangi*, studied the context and meaning of te Tiriti and concluded that Māori sovereignty would be left unaffected by British rule over British subjects in the country.

Fletcher's 2023 research on the political context of 1840 and the texts, some 70 years after Ross's and 21 years after Moon's, positions the texts as congruent at the time of signing, rather than contradictory, which had become a common narrative since the 1970s – including in previous editions of this book.

Some differences are outlined below to assist understanding this long history of tauiwi ignoring hapū knowledge – the 'talking past each other' on the meaning of te Tiriti.

Preamble

The preamble in both expresses the Queen's good will to the rangatira and hapū, asking them to allow a place for the Queen's governor 'lest evil come to the people of New Zealand, and those living here without law', and committing to a peaceful and prosperous future.

Article 1

Te Tiriti o Waitangi: the rangatira and hapū agree to the Queen's governor exercising kāwanatanga (a transliteration of the word governorship). The discussion at Waitangi was about allowing the presence of a governor, and enabling him to use British common law to control criminal Pākehā.

The English-language version: the rangatira yield their previously held sole rights of sovereignty in the country, to enable the Queen's jurisdiction over her subjects to be exercised here. However, as described above, this has been interpreted subsequently by self-serving settlers as meaning that the Crown was granted complete power and authority over everything and everybody, including Māori.

Article 2

Te Tiriti o Waitangi: the Crown recognises and upholds the paramount authority (te tino rangatiratanga) of the hapū over their lands, villages and all that is precious to them (taonga katoa). Taonga are physical and metaphysical, of inherent value, and includes all things held precious, eg, the natural world (te taiao), language, knowledge (mātauranga), and health (ora).

The English-language version: guarantees to hapū '*the full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties as long as they wish to retain them*.'

Article 2 also talks about selling land. ***In te Tiriti***, rangatira give to the governor the *first option* to buy land (internationally referred to as the *right of pre-emption*), but ***in the English-language version*** they can only sell to the governor (*exclusive right of pre-emption*).

Article 3

Te Tiriti: gives to all the people of New Zealand (in 1840 this meant Māori) the same rights as British people, in addition to the rights they already enjoyed in their own society.

The English-language version: Māori get the same rights as British *subjects*.

This article allows for the participation of individual Māori in kāwanatanga, eg, voting for and standing in its local and national elections, and bestows individual rights in general.

Article 4

Before te Tiriti was signed, Colenso recorded a discussion on religious freedom between Catholic Bishop Pompallier and Hobson. Hobson and the rangatira agreed to the following, which was read out:

> *The Governor says the several faiths (beliefs) of England, of the Wesleyans, of Rome, and also Māori custom and religion shall alike be protected by him.*

In te reo 'ritenga Māori' was used for Māori custom. Ritenga refers to beliefs and practices of the spiritual relationship between humans and the rest of the natural world. ***The English-language version*** does not include the fourth article.

Summary: Te Tiriti o Waitangi provides a framework of understanding between hapū and the Crown, to ensure peace and good order. It confirms hapū sovereignty, guaranteeing control over their lands, settlements and all that is of value to them – including their social, political and economic relationships and institutions, and their spirituality. It allows a governor to exercise control over others.

7 Was any British intention to gain sole sovereignty explained at Tiriti signings?

ANY underlying British colonial intentions were masked by the missionaries putting te Tiriti in the context of the Queen wishing to establish a personal relationship with the rangatira, out of her love for them and a desire to protect and restrain her subjects. The missionary Colenso and some Kororāreka (Russell) traders who were bilingual, challenged Hobson as to whether the rangatira understood British intentions.

Some rangatira refused to sign as a result, and because of their knowledge of the negative effects of European colonisation on other Indigenous peoples. Others, like Te Wherowhero and Te Heuheu, did not sign because they judged the provisions in He Wakaputanga to be sufficient.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi clearly shows that tribal authority was recognised and confirmed by the Crown. However, Hobson acted as if hapū sovereignty had been ceded, collecting shipping fees and tariffs – which had been planned while he was in Sydney as a way to finance 'the colony'.

He made a unilateral proclamation of sovereignty over Te Ika a Māui (the North Island) on 21 May, citing his interpretation of the cession of sovereignty in Article 1 of the Crown's English-language version. (The NZ Company's continuing use of Te Kara, the original flag of independence, as a sign that Aotearoa was an independent country, not a UK colony, may have triggered this.)

He also claimed sovereignty over Te Waipounamu (the South Island) by reason of discovery. Major Thomas Bunbury, who had been appointed to gather signatures in the south, also made two proclamations of sovereignty: on 5 June at Rakiura(Stewart Island) on the grounds of Cook's discovery; and on 17 June over Te Waipounamu, after the signing of te Tiriti by some South Island rangatira.

Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson spent three weeks in Port Jackson (Sydney), getting acquainted with his superior, NSW Governor Sir George Gipps and selecting his staff to bring to New Zealand.

They included George Cooper, appointed the first Head of Customs on 5 January 1840. Cooper arrived in New Zealand from NSW with Hobson on the HMS Herald on 29 January.

The appointment of a Head of Customs before any agreement with rangatira stemmed from the intent expressed in Lord Normanby's instructions to Hobson, that the collection of customs duties on items such as tobacco, spirits, wine and sugar would be an important source of revenue to defray the expenses of the government of the proposed settlement in New Zealand.

Shortly before Hobson left Sydney, Gipps issued a proclamation extending the boundaries of New South Wales to include any territory in New Zealand acquired in sovereignty. Hobson's proclamation of British sovereignty over the North Island on 21 May allowed this New South Wales customs tariff to be 'legally' enacted.

8 How did the signing progress?

AFTER the Waitangi signing, seven other copies were taken around the country. The largest number were gathered at Māngungu on the Hokianga Harbour.

Signatures or tohu (signs) were used – some deliberately drew their mataora (facial tattoo) instead of a signature, to signify the depth and importance of their commitment.

Some chose not to sign because they had signed the Declaration, and some were not approached. The hapū of Tūhoe, Te Arawa, Waikato, Ngāti Pāoa and Tūwharetoa were overlooked, and there were only four signing opportunities in the South Island.

Some tribes did not sign because their female rangatira were not asked, as in British law women had no power to enter contracts (Waitangi Tribunal, 2023). Te Rangitopeora, a senior leader of Ngati Toa, was one of 13 women to sign.

9 What was the status of te Tiriti in the early years?

HŌNE Heke, the first to sign te Tiriti, expected individual rangatira would have, at the very least, equal status with the Governor, and that the British flag could potentially fly with Te Kara.

Instead, Hobson replaced Te Kara with the Union Jack at Kororāreka. Bay of Islands rangatira were also unhappy with Hobson imposing tariffs and moving the capital to Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland), both of which deprived them of income, and building roads through their rohe (territory).

On 8 July 1844, Heke's people cut down the flagstaff in Kororāreka which he had gifted, saying that the Union Jack it flew symbolised the lying tongue of the governor. Heke, who with his wife Hariata had been educated at a mission school, deliberately chose a symbolic attack rather than drawing blood.

He proposed in a letter to FitzRoy that the flagstaff should fly Te Kara, setting a date to meet. FitzRoy did not arrive, and the British flag was raised on a new staff. The staff was felled a further three times, lastly on 11 March 1845, which began the raid on Kororāreka (in which Pūmuka was killed).

Hobson died in 1842 and his successor, Robert FitzRoy, initiated armed confrontations at Puketutu, the Battle of Ōhaeawai, and the siege of Ruapekapeka (the Northern Wars, March 1845-January 1846). Northern rangatira Kawiti and Hōne Heke resisted and defended their rohe and their unceded sovereignty.

FitzRoy was responsible for the Native Exemption Ordinance of 1844, an early, brief attempt at a legal system which took some account of Māori custom.

Rather than suffer culturally unacceptable imprisonment, Māori who had committed offences against Pākehā paid compensation instead. Rangatira also had an important role in settling these inter-cultural disputes. FitzRoy was replaced late in 1845 by George Grey.

Despite the actions of these governors, the status quo continued because of the overwhelming economic, social and political power of the hapū majority. New settlers required hapū assistance, particularly for food. Tribes in Tāmaki Makaurau supplied the town with nearly all its fruit, pumpkin, maize, potatoes, kūmara, pigs, and fish.

From 1840 British governments imposed executive government on the British here. The first 'responsible' New Zealand government was formed in 1856. All legislation passed by parliament was sent to Britain for scrutiny until 1947 (Martin, 2010).

Occasionally, the governor in New Zealand or the British parliament refused assent and/or negotiated amendments, or forced the legislation to lapse.

The Colonial Office continued to insist that its understanding of the terms of te Tiriti – hapū independence from British rule – be observed, in letters written to governors Hobson, FitzRoy and Grey.

But in 1846 the Conservative government appointed Earl Grey (no relation to Governor George Grey) Secretary of State for the Colonies. He was a New Zealand Company sympathiser and had chaired a parliamentary committee that had favoured the company over Māori land rights.

Land purchases and seizure

Earl Grey gave instructions for taking Māori land (alienation from native title without compensation) and a charter for the colony, reinforcing Lord



Cartoon by Tom Scott, published in **The Evening Post***, 2004.*

Stanley's earlier instructions that the Crown was entitled to the 'waste lands' in the colony and was free to decide on their disposal.

Grey had previously stated: 'From the moment that British dominion was proclaimed in New Zealand, all lands not actually occupied … ought to be considered as the property of the Crown' (Porter, 1974, p465).

George Grey did not follow Earl Grey's instructions as he, and others, feared that seizing land would provoke an uprising of the Māori population. Governor Grey advised Earl Grey that rangatira recognised the Crown's right of pre-emption (first right of refusal), and would, mostly, dispose of, for 'a merely nominal consideration', the lands they did not require.

He thought this would make enough land available, provided land purchase was kept well ahead of settlement, so as to 'prevent Māori from getting ideas about the value of their land and from asking a higher price'. Earl Grey agreed (Porter, 1974, p.467).

The English-language version of the Treaty said hapū could sell only to the Crown, which then sold the land at much higher prices. Settlers didn't want to pay the greatly inflated prices and wished to buy direct from Māori at lower prices.

The Crown was also refusing to buy some land from willing hapū vendors and would set fixed prices. This was contrary to Article 2 both of te Tiriti – 'subject to the arranging of payment which will be agreed to by them', and of the Crown's English-language version – 'at such prices as may be agreed upon'.

Rangatira understanding from te Tiriti was that they were to give the first offer, or right of first refusal, to the Crown, but they could sell to other willing purchasers if the Crown refused to buy or refused the price, which suited settlers better.

In 1844, Governor FitzRoy waived the Crown's sole right to buy, on the condition that a commission of 10 shillings per acre was paid to the Crown. Each sale had to be checked by Protectors, and sacred sites were not to be sold.

FitzRoy later changed the fee to one penny per acre. Whereas 600 acres had changed hands with a fee of 10 shilling per acre, settlers bought 100,000 acres with the one penny fee (12 pennies equalled one shilling).

The Colonial Office in London was unhappy with these waivers, because profits almost stopped. They also feared a decrease in the power of the Crown if hapū competed with the Crown over land sales.

Governor Grey was therefore directed to restore the Crown's sole right to purchase when he took office in 1845, which undermined tribal economic gains.

From 1845 to 1854 Grey claimed to have purchased 32 million acres of land for £50,000, mainly in Te Waipounamu. Some of it was onsold at inflated prices.

This purchase and others like it put the settler economy on a sound financial footing at the expense of the hapū economy, and Grey's failure to uphold the conditions under which land was sold (reserved lands and resources) created further misery for dispossessed hapū.

There was increasing pressure for land through the 1840s and 50s. Agricultural prices, particularly for wheat, dropped and markets collapsed. Livestock farming was more profitable but required much greater acreage, intensifying the demand for land.

By the late 1850s many tribes were refusing to sell, and the Kiingitanga (the Māori King Movement) had started in the Waikato. The movement's three principles were that within its boundaries no further land would be sold, no alcohol would be sold, and the teaching of children would be in te reo Māori.

Settler demand for land led to the government deeming the Kiingitanga to be in rebellion against the Crown by choosing their own monarch, and used that as an excuse to seize fertile Waikato land by force.

D Breaches

10 What happened to lands that settlers thought hapū did not physically occupy?

LORD Normanby's instructions to Hobson recognised that hapū held title to all land in New Zealand. 'Māori title to the soil and to the Sovereignty of New Zealand is indisputable, and has been solemnly recognised by the British government', he wrote in 1839.

Hobson was requested to purchase those lands 'not occupied by Māori', with an important proviso: that he did not purchase 'any Territory the retention of which by them would be essential or highly conducive, to their own comfort, safety or subsistence'.

In Te Waipounamu, for instance, some hapū granted Pākehā settlers large areas to use for farming, but hapū did not intend a complete alienation of their land and especially not of the places they used as seasonal food sources (***see Government Breaches online***).

The first two governors continued to acknowledge that te Tiriti recognised native title to the whole of Aotearoa, and it wasn't until the late 1840s that 'unoccupied' land was classified as 'waste land'. This classification entirely suited the colonisers – for hapū, these areas provided major food sources, in addition to their extensive gardens.

Governor Grey undertook large scale 'purchases' of immense areas of 'waste land' to extinguish native title, a violation of te Tiriti. The Crown actively pursued a policy of extinguishing native title, following the Native Land Purchase Ordinance 1846.

From 1862, such ongoing government actions were a recurring topic in several hapū-owned te reo newspapers (McRae, 2017). *Te Hokioi o Niu Tireni e Rere atu na* (January-May 1863) was an influential voice for the Kiingitanga; *Te Wananga* (1874-78) published in Te Matau-a-Māui (Hawkes' Bay), advocated against the sale and lease of land to the Crown and individuals, and for hapū self-government. *Huia Tangata Kotahi* (1893-95), printed in Heretaunga (Hastings), and its successor *Te Puke ki Hikurangi* (1897-1900, 1901-6 and 1911-13) both advocated unity as essential to the survival of hapū.

11 Does the 1994 fiscal envelope policy still limit compensation?

YES. Everything about how Treaty breaches are addressed has been decided and controlled by the Crown without negotiation or agreement from hapū or iwi. This, in itself, is a continuing breach of te Tiriti.

Since governments are responsible for land and resource thefts, this equates to a car thief acknowledging they stole it, deciding which bits of the car they will give back, and what compensation they will pay for the rest of it, within a budget the thief has determined.

The controversial 'fiscal envelope' policy, proposed by the National Cabinet in 1994, meant that an arbitrary total limit of $1 billion was allowed for all 'settlements' – even before the evidence was heard.

Claimants would eventually get a proportional share of this total after their claim was heard. Treaty Settlements Minister Doug Graham said later that the billion dollar figure was all that he could get Cabinet to agree to.

In 1994, on the 158th anniversary of the signing of He Wakaputanga on October 28, Mike Smith,

A helicopter removes the last branch from the lone pine on Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill) in Tāmaki Makaurau in 2000, after Mike Smith cut it in a 1994 protest against the Fiscal Envelope policy. One News.





By Ngā Toki Whakarururanga, a Māori collective mandated by a 2021 Mediation Agreement with the Crown in the Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2522) Inquiry into the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement. It aims to advance and protect Māori interests in trade policy and negotiations, provide Tiriti-centered analyses of New Zealand's free trade agreements, and hold the government to account.

Ngāpuhi, took a chainsaw to the lone pine on One Tree Hill in Tāmaki Makaurau to draw attention both to the policy, and to the pre-existing validity of He Wakaputanga should te Tiriti continue to be dishonoured.

He said the fiscal envelope policy was abhorrent to the concept and practice of justice in both Māori and Pākehā jurisdictions. His intent was lost, as journalists focused on the tree, and did not know about He Wakaputanga.

Hapū rejection of the fiscal envelope process was overwhelming – and they urged a different, longer, conversation. Sir Hepi Te Heuheu called a national hui at Hīrangi in January 1995 about the proposal. The hui reaffirmed te tino rangatiratanga, and that te Tiriti is the constitution. More than 1,000 people attended the hui, and unanimously rejected the policy.

While the fiscal envelope was subsequently officially abandoned, 'settlements' continue to redress a tiny fraction of the resources taken from Māori – most amount to less than two percent of the value of the assets taken.

Claimants must agree to the terms as a full and final settlement, and acknowledge the sole sovereignty of the Crown. They also must pay for land-banked property at current market value. Corporate entities called Post Settlement Governance Entities then manage the assets for iwi.

According to a 2025 report by the Controller and Auditor General, more than 80 Treaty 'settlements' have been enacted, and $2.738 billion of financial and commercial redress has been transferred to iwi through 'settlements'.

This may seem like a lot, but a year of NZ Superannuation to June 30 2024 cost $17.8 billion, more than 6.5 times the total value of 'settlements'. The 2023 coalition government had plans to add $12 billion to the military budget, more than 4.5 times the total of 50 years' of 'settlements'.

'Settlements' that were described as 'full and final' in earlier times, most notably during the 1930s and 1940s, have been renegotiated in more recent years because they were clearly unfair and could not be considered as achieving finality. It is likely that future generations will continue to view the current 'settlement' process as providing unjust redress, and will feel bound to relitigate.

This information can be used to counter statements that Treaty 'settlements' are a 'gravy train' for Māori, which is part of the Māori Resources theme. ***See Appendix 1****.*

12 What was the 1992 Sealord deal?

IN 1992 the Crown and some Māori representatives signed a deed that was supposedly a 'full and final' settlement of Māori claims to fishing rights under te Tiriti. However, the deal amounted to about 10 percent of the total catch, not 'the ownership of all of their lands, forests and fisheries' as set out even in the Crown's English-language text.

The deal was negotiated after a decade of Māori legal challenges to the Quota Management System, and came about after Sealord Fisheries Limited, one of the country's largest fishing companies with a quarter of existing fishing quota, was put up for sale.

After brief, intense and confidential negotiations, a Memorandum of Understanding offering Māori a half share of the company was signed, surprising many Māori as well as tauiwi.

The settlement extinguished any further claims to fisheries, and traditional non-commercial fishing rights. Māori negotiators acknowledged the difficulties with the deal, but saw it as an opportunity to be part of the fishing industry that had to be seized (Munro, 1994).

Problems with the deal were immediately apparent. Within a week of its signing, some iwi challenged it in the High Court and the Waitangi Tribunal, and later before the UN Human Rights Committee.

They claimed that the Sealord deal was in breach of the Treaty; that it had sacrificed fundamental Treaty rights for short-term gains; and that it 'portended ill' for future Treaty claims settlements.

In 2025 the High Court found the Crown had breached the deal by appropriating Māori fishing quota without compensation. It found the settlement terms had been mismanaged and that the Crown likely owes Māori billions in assets that should have been transferred (Rātana 2025).

13 What is Foreshore and Seabed legislation about?

THE foreshore is the area of beaches regularly submerged during tides up to the line of mean high tide; the seabed is the land underwater from the low tide mark to the territorial sea limit, typically 12 nautical miles offshore.

The origins of the foreshore and seabed dispute date back to the nineteenth century, when the Crown suspended the jurisdiction of the Native Land Court to investigate customary rights to the foreshore and seabed. This prevented legal recognition of Māori rights and interests in those areas.



Image: Peace Movement Aotearoa

The eight iwi of the Marlborough Sounds took legal action in the 1990s, in response to the Marlborough District Council's refusal to approve any of their applications for marine farming, although it had approved applications by tauiwi applicants.

From 1997, their case wound through the courts. Then in June 2003, the Court of Appeal ruled that the nature and extent of Māori customary rights and title in foreshore and seabed areas could be considered by the Māori Land Court, as those rights had never been legally extinguished.

The government responded to this ruling by announcing they would override the legal process and introduce legislation to vest ownership of the foreshore and seabed in the people of New Zealand, a breach of te Tiriti.

They alleged this was needed to ensure open access to and use of the foreshore and seabed for all New Zealanders. Māori and many tauiwi expressed widespread opposition to this proposal.

What the government intended to do involved multiple breaches of te Tiriti, the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act, the Human Rights Act, and international human rights instruments, as well as ignoring native title.

In January 2004, the Waitangi Tribunal held urgent hearings into the policy. Its March 2004 report concluded that the policy breached the Treaty in fundamental and serious ways, which seriously harmed Māori. It said the government should go back to the drawing board and engage in proper negotiations.

Ignoring this, the government introduced the Foreshore and Seabed Bill in April 2004. It had its first reading on May 6 – the day after a protest hīkoi of more than 50,000 people arrived at parliament.

Mining corporations had already begun applying for prospecting permits to exploit mineral resources in foreshore and seabed areas, and lodged several applications within weeks of the Act coming into effect in November 2004.

Following the 2008 election and a governing agreement with the Māori Party, the National

government started a Ministerial review of the Act. In 2009 the review report recommended the repeal of the Act, and a longer conversation with Māori to find ways forward that respected the guarantees of the Treaty, as well as domestic human rights legislation and international human rights instruments.

Regardless of the fact that hapū and iwi did not generally support it, a new Bill was enacted as the Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act 2011.

It retains most of the discriminatory aspects of the 2004 Act because it treats Māori property differently from that of others; it limits Māori control and authority over their foreshore and seabed areas; and it extinguishes customary title. Land in private ownership has no requirement for public access; only Māori-owned land does.

Since 1840, the test of 'exclusive use and occupation' of land adjacent to a beach had been required to establish limited customary title. This was unjust because the government and settlers unlawfully took or confiscated much of this land from the mid-nineteenth century. The provision represents a double injustice for those affected by such actions.

Illegal actions and confiscation by the Crown and their agents meant that Māori retain only about 10 percent of the coastline which could be eligible for customary marine title. The 2011 law aimed to provide a pathway (with a very high bar) for hapū to seek recognition of their customary rights.

A Court of Appeal judgement in October 2023 interpreted the 2011 law to make it easier for iwi and hapū to have customary title recognised by the courts. The Coalition Government overruled this judgement by enacting legislation to, again, make it harder to prove title.

14 What happened over the 2007 raids on Tūhoe?

IN the early hours of 15 October 2007, after a year of expensive police surveillance, including of what they later claimed was a 'terrorist training camp' in the Urewera mountains, masked police armed with automatic weapons raided houses in the small Tūhoe town of Rūātoki, and four other locations around the country. The Tūhoe raids, home searches and interrogations terrorised children and families, including those on a kōhanga reo (pre-school) bus.

Armed police set up two roadblocks, one on the marked border of land confiscated by the Crown in the 1860s, isolating Rūātoki for a day, interrogating passengers, and photographing them without permission. Fourteen people faced firearms charges after the raids, and four faced the more serious crime of participating in an organised criminal group.

The raid was immediately controversial and resulted in complaints to the Independent Police Conduct Authority and widespread protest, including about the police equation of political protest with terrorism.

The Supreme Court found that police camera surveillance in the Urewera was illegal, and the Solicitor General concluded that the defendants could not be charged under the Terrorism Suppression Act 2002.

One defendant, Tūhoe Frances Lambert, died while still awaiting trial. Four years later in 2011, charges were dropped against all but four people. In March 2012, after a six-week trial, the four were convicted on weapons charges; the jury could not agree on the charges about a 'criminal group'. Only two, Tame Iti and Rangi Kemara, were sentenced to a prison term in May 2012.

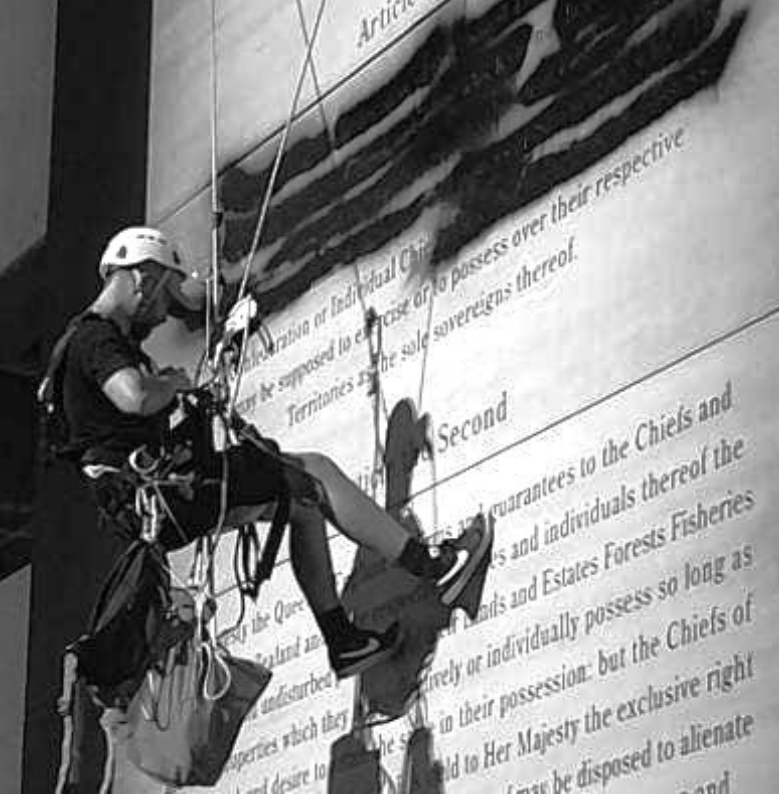
In 2013, the Police Conduct Authority found that the roadblocks around Rūātoki were unjustified, that police unlawfully detained occupants of five households, and carried out unlawful personal searches.

In 2014 the Police Commissioner formally apologised to the Rūātoki community and Ngāi Tūhoe for the unlawful police actions in the raids.

15 Why was Ihumātao bought by the Crown?

IHUMĀTAO is an archaeological site of historic importance in the suburb of Māngere, Tāmaki Makaurau. This former pā site stands on the Ihumātao Peninsula, at the base of Ōtuataua, part of the Auckland volcanic field. Hapū first settled in the area in the 1300s.

During the invasion of the Waikato in 1863, their land was unjustly confiscated by the government



Te Wehi Ratana blacking out the text of the English-language Treaty draft on Te Papa's controversial display. Photo, Te Waka Hourua.

as punishment for supporting the Kiingitanga movement, and most was sold to settlers (***see Government Breaches online***).

The land was largely used for farming until late 2016 when the construction-management company Fletcher Building bought it as part of a housing project. A group of local activists, led by Pania Newton, opposed the development of the site, occupying the land over the next three years.

In December 2021, the site was bought by the Labour government under its Land for Housing Programme. A steering committee is developing a plan for the use of the land (Patterson, 2020).

16 Why was Te Papa's display of te Tiriti controversial?

FROM the planning stages in the late 1990s, the management of Wellington's Te Papa Tongarewa/ Museum of New Zealand ignored its Māori advisory panel about its display on te Tiriti.

As a result, its Signs of a Nation exhibition displayed te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Crown's English-language text in a way that implied they were the same document, failing to provide an equally prominent translation of the text in te reo.

In 2006 Network Waitangi Whangārei wrote to ask Te Papa to change the display, saying,

> *We invite you to consider the efficacy of presenting Te Papa's national and international visitors with two very different texts of the Treaty of Waitangi, only one of which is in English, with minimal explanation of their differences in meaning. We believe that understanding these differences provides a key element to interpreting the complex interactions and misunderstandings between Māori and Pākehā which characterise our history.*
>
> *Many visitors to Te Papa will leave the museum with the impression that Māori ceded their sovereignty to the Crown – literally writ large in the English text in the Signs of a Nation display on Level 4 – without knowing that the Māori text opposite is not a true reflection of this, despite being juxtaposed as if it were… We believe we cannot provide for the challenges of the future from a base of collective confusion of our fundamental contractual obligations, which the present display perpetuates as a continuing deceit.*

Similar requests were made by many other groups and individuals in the decades since it was opened. In 2021 a bicultural climate action group called Te Waka Hourua staged a sit-in on Level 4 and subsequently engaged with Te Papa to seek a change to the display, to no avail.

In 2023 a member, Te Wehi Ratana, with others in support, abseiled from the ceiling and deployed an angle-grinder and paint to block out almost all the words of the Crown's English-language version.

The group later published a booklet describing their criticism of the display (Te Waka Hourua, 2024), explaining that leaving the phrase, 'ration the Queen's veges' visible in the blacked-out text referred to historic class-based famines in Britain.

Activists were charged, but in 2026 the Crown withdrew the prosecution ahead of a planned jury trial and the charges were dismissed.

Te Papa removed the panel (later exhibited at the Adam Pottery Gallery at Te Herenga Waka Victoria University of Wellington) and replaced it with a video projection highlighting the differences between the texts, while deciding on a permanent replacement.

Ratana's brief experience in Rimutaka Prison was made into the focus of a play, which ran in theatres in Tāmaki Makaurau, in Circa Theatre next to Te Papa, and Whakatū Nelson.

Conceptual relationships with whenua/land (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019)

Whenua as the determinant of wealth	***Whenua as the determinant of health***
Whenua as property and for extracting resources	*Whenua as as a 'person' with rights and mana*
Property How much of the land/foreshore/river/lake can I own and control?	**Mauri** How can we protect the whenua and maintain its integrity?
Extraction How much can I get out of it as cost effectively as possible?	**Kaitiakitanga** How can we work with and for the whenua for healing and sustenance?
Profit How much capital gain/profit can I make?	**Manaakitanga** How can we uphold and practice respectful relationships with whenua?

17 What are the ongoing effects of institutionally racist systems?

Institutional racism

INSTITUTIONAL racism is a pattern of differential access to power over resources that disadvantages one group (in this case, Māori), while benefiting another (Pākehā). It can result from the routine administration of public institutions that may appear neutral but which are based in Pākehā monoculture, and so consistently produce inequitable outcomes from both inaction and intention.

Disparities

Disparities refer to differences or inequalities in health, income and social status. Some are not unfair or preventable; eg, old people are likely to have more health problems than young people.

Inequities

Inequities refer to preventable, unfair and unjust disparities between populations that result from government and economic systems. There are persistent and significant inequities for Māori from all government systems (Came & McCreanor, 2015), which continue because government policies that aim to reduce inequities do not alter the root causes.

All government systems in Aotearoa – education, health, justice, social welfare, housing, immigration, disability, child and youth services, conservation, economic management, and others – were founded with a British worldview, and continue to operate using Pākehā values and assimilationist practices.

Staff and policy makers who fail to recognise this positioning can falsely perceive themselves as objective, convinced that they do not unfairly privilege Pākehā.

The wider Pākehā population, which benefits from systems that use their values and practices, and sees its own values as normal, can view inequity-correcting initiatives as 'favouring' Māori and other populations at the expense of Pākehā.

Hapū, iwi and urban Māori organisations have built alternatives to this monoculturalism, most obviously in health, education, housing, and conservation.

The table above outlines differences between hapū concepts about whenua/land and those of Pākehā capitalism (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). Such stark differences between hapū and Pākehā in values and processes apply in every area.

Consistent research evidence for the workings and harms of institutional racism has been accumulating for decades; here are examples from four state sectors.

Health

Covid-19

The pandemic provided an example of avoidable and unjust disparities for Māori and Tangata Moana populations that were not obvious in the Ministry of Health reporting of Covid cases by age-group.

Māori people were more than twice as likely to be hospitalised with Covid than tauiwi and non-Pasifika people, and Pasifika people were three times more likely to be hospitalised.

A hearing found that the government 'not only failed actively to protect Māori people but failed to include equity in its pandemic decision-making' (Waitangi Tribunal, 2023).

Māori-run primary health services

Holistic primary health services run by hapū, iwi and other Māori organisations were underfunded from their start compared with funding for general primary health services (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019), despite achieving equivalent results while responding to high health needs.

Decades of underfunding led to up to 25 percent lower pay for nurses working in Māori-run health services, and this inequity persists (Nursing Review, 2018).

Education

Kaupapa Māori schooling (by Māori, using Māori values, in te reo) consistently achieves better outcomes for Māori students than mainstream schooling (NZQA, 2024), yet remains underfunded in comparison.

Kaupapa Māori alternatives were established in the 1980s, because colonisation had so undermined te reo Māori that it was an endangered language. Whānau, hapū and urban Māori authorities set up kōhanga reo (preschools – about 460 of them by 2020); kura kaupapa Māori (Māori-run primary and secondary schools); Māori medium units in "mainstream" schools (about 117 by 2021); and three wānanga (Māori-run tertiary institutions).

These Māori initiatives all began voluntarily or with funding only from hapū sources and are still able to cater for only a small proportion of Māori students (eg, five percent of Māori students enrolled in secondary years 11 to 13). The Māori-run education sector has consistently aimed for self-determination and resisted government control of their organisations.

Māori students make up more than 25 percent of all students, and "mainstream" schooling had so failed these students that the Waitangi Tribunal concluded the education system was being operated in breach of the Treaty (Waitangi Tribunal, 1993, p38).

The Ministry of Education does not collect, or require schools to report racially-motivated incidents from students or teachers, or require teachers to pronounce Māori student names correctly.

Kura Kaupapa Maori use Te Aho Matua pedagogy (teaching method) based on Māori values, collectivity (for example, students move to new learning only when all have understood current learning), and tikanga.

However, such values are largely ignored in mainstream education which forces 'Māori to assimilate into Western norms, tracking Māori into subordinate occupational roles, and constraining Māori self-determination' (Smith & others, 2022, p2).

"Mainstream" education may offer courses in tikanga and te reo Māori for tauiwi teachers, but 'the commitment to implement [te Tiriti o Waitangi] policy into meaningful practices is glaringly absent (p4).' However, in 2026 1,840 schools had re-committed to te Tiriti in their charters, despite a government directive to remove it.

Justice

New Zealand's justice system could be redesigned to improve the wellbeing of all our communities. But instead of solving problems caused by low incomes and poor housing in many Māori communities, and education that fails Māori, our current justice system has been designed to punish those who these systems fail.

The police and justice systems disproportionately apprehend, prosecute, convict and imprison a greater proportion of Māori than non-Māori for the same offences (No Pride in Prisons, 2016).

Research commissioned by NZ Police in 2024 found that structural racism influences decisions, making police more likely to apprehend and prosecute Māori aged 10 to 17 than young Pākehā for the same minor crimes, such as vandalism (Aroturuki Tamariki Independent Children's Monitor, 2025, p19). While the police charge more of the Pākehā majority with violent, dishonesty, property, and traffic crimes, proportionately more Māori people are convicted of these crimes, and imprisoned.

Oranga Tamariki, the Ministry for Children, intervenes when young people are at risk of harm, and works with and houses young offenders. The children of Māori parents who themselves were in state care as young people, are four times more likely to become involved in the Ministry's youth justice system; and two-thirds of those in care are Māori. In 2023-4 the Ministry said that it met its own performance measures for only 37 percent of young people in its care.

Aroturuki Tamariki found in 2025 that the higher the level of involvement young people have with the Ministry, the worse their outcomes are by age 27, including all education qualifications, employment, housing, possession of a driver's licence, use of hospital emergency departments, and self-harm.

However, they also found that young offenders in marae and iwi-based programmes, such as Rangatahi Courts, had a much lower rate of re-offending than those in Pākehā-run programmes. Māori-run programmes brought all parties together to hold the young people accountable for their offending – for example retail theft – and provided wrap-around support that included whānau. Very few offenders in these programmes were referred to court (p123-127).

Such restorative justice approaches to crime could improve all our lives.Ināia Tonu Nei (2019), a hui of decision-makers, government, judiciary, iwi, hapū and community members, said the Crown has failed to deliver justice for Māori. It called for the abolition of Oranga Tamariki, and the abolition of prisons, and said a Tiriti-based justice system would support Māori alternatives to make our justice system work for everyone.

Abuse in state care

In 2024 the Royal Commission of Enquiry into State Care found that Māori were more affected by abuse in state and faith-based institutions between 1950 and 1999, due to a higher number of uplifts from whānau than from other ethnicities (Abuse in Care Royal Commission of Inquiry, 2024)

While Oranga Tamariki apologised in November 2024 and accepted responsibility for its abuse of young people in residential services, the Royal Commission and the 2025 Aroturuki Tamariki report on rangatahi (young Māori) in the Oranga Tamariki system said that abuse and inequities continued for tamariki and rangatahi. The Royal Commission said that Māori were more likely to be taken into care – where they were deliberately exiled from their culture – and then faced harsher treatment because of their ethnicity and skin colour.

This research can be used to counter arguments that all New Zealanders enjoy equality of opportunity, part of the 'One People' theme. Find page numbers of counters to other racist statements in ***Appendix 1****.*



Judge Louis Bidois and Principal Youth Court Judge John Walker, centre back, with kaumatua and kuia at Mātaatua Rangatahi Court in 2022. A whāriki (woven mat) represents the victim at the front of the Court. Photo: District Court of New Zealand.

F Tauiwi

18 Was hapū language and culture protected as promised?

HAPŪ always have, and continue, to protect and develop their language and culture – despite extremely difficult and frequently hostile circumstances. However, this culture has a right to be enhanced, nurtured and protected every day without such hostility.

Ethnic groups come to New Zealand expecting that the culture here will be different from their own. They are prepared to adapt, just as we do when travelling overseas. Migrants can be confident that their cultures and ways of life are protected in their country of origin.

For example, there is a whole nation protecting Greek culture; if Greek people living in other countries lose some of their own culture, it will not lead to the loss of that culture in the world.

Cultural practices and te reo Māori can survive in other countries, but Māori identity is based in te taiao (environment) of Aotearoa. Māori not only have to live within a system that broke its promise to protect their culture, they also have to fight for language survival and to protect te taiao itself. All cultures need an independent economic base to thrive, and colonisation has largely removed this base from hapū.

Other cultures have not suffered the same colonial process in this country as Māori. An enormous amount of Māori energy and resources has been diverted into the survival and revival of culture.

This struggle continues, against prevailing and powerful monocultural attitudes, institutions and policies, as expressed in recent calls for health workers to speak only English, and for te reo Māori names for government agencies to be replaced by English names.

This information may be helpful to respond to the anti-Māori question: "Why can't Māori look after their own language and culture like everyone else?" ***See Appendix 1*** *for other anti-Māori themes in Pākehā talk.*

19 What are the meanings of tangata Tiriti?

THE term tangata Tiriti was originally used by the descendants of some rangatira who signed te Tiriti, and continues to be used by tangata whenua.

More recently it has been adopted by tauiwi who understand that their right to live in Aotearoa stems from te Tiriti, who recognise that their perspectives come from their cultures of origin, and who are actively committed to decolonisation work that seeks to honour tino rangatiratanga. They accept that tauiwi honour resides in upholding te Tiriti.

Sir Edward Taihakurei Durie, speaking at Waitangi in 1989 when he was chair of the Waitangi Tribunal, said, 'We must remember that if we are the tangata whenua, the original people, then the Pākehā are the tangata Tiriti, those who belong to the land by right of that Treaty.'

He noted that without the Treaty, tangata Tiriti would have no lawful presence in such numbers, nor any legitimate political role in this part of the Pacific. Tangata Tiriti is a political identity that tauiwi can choose to adopt, not an ethnic one.

Community education since the 1980s has enabled more tauiwi to better understand this country's colonisation, and accept responsibility for creating an honourable kāwanatanga. A group that specifically provides education on te Tiriti for new migrants is called Tangata Tiriti – Treaty People (Appendix 5).

Te Tiriti encompasses all who call this place home. It allows for people from tauiwi cultures to be here, and it is one of the things that makes us different from our cultures of origin. We acknowledge our ancestors' languages and ways of being from other countries (many of which were also colonised) but our relationship with hapū has the potential to offer us a relational place within a Pacific nation. Actively using the agency of our role as tangata Tiriti and being aware that our right to be in Aotearoa relies on us honouring te Tiriti, supports this identity.

G Responses

20 How did the Tino Rangatiratanga flag begin?

IN 1989, the government was preparing for the 150th anniversary of the signing of te Tiriti. Several Māori liberation organisations, including Te Kawariki, sought to raise awareness of the ways in which te Tiriti continued to be breached.

Te Kawariki, inspired by the Australian Aboriginal flag's prominence in Sydney's Redfern, held a national Māori flag competition for a design to represent independence. A group of Māori female artists, including Hiraina Marsden, Linda Munn, and Jan Dobson, designed what is now called the tino rangatiratanga flag in 1989.

Each of the colours references a realm in the Māori creation story: black is te Korekore (potential being), red is te Whai Ao (coming into being), and white is te Ao Mārama (the realm of being and light). The white area also refers to Aotearoa, land of the long white cloud. The design features a koru (fern frond), symbolising renewal and hope for the future.

The flag was first revealed on Waitangi Day 1990, and was chosen to fly on the Auckland harbour bridge alongside the New Zealand flag, on Waitangi Day in 2010.

Its debut followed a 2009 government decision to recognise it as the preferred Māori flag, following consultation carried out by the Māori Party. It is flown alongside the other national flag on significant occasions.

21 What is prejudice awareness and cultural safety?

Prejudice awareness

Training and social research can raise awareness of unhelpful personal judgements, negative generalisations, and prejudices. This common phenomenon is also called 'own-race preference', or profiling.

Education about these biases can help people, usually in the caring or education professions, to recognise their own prejudices and underlying stereotypical assumptions.

These can include, for example, blaming individuals for being poor or making 'poor choices'; thinking some groups are unreliable pill-takers or unable to understand technical or medical details; failing to remember Māori names or continually mispronouncing them; valuing a house owned by Pākehā higher than similar houses owned by Māori or in Māori communities; assuming clients, patients, teenagers, or prisoners are less intelligent or aware than the professional, and so on.

Once these prejudices are brought to the surface – made conscious through social research or discussion – they can be identified and actively managed (and behavioural interactions consciously changed) by the professionals themselves, in pursuit of better outcomes for clients.

Unacknowledged prejudices can contribute to worse health and social outcomes for already marginalised groups (Loring & Curtis, 2024).

Cultural safety

A recent definition of cultural safety requires that "healthcare professionals and healthcare organisations engage in ongoing self-reflection and self-awareness and hold themselves accountable for providing culturally safe care, as defined by the patient and their communities, and as measured through progress towards achieving health equity" (Curtis and others, 2025).

This accountability is achieved by learning about the history of colonisation and its effects in Aotearoa, how institutional racism works, and by recognising the tenets and beliefs that underlie practices from the dominant Pākehā culture.

Practising cultural safety is about relating to someone in a way that makes them feel most comfortable, which means taking into account their cultural values and customs.

The concept was developed through discussions between Māori health workers, tauiwi Tiriti educators and others. The theory was refined

by nursing educator, Irihapeti Ramsden (Ngāi Tahu, Rangitāne), in her 1990 report *Kawa Whakaruruhau/Cultural Safety in Nursing Education*, republished in 1993.

They and other researchers found that many Māori felt uncomfortable in monocultural Pākehā clinical settings, where there was no understanding of Māori tikanga or beliefs about health and illness, death and dying, bodily modesty, or gender roles. Other terms used in this context are cultural competence and cultural congruence.

Cultural safety in nursing doesn't just mean better health for Māori; it now implies training for better nursing care for all, as the need for greater awareness of other cultures, and the diversity of tauiwi, grows.

Cultural safety training is also used in medical education, midwifery, occupational therapy, speech and language therapy, physiotherapy and social work, and some government departments.

22 Why are United Nations human rights bodies interested in te Tiriti?

THE UN Charter is based on 'respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples'. This is further elaborated in the shared Article 1 of the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

This begins: 'All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.'

The right of self-determination in international law can be seen as reinforcing te Tiriti. There is an obvious link between the right of self-determination and tino rangatiratanga, which was exercised by Māori prior to the arrival of tauiwi.

Allied to the right of self-determination is the right of Indigenous peoples to own, develop, control and use their lands, territories and resources, as indicated by Article 1 in the two covenants above, and articulated in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

In the years since the establishment of the United Nations, Indigenous peoples' rights have received increasing attention from international human rights treaty monitoring bodies elsewhere in the United Nations system, and in regional human rights bodies such as the InterAmerican Court of Human Rights.

This UN attention results from the historic and ongoing actions of colonists, states, and multinational companies against Indigenous peoples. These include genocide and other gross human rights violations, systemic discrimination, and theft of their lands and resources, all of which put their very survival at risk (***see G6 in the print edition*** for criticisms of our governments' policies by UN Special Rapporteurs on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples).

23 What is *He Puapua* and how does it relate to te Tiriti?

NEW Zealand was one of four former British colonies to vote against the UN adoption of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007, but the government changed its position and signed in 2010.

In 2019 Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Affairs) commissioned a group to create a plan to implement the declaration (Charters & others, 2019). Called *He Puapua* (a break), the report aimed to avoid traditional norms and approaches, and address the country's deprivation issues raised by the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. It was a framework to support Māori self-determination.

The report focused on five themes: self-determination (Māori control over Māori matters, enabling Māori to live fulfilling lives); participation in governance (exploring a greater voice in government and policy-making); lands, territories, and resources (how to ensure Māori can manage and benefit from their resources); culture (recognising the importance of Māori culture and promoting its preservation); equity and fairness (addressing systemic inequities and disparities faced by Māori).

He Puapua included ideas such as establishing an upper house of Parliament, separate Māori courts, compulsory te reo Māori education, removing the Public Works Act power to annex remaining Māori

land, and extending the right to vote to prisoners.

The report's recommendations sparked political debate, with the Labour government distancing itself from it.

However, one of its recommendations, a Māori Health Authority (Te Aka Whai Ora), was established in 2022 to oversee Māori health, only to be disestablished in 2024 by the following government. All three political parties comprising the coalition government in 2023 had campaigned on abolishing Te Aka Whai Ora.

The 2023 coalition agreement between National and NZ First included stopping work on *He Puapua*.

The report's fate mirrors that of an earlier initiative, *Puao-te-Ata-tu*, a landmark report by a Ministerial Advisory Committee in 1988 on how to stop so many Māori children going into state care.

Amongst other things, it had recommended devolving power over the care and protection of tamariki Māori to iwi and hapū, which also was not implemented.

H Onward

24 What is White paralysis and fragility?

THESE terms describe different reactions to the gathering momentum of Tiriti advocacy and action. For some Pākehā, current expressions of Indigenous peoples' rights is an unknown and feared development for which they feel unprepared, or disengaged.

This is largely due to a lack of understanding about how colonisation has affected hapū, and the inadequacies of the 'settlement' process, as these subjects have been largely absent from the secondary school syllabus, the Pākehā-dominated mainstream news media, and are never mentioned or ignored by government ministers.

Research has discovered a pattern of reactions when adult Pākehā learners are exposed to the realities of our history. The pattern largely aligns with the stages of grief, triggered by a loss of innocence, and can eventually lead to acceptance and more positive thinking about the future (Huygens, 2007).

However, some people can get stuck in denial, anxiety or defensiveness, where they feel threatened by an unexpected change in their assumptions about the world, cultural characteristics alien to their own, and what the future may bring – a future over which they feel they have no control (Gibson, 2022). Some fear that Māori will gain power and use it to subjugate tauiwi in a similar way that Pākehā governments do to Māori.

They assume, incorrectly, that there is limited power and if some gain power, others will lose. Depending on their degree of power or ability to influence others, their emotional and political behaviour can reflect paralysis, hostility or fragility, which is ultimately unhelpful to everyone's liberation from an unhealthy status quo (Smith & others, 2022).

25 What have governments done since the 2014 Tribunal report on te Tiriti?

THE Waitangi Tribunal's report on Ngāpuhi Stage 1 claim on the meaning of He Wakaputanga and te Tiriti (WAI 1040) found that te Tiriti o Waitangi, the text in te reo Maori, is the authentic text, and that rangatira affirmed, and did not cede, their sovereignty when they signed it.

Tribunal manager Julie Tangaere said at the report's release to the Ngāpuhi claimants: 'Your tūpuna [ancestors] did not give away their mana at Waitangi, at Waimate, at Mangungu. They did not cede their sovereignty. This is the truth you have been waiting a long time to hear.'

However, the only government response from the then Minister of Treaty Settlements, Chris Finlayson, was that the Crown was still in charge and that nothing would change and nothing has, constitutionally or in outcomes for Māori.



Appendices

1 Countering anti-Māori and anti-Tiriti statements

BELOW we list common and related anti-Māori and anti-Tiriti statements and misinformation, and answers that counter them in *A Deeper Dive* and the print edition.

Read summaries of 13 such themes in *Alternatives to Anti-Maori Themes*, by the Kupu Taea: Media and te Tiriti Research Group and download the pamphlet. For a more detailed description, read the group's article about the themes (Moewaka Barnes and others, 2012).

See productive ways to engage with people who use these statements in the 2018 Tauiwi Tautoko guide, *How to change hearts and minds one conversation at a time*, drawn by Sam Orchard.

Pākehā as the norm

Statements that refer to 'us', 'we', 'our', or include only Pākehā in groups like 'the public', 'taxpayers', 'New Zealanders' or 'Kiwi', usually assume that Pākehā values, processes and attitudes are natural and ordinary (as in the image below). Pākehā are one cultural group among many, and need to start talking about Pākehā ethnicity whenever Pākehā have a vested interest; eg, 'Pākehā MPs'. This theme supports all those below.



Māori inheritance and indigenous status

The Polynesians who became hapū were the original inhabitants of our islands. All 'evidence' raised by the amateurs who claim that there were people here before Polynesians, whether Celtic European, Asian or Moriori, has been refuted by qualified archaeologists, historians and geologists (Dickson, 2025; AAP Factcheck, 2024).

Such claims are part of a wider Inheritance theme, which denies Maori indigeneity and identity. For example, tauiwi may say there are few 'real Māori' left, and that Māori identity is claimed falsely by individuals wanting 'special' benefits. These statments ignore the Māori concept of whakapapa, and the continuity and permanence of hapū.

Superiority and the 'Māori culture' theme

The racist belief that European peoples and cultures are inherently superior to the cultures of Māori and other Indigenous peoples, is expressed in descriptions of indigenous cultures as primitive, or inadequate for modern life. This belief often assumes a hierarchy of cultures from primitive at the bottom to global/capitalist at the top, and also sees Māori culture as frozen at the time of first contact.

It ignores the speedy, widespread adoption by hapū of commercial farming, and other later new technologies. It also denies the 'extensive history of creating new technologies' (Keegan & Sciascia, 2018, p361), including carving patterns that reduced drag on the hulls of ocean-going waka; innovative engineering of fortified pā and trenches during the land wars; and the creation of netted flax, among many others. It also denies the development of new forms of resistance among hapū, such as the mass non-violent resistance at Parihaka 40 years before Gandhi.

Colonisation benefits

This theme is expressed in the false statement that Māori have received more benefit than harm from colonisation. Such statements assume that colonisation is in the past, rather than ongoing, and that any harm from colonisation has been resolved.

It also assumes that imposed aspects of British culture such as the 'rule of (English) law', individual property rights, and democratic government were benefits that applied equally to all, ignoring customary practices of tikanga; shared land use; and the direct democracy of the whare hui which they attempted to replace (***see question D17***).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Statements that Pākehā on their own are entitled to determine the worth and meaning of te Tiriti also remain common. Founding treaties cannot be changed or re-interpreted except by the agreement of both parties.

Examples include the false statement that it is te Tiriti, rather than ongoing colonisation and racism, that divides us; that te Tiriti is now irrelevant, or that tauiwi should throw it out and start again; that te Tiriti no longer applies when Māori are a minority of the population; or that settlements of less than 3¢ in the dollar create a 'gravy train' (***see D11***).

Māori resources

This theme assumes that potential or actual Māori control of significant resources - for example, land, fisheries, forestry, water or money - is a threat to non-Māori, and that such control ties up those resources in a way that private Pākehā ownership does not.

This theme ignores the clear values and principles guiding the management of Māori resources for the long term. It also ignores enhanced social cohesion from the return of stolen resources to their original guardians through Tiriti 'settlements', which has had positive results despite the tiny proportion actually returned ***(see D13, and Conceptual relationships with whenua/land)***.

'Privilege'

Statements that Māori have advantages or benefits that are unfair and racist because others are supposedly excluded remain common. These statements falsely assume that any inequities from colonisation have been fairly resolved, and mask all the social and institutional structures which consistently reinforce Pākehā privilege ***(see D17)***.

'One people'

Statements that we can live as a unified population while governments continue to ignore Māori rights and breach te Tiriti are also common. They usually represent New Zealanders as sharing a single culture – Pākehā culture – in which all should be treated the same, ignoring entrenched social disparities. Such statements treat cultural or ethnic differences as divisive, not real, or irrelevant ***(see D17)***.



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Websites

A critical guide to Māori and Pākehā histories of Aotearoa - A curriculum programme resource for educators (in early childhood, primary and secondary education).

Kupu Taea: Media and te Tiriti research group.

Peace Movement Aotearoa, *Indigenous Peoples' rights*.

Te Kāhui Tika Tangata Human Rights Commission.

Te Reo o Ngā Tāngata (The People Speak), advocates and and co-designs a Tiriti-based climate assembly in Porirua.

Te Tiriti-Based Futures and Anti-Racism, TTBF+AR videos on Youtube; A two-yearly (inter)national, online and offline, Te Tiriti-based, anti-racism and decolonisation event in Aotearoa.

Treaty Resource Centre, www.trc.org.nz

4 Timelines

Te Reo Māori / Language

Te Mana o te reo timeline from 1200 to now, Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.

Māori language and the education system, 1816-1991, Treaty Resource Centre.

Education

Government breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi (education), Treaty Resource Centre.

Dates and events related to Māori education policy and developments, 1816-2012, The Audit Office Te Mana Arotake (scroll down).

Health and welfare

A brief chronology of health among Maori and Pakeha, 1769 to 1980s, Waitangi Consultancy Group.

A brief timeline of social welfare in Aotearoa New Zealand, 1846 - 1991, Waitangi Consultancy Group.

State care timeline (major institutional and legislative changes and reports in welfare, justice, education and health sectors, 1909-2024), Listening, learning, changing Ma whakarongo me Ako ka huri te tai, Crown Response to the Abuse in Care Inquiry.

Land

Appendix: Summary of legislation about Māori land, Tāpiritanga – He whakarāpopototanga o ngā ture e pā ana ki te whenua Māori, Audit Office Te Mana Arotaki.

Maori land loss, 1860-2000 (five maps charting the loss of Māori land in the North Island; the Crown and the New Zealand Company had purchased nearly 99% of the South Island by 1865), NZ History, Manatū Taonga - Ministry for Culture and Heritage.

Government

Government Breaches of te Tiriti o Waitangi, 1844-2005, Treaty Resource Centre.

Tauiwi of colour immigration

Timeline of tauiwi of colour in Aotearoa, 1809-2024, Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga.

5 Tiriti educators

This list focuses on independent, community-based groups and individuals, rather than government or institutional educators, and is not exhaustive.

Asians Supporting Tino Rangatiratanga
By and for tauiwi of Asian descent; Tāmaki Makaurau, Te Whanganui-a-Tara and Ōtepoti; asians4tinorangatiratanga@gmail.com.

Common Grace Aotearoa
A network of Christian educators active in Tiriti, climate and economic justice, including Karuwhā Trust's Belonging in this Land, video workshops of Treaty basics from a Christian perspective; contact@commongrace.nz

Decentring Whiteness / Learning to be better Tāngata Tiriti
A Facebook community supporting learning and accountability for tauiwi Pākehā committed to Tiriti-based constitutional transformation and Matike Mai.

Engaging Well
Hone and Aperahama Hurihanganui, Māori educators working in the health, law and business sectors in Te Ika-a-Māui (North Island); info@engaging-well.com.

Gathering at the Gate
Provides an eight-week online course supporting tauiwi Pākehā to organise amongst themselves towards a Tiriti-honouring Aotearoa; connect.gatg@gmail.com.

Groundwork
Jen Margaret, Victoria Owen, Darren Ooi, Gwyn John, and Emma Whiley; Māori, Pākehā and tauiwi, based in Te Whanganui-a-Tara, working nationwide; kiaora@groundwork.org.nz.

Hauā Partnerships
Kim Penetito and Joe Waru, Māori, working nationwide; hauapartnerships@hauapartnerships.com.

Heather Came and Associates
Heather Came, Wiremu Woodard, Grant Berghan, and others; Māori and Pākehā educators and researchers based in Te Whanganui-a-Tara, working nationwide on Tiriti application, Critical Tiriti Analysis and antiracism; Dr.heather.came@gmail.com.

Tāhono Trust
Providing nationwide Tiriti education; a Bridging Cultures programme brings diverse local communities around the motu to their local marae to build whānaungatanga; *Matike Mai* bookclubs; kiaora@tahono.nz.

Karena Way
Māori and Pākehā, working in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland and Te Moana-a-Toitehuatahi (Bay of Plenty); karena3w@xtra.co.nz.

Kōtare Research & Education for Social Change
Wellsford-based, runs participatory education workshops on Te Tiriti implementation and Tangata Tiriti responses to Matike Mai, and other social justice issues; education@kotare.org.nz.

Kūwaha Limited
Raihānia Tipoki, Tāwhana Chadwick, and Krissi Smith; Māori and Pākehā educators in Te Whanganui-a-Tara, Wairarapa and Te Matau a Māui (Hawke's Bay); kuwahalimited@gmail.com.

Maurea
Māori educators, Ōrākei, Tāmaki Makaurau; enquiries@maurea.co.nz.

Network Waitangi Ōtautahi
Tangata Tiriti educators, based in Ōtautahi, available nationwide; organisers@nwo.org.nz.

Network Waitangi Whangārei
Moea Armstrong, Tui Armstrong, Susan da Silva, Agnes Hermans Tim Howard, Kathryn McKenzie, Ngaire Rae; Pākehā based in Te Tai Tokerau Northland; networkwaitangiwhg@gmail.com.

STIR (Stop Institutional Racism)
Māori and tauiwi public health practitioners and researchers working nationwide to end racism and uphold te Tiriti in the health system; stirantiracism@gmail.com.

Tāmaki Treaty Workers
Members include tauiwi researchers, and educators who run workshops in workplaces and other Tiriti groups, and tauiwi wanting to discuss Tiriti issues; tamakitreatyworkers@gmail.com.

Tangata Tiriti - Treaty People
Trish Cheng, Marisa Maclachlan, Dr Ingrid Huygens and others, working nationwide with public sector and ethnic communities; treatypeople@gmail.com.

Tangata Tiriti Aotearoa
Neill Gordon, Denis O'Reilly, national multicultural group based in Te Matau-a-Māui (Hawke's Bay), helping build a pro-Tiriti movement; ttaotearoa@gmail.com.

Tātai Aho Rau/Core Education
Provides What is Te Tiriti Ināianei | The Treaty Now? in four self-led online modules ($50 each); kiaora@core-ed.

Tauiwi Tautoko
Training tauiwi to support te Tiriti transformation by challenging anti-Māori racism and anti-Tiriti views online and within tauiwi communities; info@tauiwitautoko.com.

Tauiwi Solutions
Suzanne Menzies-Culling, tauiwi working with tauiwi participants in Ōtepoti and Te Waipounamu; suzannemc@imail.net.nz.

Te Ata Kura (Society for Conscientisation)
Dr Veronica Tawhai, Māori educators; veronica.tawhai@gmail.com.

Te Pumaomao Nation Building Seminars
Takawai and Chris Murphy, Māori and Pākehā, working nationwide; takawaimurphy.nz@gmail.com.

Te Tiriti is Us
Provides resources to mobilise action to honour te Tiriti; tetiritiisus@gmail.com.

The Basket Hauraki
Catherine Delahunty, Laura Hamilton, Shakēd From, Tiriti, social and environmental justice; Tiritieducation and fortnightly online decolonisation reading/learning group; thebasket.hauraki@gmail.com.

The Treaty Thing
Moana-o-Hinerangi and Suzanne Menzies-Culling, Māori and Pākehā educators working nationwide; suzannemc@imail.net.nz.

Thirdspace Aotearoa
Jen Bennett, working with Te Tiriti o Waitangi, culture, anti-racism, relationships, and organisational change; jen@thirdspaceaotearoa.co.nz,

Tiriti Action Group Pōneke
Chloe Bisley-Wright, Phoebe Belle, Zoe Higgins, Bronwyn Kerr, Sam, Kate Douglas and others; Māori, Pākehā and tauiwi educators working in Te Whanganui-a-Tara Wellington; treaty.action.collective@gmail.com.

Together for Te Tiriti
A campaigning site by ActionStation Aotearoa; info@togetherfortetiriti.nz.

Treaty Education
Sharon Annett and Alice Perkins, Pākehā working nationwide; treaty.education@protonmail.com.

Treaty Resource Centre
Richard Green, Sue Abel and Dean Adam, Māori and Pākehā educators working in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland; admin@trc.org.nz.

TupuOra Education and Development
Alex Barnes, Māori and Pākehā educators working nationwide; alex@tupuora.co.nz.

Understanding Te Tiriti
Roimata Smail, Māori facilitator of te Tiriti for organisations, info@treatytraining.com.

Workwise Associates
Ingrid Huygens, Pākehā, working nationwide; ingrid@treatypeople.org



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