Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Questions & Answers

Government Breaches



Network Waitangi

2026

acknowledgements

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Protesters against coalition government policies gather with Tāme Iti to display 'artivism' shields on Waitangi Day 2024, at the flagstaff on Waitangi National Trust grounds. Photo, Denis Came-Friar.

Back cover image

Te Tai Tonga MP Takuta Ferris talks with Tiriti supporters on the 2024 hikoi against the Treaty Principles Bill. Photo, Denis Came-Friar.

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Te Hīkoi ki Waitangi arrives at Te Tii Marae on Waitangi Day 2024. Photo, Eda Tang, The Spinoff.

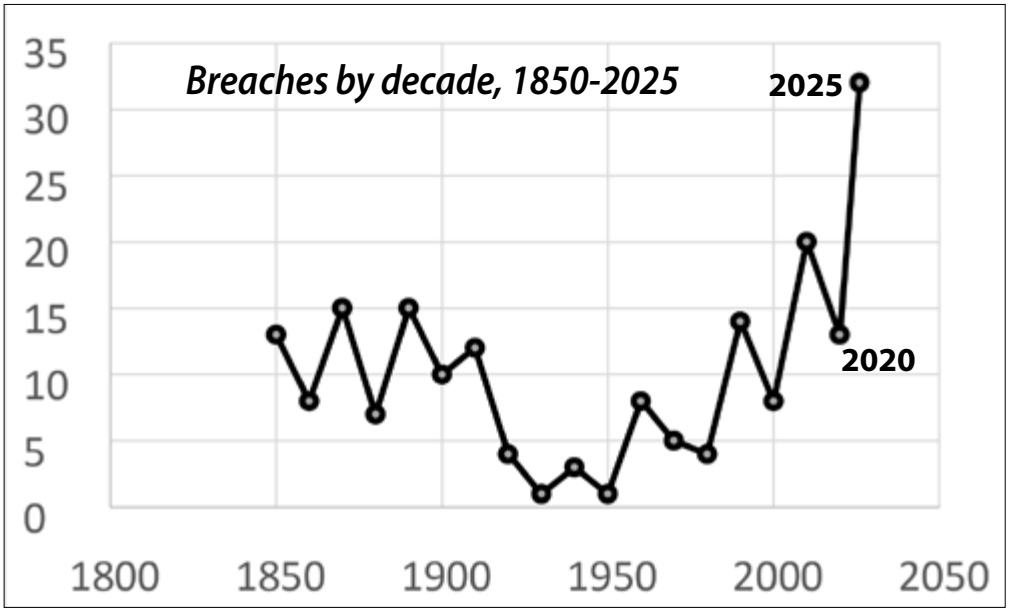
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Continuous colonisation

This chart summarises government breaches by decade, showing that colonisation has been continuous since the signing of te Tiriti.

The intensification of Tiriti breaches this century, and particularly from 2023 - 2025, indicates a sustained attack on Māori control over resources, influence, and culture.

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 A 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.

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)

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.

introduction

Government Breaches is a new PDF of the significantly updated and enlarged list in Appendix 5 of the 2026 book *Te Tiriti o Waitangi Questions & Answers*. It also includes more historical context than the book, and more case studies.

These case studies show how the government used laws, regulations and transactions to impoverish, Ngāi Tahu hapū in Port Levy and Greymouth in Te Waipounamu (the South Island); Ngati Whatua in central Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) and their north-eastern neighbours Ngāti Manuhiri; and the wider Ngāi Tahu iwi through a massive, fraudulant land purchase.

Similar actions impoverished and made landless many other hapū and iwi around the country. Another case study outlines the shifting regulations about the use of te reo Māori in parliament.

The print book is written for those new to te Tiriti and Aotearoa's history of colonisation. It includes te reo texts and translations of He Wakaputanga (A Declaration of Independence) and te Tiriti, and the Crown's English-language text.

Its other companion document, *Te Tiriti of Waitangi Questions & Answers A Deeper Dive,* is for those who want more context and detail, with 25 additional questions and answers.

It also includes the references cited in all three publications, websites, and a list of educators and Tiriti justice groups. For more about the approach taken in the series, see the full introduction in the print edition.

All three publications are available from the websites of the publishers, Network Waitangi Whangārei and Network Waitangi Ōtautahi.

Government actions and laws which breach te Tiriti

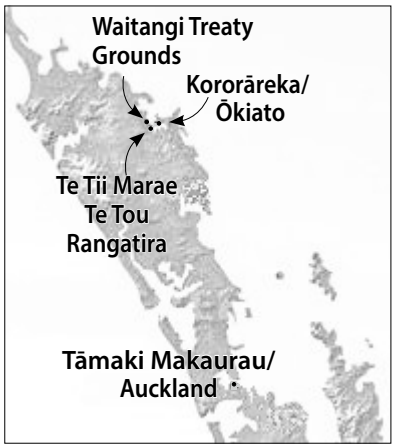
THIS list of breaches is not definitive. Government laws affecting Tiriti rights have been constantly amended and/or replaced. We have not listed all such changes, except where a new breach is introduced. Laws and actions are in regular text; context and status updates are paler.

Māori lived in Aotearoa for 800 to1,000 years before the arrival of Europeans, on land totalling 66,400,000 acres. The Indigenous population has been estimated at 80,000 to 150,000 before European contact.

In 1835 He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni was recognised by Britain, France and the United States of America as a declaration of the sovereignty of the hapū in the northern parts of the country together with other hapū that were invited to sign. By 1840 there were about 2,000 permanent British and other settlers living here. Visiting ship crews boosted this number considerably.

1840 January 29 Captain William Hobson arrives in Te Pēwhairangi (Bay of Islands) as Lieutenant-Governor (responsible to the Governor of New South Wales). He unilaterally declares all previous land transactions or arrangements null and void, and that a title to land would be issued by himself upon resolution of disputes, thereby introducing and imposing the concept of a European system of land title.

1840 February 6 Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed at Waitangi and later in other places around the country. Despite the radical generosity of the hapū offer in te Tiriti for British people to settle in this country and abide on their land by British law, the British Crown started ignoring and breaching the agreement almost immediately.



The 506-hectare Waitangi Treaty Grounds, where He Wakaputanga and te Tiriti were signed, was given to the nation in 1932 by Governor-General Lord Bledisloe. A national trust preserves the land and Busby's original house.
The grounds are 500m north of Te Tii marae, separated by the Waitangi River mouth, and connected by a single-lane bridge from 1926. The marae wharenui is named Treaty of Waitangi 1840. Te Tou Rangatira is an area south of the wharenui, now marked by a crescent of pouwhenua, where rangatira discussed the proposed Tiriti on the night of 5 February, 1840.

1840s

1840 *Fees, tariffs, and taxes*

Hobson as Lieutenant-Governor immediately overrode hapū international trade arrangements by collecting berthage fees and taxing imports.

1841 *Capital moved to Tāmaki Makaurau*

Before te Tiriti was signed, Hobson had promised that Ōkiato, near Kororāreka, would be the base of his operations. He bought land in Ōkiato from James Clendon, US Consul from 1838 to 1841, for this purpose. But after discussion with Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei, and his Tuku Whenua of 3,000 acres from Apihai Te Kawau, he declared Tāmaki Makaurau the capital, undermining trading opportunities for northern hapū in Te Pēwhairangi.

1841 *Land Claims Ordinance*

All 'unappropriated' or 'waste land', other than that required for the 'rightful and necessary occupation of the aboriginal inhabitants' was proclaimed Crown land.

1842 *Raupō Houses Ordinance*

The country's first building regulation created a housing problem for hapū by taxing any existing building in the main centres made of traditional materials such as raupō, £20 per year. At the time dwellings could be made of local materials for £10. Also, anyone building a new raupō home in a main centre was fined £100 – an enormous punishment.

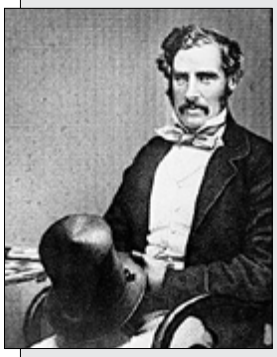
The ordinance was justified as a safety measure, as a number of European-built raupō homes with internal kitchens had burnt down. Māori wharepuni had external cooking areas. It was also about protecting European carpenters, as raupō homes were cheaper to build.

1844 *Exclusive right to buy overturned*

Governor FitzRoy abandoned Article 2 of the Crown's English language version, which gave the Governor the sole right to buy land, because he didn't have the funds to buy enough land to satisfy settler demand. His proclamation included protection of wāhi tapu and provision for a 10 percent endowment for Māori from every sale.

Dishonourable deal: Kemp's 1848 Deed to buy land Ngāi Tahu land

While on a visit to Port Cooper (Lyttelton) in 1848, Governor Grey, below, thought Ngāi Tahu would consider selling land if sufficient reserves were set aside. Grey instructed the Lieutenant-Governor of New Munster (then including the lower North Island, South Island, and Stewart Island), Edward Eyre, to proceed with the purchase.



He nominated the price of £2,000 for all the land between the Waitaki River (southern bisecting line on the map) and Ashley River – a sum which he recognised as low, but justified as sufficient for his uninformed perception of the area's small Māori population.

Henry Kemp, below, acting Assistant Protector of Aborigines, was dispatched to Akaroa and instructed to contact all Māori within the boundaries of the proposed purchase; he found Ngāi Tahu less willing to sell than Grey supposed.



Historian Harry Evison (1997) says the sale was forced by Kemp's threat of paying Ngāti Toa (which had raided Te Wai Pounamu several times) for Ngāi Tahu land, as had happened in North Canterbury.



Kemp made no attempt to contact distant Ngāi Tahu hapū, spending most of his time in Akaroa. As a result, many hapū were unaware of the negotiations.

Forty Ngāi Tahu rangatira signed Kemp's Deed at Akaroa on 12 June 1848. The Deed transferred to the Crown all the land between the two rivers, excluding Banks Peninsula. In exchange the Crown was to pay £2,000 and to set aside Ngāi Tahu settlements and reserves sufficient for their present and future needs.

Deceit

The Deed contained many deceitful anomalies, including:

→ It was made out to the NZ Company, not the Crown.

→ The map attached to the Deed of Sale marked the northern boundary of the purchase just north of Kaiapoi, as agreed, but Kaiapoi was shown much further north than its actual location.

→ The money was to be paid in instalments rather than as a lump sum.

→ The deed promised that Ngāi Tahu would be provided with schools and hospitals, and that mahika kai (food gathering sites) would be retained. These promises were broken.

→ The settlements and reserves were not set aside before the sale; instead, the Crown was to restore them to Ngāi Tahu after the sale (Woodley, 1990).

In August 1848, Ngāi Tahu representatives went to Wellington to ask Governor Eyre to provide the promised reserves.

Eyre's agent was dishonest in his dealings with Ngāi Tahu. The reserves he created were too small and scattered for traditional food-gathering, and for the European farming methods hapū had used since the 1840s.

When Walter Mantell mapped the land in 1848 he deliberately reduced the size of the promised reserves, allowing less than four acres per person instead of the promised ten.

Reserves were created at Taumutu (near Southbridge), Arowhenua near Temuka, Umukaka River, Caroline Bay, Tuahiwi, and on the northern bank of the Waitaki.

Ngāi Tahu dissatisfaction with these small and often marginal reserve lands resulted in land claims from the 1860s.

Later, the construction of Christchurch and the draining of its marshes, led to the further loss of mahika kai areas (Evison, 1997).

On hearing the Ngāi Tahu claim lodged in 1986, the Waitangi Tribunal concluded (1991, p1051) 'that in acquiring from Ngāi Tahu 34.5 million acres, more than half the land mass of New Zealand, for £14,750 pounds, and leaving them with only 35,757 acres, the Crown acted unconscionably and in repeated breach of the Treaty of Waitangi'.

After 150 years of iwi land claims and other actions for justice, the 'settlement' Act was passed in 1998.



***Above**: Land the Crown bought from Ngāi Tahu. Manatū Taonga, Ministry for Culture and Heritage.*

Left*: Three small reserves created for Ngāi Tahu. Archives NZ/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga.*

1845 *Northern War*

Fighting began in March between some Ngāpuhi hapū and government forces at Kororāreka, then at Ōhaeawai, and Ruapekapeka. Rangatira asserted that moving the capital from Te Pēwhairangi had hurt them economically, and that the Crown through Hobson was exceeding its authority in other aspects of life, especially trade. The Northern War ended in January 1846 (Keenan, 2022).

1845 *Invalid land purchases ignored*

Willaim Spain, Commissioner of Land Claims, had found many problems in his investigation of land purchases before 1840, but many of his recommendations were never enacted. For example, the site of Wellington was proved an invalid purchase, but the area was not returned, nor was compensation paid.

1845 *Removing land from hapū*

Contracts for the sale of land required one-tenth of the land to be allocated to hapū. But when Governor Grey acquired 32 million acres between 1845 and 1852 for £50,000, including most of Te Waipounamu, it included much more than rangatira had agreed, the agreed reserves were not created, and the price paid for the land was not fair (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2026).

1846 *Protectorate removed*

Governor Grey abolished the Protectorate Department (formed in 1840), responsible for protecting Māori rights. Grey had been appointed in late 1845 to replace Governor FitzRoy, who had tried to recognise existing land rights for Māori.

1846 *Wellington and Whanganui Wars*

From 1839 when British settlers first came to Te Whanganui-a-Tara, land disputes had caused friction with hapū. British troops exchanged fire with Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Rangatahi on 3 March 1846, leading Governor Grey to declare martial law in the town. This was extended to Whanganui in June. These conflicts lasted until February 1848 (Keenan, 2022).

1846 *Native Land Purchase Ordinance*

Restored the Crown's sole right of pre-emption (Article 2 of the Crown's English-language version). Penalties were imposed on any other person buying or leasing land. Māori again had to sell land to the Crown instead of opting for long-term leases where they retained title.

1846 *New Zealand Constitution Act*

Also known as the Charter for New Zealand, this was designed to grant self-governance, and to hasten settler acquisition of land. It was never fully implemented due to concerns about the reaction of Māori to the land being acquired.

1847 *Education Ordinance*

Supported mission schools on condition that instruction be in English. The education of Māori children was viewed as part of the 'civilisation' of Māori, 'best attained by assimilating as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the Native to those of the European population' (Calman, 2015).

1848 Hapū owned 53 vessels of more than 14 tons that were registered in Auckland. Hapū continued to control coastal shipping, raise horses, cattle, and pigs, and grow acres of wheat and other crops for trade.

1850s

1850s *Leased land not returned*

In the early 1850s, two acres of reserve land in Te Whanganui-a-Tara were leased to the military for a peppercorn rental, to be returned to Māori owners when no longer required. Instead the land was transferred to the government for a future school and hospital.

George Swainson (Commissioner of Reserves from 1864-7) reported that 'No rent has ever been paid or equivalent given for these Sections'. Despite regular Māori protest, the land was not returned (Johnson, 1997, p43-4).

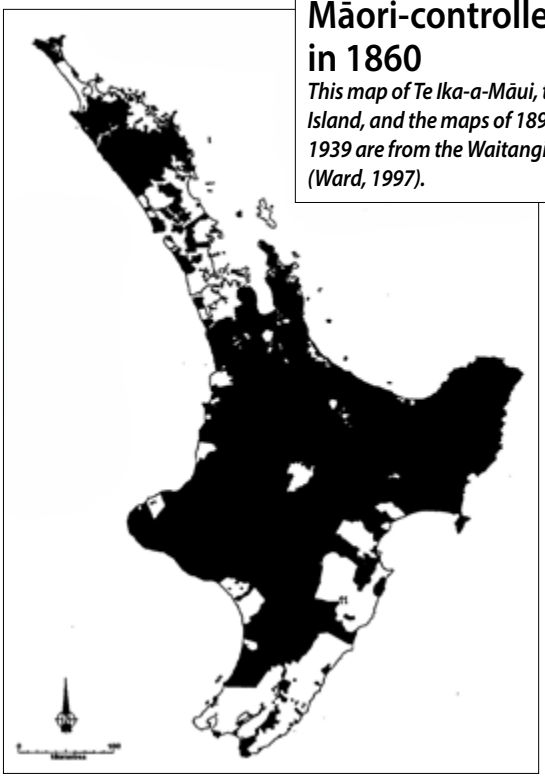
1852 Hapū retained control of 34 million acres, or 51.5 percent of the country.

1852 *New Zealand Constitution Act*

Set out a structure for the new NZ government, including self-governing districts for Māori, which were never implemented. It gave the right to vote only to non-Chinese men who owned land with individual title.

1854 *Waste Lands Act*

Enabled the superintendent and council of any province to recommend to the Governor the sale of so-called 'waste lands' that the Crown had acquired from Māori.



Māori-controlled land in 1860

This map of Te Ika-a-Māui, the North Island, and the maps of 1890, 1910 and 1939 are from the Waitangi Tribunal (Ward, 1997).

How six transactions rendered Ngāti Manuhiri iwi effectively landless



Fig 1: MAHURANGI MANGAWHAI OLD LAND CLAIMS & CROWN PURCHASES

Ngāti Manuhiri affiliate to Te Kawerau confederation of north and west Tāmaki Makaurau. It is based at the Ōmaha Marae at Pākiri, north of Auckland (all information from Te Tari Whakatau, May 2011).

By the late 1700s, Ngāti Manuhiri and their Te Kawerau relatives occupied the eastern shoreline from Takapuna to Te Ārai Point (south of Mangawhai).

Through strategic marriages with older tribal groupings, Ngāti Manuhiri developed intimate ties with Te Uri o Hau (in the north west) and Ngātiwai, with whom they occupied Pokohinu (Mokohinau Islands), Te Hauturu-o-Toi (Little Barrier Island), and Aotea (Great Barrier Island). This extensive area contained bountiful sea and land resources.

Before 1840, hapū and Europeans negotiated transactions over lands north of Auckland, including offshore islands. Europeans were interested in the Mahurangi district forests, close to sheltered harbours, which provided kauri for the lucrative spar and sawn timber trade, first serving the British Royal Navy in the 1830s and then settlers.

Six transactions about land between Mangawhai in the north and Maungauika (North Head) on the Waitematā Harbour in the south led to the alienation of most Ngāti Manuhiri lands and treasured resources supporting their traditional way of life and identity. Europeans negotiated and signed the deeds with iwi not permanently resident here. Ngāti Manuhiri was not involved in any of these transactions.

1839: The Webster and Dacre deed for approximately 10,000 acres for £421, including pā, kāinga and settlements from Ōmaha (Leigh) to Kohuroa (Matheson Bay) and Matakana, including the Tāwharanui Peninsula, the Whāngateau harbour and its forested catchments, maungatapu Tamahunga and other places of ancestral significance. Ngāti Manuhiri had no knowledge of this transaction.

1839: The Milton and Skelton deed for over 5,000 acres on the northern side of Matakana harbour including Matakanakana pā, several kāinga, and extensive kauri forests. Ngāti Manuhiri and other iwi relied on Matakana for seasonal access to shark fishing grounds. The Matakana River provided an important inland route and was a traditional boundary marker.

1840: Taylor and Beattie purported to purchase Te Kawau Tūmārō ō Toi (Kawau Island) for £119. The island was of major symbolic and ancestral significance to Ngāti Manuhiri, its environment providing an array of natural resources which members used seasonally while occupying the island and kāinga on the adjoining mainland. Ngāti Manuhiri later denied the validity of this transaction.

1841: The Mahurangi and Ōmaha Purchase. Having decided to establish Tāmaki Makaurau as the capital of the new colony, the Crown negotiated a purchase deed for ~ 110,000 acres, from Maungauika (North Head) on the Waitematā Harbour north along the east coast to Te Ārai ō Tāhuhu (Te Ārai Point) (outlined by the left dotted line on the left).

The Crown did not adequately investigate customary rights, relying on information from the sellers, who were not Ngāti Manuhiri, and on minimal prior knowledge of the district. The Crown did not understand the extent of its purchase, and did not prepare a map to accompany the deed. This 1841 transaction overlapped all the earlier land transactions, which had been unsurveyed.

1841: The Crown paid a neighbouring iwi for an area of about 6,000 acres to settle the southern boundary of the block, in June and December.

1842: The Crown paid a Te Pēwhairangi chief for his interests in Mahurangi in May, beginning the extinguishment of customary interests in the block. It did not pay Ngāti Manuhiri.

The 1841 Crown purchase was the most significant step, as it began a process of land alienation for Ngāti Manuhiri that continued for 30 years.

While the Crown believed it had purchased the Mahurangi and Ōmaha block in 1841, the Land Claims Commission investigated settler land claims in the area in 1843. Ngāti Manuhiri was again not consulted.

In 1854 the Crown instructed its land purchase officers not to buy land essential to the welfare of Māori and, in 1857, to ensure that adequate reserves for Māori were made.

However, purchase deeds signed before 1865 did not provide for reserves, even when the Crown was aware that Māori lived on the land being sold. In the Pākiri South block, for example, no reserve was initially set aside despite the fact that some of the signatories lived at places such as Ōmaha. Title to a 163 acre reserve was eventually granted in 1897, 39 years after the block was sold to the Crown.

To protect wāhi tapu in the Ahuroa/Kourawhero block in 1862, Ngāti Manuhiri rangatira Te Kiri Kaiparaoa had to buy iwi land back from the Crown. The deed provided for Te Kiri to return £20 of the purchase price in exchange for an area of 40 acres 'a sacred place which is not included in this sale of land'. The Crown had bought the 40 acres from Ngāti Manuhiri for 1s7p/acre, and returned it to Te Kiri for 10s/acre.

The reserves granted to Ngāti Manuhiri were inadequate for their survival, and for protecting wāhi tapu, other special sites and food gathering places. The iwi could not benefit from the rising market in land or participate fully in the growing colonial economy.

By 2011 the iwi was effectively landless, holding title to around 1,300 acres in small, separate, blocks of land in multiple ownership.

1856 By the mid-1850s Māori still supplied food to settlers, and produced half the country's exports to Australia. In the Waikato, 18 hapū-owned flour mills supplied Tāmaki Makaurau settlers.

The settler government relied on customs duties and import tariffs for revenue until the 1870s, applying initially to imports of alcohol, tobacco, tea, sugar and grains, plus 10 percent on produce from places other than Britain, New South Wales or Tasmania. Hapū paid 58 per cent of customs duties in 1856 but received only a small amount in return (Simpson, 2010).

1856 *New Zealand Native Reserves Act*

All remaining native reserves promised to hapū were placed under Pākehā control, and could be leased out at minimal rents. This was amended in 1862 to transfer the land, powers and authorities from the Commissioners to the Governor, who could grant leases, licences, and other property transfers.

1858 *English Laws Act*

All English laws as of 14 January 1840 (the date Hobson was sworn in) were deemed to be in force in New Zealand. This breached the promised protection in te Tiriti of Māori custom including justice and law-making systems.

1858 *Native Districts Regulation Act*

Designed to promote 'civilisation of the native race' by enabling controls to be imposed on Māori communities over many activities, such as fencing animals rather than allowing them to roam; controlling dogs; cleaning houses and buildings; banning or allowing spirits and liquor; preventing drunkenness; and suppressing 'injurious Native Customs'.

1858 *Native Schools Act*

Provided government grants to Anglican, Wesleyan and Roman Catholic schools, but required instruction 'in the English language and in the ordinary subjects of primary English education'.

1858 The Māori population had rapidly declined due to new diseases and impoverishment caused by land loss. A surge in British immigration equalised population numbers: Māori 56,000, European 59,000 (Pool & Kakutai, 2014).

1858 The Kiingitanga, or Māori King movement, aimed to provide a leader of similar status to engage with Queen Victoria to discuss settler government breaches of both te Tiriti and the Crown's English-language version.

The Kiingitanga hoped a paramount leader would unite Waikato hapū, and potentially others, to protect land and te reo Māori, ban alcohol sales, and assert autonomy in the face of increasing European settlement and land confiscations. Te Wherowhero was selected as the first king, and took the name Pōtatau I.

1860s

1859–1860 *North Taranaki War*

A junior Te Ati Awa chief, Te Teira, offered to sell to the government Waitara land on which paramount chief Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke lived. Government officials knew Te Teira had no right to sell the land, but accepted the offer anyway. Kīngi's refusal to leave in March 1860 led to the North Taranaki War, which ended in March 1861 (Keenan, 2022).



The boundaries of raupatu (confiscated land) by Governor George Grey's proclamation in December 1864, after his invasion of the Waikato. Hapū migrated south of the 'aukati', a pā line alongside the Puniu River near Kihikihi, and soldier settlers moved into their abandoned kāinga (villages), creating new militia towns to guard the new frontier. From Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2015.

1860 Hapū retained control of 21.4 million acres (32 percent).

1862 *Native Lands Act*

This Act (and its 1865 replacement) intensified the theft of land from hapū; it was sponsored by Thomas Russell, a land speculator and government minister. It set up a localised Land Court system to individualise hapū collective ownership. Eleven Māori became judges in this system.

It again abolished the English language text's Article 2 pre-emptive purchase right of the Crown, enabling settlers to buy land directly from hapū. The government had funded itself by using its monopoly to purchase land, at far below market rates, then selling the land to settlers at its market value.

1863 *Government invades the Waikato*

The government wanted to punish the Kiingitanga, who had fought in the Taranaki War (***see 1859–1860***), and make Waikato land available to settlers. In July 1863 Governor Grey issued a proclamation directing hapū living in the government-controlled area south of Tāmaki Makaurau to swear

allegiance to the Queen or move south.

Three days later, British troops marched into Kiingitanga lands, starting the Waikato War. Fighting extended to Gate Pā near Tauranga in 1864 (Keenan, 2022). Following these wars the government passed the following two Acts to 'legitimise' its confiscation of land.

1863 *Suppression of Rebellion Act*

Based on the Irish Act of 1799, which put down the Irish rebellion against British rule, this Act suspended the right to trial before imprisonment (*habeas corpus*) for those found to be in rebellion against the Crown. Military courts were established, and land confiscation and death were included as penalties for rebellion.

1863 *New Zealand Land Settlements Act*

Empowered the confiscation of land in any district where a 'considerable number' of Māori were believed to be in rebellion. Three million acres were confiscated; the government then sold this land to pay for the war.

1864 *Public Works Lands Act*

Māori land could be taken for government projects such as roads. The Crown often favoured Māori land over general land for these purposes, since it could pay the owners less compensation or none at all. The law required land not needed for the purposes for which it was taken to be offered back to the original owners. The Crown often ignored this.

1865 *Native Lands Act*

Aimed 'to encourage the extinction of (native) proprietary customs' by creating a Native Land Court. The Māori judges (appointed under the Native Lands Act 1862) were demoted to assessors, and no longer had a role in matters of Māori custom. The new Act gave any person the right to apply for determination of title to land.

The Court could only decide on the basis of evidence before it – if a Māori owner did not take part in this long and costly process, the claimant would automatically get title. Māori owners who did take part would often incur debt which resulted in forced sales. Survey costs were charged to the Māori owners.

Many sold land rather than go through the humiliation of the Land Court. Once a title had been issued, the land could be sold or leased to anyone. The maximum number of owners' names was reduced to 10, for titles of less than 5,000 acres.

1865–1875 Some 10 million acres (15 percent) were taken from Māori by Native Land Court decisions in this period.

1866 *Oyster Fisheries Act*

Prevented Māori from fishing commercially. Hapū commercial fishing enterprises went broke and hapū had to sell land to meet debts.

1866 *South Taranaki War*

After numerous battles in the South Taranaki and Whanganui area in 1864-65, in January 1866 Major-General Chute and 600 men marched around Taranaki Maunga (Mt Egmont), to

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By Dr Harpreet Singh, 2026, who writes: "Every line is a specific law coded to strip Māori of their ancestral land. Calculated, cold, and devastating."



Act Name	Year Passed	Primary Mechanism of Dispossession	Active/Impact Period
New Zealand Settlements Act	1863	Legalised the confiscation (raupatu) of land from tribes deemed to be in "rebellion."	1863–1867 (Core confiscations)
Suppression of Rebellion Act	1863	Allowed for military action and land seizure by suspending habeas corpus.	1863–1865
Public Works Lands Act	1864	Allowed the Crown to compulsorily take land for infrastructure, often without compensation.	1864–Present (various updates)
Native Lands Act	1865	Established the Native Land Court and the "10-owner rule" to individualise communal title.	1865–1873
Native Land Act	1873	Forced all owners onto titles; high legal and survey costs often forced immediate sales.	1873–1909
West Coast Settlement Act	1880	Legalised the invasion of Parihaka and confiscation of Taranaki land via "perpetual leases."	1880–1892 (Impact remains)
Native Lands Rating Act	1882	Imposed taxes on land; unpaid rates allowed local councils to seize and sell the land.	1882–1904
Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act	1893	Empowered the Crown to compulsorily purchase land if owners refused a voluntary sale.	1893–1909
Native Land Court Act	1894	Re-established Crown Pre-emption, giving the government a monopoly on land purchases.	1894–1909
Native Townships Act	1895	Allowed the Crown to compulsorily acquire land to build townships in the interior.	1895–1910
Urewera Native District Reserve Act	1896	Originally a "protective" act for Tūhoe, later bypassed to allow illegal land purchasing.	1896–1921
Māori Lands Administration Act	1900	Vested land in "Land Councils" which could lease or sell land against owner wishes.	1900–1905
Maori Land Settlement Act	1905	Allowed the Crown to take "unused" Māori land and vest it in Boards for settler leasing.	1905–1909
Native Land Settlement Act	1907	Mandated that "surplus" land held by boards be 50% sold and 50% leased to settlers.	1907–1909
Native Land Act	1909	Consolidated laws and removed Crown pre-emption, making it easier for the Crown to buy land.	1909–1953
Native Land Rating Act	1924	Updated laws to make it even easier for councils to claim Māori land for unpaid rates.	1924–1967
Māori Affairs Act	1953	Permitted the Court to vest "uneconomic" or "unused" land in trustees for sale.	1953–1993
Counties Amendment Act	1961	Forced owners to set aside portions of land for public reserves during any land partition.	1961–1970s
Maori Affairs Amendment Act	1967	The "Last Land Grab"; converted land with 4 or fewer owners to General Land for easier sale.	1967–1974
Foreshore and Seabed Act	2004	Extinguished Māori rights to seek customary title to the foreshore, vesting it in the Crown.	2004–2011

How government laws impoverished hapū after land loss

Port Levy Ngāi Tahu

In 1860, 12 years after Ngāi Tahu had sold 20million acres of land for £2,000, this hapū was living on a small reserve. They asked Governor Thomas Gore Browne for a loan to help them employ an expert supervisor and build a flour mill (Tau & Rout, 2018, p95), expecting to repay the advance from profits:

"Friend, hearken! We are striving to adopt the example of the Pakeha. As an instance of this, we seek your approval of the erection of a flour mill at Port Levy; and we ask for your assistance in the same manner that you have aided the people of the Northern Island in the construction of their mills; and further, that you will send us a wiseman (a millwright) to superintend the work, that it may be properly done. All the machinery has arrived and we have paid for it the sum of £380 15s 3p. The assistance we ask of you is to erect the house, to put up the mill, and to dig an aqueduct. And when the proceeds of the mill are sufficient, we will repay your advance. Let this be made a proof of your regard for us."

Port Levy Ngāi Tahu also asked Governor Gore Browne to confirm the individual titles that Walter Buller had developed the year before at Kaiapoi and their own village. Each whānau had its own fields of wheat, but would gather communally to thrash and mill the flour. Traditional hapū processes created a balance between self-interest and communal good, facilitating a thriving industry even after significant land loss.

The hapū prospered because the limited Crown institutional framework of the time still allowed them the autonomy to structure their economic actions according to their values.

Petrie (2013, chptr 6) said the loan was declined and the mill never built, inferring that their 'inability to offer land for sale had left them with little bargaining power and their smaller population offered a less daunting threat … of rebellion'.

This suggests that because the hapū did not threaten the Crown's substantive sovereignty, the Crown did not need to offer them credit. Land sales began the loss of substantive sovereignty for hapū.

Koukourarata Marae in Port Levy, Horomaka (Banks Peninsula). Tūtehuarewa wharenui was built in 1925. Photo: Koukourarata Rūnanga.



Poutini Ngāi Tahu



Poutini Ngāi Tahu set aside significant reserves on the West Coast, the most important being Māwhera Reserve, 500 acres at the mouth of Māwheranui, the Grey River.

Greymouth township, above, quickly spilled over onto the reserve after the West Coast goldrush accelerated in 1865 (Tau & Matthew Rout, 2018). Merchants leased much of the reserve from the tribe in three-year periods.

The colonial government intervened, supposedly to ensure that 'formal' leases existed between both parties to avoid trouble, when institutional structures were designed to benefit settlers.

When the reserves became valuable, the government placed them under the 1856 Native Reserves Act, making the Governor their trustee.

Poutini Ngāi Tahu lost control of their land and the settlers enjoyed low rentals. The Governor controlled the revenue, most of which was used to develop the town – between 1865 and 1875, 20 percent of the rents paid for rates, street repairs and other improvements.

The government extended the leases to 14 and then 21 years. The settlers, who detested the idea of Māori as landlords, lobbied the Crown for perpetual leases, or the right to buy the land.

In 1887, Parliament passed The Westland and Nelson Native Reserves Act, which granted the leaseholder a perpetual right of renewal every 21 years for an indefinite period, with the owners having the right to renew the rent on every lease renewal. The owners had no right of management, occupation, control or use.

As the Crown itself acknowledged, it had 'effectively transferred the entire domain of the lands to the lessee' (Ward, 1989, p326). The rents were very low – because the land was effectively owned by the leaseholders, no outside competition could be used to assess its value.

The land was very valuable, and in any normal situation the hapū should have been in a prime position as landlord. Poutini Ngāi Tahu had agreed to the nominal sum of £300 for the West Coast Purchase so that they could be part of the area's economy. However, the law was used to benefit settlers while excluding and impoverishing the local hapū.

In 1976, reserve lands were vested in the Māwhera Incorporation, with the bed of the Arahura River and its pounamu, residential property in Westport and Greymouth and rural land blocks throughout the West Coast.

destroy the capacity of Taranaki hapū to fight, by burning their villages and destroying their livestock.

1866 *East Coast Land Titles Investigation Act;* 1868 *East Coast Act*

Authorised the issue of proclamations of confiscation, which were used to force unwilling sellers in the Urewera to accept offers for their land, under threat of confiscation.

1867 *Native Schools Act*

Provided for the setting up of schools in Māori villages if the hapū provided the land, half the cost of the buildings and 25 percent of the teachers' salaries (***see 1871***). English was to be the only language of instruction, and later this English-only policy was rigorously enforced.

1867 *Māori Representation Act*

Set up four Māori electorates to remove the threat of Māori out-numbering Pākehā in some areas where individualised titles had given some Māori a vote, and to prevent parliament from moving to Christchurch. If this had been done proportionately to the Māori population, there would have been 14-16 seats (NZ History, 2024).

1868–1869 *Tītokowaru's War*

As settlers moved into South Taranaki and land was confiscated, Ngā Ruahine Methodist lay preacher, Riwha Tītokowaru, vowed to defend Māori land. A disagreement over cutting rights ultimately led to Tītokowaru's War in Taranaki (Keenan, 2022).

1868-72 *War on the East Coast*

Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Tūruki was arrested in 1865 on suspicion of spying, which was never proved. Despite an appeal for a court hearing which was ignored, Te Kooti was exiled to Rēkohu, a breach of Article 3. After his escape from the island, Te Kooti landed south of Tūranganui-a-Rua (Poverty Bay). His return alarmed the government, which was determined on his recapture. Their pursuit resulted in the East Coast war (Keenan, 2022).

1869 *Treaty rewrite requested*

The government requested a new Māori version of the English text. 'Kāwanatanga' in Article 1 was replaced by 'Ngā mana Katoa o te Rangatiratanga', inferring an absolute cession of Māori authority.

1869 *Survey of Ōrākei block*

The Native Land Court surveyed the Ōrākei block, awarding it to 13 owners, effectively disowning the rest of the 100-strong hapū. This removed hapū control of the land and their ability to use the land for the economic benefit of the whole hapū.

LATE 1860s Hapū had built fishing structures on the foreshore near Whenuakite (Thames). When they realised that gold might be found on the seabed and foreshore, they appealed to the Native Land Court to protect their rights. In the Kauaeranga decision of 1870, Chief Judge Francis Dart Fenton did not dispute the evidence of prolonged Māori use of the tidal flats for fishing, but concluded: *'I cannot contemplate without uneasiness the evil consequences which might ensue from judicially declaring that the soil of the foreshore of the colony will be vested absolutely in the natives, if they can prove certain acts of ownership'.* He does, however, recognise an exclusive fishing right. Māori prepared further claims to lands below the sea in Whenuakite.



***Invading troops in formation on the right by the wharenui (large meeting house), at the substantial Parihaka settlement in 1881. Engraving by an unknown artist from the original edition of the Melbourne-based* Australasian Sketcher.**

1870s

1870s Non-violent resistance to oppression was central to the vision of leaders Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi in Parihaka, Taranaki (***see*** 1881 Parihaka).

1871 *Native Schools Amendment Act*

Required instruction in Native Schools to be in English. Hapū were no longer required to provide money for buildings or salaries (which was beyond the capability of most, as war and confiscations had devastated their economies) but had to provide land for schools, to be held in school trusts as endowments.

1872 *Land below the high water mark*

Following the Kauaeranga decision, a Proclamation prevented the Native Land Court from hearing claims to land below the high water mark in the Auckland province. This breached Article 2, which recognises rangatira and hapū control.

1873 *Native Reserves Act*

Took control of the Māori reserved land away from the owners. The Governor appointed a (Pākehā) Native Reserves Commissioner for each district. Māori residents could elect three assistant commissioners, who formed a Board with the Commissioner as chair.

1873 *Native Land Act*

Titles could no longer be held by iwi or hapū. All individuals with an ownership interest had to be named on the title. Individual Māori received blocks of land that were partitioned

and repartitioned into uneconomic parcels of land. Fragmentation and loss of land continued.

1877 *Māori title nullified*

Chief Justice Prendergast declared te Tiriti 'a simple nullity' in the *Wī Parata v Bishop of Wellington* case. He said there was no legal Māori title to land – contradicting UK common law recognition of native title – and that the Treaty could have no bearing on the case because treaties with 'barbarians' lacked legal validity. This ruling remained in place until challenged in the mid-1980s (Williams, 2011).

1878 *Native Land Act Amendment Act*

Laws on trusteeship and admissible evidence were changed to allow settler small farmers easier access to Māori land.

1880s

1879 *Māori Prisoners Trial Acts*
1880 *Māori Prisoners Act*
1880 *Māori Prisoners Detention Act*

Postponed and finally dispensed with trials for those accused of hindering surveying of land in Taranaki, and allowed detention without trial, breaching Article 3. Under these Acts, 200 Māori were arrested in Parihaka for preventing the surveying of confiscated land, and imprisoned indefinitely without trial.

1880 *Dog Registration Act*

Aiming to prevent Māori kurī (dogs) worrying Pākehā farmers' sheep, this law required dog owners to pay an annual 10 shillings registration fee, and be issued a dog collar which identified owners. Māori, who had used kurī for centuries as food and to help hunt birds, were often outside the cash economy and could not afford the fee. Many began refusing to pay the tax and opposition grew. In 1898, government soldiers marched on Waima in Te Tai Tokerau, one site of protest, and leaders of the resistance were imprisoned (Cumming, 2021).

1880 *West Coast Settlement (North Island) Act*

Any Māori in Taranaki could be arrested without a warrant and jailed for two years with hard labour if they built anything or in any way hindered the surveying of confiscated land.

1881 *West Coast Settlement Reserves Act*

Provided for reserves for Māori within confiscated Taranaki territory to be administered by the Public Trustee, who was given two conflicting goals: to act for the benefit of 'the natives to whom such reserves belong' and to promote European settlement. Inevitably the Trustee favoured European settlement (Johnson, 1997, p106).

1881 *Parihaka invasion*

On 5 November the government sent about 1,600 troops to invade Parihaka in Taranaki. They arrested Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi, leaders of non-violent resistance to colonisation, as well as 200 men; all were imprisoned indefinitely without trial.

The troops also destroyed much of the village, raped women, wrecked its cultivations, killed livestock, forcibly evicted most of its residents and occupied the remaining village for five years. The government confiscated 5,000 acres of Parihaka land to cover the costs of this invasion.

Several laws were passed over the next two years to validate the illegal arrests and detentions. Native Affairs Minister Bryce sued a journalist for reporting the invasion. The case was heard in the UK Privy Council, and young law student Mohandas Gandhi took a particular interest. The men were released in 1883.

1882 *West Coast Peace Preservation Act*

Applying only to the Taranaki area, this law legitimised the jailing without trial of Te Whiti and Tohu, and enabled any public meetings exceeding 50 Māori people to be ordered to disperse if they appeared to threaten the government. Anyone refusing to leave such a meeting could be fined up to £50 or imprisoned with or without hard labour for up to 12 months.

1882 The first of several Māori deputations went to England to seek redress from the Crown. Māori felt they had a special, personal relationship with their Tiriti partner, Queen Victoria. On this and each subsequent occasion, they were referred back to the New Zealand government on the grounds that the imperial government no longer had responsibility for such matters.

1882 *Public Works Act*

Began a new pattern of harsh and vindictive confiscations of Māori land for roads and other public works, some of which survived for almost a century. Government insistence in pushing roads through without consultation hardened Māori resistance, often expressed by obstructing roads.

Later major public works legislation also clearly reflected settler reaction to Parihaka resistance. Land thefts under this Act helped entrench Pākehā attitudes to the taking of Māori land for many years, and affected Māori attitudes to 'public works' thefts (Marr, 1997, p105).

1882 *Native Reserves Act*

Aimed to shift control of Māori reserves to the Public Trustee, a government department. Land vested in the Public Trustee extinguished 'native title', and the Trustee collected the rents. The four Māori MPs condemned the Bill as it denied Māori owners access, control, and income.

'It takes away from the Maori everything he possesses, and gives it to another person to control' said Hēnare Tomoana, (Johnson, 1997, p119). This Act also extended lease terms from 21 to 30 years for land and 63 years for buildings, by three renewable terms of 21 years each.

1882 *Crown and Native Lands Rating Act*

Māori land within five miles of a highway was made liable for local body rates. The Crown passed these rates to the local



Māori held ~4.7 million hectares (in black), about 40 percent of the land in Te Ika-a-Māui, roughly half of that held in 1860.

This was due to large-scale confiscations after the land wars of the 1860s, and the operations of the Native Land Court.

By the 1860s, the Crown controlled the whole of Te Wai Pounamu, following large-scale land purchases from Ngāi Tahu between 1844 and 1864. The sales were based on the Crown providing land reserves, schools and hospitals, which it never did.

body, and made unpaid rates debt a first charge if the land was sold.

1884 *Fisheries Conservation Act*

Omitted a rare early example of Tiriti rights when it replaced the earlier Fish Protection Act 1877. The 1877 law had stated, 'Nothing in this Act contained shall be deemed to repeal, alter, or affect any of the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi, or to take away, annul, or abridge any of the rights of the Aboriginal natives to any fisheries secured to them thereunder.'

1884 King Tāwhiao, the second Māori paramount leader, travelled to England with a plea to Queen Victoria to renew the promises made in te Tiriti o Waitangi. At that time te Tiriti had very little political influence and Tāwhiao was deeply concerned for the future of his people. He wanted a separate Māori parliament and an inquiry into land confiscations.

He was prevented from meeting the Queen, and his petition referred back to the New Zealand parliament. But the parliament said it was Britain's problem because events before 1865 were the responsibility of the Imperial Government.

1886 *Native Land Administration Act*

Provided for Māori land to be held by trustees with the right to sell – in contravention of rights of communal ownership. The government was able to buy land to sell or lease to small Pākehā farmers at minimal rents.

1886 *Te Whiti re-arrested*

Te Whiti o Rongomai of Parihaka was re-arrested (under the West Coast Settlement Act of 1881) without warrant, charge or trial, and imprisoned. He was released in 1887.

1886 *Bastion Point theft*

The Crown used the Public Works Act 1882 to take ownership of 13 acres (5.3 ha) at Takaparawhau, Tāmaki Makaurau, on which it had built a fort the previous year. When the Crown decided in 1941 that it no longer needed this land for defence, it did not return it to Ngāti Whātua, instead giving it to the Auckland City Council.

1887 *Westland and Nelson Native Reserves Act*

The lease terms were changed to 21 years and European leaseholders were granted automatic right to renew their leases, on the same terms, but with rent reviewed to current market valuation.

Owners had no right to reclaim their land. 'Effectively the land was removed from the control, use, or occupancy of the Maori owners' wrote the Waitangi Tribunal (Johnson, 1997, p130).

1888 *Native Land Act*

Allowed for further sales, including land formerly designated as reserves for Māori.

1888 *Assimilation goal*

In a continuation of an ongoing breach, the Inspector of Native Schools reported that their goal remained the complete assimilation of Māori.

1890s

1891 Māori-owned land totalled 11,079,486 acres (16 percent), representing half what they had held in 1860. Māori life expectancy was 22.5-25 years, compared with 55.5 years for Pākehā, a breach of Article 3.

1892-1893 *Native Department abolished*

This denied Māori a specialist agency to represent their interests for over a decade, contributing to confusion and less effective administration. The department's functions were dispersed across other government departments, ultimately leading to its re-establishment in 1906.

1893 *Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act*

Reintroduced the Crown right of pre-emption, and gave the government new powers to declare any Māori land 'suitable for (Pākehā) settlement'. Examples include the Crown paying five shillings an acre for such land – approximately 0.8 percent of the market rate of £30.

1894 *Government Advances to Settlers Act*

Low interest loans were available only to Pākehā settlers to buy land from the government and develop it. Māori owners were excluded from these loans until the 1930s, a breach of Article 3.

1894 *Native Land (Validation of Titles) Act*

Legalised any previous illegal Pākehā deals about Māori land.

1894 *Land Improvement and Native Lands Acquisition Act*

'An Act to make better provision for the preparation of lands

for settlement and the acquisition of native lands' by Pākehā settlers (from the preamble).

1895 *Native Townships Act*

Promoted settlement by allowing the government to take control of land to establish townships. Where hapū chose not to sell their land, the government established leases and collected lease payments, generally failing to pass them onto the hapū.

1896 The Māori population declined to 42,000, the lowest recorded. Pākehā numbered 700,000.

1896 *Native Rights Bill rejected*

The Māori MPs had tabled this Bill in Parliament two years earlier, drafted with the help of the pan-tribal movement Te Kotahitanga. It abolished the Native Land Court, gave Māori the right to make their own land laws, and gave Māori control of reserved lands and land development. At the first reading, all non-Māori MPs walked out of the debating chamber (Taonui, 2012).

1897 *Ploughing protest*

Ninety-two Māori were arrested for ploughing Taranaki fields in protest against Public Trustee control of their lands.

1898 *The Old Age Pensions Act*

Those with shares in tribal land were automatically disqualified from pensions from age 65, as were any Asian people, regardless of citizenship. The requirement of a birth certificate to register for a pension meant that few Māori without tribal shares could get one, although magistrates could assess the age of Māori claimants whose births were unregistered.

1898 *Partition of Ōrākei block*

The Native Land Court partitions the Ōrākei block in Tāmaki Makaurau among the 13 'owners' named in 1869, and reclassifies the land as saleable.

1900s

1900 *Māori Lands Administration Act*

Failed in its aim to protect Māori land. The Act allowed Māori Land Councils to decide how much land was enough to support the owners, which was then set aside as inalienable reserves, with the rest leased out for production. But the owners lost control of their non-reserve land as it was vested in and administered by Māori Land Councils.

1901 The Māori population rose to 45,549, 5.6 percent of the total of 815,862, following public health work in Māori papakāinga led by Dr Māui Pōmare, Dr Te Rangi Hīroa (Peter Buck), Apirana Ngāta, and others. The three eventually became Members of Parliament.

1902 *The Titles Protection Act*

Prevented Māori using the courts to challenge historical land titles held by European settlers. It was a hostile response to the Privy Council acknowledging Māori customary law and its potential to be recognised under common law principles in the case of *Nireaha Tāmaki v Baker*. The Privy Council ruling contradicted the earlier case of *Wī Parata v The Bishop of Wellington*.

1905 *Māori Land Settlement Act*
1907 *Māori Land Settlement Act Amendment Act*

Renamed Māori Land Councils as Māori Land Boards. The Government appointed board members rather than allowing elections, and vested Māori 'surplus' land in the boards, which were required to establish inalienable reserves and lease remaining land for settlement.

This was compulsory in the Tai Tokerau and Tairāwhiti Māori Land Districts, but voluntary in other areas. Māori land owner decisions about leasing and sales had to be approved by the boards.

1906 *English only*

The Inspector of Native Schools, in his annual report, includes, 'the necessity of encouraging children to talk English in the playground'. School leaders interpreted this as a complete ban on speaking te reo Māori at school, to be enforced by corporal punishment.

1907 *Suppression of Tohunga Act*

The practices of tohunga, experts in Māori rongoā (medicine) and mātauranga (knowledge), were outlawed as a threat to assimilation, and to British medical practices. Nine tohunga were convicted and imprisoned under this Act.

This act was thought to be a response to the success of the prophet Rua Kēnana in convincing his people to remove their children from the debilitating influence of European schools. The Act also aimed to reduce the negative effect of some rongoā practitioners. The Act was not repealed until 1962.

1907 *Māori Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act*

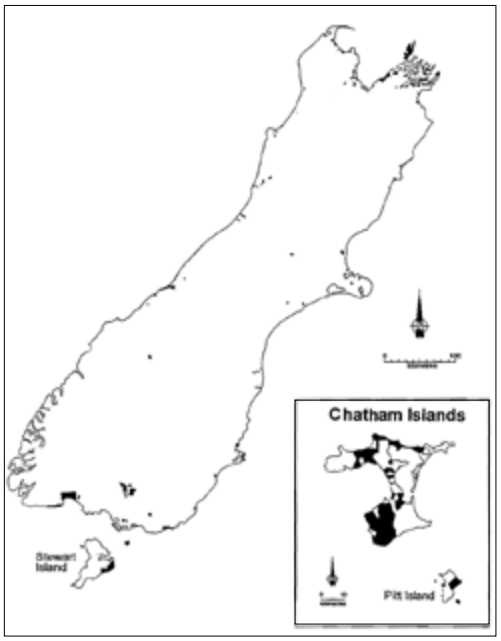
To adjust and protect claims and interests in, and to further amend laws about, Māori lands. For example, compensation owed to Māori under the Public Works Act was now to be paid to the Public Trustee; and land defined by the Urewera District Native Reserves Act 1896 and its amendments was made subject to the Mining Act.

1907 *Native Land Settlement Act*

Required Māori Land Boards to sell 50 percent of surplus lands vested in them and lease 50 percent.

1908 *Infants Act*

Legislated for the guardianship and custody of infants, and the adoption and protection of children. It excluded the custom of whāngai (familial adoption) within Māori communities. The Act also made it illegal to keep an infant for breast-



Māori-controlled land in 1910

Almost all of Te Waipounamu, and Rakiura (Stewart Island), had been 'purchased' by 1859, except for 175,000 acres of reserves and exempted land.
Māori held nearly 27% ~3.1 million hectares, (in black) of Te Ika-a-Māui; very little in Tāmaki Makaurau, Hauraki, Waikato, Taranaki, Tūranganui-a-Rua, Te Matau-a-Māui (Hawke's Bay), Wairarapa, and Te Whanganui-a-Tara, despite high Māori populations in most of these areas.



feeding by wet nurses for more than seven days, unless kept by a licensed foster parent. This Act was in place until 1989.

1908 Dr Pomare, Chief Māori Health Officer and Dr Buck, Māori Health Officer, lament the Māori infant death rate caused by the decline in breastfeeding among Māori women (*New Zealand Times*, 8 October, p2). They attribute this to the example of European mothers who bottle-fed milk to their babies.

Cows and tinned milk were rarely available in Māori communities, so women mixed flour and water as a substitute, and some babies starved to death. Dr Buck said: 'The introduction of the feeding-bottle into the Māori home has caused as many deaths as the guns of Hongi'.

1908 *Auckland and Suburban Drainage Act*

Enabled the Government to take land at Ōkahu Bay in Tāmaki Makaurau, against the wishes of Ngāti Whātua, to lay a sewer across the beach. This blocked drainage from the last iwi papakāinga (village), and turned the papakāinga into a swamp in heavy rain ***(see box p20)***.

1908 *Public Works Act*

Authorised the taking of Māori land for public works. European land owners had rights to object and were entitled to compensation, but neither applied for Māori land until 1974.

1909 *Removing Māori health inspectors*

The government disestablished the roles of Māori health inspectors and officers. This first generation of Māori community workers was established in 1903 at the first conference of Māori Councils to improve housing, sanitation and water supplies.

1909 *Native Land Act*

Consolidated 69 existing Acts, again making land sales direct to settlers possible, and enabling sales and leases to be decided by a majority vote of Māori shareholders.

Also prohibited whāngai adoption. This Act, along with the 1908 restriction on length of breastfeeding, is likely to have undermined whāngai-ū (wet nursing) and the parenting of infants by other whānau members, and to have reduced breastfeeding.

The Act required Māori marriages to comply with the Marriage Act or have an officiating minister, at a time when most Māori marriages were still arranged traditionally (Cook, 2017).

1910s

1911 Māori-controlled land was 7,137,205 acres (10.7 percent).

1912 *Land Laws Amendment Act*

Conditions under which Crown and Māori leases could be converted into freehold were relaxed to encourage sales to settlers. This fulfilled Massey's election promise: 'I want to see the settlers of this country not tenants of the Crown or private individuals, not afraid of a government agent or a private landlord, but sturdy freeholders farming their own land.'

1913–1928 *Ōrākei land grab*

The government bought most of Ngāti Whātua land at Ōrākei, Tāmaki Makaurau, during this time. This was not a simple dispossession: "*In a long running battle to resist the state and save the land, [Ngāti Whātua took] eight actions in the Māori Land Court, four in the Supreme Court, two in the Court of Appeal, two in the Compensation Court, six appearances before Commissions or Committees of Inquiry, and 15 Parliamentary Petitions. In the end the state prevailed."* (Walker, 2004, p217).

1913 Ninety percent of Māori school children attending 'native' schools were estimated to speak only te reo Māori at home.

1915 *Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act*

In WWI the government announced that soldiers returning from the war would have the opportunity to settle on farms of their own. As well as providing soldiers with employment, the government wanted larger farms to be subdivided to increase food production. The Act gave the government authority to purchase

private land for this, as well as using some Crown-owned land.

Māori land was also included, either through gifts or other acquisition processes – leading to some Māori veterans' ancestral lands being taken and given to others. The Act did not provide for Māori soldiers, assuming they had shares in tribal land. Ngāti Awa are documenting the impacts of this Act, and others, on their people. (Soutar, 2019).

1916 *Native Land Amendment and Native Land Claims Adjustment Act*

Part of a series of annual 'adjustment' acts designed to finalise land disputes and move more land into Pākehā ownership or management.

1920s

1920 Māori-controlled land was 4,787,686 acres (7 percent).

1923 Wiremu Tahupōtiki Rātana attempted to visit King George. On the advice of the settler government, like other leaders Rātana was not allowed an audience to take Tiriti grievances to the King.

1924 Te reo Māori became an examinable BA subject at the University of New Zealand. Actual teaching at the Auckland University College didn't start until 27 years later, in 1951 in the Anthropology department.

1928 *Public Works Act*

Authorised the government to take land for forestry, airports, roads, development and subdivision, including Māori customary land, without telling owners about impending confiscations.

1930s

1930 *Māori education*

The Director of Education blocked an attempt by the national Federation of Teachers to have te reo introduced into the curriculum. He said, "the natural abandonment of the native tongue involves no loss to the Māori … education should lead the Māori lad to be a good farmer and the Māori girl to be a good farmer's wife" (The Audit Office, 2012).



This map does not appear to show Māori-owned land under perpetual leases as Māori land.

1930 *Māori health blow*

The government closed the Division of Māori Hygiene within the Department of Health, laying off Māori health

At the whim of monolingual European MPs: The use of te reo Māori in parliament

Te reo Māori is one of the taonga protected under te Tiriti, and any Crown action that undermines, restricts, or bans it breaches te Tiriti.



Tāreha Te Moananui (Ngāti Kahungunu) was the first of the first four new Māori MPs to speak in te reo in parliament in 1868. From oil portrait by Gottfried Lindauer.

The first Māori Members of parliament were elected in 1868. Many preferred to speak in te reo Māori or had little English. From the 1880s there were three Māori language interpreters, two in the House of Representatives and one in the Legislative Council (Te Tai, 2021).

In 1901 the Deputy Speaker of parliament ruled that MPs could not have their speaking time extended to allow for interpretation, effectively cutting te reo speaking time in half. By 1909 there was only one interpreter remaining in parliament.

In 1913 the Speaker of the House, Frederic W. Lang, ruled that Māori Members of Parliament should speak in English if they are able to do so (Waiwiri-Smith, 2024). By 1920 interpreters were no longer provided in parliament.

I**n 1933 Māori MPs were permitted to speak briefly** in te reo as long as they provided an immediate interpretation, but in 1951 Speaker Matthew H. Oram reimposed Speaker Lang's 1913 ruling, requiring Māori MPs to speak in English. In the 1960s, Māori MPs were again permitted to speak briefly in Māori if they provided an immediate interpretation. In 1985 parliament's standing orders were again revised to allow MPs to speak in English or te reo Māori.

I**n 1997 the Speaker of Parliament**, Douglas Kidd, ruled that MPs speaking in te reo Māori do so as of right, and an interpreter would be provided. A contract interpreter was made available in 1999. It had been 79 years since interpreters were provided in parliament.

By 2004 there were three permanent full-time positions in parliament for Kaiwhakamārama Reo to interpret, transcribe, and translate, and a fourth interpreter was appointed in 2009. Simultaneous interpretation of te reo Māori into English became available in parliament and its galleries, and on Parliament TV.

In 2025, parliament's Standing Orders (NZ Parliament Pāremata Aotearoa, 2020) said 'A member may address the Speaker in English, Māori, or New Zealand Sign Language.' Ngā Ratonga Ao Māori, parliament's Māori Language Service (Blades, 2024) provides interpretation, transcription and translation, and advice on custom and tikanga.

workers. These workers were closely linked to their communities, skilled in cultural approaches to health, and effective leaders.

1930s In the great depression, 40 percent of the male Māori workforce was unemployed compared with 12 percent of Pākehā. According to Tipene O'Regan (Ngāi Tahu), Maori were denied the dole from a belief that they could look after themselves better than Pākehā by living off the land (Mitchell, 2009).

1932 Māori MPs presented a petition to parliament with 30,000 signatures calling for ratification of the Treaty. Pākehā MPs left the chamber, and took no action.

1935 *Benefit discrimination*

Discrimination persisted, despite the Labour government abolishing unequal benefit rates. Official papers state that where Māori received benefits, they were paid at lower rates. Officials justified this persistent practice by claiming that Māori communal sharing meant their living expenses were lower.

1939 Māori-controlled land was 4,028,903 acres (6 percent). The Māori population had doubled over the previous 50 years to 82,000, as did Pākehā, to 1.5 million.

1940s

1945 *Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act*

Designed to manage the rapid urbanisation of Māori, improve health and social welfare while retaining government control of independent Māori initiatives; attempted to avoid the rise of Māori nationalism (NZ History, 2017).

1950s

1950 *Pepper-potting*

As Māori urban migration continued, the Department of Māori Affairs implemented a policy of assimilation by using housing allocation policies to 'pepper-pot' Māori families in predominantly Pākehā suburbs, so rural whānau would learn to live 'like Pākehā'.

1950s *Racist streaming in education*

As a result of the education system's racist streaming (for example, Māori were not admitted to grammar schools, and thus unable to sit University Entrance exams), the majority of the Māori workforce was considered 'unskilled' and only six percent of Māori held recognised qualifications. Many Māori parents decided that their children would benefit more if raised as English, rather than than te reo Māori, speakers.

1951 Auckland University College began teaching te reo Māori.

1951 *Ngāti Whātua evicted*

The government forcibly bought the Ngāti Whātua papakāin-

Events affecting Te Whenua Rangatira, the 700-acre Ōrākei Block in Tāmaki Makaurau

From Te Tai, Taking of the land.

1837
Apihai Te Kawau's people re-established occupation.

1859
Nine acres taken at Takaparawhau Point for the military.

1873
A court order stipulates that a 700-acre block of land at Ōrākei be made 'absolutely inalienable (not able to be sold) to any person in any manner whatsoever'. This also included the Takaparawhau block taken for military purposes in 1859.

1879
Te Kotahitanga, the first Māori parliament, is held at Ōkahu. Rangatira from Waikato, Ngāpuhi and Tāmaki Makaurau attended. They discuss mana Māori, Treaty grievances, land loss, laws, and the lack of Māori representation in local government and Parliament.

1882
Trustees of the Ōrākei Block lease land under the powers of the Ōrākei Native Reserve Act 1882. Communal cultivation continues and rents and profits benefit the hapū.

1886
13 acres on Kohimarama (now known as Bastion Point) are taken for military purposes.

1898
The Native Land Court partitions the Ōrākei Block among the owners and reclassifies it as alienable (saleable).

1908
The Government passes a special Act of Parliament to take land across the beach in front of the Ōkahu papakāinga (settlement) for a sewage pipe, which blocks its drainage to the sea.

1914
Raw sewage from Tāmaki Makaurau is discharged into Ōkahu Bay, contaminating the major food resource of the hapū. The flood-prone papakāinga becomes a swamp of raw sewage whenever it rains.

1951
The Government takes the remaining 12½ acres of land. Aside from a quarter-acre designated as an urupā (cemetery), the hapū is left totally landless.

1952
The Ōkahu papakāinga is razed to the ground and the people evicted. It is deemed an eyesore and cleared in anticipation of a visit from Queen Elizabeth II in 1953. Many elders die due to the extreme trauma, sorrow and anguish they experience.

ga at Ōkahu Bay, Tāmaki Makaurau, evicting the remaining 35 whānau, burning their houses and demolishing the village. Whānau were forced to move to state houses built for smaller nuclear families on their own illegally stolen land up the hill, further undermining their extended family living.

One reason for the demolition was the Queen's forthcoming drive-by on her official visit, past what the government thought 'a dreadful eyesore' (Waitangi Tribunal, undated).

1953 26 percent of Māori school children could speak te reo Māori, compared to 90 percent 40 years earlier.

1953 *Māori Affairs Act*

Allowed the government to compulsorily buy Māori land deemed 'uneconomic', at state valuation. The Māori Trustee (a government department) was able to compulsorily sell Māori land worth less than £50 without owners' consent. If the owners couldn't or wouldn't develop land to 'European standards', the Trustee could insist that the land be leased, used or developed by someone else.

If the original owners wanted the land back at the end of the lease, they had to pay compensation for improvements. If they couldn't raise the capital for the improvements, they lost the land. Tens of thousands of acres were leased to forestry companies who have exploited the land for maximum profit through perpetual leases.

1953 *Town and Country Planning Act*

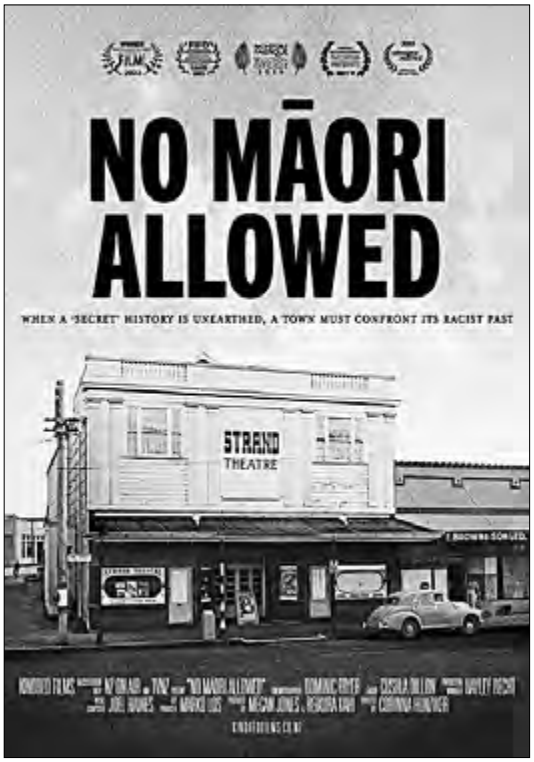
Made it illegal for rural hapū to build new houses on their land, forcing many to move – 60 percent of hapū members moved to towns and cities between 1950 and 1980.

1950s – 1980s *State care*

Four out of five of the approximately 100,000 children taken from their families and put into state care were Māori (for minor reasons like truanting), generally without the consent of their whānau. The children lived in prison-like conditions and were subjected to physical and sexual violence. This human rights violation breached Article 3.

1955 *Māori Reserved Land Act*

Vested ownership of reserved land in the Māori Trustee 'for the benefit of the Māori owners' and standardised the reserves' leasing and administration. The Act supported a system of perpetual leases at very low, fixed rentals. These rents were criticised by bodies like the Māori Reserved Land Commission in 1975 and the Waitangi Tribunal in its Ngāi Tahu Report.



Systemic racism and segregation in Pukekohe and across New Zealand was documented in a book by Robert E. Bartholomew, and a documentary of the same name by Kindred Films, both featuring testimony by Māori residents.

1959 *Ongoing discrimination*

Dr Henry Rongomau Bennett, a senior medical officer in a hospital in Tāmaki Makaurau, was refused a drink in a hotel bar because he was Māori. Māori were usually excluded from drinking in lounge bars, and some hotels refused bookings from Māori. Rental properties were advertised for 'Europeans only', and in some places Māori were separated from Pākehā in cinemas and swimming pools. This discrimination is a breach of Article 3.

In Pukekohe, just south of Tāmaki Makaurau, hundreds of Māori babies and children died in slums on the edge of town where they had been forced to live. Māori residents weren't allowed to do their shopping without a Pākehā person making purchases for them, and had no access to healthcare.

Māori weren't allowed to go to the hairdressers, were allowed only in certain parts of the cinema, attended one school specifically for Māori, and weren't allowed to swim in the 'public' pool until Fridays after which the water was treated.

1960s

1960 *Increasing assimilation*

The Hunn Report, by Jack Hunn, a top civil servant, recommended increasing assimilation to improve Māori educational achievement and reduce other social and health disparities, to 'close the gaps' in outcomes.

1960 *Rugby vs apartheid*

The NZ Rugby Football Union organised a tour of South Africa by an 'all white All Blacks' team, as South Africa did not allow mixed-race sports teams to tour their country until 1970.

Two weeks after the Sharpeville Massacre, where 69 South Africans were shot in the back protesting apartheid pass laws, Prime Minister Walter Nash said, 'It is not the place of the Government to interfere in the affairs of a sports body'.

Nearly 160,000 New Zealanders signed the Citizens' All Black Tour Association petition 'No Maoris − No Tour', which failed to stop the tour. The United Nations later designated the date of the massacre, March 21, as Race Relations Day.

1961 Māori population was 167,000.

1963 *Customary rights*

The New Zealand Court of Appeal decided in *Re the Ninety-Mile Beach* that Māori customary rights in the foreshore

(between high and low water marks) were extinguished, except where there was contiguous Māori land ownership down to the foreshore. Māori owners were not compensated for this confiscation.

1965 The systematic process of stripping Māori of their land achieved its ends. In this year, only an estimated 3,680,585 acres (5.5 percent) remained in Māori control. Of that, 271,226 acres were classified as 'probably of no use'; 915,970 acres were unoccupied and unsuitable for farming or forestry; and 1,281,240 were on long-term leases, most of which were unlikely to return to Māori control. That left 695,063 acres (just one percent of the total land area) still in actual Māori occupation.

1967 *Māori Affairs Amendment Act*

Enabled Māori land with fewer than four owners to be converted to general land. The Act opened membership of Incorporation Trust Boards to people other than owners, including the Māori Trustee. The Trustee could seek sales from individual owners to the Crown. Once sufficient numbers were obtained, the way was open to freehold the land.

1967 *Rating Act*

Enabled local bodies to lease or sell Māori land where rates were outstanding, even though the land was not producing any income for its owners.

1969 Halt All Racist Tours was formed to protest the proposed 1970 tour of South Africa, which went ahead after the South Africans agreed to accept a mixed-race team, giving Māori players the status of 'honorary Whites'.

1970s

1970s *Punished for speaking te reo*

'In many rural areas, half or more of the adults interviewed … reported having been punished at school for speaking Māori' (Benton, 1978), an ongoing Tiriti breach.

1971 The Māori population was 289,887, 10.1 percent of the total population, 2,862,630.

1973 *Reduction of te reo fluency*

Only about 70,000 Māori, 18-20 percent of the population (mostly elderly) were fluent Māori speakers, according to a detailed national survey by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (Benton, 1978). This was the cumulative result of constant Tiriti breaches in the education system.

1975 Māori land ownership was at its lowest – 3 million acres. Dame Whina Cooper led the Māori Land March from Cape Rēinga to Parliament in protest, using 'Not one acre more of Māori land' as its catchcry. The march was organised by the Ngātiwai Land Retention Committee, led by Witi McMath.

1975 *Treaty of Waitangi Act*

Led by Matiu Rata, this Act established the Waitangi Tribunal, with members selected by the Crown, to inquire into Crown breaches of the Treaty on or after 1975. Unlike Rata's original vision of ratifying te Tiriti, the Tribunal could only recommend compensation or redress to claimants, which the government does not have to accept, and it must take both texts of the Treaty into account.

1976 *Sale of leased land*

From 1880 to 1976 the Māori Trustee sold 75 percent of the Taranaki land vested in the Trustee for leasing. In response, the Parininihi ki Waitōtara Incorporation was established to administer its own lands and to further resist land sales.

1976 African countries boycotted the Olympic Games in protest at the NZ government allowing the All Blacks' tour of South Africa. (Richards,1999.)

1980s

1981 The Māori population of 385,2217 was 12 percent of the total.

1981 Prime Minister Robert Muldoon had signed the 1977 Gleneagles Agreement, where Commonwealth countries pledged to

1960: A Citizens All Black Tour Association (CABTA) rally in Te Whanganui-a-Tara against the all-White All Black tour of South Africa. Photo, D.R. Armstrong.



discourage sporting contact with South Africa. Despite this, he allowed another Springbok rugby tour, insisting that the Government would not interfere in sport and that the rugby union was free to make its own decisions.

This was seen by many as a betrayal of international principles. More than 150,000 people took part in over 200 demonstrations in 28 centres, and 1,500 were charged with offences. Protestors occupied the pitch of the second game of the tour in Hamilton, and the game was cancelled after reports of a light plane approaching stadium, triggering unprecedented violent attacks by rugby enthusiasts on protesters.

Other games were played against a backdrop of escalating battles between demonstrators and riot police. Māori activists asked why we were concerned about racism 10,000km away when we ignored it in our own backyard.

1983 *Scaling School Certificate results*

The Ministry of Education scaling system allowed only 38 percent of candidates sitting School Certificate Te Reo Māori to pass, compared with 80 percent sitting Latin, German and French.

1980s-90s Jobs held by Māori people made up 80 percent of the widespread redundancies caused by the SOE Act. Subsequent high Māori unemployment levels led to a sharp decrease in Māori health outcomes including life expectancy, which had almost reached parity with Pākehā.

1984 *Kia ora*

The Post Office demoted national tolls operator, Naida Glavish of Ngāti Whātua, for greeting callers with 'Kia ora' and refusing to use only formal English greetings. After widespread public support she was reinstated, and the prohibition overturned.

1985 *Te Reo Māori claim*

Decline in the use of te reo Māori led to a Waitangi Tribunal claim, which ruled that Treaty obligations required affirmative action to protect and sustain the language.

Legal action over the next 20 years, funded by the Māori Council (including Sir Graham Latimer mortgaging the family home), resulted in a Privy Council ruling forcing the government to fund Māori language broadcasting and te reo immersion schooling. This eventually led to the establishment of Māori Television.



Kohanga reo in Tokomaru Bay in 1986, by Jill Carlyle; O.028011, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.



Banners by Māori and about Māori solidarity became more common as the Springbok Tour continued. Image from Halt All Racist Tours.

1985 The Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act allowed claims to the Waitangi Tribunal dating back to 1840, a major change led by MP Koro Wetere and passed by a Labour government.

1986 *Ongoing disadvantage*

Twelve percent of the total population identified themselves as being of iwi descent. Less than 50 percent of people of iwi descent owned their own homes, compared with 75 percent of all other people. The justice system imprisoned people of iwi descent at 10 times the rate of non-Māori. These ongoing inequities are breaches of Article 3.

1986 *Fishing quota management system*

The Crown amended the Fisheries Act 1983 to create the quota system, a new property right, without inquiry into pre-existing Māori fishing rights.

1986 *State Owned Enterprises Act*

Provided for the transfer of Crown land to state-owned corporations. This step towards the privatisation or sale of Crown assets reduced the possibility of publicly-owned resources being returned to settle Treaty claims. The Act also included a new set of 'Treaty principles'.

After the Māori Council appealed Treaty breaches in the Act, in 1987 the Court of Appeal required the Government to consult Māori before public assets were transferred, and to introduce a caveat allowing claimed land to be repurchased. The Court's ruling also created another set of principles.

1986 *Constitution Act*

Repealed the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852, including Section 71 which provided for Native Districts to be declared where 'Māori laws, customs and usages' could be maintained.

1987 The Māori Language Act made te reo Māori an official language and recognised it as a taonga under the Treaty. It also established Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission).

1988 *Port Companies Act*

Allowed privatisation of Harbour Boards and the right to sell assets, including Crown land and foreshore, thus placing these assets outside the jurisdiction of the Waitangi Tribunal.

1988-1991 Network Waitangi Ōtautahi counted only 18 Acts of Parliament (of approximately 800 passed in this period) which specifically referred to the Treaty. Of these only five specifically state that they were to give effect to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and one of these acts was repealed after only nine months (see Runanga Iwi Act 1990).

NWŌ noted that the way the Treaty was incorporated gradually became less forceful. Acts moved away from saying "this Act shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi" towards "all persons exercising functions and powers under this Act shall have regard to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi".

1989 *More 'principles'*

The Labour government announced its set of 'Principles for Crown Action on the Treaty of Waitangi', despite Māori rejection of the concept.

1989 *Local government rejection*

The Minister of Local Government rejected recommendations that a Treaty clause be included in local government reform legislation.

1989 *Māori Fisheries Act*

Māori legal challenges to the fisheries quota system, with the Waitangi Tribunal's Muriwhenua report (1988), forced the Crown into negotiations about Treaty fishing rights under Article 2, which guarantees hapū the 'full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands, estates, forests and fisheries'.

The Māori Fisheries Act, however, reduced Māori ownership of fisheries to a cash payment and 10 percent of the total quota. Distribution of the quota to iwi was controlled by government appointees to a Māori Fisheries Commission. The Crown continued to sell property rights in a resource belonging to hapū.

1989 *Radio spectrum*

The government disagreed with the claim over the radio spectrum and legislated a new system for selling licences to broadcast frequencies. Claimants argued that the spectrum was an undiscovered taonga that had existed in 1840 and was covered by Article 2. The Tribunal supported the claim after hearings in 1990. The 'Spectrum case' (Wai 150) resulted in low-quality FM frequencies being put aside for Māori radio in 1991.

1989 *Broadcasting Act*

Prohibited any allocation of time or money for electoral advertising by any political party contesting less than 10 seats. No exception was made for parties such as Mana Motuhake, contesting only the four Māori seats. The prohibition was reduced in 1996 to contesting less than five seats, and was repealed entirely in 2004.

1990s

1990 *Runanga Iwi Act*

Encouraged corporate structures for iwi with the aim they be empowered to deliver government programmes. The approach was criticised for overlooking pan-iwi organisations in urban areas. Developed by the government alone, it dictated how Māori were to be organised and represented.

1991 *'Principles' rewrite*

The government rewrote the Crown 'Treaty principles'. In charters for education providers, the Minister of Education said that references to the Treaty of Waitangi (and equity), made obligatory by the previous government, would now become optional.

1992 *Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claim) Settlement Act*

Known as the Sealord Deal, this Act extinguished "forever" all Māori commercial fishing rights in exchange for a cash settlement of $150 million to purchase part of Sealord Products Limited, plus 20 percent of new species quota.

All present and future fisheries Treaty claims by Māori were cancelled, while a vital section of the Fisheries Act 1983 which stated that "nothing in the Act will affect Māori fishing rights" was removed. This Act led to the Māori Fisheries Act 2004.

However, in 2025 the Waitangi Tribunal found that successive governments had not allocated new species quota to Māori as required under the 1992 Act (Ratana, 2025).

1993 *Wai 11 report*

The Waitangi Tribunal report on Te Reo claim (1993, p38) says: 'Judged by the system's own standards Māori children are not being successfully taught, and for this reason alone, quite apart from a duty to protect the Māori language, the education system is being operated in breach of the Treaty'.

1993 *Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act*

Defined 'private land', then prohibited the Waitangi Tribunal from recommending either the return to Māori of any private land, or the purchase by the Crown of any private land to return it to Māori.

It was proposed by northern MPs John Carter and Ross Meurant to support the newly formed anti-Treaty group Hobson's Pledge, and Maunganui Bluff farmer and convicted arsonist, Allan Titford.

The Tribunal had recommended an urupā (cemetery) on his land should be able to be accessed by Te Roroa. Titford burnt down his own farm building and blamed it on Te Roroa, and also held out for an excessive payment from the Crown. Previously, farmers had sold claimed land to the Office of Treaty Settlements, which had used it for settlement purposes.

1993 *Te Ture Whenua Māori Act*

Required almost all dealings with Māori land to be examined and approved by the Māori Land Court, involving constraints and complex rules that do not apply to private landowners.

However, for the first time, the importance of the hapū relationship to land and the need for land retention was acknowledged in law. This Act prevented further alienation of communally owned Māori land, for example, from unpaid rates. It provided for land to be retained in the hands of its owners, their hapū and descendants, and promoted Māori owners developing and controlling their land.

1994 *Fiscal envelope policy*

The National government developed a 'fiscal envelope' policy, limiting all settlements to a total of $1 billion – even before claims were heard by the Waitangi Tribunal – and unilaterally decided on a settlement negotiation process, despite Māori opposition to both concepts. The policy remains in force, leaving the average value of compensation at about two percent of losses.

1996 Māori – 523,371 – were 14.5 percent of the population.

1997 *Māori Reserved Land Amendment Act*

After more than five years of reviews showing the dissatisfaction of Māori land owners at their lack of control over their land, this Act aimed to balance the relationship between owners and lessees. But the 1994 policy – that the properties could revert to landowners after 42 to 63 years – was not included.

Instead, under the Act, owners of leased properties that are offered for sale will have first right of refusal to purchase the lease (including improvements) at market value (unless the transfer of the lease was to a spouse and/or child).



The government's unilateral fiscal envelope policy limited Tiriti 'settlements' to less than two percent of what had been taken, and Māori organisations were united in opposition. The policy contrasted starkly with generous government bailouts of tauiwi companies:

- ***1989, Bank of New Zealand, $634+ million***
- ***2008, Nine finance companies, $2 billion***
- ***2013, overseas multinational Rio Tinto, $30 million and in 2024, $2 billion in electricity subsidies (New Zealand Aluminium Smelters, Bluff)***
- ***2024, Ruapehu Alpine Lifts (Whakapapa skifield), $27 million in loans and grants*** (Crimp, RNZ, 2024; Daalder, RNZ, 2024; Wikipedia, 2025).

2000s

2000 *Constitutional omission*

The government called a public meeting on the constitution at Parliament. Lawyer Annette Sykes and others pointed out that the Treaty was not on the agenda, and the talks went nowhere.

2001 Almost 15 percent (one in seven) of the population identified themselves as being of Māori descent: 526,281. Their median age was 22 years, and median annual income was $14,800. Fifty percent owned their own homes, compared with 70 percent of tauiwi. The justice system was three times more likely to apprehend Māori for an offence, and four times more likely to convict them than tauiwi accused of the same offence, the result of ongoing te Tiriti breaches in the justice system.

2002 *Local Electoral Amendment Act*

Introduced regular reviews of representation in local authorities, and provided for wards to ensure representation for communities of interest. However, it provided for a right to demand a universal poll only in respect to the creation of Māori wards – not for rural or any other wards – if petitioned for by five percent or more of all electors.

2003 *Fresh water*

The government established a Sustainable Water Programme of Action without addressing whether or not fresh water belonged to hapū and iwi.

2003 *Cession still promoted*

The Treaty Information Unit (part of the State Services Commission) produced a timeline saying that the Treaty transferred sovereignty to the Crown, despite attempts by educators and others to correct it to show that Māori never ceded sovereignty. (Funding for the unit was withdrawn in 2006.)

2003 *Supreme Court Act*

Despite Māori opposition, the right of appeal to the UK Privy Council was removed. It was replaced by a New Zealand Supreme Court 'to enable important legal matters, including legal matters relating to the Treaty of Waitangi, to be resolved with an understanding of New Zealand conditions, history and traditions'. The Privy Council had made rulings important to Māori (such as the reo claim) after claimants appealed decisions by local courts.

2004 National Party leader Don Brash delivered a speech in Ōrewa calling for an end to what he called 'race-based' policies. Brash's poll ratings rose, encouraging other parties to sideline Māori rights for decades.

2004 *Renaming 'Closing the Gaps'*

This 2002 policy aiming to reduce gaps between Māori, Pasifika people and Pākehā in income and health, was renamed Reducing Inequalities and then underfunded by the Labour government after Don Brash's Ōrewa speech, because targeted health spending for Māori and Pasifika people was perceived as a political liability.

2004 *Call for constitutional change*

A Constitutional Arrangements Committee was set up to undertake a review of New Zealand's existing constitutional arrangements, and called for public submissions in early 2005. The Committee's August report said, 'the demand for constitutional change to give effect to the Treaty of Waitangi has been persistent and from a variety of sources'. However, no government has yet acted on this demand.

2004 A hīkoi began in Cape Rēinga and marched to parliament in protest at the proposed Foreshore and Seabed Bill. More than 50,000 protesters assembled in parliament grounds to protest the confiscation.



Activists organised mass national protests about successive laws confiscating the foreshore and seabed. This 2004 hikoi was crossing the harbour bridge in Tāmaki Makaurau on its way south to Parliament House in Te Whanganui-a-Tara.

2004 *The Foreshore and Seabed Act*

Gave the Crown ownership of the foreshore and seabed not already held in private hands, in the largest land confiscation so far. Foreshore is the land between high and low water marks at mean spring tides; seabed is the land covered by the sea out to 12 nautical miles (the country's territorial waters).

Privately-held land (mainly owned by tauiwi) was protected, while Māori customary rights and title to the foreshore and seabed were extinguished, being replaced with the government's version of customary rights, and with no financial compensation to affected hapū.

The UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination found that the law breached the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which New Zealand had signed.

2005 *Education funding withheld*

The government withheld part of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa's funding, then took control of the university. It also reduced funding for non-degree courses at Māori tertiary institutions.

2006 *Special Rapporteur on foreshore law*

After his 2005 visit (at the invitation of the government), the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous Peoples judged the 2004 Foreshore and Seabed legislation to be discriminatory, and recommended it be repealed or amended. The government dismissed the report as unbalanced, and said it would not act on its recommendations.

2006 The Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi Deletion Bill, proposing a Tiriti breach, was introduced by the government and sent to a select committee as part of the Labour/New Zealand First agreement. One hundred and sixty submissions were opposed, out of 171 received. The Bill was voted out 17 months later at its second reading.

2006 *Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act*

Set a deadline of 1 September 2008 for lodging historical claims for Crown actions (before the arbitrary date of 21 September 1992) to the Waitangi Tribunal. Any new claim after September 2008 could only be about Crown breaches that occurred after 21 September 1992. Claims flooded in to the Tribunal.

2006 *Te Arawa Lakes Settlement Act*

The government returned ownership of lake beds to Te Arawa, but not its water or aquatic life, except for plants attached to the lake beds, breaching the Article 2 guarantee that Māori would retain control of all that was important to them.

2006 In the census, Stats NZ stated that Māori ethnicity and descent are different concepts, a departure from previous practice. In 2006 there were 643,977 people of Māori descent (17.7 percent of the population usually living in Aotearoa). Stats NZ also added New Zealander as an ethnicity, which made research into ethnic inequities much more difficult (Cormack & Robson, 2010).

2006 *The New Zealand Curriculum*

The new draft curriculum did not refer to te Tiriti. The majority of responses commented on its absence, and the minimising of te reo Māori and Māori concepts and content. After protests, in 2007 a Ministry of Education official acknowledged the Ministry was wrong, and said references to the Treaty will be included in the final version.

2006 *Ministry of Health directives*

The Ministry of Health wrote to all District Health Boards saying that the government has given clear directions that there will no longer be any direct references to the Treaty of Waitangi or its principles in new policy, actions, plans or contracts in the health and disability sector.

2007 *Flag refused*

Transit New Zealand, a government agency, refused a request to fly te Tino Rangatiratanga (Māori sovereignty) flag on the Auckland Harbour Bridge on Waitangi Day.

2007 Statistics of discrimination Ministry of Social Development research showed that Māori were below the European average in 16 of 20 indicators of wellbeing in health, housing, work, income, wealth, and safety. The other four indicators were participation in tertiary education, physical activity, cultural and arts activities, and regular contact with friends and family.

2007 *UNDRIP opposed*

New Zealand was one of only four countries to vote against the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples when it was adopted by the UN General Assembly, without prior consultation with hapū or iwi about this position. The other three opposing countries were also former English settler colonies – Australia, Canada, and the United States; 143 countries voted in favour.

2007 The Waka Umanga (Māori Corporations) Bill was introduced by a Labour government. It was designed to create new legal entities (waka umanga) tailored for Māori groups to manage their collective assets and cultural affairs. The Bill provided a flexible legal framework, recognising the unique needs of Māori collectives and offering an alternative to existing structures like companies and trusts. Although it aimed to support Māori governance and asset management, the Bill was not supported by the Māori Party or National on the basis that this was being imposed on Māori and was not initiated or requested by Māori. After National became the government in 2008 the Bill was not progressed.

2007 *Tūhoe raids*

Searches and arrests were made in 'anti-terrorist raids' around the country, targeting tauiwi as well as Māori, but Māori individuals, families, and communities were more harshly treated. Tūhoe communities in the Rūātoki valley, including a bus full of kohanga reo children, were locked-down and blockaded by armed and masked police.

2008 *Policing Act*

An amendment stating, "in interpreting and administering this Act, effect will be given to the Treaty of Waitangi" was lost. The Commissioner of Police's Māori Focus Forum considered "the absence of a Treaty clause to be a particular disappointment".

2008 *Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act*

Section 5 prohibited the Tribunal from making recommendations for compensation or return of Crown forest-licensed land to Māori ownership in the takiwā (territory) of Ngāi Tahu Whānui.

2008 *Climate Change Response (Emissions Trading) Amendment Act*

An amendment 'that this Act should give effect to Treaty of Waitangi' was lost.

2009 After the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act set a closing date of 1 September 2008 for submitting historical claims to the Waitangi Tribunal, more than 1,800 claims were lodged between 1 August 2008 and 1 September 2008. As of 19 June 2009, 529 claims had been registered, making a total of 2,034 claims on the Tribunal's register.

2010s

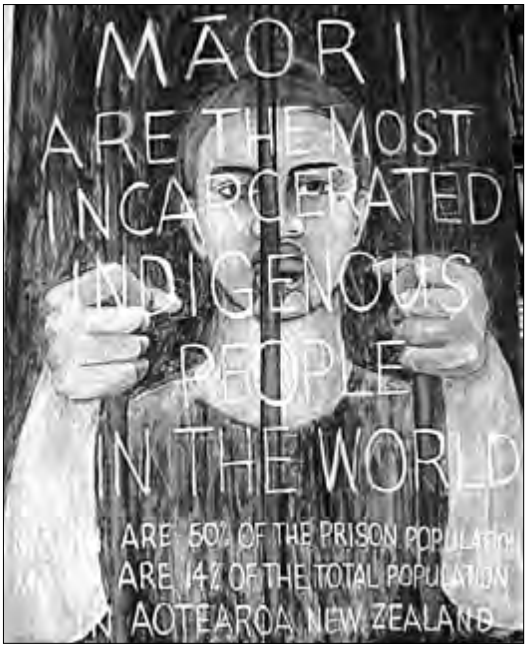
2010 *UNDRIP revisited*

Following a coalition between National and the Māori Party, New Zealand announced limited support for the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. However, the Prime Minister described the UN Declaration as "an expression of aspiration; it will have no impact on New Zealand law and no impact on the constitutional frameworks". Of the three other UK settler colonies which originally opposed it, Australia announced its support in 2009, with Canada and the USA following New Zealand in 2010 (***see 2023***).

2011 *Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act*

Repealed the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004 and replaced Crown ownership with a new 'common marine and coastal area', a legal fiction as the Crown retains the authority to grant mineral licences and resource consents.

It retained most of the discriminatory aspects of the 2004 Act, treating Māori property differently from others', limiting their control and authority, and effectively extinguishing customary title. While it returned the right to go to court, the bar for proof of customary title was set so high that in most cases hapū would be unable to prove their claim.



'Incarcerated', 2022, by Robyn Kahukiwa (Ngāti Porou, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, Ngāti Hau, Ngāti Konohi and Te Whānau a Ruataupare),1938 – 2025).

2012 *Kōhanga Reo claim*

The Waitangi Tribunal found that Te Kōhanga Reo Trust's claim 'was well founded in that the Ministry of Education was destroying the kaupapa of the movement in imposing Crown criteria on Māori Taonga'.

2012 *Privatisation of SOEs*

The government confirmed it was preparing to remove four state-owned enterprises (SOEs) from the State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986 to partially privatise them, and drafted new legislation that did not include the Treaty provisions in the SOE Act.

A hui of more than 700 representatives of Māori organisations passed a resolution calling on negotiations before the sale of shares in state-owned power companies. The government ignored this and continued its partial privatisation programme.

2012 *State-Owned Enterprises Amendment Act and 2012 Public Finance (Mixed Ownership) Amendment Act*

Enabled partial privatisation of state-owned assets. It inserted into the Public Finance Act: 'Nothing in this Act shall permit the Crown to act in a manner that is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi)', but that this 'does not apply to persons other than the Crown', therefore allowing assets and resources to be sold to companies that are free to breach the Treaty.

2012 *Freshwater and Geothermal*

The Waitangi Tribunal held urgent hearings for the National Freshwater and Geothermal Resources Inquiry (Wai 2358) and was pressured by the government to issue its findings within one month. The Tribunal's Stage I Interim Report said, "the recognition of the just rights of Māori in their water bodies can no longer be delayed. The Crown admitted in our

hearing that it has known of these claims for many years, and has left them unresolved."

It concluded that: "If the Crown proceeds with its share sale without first creating an agreed mechanism to preserve its ability to recognise Māori rights and remedy their breach…it will be in breach of Treaty principles."

2012 *Educational qualifications*

The highest qualification for 30 percent of Māori school leavers was less than NCEA level 1; compared with only 11 percent of Pākehā students. Over half of Pākehā school leavers (54 percent) had achieved University Entrance, compared with a quarter (26 percent) of Māori. This breached Article 3.



'The Crown's Dirty Washing 2023-25' - 33 op-shop pillowcases showing legislation breaching te Tiriti, illustrated by Jacqui Brooks for public display by the Green Party, 2026.

2013 *Resource management*

A Te Puni Kōkiri survey found that local authorities tended to preserve their own authority and status, and relegated Māori to a minor role in decision-making over resource management issues.

2013 *Constitutional review*

The Government's Constitutional Advisory Panel report recommended that the government continue a public constitutional conversation. The Prime Minister stated, "there is no sense of urgency or widespread desire for change".

In contrast, from 2013 Māori held their own widespread constitutional consultation, resulting in the ground-breaking *Matike Mai* report in 2016.

2014 *Sovereignty report*

The Waitangi Tribunal released its first report on WAI 1040 Te Paparahi o te Raki (Ngāpuhi Stage 1) inquiry. It found that Ngāpuhi leaders **did not agree to give up** their sovereignty when they signed te Tiriti in 1840. The government response at the time was 'nothing would change'.

2017 Research showed Māori made up 50.9 percent of the total prison population. Police were three times more likely to arrest Māori than tauiwi, and up to four times more likely to charge them. The court system was 11 times more likely to remand Māori in custody than tauiwi; four times more likely to convict them; and seven times more likely to imprison them than tauiwi for the same offence.

2018 *Te Reo lacks resourcing*

Despite the passing of Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori in 2016, the Council for Educational Research found that government policy to support te reo Māori in kura and schools lacked cohesion and had not addressed the shortage of teachers of te reo or those able to teach other subjects in te reo Māori.

2018 *Child Poverty Reduction Act*

Regular reports required by this Act found that median incomes of households with children of predominantly Māori and Pacific peoples still lagged below European households.

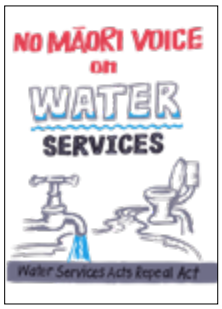
2019 *Hauora Inquiry*

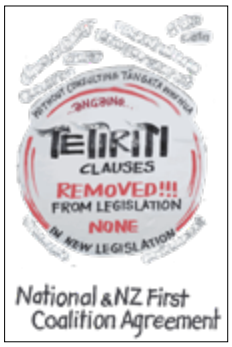
The Waitangi Tribunal Hauora Inquiry found that the Crown had breached the Treaty many times in health legislation, policy, funding, monitoring and delivery.

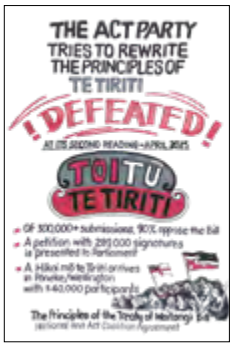
The 33 pillowcases of breaches along the fence at Waitangi on Waitangi Day 2026. Photo by Jacqui Brooks.

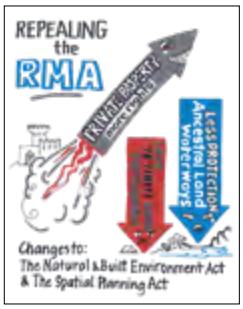














2020s

2020 *UN Report on Tiriti basis for housing*

The UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Adequate Housing in New Zealand urged the nation to consider its roots in te Tiriti o Waitangi as a source of rights and expectations for all New Zealanders. She stated: 'Using the Treaty in a meaningful way necessitates an exploration of the State's history of colonisation, land dispossession, forced assimilation, and racism and the contemporary consequences of these on and for Māori'.

2023 *Tauranga Council land sold*

Tauranga City Council sold Smith's Farm in Bethlehem to a private developer in October, despite mana whenua, Ngāi Tamarāwaho, offering to purchase the land to build affordable housing. Months earlier, the council had reclassified the land for strategic disposal, which removed the need to offer mana whenua first right of refusal.

2023 The National Party (48 seats, 39 percent), the ACT Party (11 seats, 9 percent) and the New Zealand First Party (8 seats, 6.5 percent) formed a coalition government, and began to undo much of what had been achieved in honouring te Tiriti. Often legislation was passed under urgency or with very tight deadlines for the public to submit on the proposals. Examples follow.

2023 *UNDRIP de-recognised*

The government said it will not recognise the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as having any binding effect on New Zealand.

2023 He Puapua *abandoned*

The *He Puapua* report of 2019 provided a plan to realise the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Aotearoa. The report was received by the Labour Government in 2019 but was not acknowledged as Labour policy or released publicly until the National Party did so in April 2021. After the 2023 election, the National Party's coalition agreement with New Zealand First included 'Stop all work on *He Puapua*'.

2023 *Name changes for Ministries*

The coalition agreement between National and New Zealand First required public service departments to 'have their primary name in English, except those specifically related to Māori'. Waka Kotahi and Te Whatu Ora were the first to change their names to New Zealand Transport Agency Waka Kotahi and Health New Zealand Te Whatu Ora.

2023 *Resource Management (Natural and Built Environment and Spatial Planning Repeal and Interim Fast-track Consenting) Act*

Reduced tangata whenua role in environmental decision-making, threatening Māori rights, diluting protections for ancestral lands and waterways, and weakening te Tiriti-based participation in decision-making.

2024 *Water Services Acts Repeal Act*

Repealed several Acts, removing provisions for Māori representation on decision-making bodies that had previously been included in Labour's Three Waters legislation.

2024 *Pae Ora (Disestablishment of Māori Health Authority) Amendment Act*

Disestablished Te Aka Whai Ora – the independent Māori Health Authority formed in 2022 to respond to Māori health needs – before it could have an impact. The amendment instead requires Health New Zealand to have systems to engage with and report to Māori 'from time to time'. In December 2023 a claim was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal challenging the dissolution.

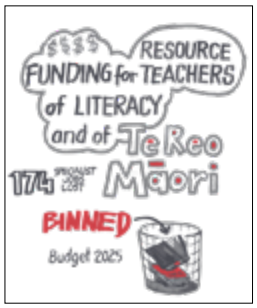
2024 *Budget*

Introduced tax cuts that benefited Pākehā (with higher median incomes) more than Māori (on lower median incomes); reduced funding for performing arts festival Te Matatini; reduced the budgets for Te Puni Kōkiri/the Māori Development Ministry and for Whānau Ora, and almost halved the funding for Matariki public holiday activities.

2024 For the year ended June, Pākehā had the highest median individual net worth at $222,000. Māori median net worth was $52,000, and Pacific peoples' median net worth was $26,000.

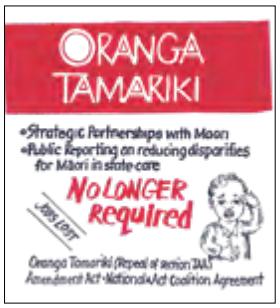
2024 *Local Government (Electoral Legislation and Māori Wards and Māori Constituencies) Amendment Act*

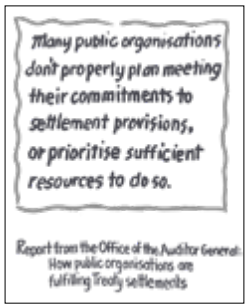
Brought back public polls to decide Māori wards (abolished by the previous government). The Human Rights Commission stated that the legislation was discriminatory and would undermine local decision-making, as it would result in Māori being under-represented in local government.











2024 *Education Review breach*

The Waitangi Tribunal found the Crown breached the 'Treaty principles of partnership and active protection in several instances during the Tomorrow's Schools review and reform' process from 2018 to 2022. It recommended establishing a stand-alone Kaupapa Māori education authority; the co-design of specific policies for Kura Kaupapa Māori; and a relationship 'reset' between the Ministry of Education and Te Rūnanga Nui.

2024 *Review of Treaty clauses*

The government began a review of Treaty clauses in 28 Acts, which could lead to their removal. The Waitangi Tribunal suggested the review be put on hold while it was 're-conceptualised through collaboration and co-design engagement with Māori'. The government also intended to exclude te Tiriti clauses in new legislation.

2024 The Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi Bill rewrote existing Treaty principles and proposed a national referendum for confirmation. The government proposed a Tiriti breach by introducing it to parliament in November 2024. The Justice Select Committee received more than 300,000 submissions, a record number, with 90 percent opposed, and 16,000 requests for oral submissions.

A petition with 289,000 signatures was presented to parliament, and a week-long Hīkoi mō te Tiriti arrived in Te Whanganui-a-Tara in November, with participants estimated at up to 100,000. The Bill was defeated at its second reading in April 2025.

2024 *Fast-track Approvals Act*

Gave special status to named projects, which allowed them to proceed without the environmental protections in other acts. While it included the requirement to consult Māori entities before submitting an application, and required the Minister to consider Treaty settlements, it did not require giving effect to the 'principles' of te Tiriti.

2024 *Smokefree Environments and Regulated Products Amendment Acts*

Two acts repealed significant sections of the smokefree legislation. This is likely to have a detrimental impact on Māori health and wellbeing, potentially undoing years of progress in reducing smoking rates. A Waitangi Tribunal claim was lodged against this initiative.

2024 The estimated Māori population was 922,600, 17.4 percent of the total in June 2024. Almost half (49.1 percent) of all Māori people live in households with a disposable income in the bottom 40 percent of the population. Māori remain significantly over-represented across the criminal justice system, with disproportionately high numbers of Māori in court proceedings, convictions, and prison populations relative to their proportion of the total population. For example, in 2022, 52 percent of imprisoned people were Māori, and in the youth justice system, 81 percent of young people in custody were Māori.

2024 Excluding kupu Māori

The Minister for Education decided to exclude all Māori words, except characters' names, from any new books in the Ministry's Ready to Read Phonics Plus series. The Minister's decision also included the withdrawal of one popular book, *At the Marae*, from being available as a reader for students to take home, because it contained six Māori words (Bailey-McDowell, 2025).

2025 *Funding withdrawal*

After a three-week consultation, resource teachers of literacy and Māori will no longer be funded. The NZEI Te Riu Roa took legal action questioning whether the consultation with teachers was fair and genuine, whether the decision was predetermined, and whether the government upheld its obligations under te Tiriti o Waitangi. The High Court agreed to an urgent hearing.

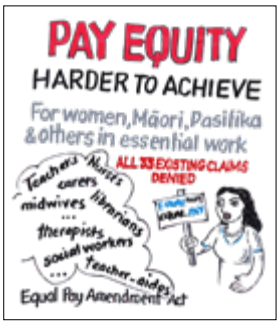
2025 The government moved a raft of responsibilities from Te Arawhiti (Office for Māori-Crown Relations) to Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK, Ministry of Māori Development), three months after it had cut TPK's budget. Responsibilities included monitoring and reporting on the government's implementation of Treaty settlements; maintaining post-settlement relationships with iwi and managing government relationships with major pan-tribal Māori organisations; and providing advice on the rights, interests and responsibilities of iwi, hapū and Māori, apart from Treaty settlements (Ratana, 2024).

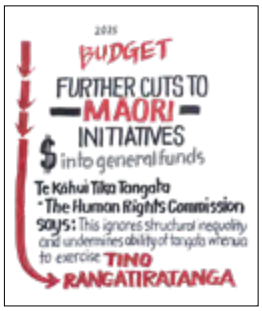
2025 *Bowel cancer screening*

The government cancelled the planned lowering of the age for Māori and Pasifika from 60 to 50 years, saying the move was needed to fund the universal lowering of the age for free bowel cancer screening from 60 to 58 over four years. As colorectal cancer is the second most fatal cancer for Māori and Pasifika, the early screening for Māori and Pasifika would enhance their survival rates.

2025 *Fishing Quota erosion*

The High Court found that the Crown breached the Fisheries Settlement by enabling the erosion of Māori settlement quota, through the operation of 'section 28N' rights, raising concern about its failure to honour its promises in Treaty settlements over time (Rātana, 2025; ***see 1992 Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claim) Settlement Act)***.











2025 *Oranga Tamariki (Repeal of Section 7AA) Amendment Act*

Section 7AA outlined the responsibility of Oranga Tamariki to respond to the principles of te Tiriti, by partnering with Māori communities. The remaining law fails to provide for partnerships, or require public reporting on measures to reduce disparities for Māori children and young people in state care.

2025 *Government agencies failing Treaty settlements*

Many government agencies are failing to plan to meet their settlement commitments, and have no effective processes for monitoring whether they do so, creating a litigation risk for the government, according to a report by the Audit Office (2025).

About 150 Crown agencies have about 12,000 individual contract and legal commitments after about 80 settlements with 70 Māori groups. The report said public organisations need to change their management of settlements, and treat them as "the basis for long-term relationships with iwi and hapū".

2025 A review of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 resulting from the coalition agreement between National and New Zealand First, could result in undermining the ability of tangata whenua to hold the Crown to account for breaches.

2025 *Equal Pay Amendment Act*

Altered the pay equality law, undoing all 33 claims in process, and raised the threshold for proving work had been historically undervalued, making pay equity harder to achieve for those in occupations predominantly held by women, Māori, and Pasifika.

2025 *Kororāreka declined*

Minister for Land Information Chris Penk declined to change the name of Russell, in Te Pēwhairangi, to its original name, Kororāreka, giving no justification.

2025 *Funding cuts*

The May budget's reductions to Māori initiatives, according to Te Kāhui Tika Tangata Human Rights Commission, will undermine the ability of tangata whenua to exercise tino rangatiratanga, and ignores their experience of structural inequity.

2025 *Government continues to fail Māori students*

Over a decade after the 1993 WAI-11 report, most Tai Tokerau and South Auckland students in 'mainstream' schools who sat NCEA literacy and numeracy tests in May 2025 failed (Gerritsen, 2025).

One South Auckland principal said as many as a third of teenagers leaving schools in Tai Tokerau and South Auckland could have no NCEA certificates. These two areas have the highest concentrations of Māori and Pasifika students.

However, students at kaupapa Māori schools were significantly more likely to achieve NCEA credits, more likely to get merit and excellence endorsements, and more likely to achieve University Entrance than all students at comparable English-medium schools, according to a New Zealand Qualifications Authority report (Gerritsen, 2024).

2025 *Support funding cut*

The Tertiary Education Commission removed funding for Māori enrolments. The subsidy had been used to help fund dedicated support services for these students in a Pākehā system.

2025 Ngāti Kahungunu of Hawke's Bay protested the sale of Kahurānaki Station, a large farm including their ancestral mountain of the same name, to undisclosed New Zealand buyers.

When the station came up for sale for the first time in 100 years, the iwi launched a fundraising campaign to buy it, but was unsuccessful. The iwi held a protest at the station gate; kaumātua Jerry Hāpuku said that 23 marae and over 50 hapū "have a direct connection to Kahurānaki and they won't give up" (Paewai, 2025).

The government, represented by Donald McLean, originally bought the station in 1854 as part of a series of secret deals, without investigating customary ownership, according to the Waitangi Tribunal. In 1857-58 the government sold the block to William Couper.

2025 *MP suspensions*

Parliament's privileges committee suspended three MPs for their haka at the first reading of the Treaty Principles Bill in 2024. The suspensions were the harshest ever imposed, 21 days for co-leaders of Te Pāti Māori, Debbie Ngarewa-Packer and Rawiri Waititi, and a further seven days for Hana-Rawhiti Maipi-Clarke, who had already been suspended for 24 hours for this same incident. Previously the longest suspension had been for three days.

2025 *Crown Minerals Amendment Act*

Resumed oil and gas exploration against the wishes of mana whenua; exploration had been banned in 2018.

2025 *Local Government (Water Services) Act*

Requires water service providers to act consistently only with Treaty 'settlements', not with te Tiriti o Waitangi. It

repealed the requirement to give effect to Te Mana o te Wai, the National Policy Statement for Freshwater that put healthy water and healthy people ahead of corporate profit, and provided the most significant protection for drinking water sources against contamination and waterborne illness.

2025 *Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana Customary Marine Title) Amendment Act*

Counteracts the Court of Appeal judgement in October 2023 which interpreted the 2011 Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act to make it easier for iwi and hapū to have customary title recognised by the courts. It makes it even harder for customary title to be established than the original 2004 Act. The Government applied it retrospectively to July 2024.

2025 *Regulatory Standards Act*

About 150,000 submissions were made against the Bill, arguing that it undermines te Tiriti and puts profit and individual property rights before collective wellbeing, social, and environmental factors.

2025 *Education and Training (Early Childhood Education Reform) Amendment Act*

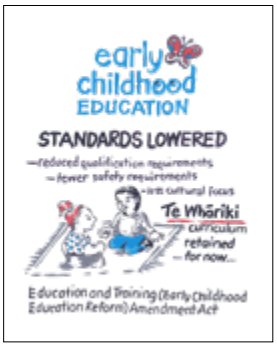
Removed the requirement for ECE school boards to give effect to te Tiriti.

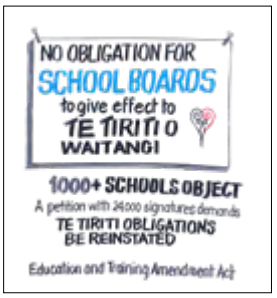
2025 *Education and Training Amendment Act*

Removed the requirement for school boards to give effect to te Tiriti. In response, more than 1,840 Boards of Trustees signed a petition to the Minister stating they would commit to te Tiriti regardless.













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