References

Abel, Sue. 2008. 'Tūhoe and "Terrorism" on Television News.' In *Terror in Our Midst? Searching for Terrorism in Aotearoa New Zealand*, edited by Danny Keenan, 113–28. Huia.

ACORD (Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination). 1986. *Obstacles to Maori Education* no. 9, 'Issues in Education'.

Agamben, Giorgio. 1998. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford University Press.

Agamben, Giorgio. 2005. *State of Exception*. University of Chicago Press.

Aikman, Pounamu Jade William Emery. 2015. 'Within the Fourfold: Dwelling and Being upon the Marae'. *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies* 12, no. 2: 73–105. doi.org/10.11157/sites-vol12iss2id294.

Aikman, Pounamu Jade William Emery. 2017. 'Trouble on the Frontier: Hunt for the Wilderpeople, Sovereignty, and State Violence'. *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies* 14, no. 1. doi.org/10.11157/sites-vol14iss1id378.

Aikman, Pounamu Jade William Emery. 2019. 'Terra in Our Mist: A Tūhoe Narrative of Indigenous Sovereignty and State Violence'. PhD diss., The Australian National University. openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/items/4355902d-288a-4028-abfe-7c67922a8ce6.

Aikman, Pounamu Jade William Emery. 2021. 'Indigenous Rights: Colonial Chimera? The Illusion of Positive Peace in a Settler Colonial Context'. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Positive Peace*, edited by Katerina Standish, Heather Devere, Adan Suazo, and Rachel Rafferty, 1–13. Springer. doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-3877-3_27-1.

Altman, Jon C., and Melinda Hickson, eds. 2010. *Culture Crisis: Anthropology and Politics in Aboriginal Australia*. UNSW Press.

Anae, Melani. 2012. 'All Power to the People: Overstayers, Dawn Raids and the Polynesian Panthers'. In *Tangata o Le Moana: New Zealand and the People of the Pacific*, edited by Sean Mallon, Kolokesa Uafā Māhina-Tuai, and Damon Ieremia Salesa, 221–357. Te Papa Press.

Anae, Melani, Lautofa Iuli, and Leilani Tamu, eds. 2015. *Polynesian Panthers: Pacific Protest and Affirmative Action in Aotearoa New Zealand 1971–1981*. Huia.

Ara Poutama Aotearoa | Department of Corrections. 2019. 'Hōkai Rangi: Ara Poutama Aotearoa Strategy 2019–2024'. www.corrections.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/38244/Hokai_Rangi_Strategy.pdf.

Armstrong, Dave. 2018. 'The Reasons Why Work and Income Doesn't Work'. *Stuff*. 1 May. www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/comment/columnists/103487100/dave-armstrong-the-reasons-why-work-and-income-doesnt-work.

Arvin, Maile. 2019. *Possessing Polynesians: The Science of Settler Colonial Whiteness in Hawai'i and Oceania*. Duke University Press.

Auckland Star. 1898. 'The Urewera Tribe'. Vol. XXIX, 3 October.

Auckland Star. 1899. 'Through Tuhoeland: The Urewera Country and People'. 11 March.

Auckland Star. 1916. 'In the Urewera Country'. 5 April.

Bailey, L. R. 1964. *The Long Walk: A History of the Navajo Wars, 1846–1868*. Westernlore Press.

Ballara, Angela. 1986. *Proud to Be White? A Survey of Pakeha Prejudice in New Zealand*. Heinemann.

Ballara, Angela. 1998. *Iwi: The Dynamics of Maori Tribal Organisation from c. 1769–c. 1945*. Victoria University Press.

Ballara, Angela. 2003. *Taua: 'Musket Wars', 'Land Wars' or Tikanga?: Warfare in Māori Society in the Early Nineteenth Century*. Penguin Books.

Banivanua Mar, Tracey. 2013. 'Imperial Literacy and Indigenous Rights: Tracing Transoceanic Circuits of a Modern Discourse'. *Aboriginal History* 37: 1–28. press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p268021/pdf/ch011.pdf.

Bargh, Maria. 2008. 'Wars of Terra'. In *Terror in Our Midst? Searching for Terrorism in Aotearoa New Zealand*, edited by Danny Keenan, 151–63. Huia.

Belich, James. 1988. *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*. Auckland University Press.

Belich, James. 1996. *Making Peoples*. Penguin Books.

Benton, Richard. 1981. *The Flight of the Amokura: Oceanic Languages and Formal Education in the South Pacific*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Best, Elsdon. 1897. 'Present Condition of the Urewera Tribe'. *Press*, vol. LIV, issue 9682, 22 March.

Best, Elsdon. 1925. *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist: A Sketch of the Origin, History, Myths, and Beliefs of the Tūhoe Tribe of the Māori of New Zealand; with Some Account of Other Early Tribes of the Bay of Plenty District*, 2 volumes. Board of Maori Ethnological Research.

Best, Elsdon. 1972. *Tuhoe: Children of the Mist: A Sketch of the Origin, History, Myths, and Beliefs of the Tūhoe Tribe of the Māori of New Zealand; with Some Account of Other Early Tribes of the Bay of Plenty District*. 2 volumes. A.H. & A.W. Reed.

Binney, Judith. 1995. *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*. Auckland University Press and Bridget Williams Books.

Binney, Judith. 1996. 'Rua Kenana Hepetipa'. In *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3r32/rua-kenana-hepetipa.

Binney, Judith. 1997. 'Te Mana Tuatoru: The Rohe Potae of Tuhoe'. *New Zealand Journal of History* 31, no. 1: 117–31.

Binney, Judith. 2009. *Encircled Lands: Te Urewera, 1820–1921*. Bridget Williams Books.

Binney, Judith. 2010. *Stories without End: Essays 1975–2010*. Bridget Williams Books.

Binney, Judith, Gillian Chaplin, and Craig Wallace. 1996. *Mihaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu*. 2nd ed. Auckland University Press.

Breen, Claire, Alexander Gillespie, Robert Joseph, and Valmaine Toki. 2021. 'Putting Aotearoa on the Map: New Zealand Has Changed Its Name Before, Why Not Again?' *Radio New Zealand*, 6 October. www.rnz.co.nz/news/on-the-inside/453030/putting-aotearoa-on-the-map-new-zealand-has-changed-its-name-before-why-not-again.

Brooking, Tom. 1992. '"Busting Up" the Greatest Estate of All: Liberal Maori Land Policy, 1891–1911'. *New Zealand Journal of History* 26, no. 1: 78–98.

Brooking, Tom. 1996. '"Use It or Lose It:" Unravelling the Land Debate in Late Nineteenth-Century New Zealand'. *New Zealand Journal of History* 30, no. 2: 141–62.

Brooking, Tom. 2014. *Richard Seddon: King of God's Own: The Life and Times of New Zealand's Longest-Serving Prime Minister*. Penguin Books.

Brown, Dee. 2001. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*. 30th anniversary ed. H. Holt.

Case, Emalani. 2021. *Everything Ancient Was Once New: Indigenous Persistence from Hawai'i to Kahiki*. University of Hawai'i Press.

Chomsky, Noam, and Michel Foucault. 2006. *The Chomsky-Foucault Debate: On Human Nature*. The New Press. Distributed by W. W. Norton.

Chug, Kiran. 2010. 'Outrage as Key Signals National Park Mining'. *Stuff*, 16 February. www.stuff.co.nz/environment/3309721/Outrage-as-Key-signals-national-park-mining.

'Community Helps Catch Wanted Man'. 2016. *Whakatane Beacon*, 2 December.

Connell, John. 2003. 'Island Dreaming: The Contemplation of Polynesian Paradise'. *Journal of Historical Geography* vol. 29, no. 4: 554–81.

Connell, R. W., and James W. Messerschmidt. 2005. 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept'. *Gender and Society* vol. 19, no. 6: 829–59.

Cowan, James. 1917. 'The Maori Highlands'. *Auckland Star*, 8 December.

Cram, Fiona. 2005. 'Backgrounding Maori Views on Genetic Engineering'. In *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination*, edited by Joanne Barker, 51–65. University of Nebraska Press.

Crawford, Luke. 2008. 'Rūātoki, the Police and Māori Responsiveness'. In *Terror in Our Midst? Searching for Terrorism in Aotearoa New Zealand*, edited by Danny Keenan, 95–112. Huia.

Davis, Megan, and George Williams. 2015. *Everything You Need to Know About the Referendum to Recognise Indigenous Australians*. NewSouth Publishing.

Dening, Greg. 1980. *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land; Marquesas, 1774–1880*. Melbourne University Press.

Dening, Greg. 1997. 'Endeavour and Hokule'a: The Theatre of Re-Enactment Histories'. *Humanities Research*: 33–45. doi.org/10.22459/HR.1997.03.

Department of Conservation. 2018. 'Stay in a Hut'. Department of Conservation. www.doc.govt.nz/parks-and-recreation/places-to-stay/stay-in-a-hut/.

Department of Internal Affairs. 1996. *Te Kīngitanga: The People of the Māori King Movement*. Auckland University Press.

Derby, Mark. 2009. *The Prophet and the Policeman: The Story of Rua Kenana and John Cullen*. Craig Potton Publishing.

Derrida, Jacques, Jürgen Habermas, and Giovanna Borradori. 2003. 'Autoimmunity: Real and Symbolic Suicides'. In *Philosophy in a Time of Terror: Dialogues with Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida*, 85–136. University of Chicago Press.

Devadas, Vijay. 2008. '15 October 2007, Aotearoa: Race, Terror, Sovereignty'. *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies* 5, no. 1: 124–51. doi.org/10.11157/sites-vol5iss1id83.

Devine, Rebecca. 2007. 'Anti-Terror Raid Hikoi Sets off for Parliament'. *Rotorua Daily Post*, 13 November. www.nzherald.co.nz/rotorua-daily-post/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503438&objectid=10963425.

van Dooren, Thom, and Matthew Chrulew, eds. 2022. *Kin: Thinking with Deborah Bird Rose*. Duke University Press.

Douglas, Bronwen. 2008. '"Novus Orbis Australis": Oceania in the Science of Race, 1750–1850'. In *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750–1940*, edited by Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard, 99–155. ANU E Press. doi.org/10.22459/FB.11.2008.

Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne. 2014. *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*. ReVisioning American History. Beacon Press.

Durie, Mason. 2001. *Mauri Ora: The Dynamics of Māori Health*. Oxford University Press.

Edmunds, Susan. 2018. 'Low-Income People Turning to Loan Sharks Because "They're Nicer"'. *Stuff*, 15 October.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. 1875. Vol. III, 9th ed. Under 'Autochthones'. 141. Adam and Charles Black.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. 1911. Vol. III, 11th ed. Part 1. Under 'Autochthones'. Cambridge University Press.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. 2018. 'Peace of Westphalia'. www.britannica.com/event/Peace-of-Westphalia.

Esposito, Roberto. 2011. *Immunitas: The Protection and Negation of Life*. English edition. Polity.

Fanon, Frantz. 1986. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Translated by Charles Lam Markmann. Pluto Press.

Feder, Ellen K. 2007. 'The Dangerous Individual('s) Mother: Biopower, Family, and the Production of Race'. *Hypatia* 22, no. 2: 60–78.

Fepulea'i, Damon, dir. *Dawn Raids*. 2005. Isola Productions. www.nzonscreen.com/title/dawn-raids-2005.

Ferreira da Silva, Denise. 2014. 'No-Bodies: Law, Raciality and Violence'. *Griffith Law Review* 18, no. 2: 212–236. doi.org/10.1080/10383441.2009.10854638.

Foucault, Michel. 1978. *The History of Sexuality*. Translated by Robert Hurley. 1st American ed. Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michel. 1984. *The Foucault Reader*. Edited by Paul Rabinow. 1st ed. Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michel. 2003a. *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976*. Edited by Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana. Translated by David Macey. 1st ed. Picador.

Foucault, Michel. 2003b. *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France 1974–1975*. Edited by Valerio Marchetti and Antonella Salomoni. Translated by Graham Burchell. Verso.

Foucault, Michel. 2009. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977–1978*. Edited by Michel Senellart, François Ewald, and Alessandro Fontana. Translated by Graham Burchell. Picador.

Fujikane, Candace. 2021. *Mapping Abundance for a Planetary Future: Kanaka Maoli and Critical Settler Cartographies in Hawai'i*. Duke University Press.

George, Lily, and Elaine Ngamu. 2020. 'Te Piringa Poho: Healing, Potential and Transformation for Māori Women'. In *Neo-Colonial Injustice and the Mass Imprisonment of Indigenous Women*, edited by Lily George, Adele N. Norris, Antje Deckert, and Juan Tauri, 239–67. Springer. doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-44567-6_12.

Gillett, Grant, and Armon J. Tamatea. 2012. 'The Warrior Gene: Epigenetic Considerations'. *New Genetics and Society* 31, no. 1: 41–53.

Gisborne Herald. 2017. 'Award for Te Urewera Agreement Reached between Tuhoe and DoC'. 6 July.

Goldberg, David Theo. 2002. 'Modernity, Race, and Morality'. In *Race Critical Theories: Text and Context*, edited by Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg, 283–306. Blackwell Publishers.

Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, Noelani, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaikaʻala Wright, eds. 2014. *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*. Duke University Press.

Greenberg, Joy H. 2016. 'Review Essay: The Doctrine of Discovery as a Doctrine of Domination'. *Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature and Culture* 10, no. 2: 236–44.

Hall, Stuart. 1997. 'The Spectacle of the "Other."' In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, edited by Stuart Hall, 223–79. Sage in association with the Open University.

Halperin, David M. 1995. *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography*. Oxford University Press.

Haraway, Donna Jeanne. 1991. *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. Routledge.

Haraway, Donna Jeanne. 1997. *Modest–Witness@Second–Millennium.FemaleMan –Meets–OncoMouse: Feminism and Technoscience*. Routledge.

Harris, Aroha. 2004. *Hīkoi: Forty Years of Māori Protest*. Huia.

Head, Lyndsay. 1991. 'Te Ua Haumene, in 1769–1869'. In *The People of Many Peaks: The Maori Biographies from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume 1, 1769-1869*. Bridget Williams Books and Department of Internal Affairs.

Henderson, April K. 2011. 'Fleeting Substantiality: The Samoan Giant in US Popular Discourse'. *The Contemporary Pacific* 23, no. 2: 269–302.

Henry, Robert. 2015. 'Social Spaces of Maleness: The Role of Street Gangs in Practising Indigenous Masculinities'. In *Indigenous Men and Masculinities: Legacies, Identities, Regeneration*, edited by Kim Anderson and Robert Alexander Innes, 181–96. University of Manitoba Press.

Higgins, Rawinia. 2008. '"Another Chapter in Our History": Reflections on the Events at Rūātoki, 15 October 2007'. In *Terror in Our Midst? Searching for Terrorism in Aotearoa New Zealand*, edited by Danny Keenan, 205–22. Huia.

Hill, Richard. 2008. 'Rūātoki, Police and Coercion in New Zealand History'. In *Terror in Our Midst? Searching for Terrorism in Aotearoa New Zealand*, edited by Danny Keenan, 39–62. Huia.

Hill, Richard S. 2009. *Māori and the State: Crown-Māori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa, 1950–2000*. Victoria University Press.

Hirini, Paul R., and Sunny C. D. Collings. 2005. *Whakamomori: He Whakaaro, He Kōrero Noa; A Collection of Contemporary Views on Māori and Suicide*. Ministry of Health.

Hokowhitu, Brendan. 2004. 'Tackling Maori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport'. *The Contemporary Pacific* 16, no. 2: 259–84. doi.org/10.1353/cp.2004.0046.

Hokowhitu, Brendan. 2007a. 'The Death of Koro Paka: "Traditional" Māori Patriarchy'. *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 1: 115–41. doi.org/10.1353/cp.2008.0000.

Hokowhitu, Brendan. 2007b. 'The Silencing of Maori Men: Deconstructing a "Space" for Maori Masculinities'. *New Zealand Journal of Counselling* 27, no. 2: 63–76.

Hokowhitu, Brendan. 2008. 'The Logic of Terror'. In *Terror in Our Midst? Searching for Terrorism in Aotearoa New Zealand*, edited by Danny Keenan, 165–80. Huia.

Hokowhitu, Brendan. 2013. 'Foucault, Genealogy, Sport and Indigeneity'. In *Examining Sport Histories: Power, Paradigms, and Reflexivity*, 225–48. Fitness Information Technology.

Hokowhitu, Brendan. 2015. 'Taxonomies of Indigeneity: Indigenous Heterosexual Patriarchal Masculinity'. In *Indigenous Men and Masculinities: Legacies, Identities, Regeneration*, edited by Kim Anderson and Robert Alexander Innes, 80–95. University of Manitoba Press.

Hokowhitu, Brendan. 2016. 'Monster: Post–Indigenous Studies'. In *Critical Indigenous Studies: Engagements in First World Locations*, edited by Aileen Moreton-Robinson, 83–101. The University of Arizona Press.

Houkamau, Carla A., Samantha Stronge, and Chris G. Sibley. 2017. 'The Prevalence and Impact of Racism Toward Indigenous Māori in New Zealand'. *International Perspectives in Psychology* 6, no. 2: 61–80. doi.org/10.1037/ipp0000070.

Hutton, Catherine. 2018. 'Councillor Tells of Work and Income Humiliation'. Radio New Zealand, 13 September. www.radionz.co.nz/news/national/366399/councillor-tells-of-work-and-income-humiliation.

Independent Police Conduct Authority. 2013. *Operation Eight: The Report of the Independent Police Conduct Authority*. May. www.ipca.govt.nz/includes/download.aspx?ID=127984.

Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation. 2018. *He Whakaaro Here Whakaumu Mō Aotearoa: The Report of Matike Mai Aotearoa – The Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation*. Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation. nwo.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/MatikeMaiAotearoa25Jan16.pdf.

Ineson, Joel. 2018. 'Work and Income Promotes "Patronising" Investigator Who Wrongfully Axed Mother's Benefit'. *Stuff*, 20 August. www.stuff.co.nz/national/106252185/work-and-income-promotes-patronising-investigator-who-wrongfully-axed-mothers-benefit.

Jackson, Moana. 2007. 'Moana Jackson: Back in The Mists of Fear'. *Scoop*, 24 October. www.scoop.co.nz/stories/HL0710/S00370.htm.

Jackson, Moana. 2008. 'Preface: The Constancy of Terror'. In *Terror in Our Midst? Searching for Terrorism in Aotearoa New Zealand*, edited by Danny Keenan, 1–10. Huia.

Jackson, Moana. 2009. *Once Were Gardeners – Moana Jackson on the Scientific Method and the 'Warrior Gene'.* Keynote address presented at the 2009 Cutting Edge Conference, Wellington, NZ, September. 27 October. www.youtube.com/watch?v=HfAe3Zvgui4.

Jackson, Moana. 2016. 'Moana Jackson: Facing the Truth about the Wars'. *E-Tangata*, 17 September. e-tangata.co.nz/history/moana-jackson-facing-the-truth-about-the-wars/.

Jackson, Moana. 2017. 'Space, Race, Bodies – A Conference Theme, A Timely Reminder'. *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies* 14, no. 1: 7–12. doi.org/10.11157/sites-vol14iss1id396.

Jackson, Moana. 2019. 'The Connection between White Supremacy and Colonisation'. *E-Tangata*, 24 March. e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/the-connection-between-white-supremacy/.

James, Bev. 2000. 'Challenging Perspectives: Police and Māori Attitudes toward One Another'. Te Puni Kōkiri and New Zealand Police. www.police.govt.nz/about-us/publication/challenging-perspectives-police-and-maori-attitudes-toward-one-another.

Johnsen, Meriana. 2020. 'Police Acknowledge Claim Against Racial Bias Was False,' Radio New Zealand, 13 July. www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/421104/police-acknowledge-claim-against-racial-bias-was-false.

Johnston, Ewan. 2003. 'Ohiwa Harbour'. Waitangi Tribunal, March.

Jolly, Margaret. 1992. 'Specters of Inauthenticity'. *The Contemporary Pacific* 4, no. 1: 49–72.

Jolly, Margaret. 2004. 'Unsettling Affinities?' *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 5, no. 2: 173–84. doi.org/10.1080/1444221042000247706.

Jolly, Margaret. 2007a. 'Imagining Oceania: Indigenous and Foreign Representations of a Sea of Islands'. *The Contemporary Pacific* 19, no. 2: 508–45.

Jolly, Margaret. 2007b. 'Moving Masculinities: Memories and Bodies Across Oceania'. *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 1: 1–24. doi.org/10.1353/cp.2008.0010.

Jolly, Margaret. 2009. 'The Sediment of Voyages: Re-Membering Quirós, Bougainville and Cook in Vanuatu'. In *Oceanic Encounters: Exchange, Desire, Violence*, edited by Margaret Jolly, Serge Tcherkézoff, and Darrell Tryon, 1st ed., 57–111. ANU E Press. doi.org/10.22459/OE.07.2009.03.

Jolly, Margaret. 2016. 'Men of War, Men of Peace: Changing Masculinities in Vanuatu'. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 17, no. 3–4: 305–23. doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2016.1191531.

Jones, Pei Te Hurinui. 1959. *King Potatau: An Account of the Life of Potatau Te Wherowhero, the First Maori King*. The Polynesian Society.

Jones, Pei Te Hurinui, and Bruce Biggs. 1995. *Nga Iwi o Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People: Nga Koorero Tuku Iho a Nga Tupuna*. Auckland University Press.

Kahn, Miriam. 2000. 'Tahiti Intertwined: Ancestral Land, Tourist Postcard, and Nuclear Test Site'. *American Anthropologist* 102, no. 1: 7–26.

Kauanui, J. Kēhaulani. 2008. *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity*. Duke University Press.

Kauanui, J. Kēhaulani. 2018. *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty: Land, Sex, and the Colonial Politics of State Nationalism*. Duke University Press.

Kawharu, Merata. 1998. 'Dimensions of Kaitiakitanga: An Investigation of a Customary Maori Principle of Resource Management'. PhD diss., Oxford University.

Keenan, Danny, ed. 2008a. *Terror in Our Midst? Searching for Terrorism in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Huia.

Keenan, Danny. 2008b. 'Autonomy as Fiction: The Urewera Native District Reserve Act 1896'. In *Terror in Our Midst? Searching for Terror in Aotearoa New Zealand*, edited by Danny Keenan, 79–92. Huia.

Keenan, Danny. 2008c. 'Introduction: Searching for Terror'. In *Terror in Our Midst? Searching for Terrorism in Aotearoa New Zealand*, edited by Danny Keenan, 17–33. Huia.

Kightley, Oscar. 2017. *Dawn Raids*. NZ Play Series. Playmarket.

Kihara, Yuki, and Natalie King (ed.). 2022. *Paradise Camp*. Thames & Hudson.

King, Michael. 1981. *New Zealanders at War*. Heinemann.

Kukutai, Tahu. 2010. 'The Thin Brown Line: Reindigenizing Inequality in Aotearoa New Zealand'. PhD diss., Stanford University.

Leilua, Iulia. 2014. 'Native Affairs Summer Series 2014 – The Raid'. *Native Affairs*. Māori Television, 22 December.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1974. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Blackwell.

Leonard, Catherine, and Paul Brown. 2024. *Understanding Policing Delivery: Phase 1 Report*. Ihi Research. www.ihi.co.nz/kwanatanga-policy/understanding policingdelivery.

Liu, James H., and Angela R. Robinson. 2016. 'One Ring to Rule Them All: Master Discourses of Enlightenment – and Racism – from Colonial to Contemporary New Zealand'. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 46, no. 2: 137–55. doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2141.

Liu, James H., and Pou Temara. 1998. 'Leadership, Colonization, and Tradition: Identity and Economic Change in Ruatoki and Ruatahuna'. *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 22, no. 1: 138–50.

Mana Pounamu. 2024. *Understanding Policing Delivery: He Kitenga Nō Te Whare Insights from the Whare*. Mana Pounamu Consulting. www.police.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publications/upd-mana-pounamu-he-kitenga-no-te-whare.pdf.

Mather, Mike. 2007. 'Shock and Orr: Councillor's Tuhoe Blast Riles Mayor'. *Whakatane Beacon*, 19 October 2007.

Mather, Mike. 2008. "Children of the Mist' Become the Lords of the Trees'. *Whakatane Beacon*, June 27, 2008.

Maxwell, Gabrielle, and Catherine Smith. 1998. 'Police Perceptions of Maori: A Report to the New Zealand Police and the Ministry of Maori Development: Te Puni Kokiri'. Institute of Criminology, Victoria University of Wellington.

McGarvey, Rangi. 2005a. 'Ngāi Tūhoe'. In *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. teara.govt.nz/en/ngai-tuhoe.

McGarvey, Rangi. 2005b. 'The First Peoples'. In *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. teara.govt.nz/en/ngai-tuhoe/page-1.

McIntosh, Tracey, and Kim Workman. 2017. 'Māori and Prison'. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Australian and New Zealand Criminology, Crime and Justice*, edited by Antje Deckert and Rick Sarre, 725–35. Springer. doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55747-2_48.

McKinnon, Malcolm. 2008. 'Naming the Country and the Main Islands'. In *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. teara.govt.nz/en/place-names/page-1.

McLean, Mere. 2014. 'Rūātoki family not prepared to accept NZ Police Commissioner's apology'. *Te Kāea*. Māori Television, 28 July.

McMullin, Dan Taulapapa. 2005. 'The Passive Resistance of Samoans to U.S. and Other Colonialisms'. In *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination*, edited by Joanne Barker, 109–21. University of Nebraska Press.

Mead, Hirini Moko, and Neil Grove. 2003. *Ngā Pēpeha a Ngā Tīpuna: The Sayings of the Ancestors*. Victoria University Press.

Mercer, Geoff. 2014. 'Flags exchanged at Tuhoe apology'. *Whakatane Beacon*, 27 August, 3.

Merry, Sally Engle. 2000. *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law*. Princeton University Press.

Mignolo, Walter. 2012. 'The Prospect of Harmony and the Decolonial View of the World'. 22 September.

Miles, Anita. 1999. 'Rangahaua Whanui District 4: Te Urewera'. Rangahaua Whanui Series. Waitangi Tribunal, March.

Mills, Charles W. 2008. 'Racial Liberalism'. *The Modern Language Association of America* 123, no. 5 (October): 1380–97.

Mills, Charles W. 2011. *The Racial Contract*. Reprint. Cornell University Press.

Ministry for Culture and Heritage. 2021. 'Māori Land Loss, 1860–2000,' 2021. nzhistory.govt.nz/media/interactive/maori-land-1860-2000.

Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment. 2019. 'Manaaki Animation'. Designed by Pounamu Jade Aikman, produced by Open Polytechnic. vimeo.com/openpolytechnic/review/349985415/aeb7154ef8.

Mitira, Tiaki Hikawera. 1972. *Takitimu*. Reed Publishing. nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-MitTaki-t1-body-d2-d13-d2.html.

Moewaka Barnes, Helen, and Tim McCreanor. 2019. 'Colonisation, Hauora and Whenua in Aotearoa'. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 49, no. S1: 19–33. doi.org/10.1080/03036758.2019.1668439.

Moorfield, John C. 'Whakamomori'. 2018. In *Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary*. Pearson. maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=whakamomori.

Moorfield, John C. 'Rama'. 2021. In *Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary*. Pearson. maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=rama.

Moreton-Robinson, Aileen, ed. 2007. *Sovereign Subjects: Indigenous Sovereignty Matters*. Cultural Studies. Allen & Unwin.

Moreton-Robinson, Aileen. 2015a. *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty*. University of Minnesota Press.

Moreton-Robinson, Aileen. 2015b. 'Aboriginal Sovereignty, Foucault and Limits of Power'. Faculty of Native Studies, University of Alberta, 26 October.

Morning Report. 2010a. 'John Key Outlines Te Urewera's Precedent'. *Radio New Zealand*, 18 May. www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/morningreport/audio/2297402/john-key-outlines-te-urewera's-precedent.

Morning Report. 2010b. 'Tuhoe Gathering Condemns Te Urewera Decision'. Radio New Zealand, 21 May. www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/morningreport/audio/2300857/tuhoe-gathering-condemns-te-urewera-decision.

Morphy, Howard. 1996. 'Empiricism to Metaphysics: In Defence of the Concept of the Dreamtime'. In *Prehistory to Politics: John Mulvaney, the Humanities and the Public Intellectual*, edited by Tim Bonyhandy and Tom Griffiths, 163–91. Melbourne University Press.

Morse, Valerie, ed. 2022. *Peace Action: Struggles for a Decolonised and Demilitarised Oceania and East Asia*. Left of the Equator Press.

Morse, Valerie, ed. 2010. *The Day the Raids Came: Stories of Survival and Resistance to the State Terror Raids*. Rebel Press.

National Business Review. 2012. '$170m Tuhoe Settlement, Compromise on Urewera Park'. 11 September.

National Reading Recovery. 2018. '[Homepage]'. www.readingrecovery.ac.nz/.

Neocleous, Mark. 2003. 'Off the Map: On Violence and Cartography'. *European Journal of Social Theory* 6, no. 4: 409–25.

New Zealand Government. 2018a. 'Redress'. www.govt.nz/treaty-settlement-documents/ngai-tuhoe/ngai-tuhoe-deed-of-settlement-summary-4-jun-2013/redress/ (page discontinued).

New Zealand Government. 2018b. 'Ngāi Tūhoe Deed of Settlement Summary 4 Jun 2013'. www.govt.nz/treaty-settlement-documents/ngai-tuhoe/ngai-tuhoe-deed-of-settlement-summary-4-jun-2013/ (page discontinued).

New Zealand Herald. 2007a. 'Police Deny Searching Kohanga Reo Children'. 23 October. www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10471631.

New Zealand Herald. 2007b. 'Armed Police "Did Search Schoolbuses."' 20 October. www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10471038.

New Zealand Herald. 2011. 'Renowned Historian Binney Dies'. 16 February. www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10706660.

New Zealand National Film Unit. 1974. *The Children of the Mist*. Archives New Zealand Youtube channel. www.youtube.com/watch?v=x_EFuW2OCOE.

New Zealand Police. 2007. 'New Zealand Police Urewera Terrorism Affidavit,' 10 October. POL 241 03/02. wikileaks.org/wiki/New_Zealand_Police_Urewera_terrorism_affidavit.

New Zealand Police. 2012. 'Police Commissioner Peter Marshall,' 23 May. www.youtube.com/watch?v=U5HUqSKfUdc (page discontinued).

Newshub. 2018. '"Inhumane" – Work and Income Worker Slammed for Treatment of Pregnant Mother'. 13 July. www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2018/07/inhumane-work-and-income-worker-slammed-for-treatment-of-pregnant-mother.html.

No Pride in Prisons. 2016. *Abolitionist Demands: Toward the End of Prisons in Aotearoa*. No Pride in Prisons Press.

Norris, Kristopher. 2020. *Witnessing Whiteness: Confronting White Supremacy in the American Church*. Oxford University Press.

O'Connor, Terry. 1997. *Te Manawa o Tūhoe: The Heart of Tūhoe*. Potton.

Oliver, Stephen. 2002. 'Ruatoki Block Report'. July. Waitangi Tribunal.

O'Malley, Vincent. 1998. *Agents of Autonomy: Maori Committees in the Nineteenth Century*. Huia.

O'Malley, Vincent. 2016. *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800–2000*. Bridget Williams Books.

'*1News at 6*'. 2007a. 15 October. Television New Zealand. The New Zealand Archive of Film, Television and Sound, Ngā Taonga Whitiāhua me Ngā Taonga Kōrero.

'*1News at* 6'. 2007b. 16 October. Television New Zealand. October 16. 2007.7940. The New Zealand Archive of Film, Television and Sound, Ngā Taonga Whitiāhua me Ngā Taonga Kōrero.

'*1News at* 6'. 2007c. 17 October. Television New Zealand. October 17. 2007.7955. The New Zealand Archive of Film, Television and Sound, Ngā Taonga Whitiāhua me Ngā Taonga Kōrero.

'*1News at 6*'. 2007d. 15 November. Television New Zealand (TVNZ), 2007.8193. The New Zealand Archive of Film, Television and Sound, Ngā Taonga Whitiāhua me Ngā Taonga Kōrero.

Online Etymology Dictionary. 2023a. 'Sovereignty'. www.etymonline.com/word/sovereignty.

Online Etymology Dictionary. 2023b. 'Region'. www.etymonline.com/search?q=region.

Online Etymology Dictionary. 2023c. 'Reign'. www.etymonline.com/search?q=reign.

Ontai, Kilipaka Kawaihonu Nahili Pae. 2005. 'A Spiritual Definition of Sovereignty from a Kanaka Maoli Perspective'. In *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination*, edited by Joanne Barker, 153–68. University of Nebraska Press.

Orange, Claudia. 2021. *Treaty of Waitangi | Te Tiriti o Waitangi: An Illustrated History*. Bridget Williams Books.

Orange, Claudia. 2012. 'Story: Treaty of Waitangi. Page 2. Interpretations of te Tiriti o Waitangi – the Treaty of Waitangi'. In *Te Ara*.

Otago Witness. 1896. 'In the Land of the Tuhoe'. 6 February.

Pātaka Art + Museum. 2019. 'The Dawn Raids: Educate to Liberate'. [Exhibition]. pataka.org.nz/whats/exhibitions/dawn-raids-educate-liberate/.

Perez, Michael P. 2005. 'Chamorro Resistance and Prospects for Sovereignty in Guam'. In *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination*, edited by Joanne Barker, 169–89. University of Nebraska Press.

Petrie, Hazel. 2006. *Chiefs of Industry: Māori Tribal Enterprise in Early Colonial New Zealand*. Auckland University Press.

Pihama, Leonie. 2005. 'Asserting Indigenous Theories of Change'. In *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination*, edited by Joanne Barker, 191–209. University of Nebraska Press.

Pink, Sarah. 2013. *Doing Visual Ethnography*. 3rd edition. SAGE.

Prasad, Indra. 2000. 'He Amuamu Nohopuku: He Whakapātanga Whakatoihara Tangata Ia Rā, Ia Rā, Ki Aotearoa | Silent Discontent: Experiences of Everyday Racism in New Zealand'. MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington.

Premium Official News. 2012. 'No Apology for Urewera Investigation but Police Sorry for Impact on Ruatoki Community'. *Business Insights Global*, 25 May. www.police.govt.nz/news/release/31671.

Pugliese, Joseph. 2013. *State Violence and the Execution of Law: Biopolitical Caesurae of Torture, Black Sites, Drones*. Routledge.

Pugliese, Joseph. 2020. *Biopolitics of the More-than-Human: Forensic Ecologies of Violence*. Duke University Press.

Pugliese, Joseph, and Susan Stryker. 2009. 'Introduction: The Somatechnics of Race and Whiteness'. *Social Semiotics* 19, no. 1: 1–8. doi.org/10.1080/10350330802632741.

Radio New Zealand. 2010. 'Rug Pulled from under Us on Tuhoe Deal – Sharples'. 14 May. www.radionz.co.nz/news/national/32384/rug-pulled-from-under-us-on-tuhoe-deal-sharples.

Radio New Zealand. 2012. 'Court Told Code Word Used for Te Urewera Camps'. 6 March. www.radionz.co.nz/news/national/100223/court-told-code-word-used-for-te-urewera-camps.

Radio New Zealand. 2013. 'Raids Report Asks Police to Re-Engage with Tuhoe'. 22 May. www.radionz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/135786/raids-report-asks-police-to-re-engage-with-tuhoe.

Radio New Zealand. 2016. 'Kawerau Siege: Accused Appears in Court'. 10 March. www.radionz.co.nz/news/national/298549/kawerau-siege-accused-appears-in-court.

Radio New Zealand. 2017. 'Kēnana Pardon a Chance to Move Forward – Signatory'. 9 September. www.radionz.co.nz/news/national/339070/kenana-pardon-a-chance-to-move-forward-signatory.

Radio New Zealand. 2018a. 'The Dawn Raids'. 7 March. www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/afternoons/audio/2018635062/the-dawn-raids.

Radio New Zealand. 2018b. 'Marama Davidson: Get Work and Income out of People's Personal Lives'. 1 October. www.radionz.co.nz/news/political/367635/marama-davidson-get-work-and-income-out-of-people-s-personal-lives.

Radio New Zealand. 2019. 'Ihumātao Police Presence "Very Intimidating" – Protest Leader Pania Newton'. 6 August. www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/396045/ihumatao-police-presence-very-intimidating-protest-leader-pania-newton.

Rangihau, John. 1975. 'The Maori'. In *The New Zealanders*, edited by James Siers and Jim Henderson. Millwood Press.

Reid, John, Matthew Rout, Te Maire Tau, and Cherryl Waerea-i-te-Rangi Smith. 2017. *The Colonising Environment: An Aetiology of the Trauma of Settler Colonisation and Land Alienation on Ngāi Tahu Whānau*. University of Canterbury. ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE28489676.

Reitherman, Wolfgang, dir. 1966. *Winnie the Pooh and the Honey Tree*. Walt Disney Productions.

Reynolds, Henry. 1982. *The Other Side of the Frontier. Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia*. Penguin Books.

Reynolds, Henry. 1996a. *Frontier: Aborigines, Settlers and Land*. Reissued in new format. Allen & Unwin.

Reynolds, Henry. 1996b. *Aboriginal Sovereignty: Reflections on Race, State, and Nation*. Allen & Unwin.

Riseborough, Hazel. 2002. *Days of Darkness: Taranaki, 1878–1884*. Rev. ed. Penguin Books.

Rohrer, Judy. 2016. Staking Claim: Settler Colonialism and Racialization in Hawai'i. University of Arizona Press.

Royal, Te Ahukaramū Charles. 2005. 'Hawaiki'. In *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. www.teara.govt.nz/en/hawaiki.

Ruru, Jacinta. 2014. 'Tūhoe–Crown Settlement – Te Urewera Act 2014'. *Māori Law Review*. October. maorilawreview.co.nz/2014/10/tuhoe-crown-settlement-te-urewera-act-2014/.

Salmond, Anne. 2014. 'Tears of Rangi: Water, Power, and People in New Zealand'. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4, no. 3: 285–309. doi.org/10.14318/hau4.3.017.

Salmond, Anne. 2020. *Tears of Rangi: Experiments Across Worlds*. Auckland University Press.

Sandoval, Chela. 2000. *Methodology of the Oppressed*. Theory out of Bounds, vol. 18. University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

Scott, James C. 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. Yale University Press.

Silva, Noenoe K. 2004. *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. Duke University Press.

Simon, Judith A., and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds. 2001. *A Civilising Mission? Perceptions and Representations of the Native Schools System*. Auckland University Press.

Simpson, Audra. 2014. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States*. Duke University Press.

Sissons, Jeffrey. 1991. *Te Waimana: The Spring of Mana: Tuhoe History and the Colonial Encounter*. University of Otago Press.

Sluka, Jeffrey. 2010. 'The Ruatoki Valley 'Anti-Terrorism' Police Raids: Losing "Hearts and Minds" in Te Urewera'. *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies* 7, no. 1: 44–64. doi.org/10.11157/sites-vol7iss1id99.

Smith, Bernard. 1985. *European Vision and the South Pacific*. 2nd ed. Yale University Press.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 2012. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. 2nd ed. University of Otago Press.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai, and Judith A. Simon, eds. 1998. *The Native Schools System 1867-1969: Ngā Kura Māori*. Auckland University Press.

Spillers, Hortense J. 1987. 'Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book'. *Diacritics* 17, no. 2: 64–81.

Stokes, Evelyn. 2002. *Wiremu Tamihana: Rangatira*. Huia.

Stokes, Evelyn, J. Wharehia Milroy, and Hirini Melbourne. 1986. *Te Urewera Nga Iwi Te Whenua Te Ngahere: People Land and Forests of Te Urewera*. University of Waikato.

Stokes, Jon. 2006. 'Maori 'Warrior Gene' Claims Appalling, Says Geneticist'. *New Zealand Herald*, 10 August. www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10395491.

Stoler, Ann Laura. 1995. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Duke University Press.

Stringer, Rebecca. 2007. 'A Nightmare of the Neocolonial Kind: Politics of Suffering in Howard's Northern Territory Intervention'. *Borderlands* 6, no. 2.

Tamahori, Lee, dir. 1994. *Once Were Warriors*. Fine Line Features.

Taonui, Rawiri. 2012. 'The Native Land Court'. In *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. teara.govt.nz/en/te-ture-maori-and-legislation/page-3.

Te Awekotuku, Ngahuia, and Linda Waimarie Nikora. 2003. 'Nga Taonga o Te Urewera'. Report prepared for the Waitangi Tribunal's Urewera District Inquiry, August. www.ngaituhoe.com/files/NgaTaongaOTeUrewerra.pdf.

'Te Kāea, Evening Bulletin'. 2007. *Whakaata Māori*, *Māori Television*. 15 October. The New Zealand Archive of Film, Television and Sound, Ngā Taonga Whitiāhua me Ngā Taonga Kōrero.

Te Karere. 2014. 'Outrage at Police Raid on Whānau in Ruatoki'. Television New Zealand (TVNZ), 7 April. www.youtube.com/watch?v=mYbkMpBPH2A.

Te Kaokao a Takapau. 2012. 'Te Manu Taiko'. February.

Te Kaokao a Takapau. 2014. 'Terror Raids'. Presented at World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education (WIPCE), Hawai'i.

Temara, Pou. 2008. 'Epigraph – Terrorist in Our Mi(d)St?' In *Terror in Our Midst? Searching for Terrorism in Aotearoa New Zealand*, edited by Danny Keenan, 15–16. Huia.

Tengan, Ty P. Kāwika. 2007. 'Re-Membering Panalā'au: Masculinities, Nation, and Empire in Hawai'i and the Pacific'. *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 1: 27–53. doi.org/10.1353/cp.2008.0016.

Tengan, Ty P. Kāwika. 2008. *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i*. Duke University Press.

Te Putatara. 2015. 'Operation 8: Preface to an Analysis of a Police Operation'. *Te Putatara: Commentary and Opinion for the Kumara Vine*, 21 October. www.putatara.net/2015/10/21/operation-8-preface/.

Te Uepū Hāpai i te Ora. 2019a. 'Turuki! Turuki! Move Together: Transforming Our Criminal Justice System'. Safe and Effective Justice Advisory Group. www.safeandeffectivejustice.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/28ce04fd87/Turuki-Turuki-Report-Interactive.pdf.

Te Uepū Hāpai i te Ora. 2019b. 'He Waka Roimata: Transforming Our Criminal Justice System'. Safe and Effective Justice Advisory Group. maorilawreview.co.nz/2019/06/criminal-justice-te-uepu-hapai-i-te-ora-he-waka-roimata/.

Te Whaiti, Pania, and Michael Roguski. 1998. 'Māori Perceptions of the Police'. He Pārekereke/Victoria Link Ltd.

Thomas, Nicholas. 1993. 'The Beautiful and the Damned'. In *Pirating the Pacific: Images of Travel, Trade and Tourism*, edited by Ann Stephen, 44–59. Powerhouse Publishing.

'*3 News*'. 2007a. *TV3*. 6 o'clock Bulletin. 15 October. Archived in The New Zealand Archive of Film, Television and Sound, Ngā Taonga Whitiāhua me Ngā Taonga Kōrero.

'*3 News*'. 2007b. *TV3*, 16 October. 6 o'clock Bulletin. Archived in The New Zealand Archive of Film, Television and Sound, Ngā Taonga Whitiāhua me Ngā Taonga Kōrero. 2007.7940.

Timutimu, Ngareta, Judith Simon, and Kay Morris Matthews. 1998. 'Historical Research as a Bicultural Project: Seeking New Perspectives on the New Zealand Native Schools System'. *History of Education* 27, no. 2: 109–24. doi.org/10.1080/0046760980270201.

Trask, Haunani-Kay. 1992. 'Lovely Hula Hands: Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture'. *Border/Lines* Winter 1991/1992: 22–34.

Trask, Haunani-Kay. 1999. *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*. Rev. ed. University of Hawai'i Press.

Turner, Frederick J. 1893. 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History'. *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893*, 199–227.

Understanding Policing Delivery. 2024a. *Independent Panel Report 1: He Mihi Tēnei Nā Mātou Te Paewhiri Tūtahi Understanding Policing Delivery*. www.police.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publications/upd-independent-panel-report-one.pdf.

Understanding Policing Delivery. 2024b. *Independent Panel Report 2: Kia Tika Ai, Kia Tōkeke Ai Make Fair and Just Decisions*. www.police.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publications/upd-independent-panel-report-two.pdf.

Waitangi Tribunal. 1999. *The Ngati Awa Raupatu Report.* Legislation Direct.

Waitangi Tribunal. 2009. *Te Urewera Pre-Publication: Part 1.*

Waitangi Tribunal. 2014. *WAI1040: He Whakaputanga Me Te Tiriti: The Declaration and the Treaty: The Report on Stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry*.

Walker, Isaiah Helekunihi. 2007. 'Hui Nalu, Beachboys, and the Surfing Boarder-Lands of Hawai'i'. *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 1: 89–113. doi.org/10.1353/cp.2008.0026.

Walker, Ranginui. 1990. *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*. Penguin Books.

Wanganui Herald. 1894. 'The Urewera Country'. 21 April.

Ward, Alan. 2017. 'McLean, Donald'. In *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. First published in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* in 1990. www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m38/mclean-donald.

Ward, Vincent, dir. 2008. *Rain of the Children*. Wayward Films.

Watson, Irene. 2009. 'What is Saved or Rescued, and at What Cost?' *Cultural Studies Review* 15, no. 2: 45–60.

Webb, Robert. 2017. 'Māori Experiences of Colonisation and Māori Criminology'. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Australian and New Zealand Criminology, Crime and Justice*, edited by Antje Deckert and Rick Sarre, 683–96. Springer. doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55747-2_45.

Webby, Kim, dir. 2010. *October 15*. NZ On Air: Irirangi Te Motu.

Webster, Peter. 1979. *Rua and the Maori Millennium*. Victoria University Press.

Weheliye, Alexander G. 2014. *Habeas Viscus: Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human*. Duke University Press.

The Whakatane Beacon. 2007a. 'Sensitivity a Farce in Face of Absolute Show of Contempt'. 23 November.

The Whakatane Beacon. 2007b. 'Maori People Are Not All the Same'. 28 November.

The Whakatane Beacon. 2016. 'Community Helps Catch Wanted Man'. 2 December.

Wild, Rex, and Pat Anderson. 2007. 'Ampe Akelyernemane Meke Mekarle "Little Children Are Sacred": Report of the Northern Territory Board of Inquiry into the Protection of Aboriginal Children from Sexual Abuse'. Northern Territory Government.

Williams, David V. 1999. 'Te Kooti Tango Whenua': The Native Land Court 1864–1999. Huia.

Wilson, John. 2005. 'European Discovery of New Zealand – Tasman's Achievement'. In *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 8 February. teara.govt.nz/en/european-discovery-of-new-zealand/page-3.

Wiri, Robert. 1994. 'Te Wai-Kaukau o Nga Matua Tipuna: Myths, Realities, and the Determination of Mana Whenua in the Waikaremoana District'. MA thesis, University of Auckland.

Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native'. *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4: 387–409. doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240.

Wolfe, Patrick. 2016. *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race*. Verso.

Workman, Kim. 2011. 'Māori Over-Representation in the Criminal Justice System – Does Structural Discrimination Have Anything to Do with It?' *Rethinking Crime and Punishment*. www.rethinking.org.nz/assets/Newsletter_pdf/Issue_105/01_Structural_Discrimination_in_the_CJS.pdf.

Wynter, Sylvia. 2003. 'Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation – An Argument'. *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3: 257–337. doi.org/10.1353/ncr.2004.0015.

This text is taken from *Terra in Our Mist: A Tūhoe Narrative of Indigenous Sovereignty and Settler-State Violence*, by Pounamu Jade William Emery Aikman, published 2026 by ANU Press, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.