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Nga aria o te Raupatu e pa ana ki te Hauoratanga a Pirirakau

**The effects of Raupatu on the Health
and Wellbeing of Pirirakau**

*A Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts (Social Policy)*

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Aotearoa

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NGA WHAKAPUAKANGA:REFERENCES

ABSTRACT

This thesis is about my hapu Pirirakau. It is a study of the effects of raupatu on our health and wellbeing and it focuses on the perception of health and wellbeing that is held by members of the hapu. I focus on the factors which enabled us to live and be well when our hapu was under attack. The people who have been interviewed were chosen by the hapu because of their commitment to the hauora of Pirirakau.

The idea that the effects of the raupatu have been more widespread than is generally recognised is one that has been held for generations in Pirirakau, but it was not until recently that several events coincided to make this study possible. These were; the visit of the Waitangi Tribunal to Tauranga Moana, our research into our history and the requirements of my thesis.

The information given by participants is presented with careful consideration to the meanings intended. It is my hope that the results of this research will become another useful planning tool to assist my hapu in improving our health status. As well, a feature of the study is to promote the use of a methodology that is Maori centred.

Pirirakau is a traditional hapu who draw on the knowledge and wisdom of the past in order to achieve a modern approach to progress. As a researcher of Pirirakau descent I was privileged to be given unlimited access to information. Nevertheless the research had to satisfy the conditions of two worlds, Maturanga Maori and the Massey University requirements. The need to balance these has led to the use of a Maori centred research model.

The participants constantly used their history and traditions as a reference point and focussed clearly on the importance of independence and mana motuhake. The recommendations are therefore about the right of my hapu to define and construct our own methodology and research. As well, to ascertain whether the claims settlements will have altered our perceptions of health.

HE KAWANGA: DEDICATION

Ko Mauao te Maunga
Ko Tauranga te Moana
Ko Takitimu me Mataatua nga waka
Ko Ngati Ranginui me Ngaiterangi oku iwi
Ko Pirirakau me Tuwhiwhia oku hapu

This work is dedicated to the hapu of Pirirakau. It is a tribute to our endurance, perseverance and patience over many generations, whilst awaiting our time to retell our history. That time has now arrived for two reasons: first our hapu has presented our claim in front of the Waitangi Tribunal. And second, traditional hapu artefacts and ancient wahi tapu have revealed themselves to us. These tohu give strength to the uri (seeds) of Tutereinga as we set our eyes to the future. In our minds it is as if the discovery of our taonga are signs that our tupuna were supportive and in favour of these actions of redress.

HE WHAKINGA: ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been a journey that began before I was born. It started with the struggles of my hapu against the onslaught of raupatu (land confiscation) and the bitter legacy that it left in its wake. From that time onward, our hapu Pirirakau has selected people from each generational group to take up the challenge of furthering the cause for the return of our confiscated lands. It is those persistent whanau, past and present, whom I wish to acknowledge. Were it not for our ability to keep the fires of our hapu history burning within us, the rangatahi, precious snippets of our past would have been extinguished forever. It is from these chiefly people that I claim my roots, and in whose memory I have written these words.

I also wish to thank all my whaea who generously gave their time and were always encouraging in their support of this thesis. The content of their interviews renewed my admiration for the women of Pirirakau who have ensured that the definitions of who we are remain within the context of our history. He mihi aroha kia koutou. I wish to thank my hapu Pirirakau, for entrusting in me their insights into our history. Furthermore, this thesis also pinpoints the hopes, dreams and aspirations of our hapu.

A special thanks to Christine Cheyne, Leland Ruwhiu and the School of Social Policy and Social Work, for keeping a diligent eye on me.

Finally, my appreciation goes to my children who have allowed me these last ten years to pursue this pathway at the expense of a large part of their family time.

WHAKAPAPA

The Takitimu arrived at Tirikawa (North Rock) Tauranga, where Tamatea-mai-tawhiti, the commander, gave thanks for their safe delivery into this new land. To establish a connection with this whenua, Tamatea and his followers ascended to the summit of Mauao and conducted the ancient ceremony of implanting the mauri or the life giving principle for his people. For his home he chose Maungatawa. Tamatea and his priests then performed the following karakia¹ on the summit.

Tihei mauriora	Manawa pou waho
Ti hei uriuri	Waka tina kia tina
Ti hei nakonako	Te more i Hawaiki
Ka tu	E pu pu ana hoki
Ka tau haha te papa e takoto nei	E wa wao ana hoki
Ka tu-ka tu ha ha	Tarewa tu ki te rangi
Te Rangi e tu nei	Aue kia ake
Ka tau ka tau	Eke tangaroa
Te matuku mai i Rarotonga	Eke panuku
Ko ia i ruku hia	Whano whano
Manawa pou roto	Haramai te toki
Ko ia i ruku hia	Haumi e huia e-taiki e.

Tamatea-mai-tawhiti and some of his followers remained there. Eventually he died and was buried at Mauao. The canoe continued around the East Cape with its crew settling at various points from the East Cape to Wairarapa. Some time later, his grandson Tamatea-pokai-whenua returned to settle at Maungatawa² and Papamoa³. He married a woman of Waitaha⁴ descent whose people occupied land in the Papamoa district. Tamatea-pokai-whenua and his wife were the parents of Ranginui, the principal ancestor of the Ngati Ranginui tribe. Tutereinga, the eldest son of Ranginui is the tipuna of Pirirakau hapu. I am a descendent of this whakapapa line.

This legitimates my right to be able to write about the effects of colonisation and raupatu on Pirirakau.

¹ Also Ngati Ranginui whakatauki

² A revered maunga korero referred to consistently by the three iwi of Tauranga Moana

³ An area located south east of Tauranga city

⁴ An iwi descended from the Te Arawa waka, located in the Te Puke area

NGA TIKANGA ME NGA RITENGA O TE AO

MAORI DEFINITION OF TERMS

Maori concepts used throughout this thesis have been defined in this section so that the reader has some grounding in the cultural knowledge and experiences of Maori society.

Ahi Kaa

This refers to uninterrupted occupation of ancestral land. In a sense it is similar to a burning (domestic) fire which symbolises a continuous occupational rights to the land (Walker, 1990).

Ako

This concept is about shared learning. Ako makes no distinction between teacher and learner who exchange knowledge in real life situations (Pere, 1982).

Hapu

This refers to a combination of family units who have a kinship or whakapapa relationship with each other. Each hapu is usually led by a hereditary rangatira, and according to Walker (1990:64), "The hapu was the main political unit that controlled a defined stretch of tribal territory".

Hauora

Hauora is a broad concept which means the spirit of life, health and wellbeing. It encompasses the four cornerstones of health, the physical, the emotional, the family and the spiritual. Durie (1994) describes this in his model called Whare Tapa Wha.

Hinengaro

Hinengaro refers to the intellectual and emotional dimensions of health. According to Durie (1994) one of the aspects of health is hinengaro. It is a side of health that encompasses styles of thinking, and the way in which emotion is expressed.

Kaha

This term is used to describe the qualities of endurance, resilience and strength. It is listed as strong and healthy, to have the ability to be those things (Ryan, 1974).

Kaupapa Maori

This refers to a Maori perspective and practice. The term Kaupapa Maori encapsulates the Maori way of doing things (Smith, 1994).

Kingitanga

This refers to a movement which was established by Maori as a means of securing their lands. Kingitanga was a peaceful movement formed in the 1850's largely in response to the Crown's land purchase policies (Ward, 1999).

Korero

This refers to a broad set of meanings which could include talk, speech, story or history. It also refers to a conversation, a story or narrative (Williams, 1975).

Korero Tuku Iho

This concept refers to knowledge, stories, and ideas that have been handed down through generations by the ancestors (Biel, 1998).

Mana Maori

Mana Maori refers to the prestige, power and authority held by Tangata Whenua. The Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988:vol 3:16) recorded that Mana Maori refers to:

Maori wellbeing and integrity, and emphasises the wholeness of social relationships, it expresses continuity through time and space. For Maori, wellbeing is synonymous with Mana and the land; the closeness of the people and the land, and the relationship of people to particular land or turangawaewae.

Mana Whenua

This refers to the people who have influence, authority, and prestige over particular land. Durie (1998:115) observed that, "Though ownership may change, land itself cannot be made to disappear nor can it be separated from the lives and deaths of the people for whom it has been home".

Manuhiri

This describes manuhiri as a visitor or guest. Kuka, T. (1998) declares it to have much wider connotations which involve marae rituals structured between locals (Tangata Whenua) and visitors (Manuhiri).

Matakite

This refers to a person with the ability to see into the future, or in other words being a seer or having second sight (Walker, 1990).

Matauranga Maori

Matauranga Maori means Maori knowledge and values. It implies to knowing something, to learning or acquiring skills, or having understanding of issues (Pere, 1982). When used in its broadest sense, Matauranga, refers to everything one experiences or is exposed to in ones lifetime.

Mauriora

This refers to the life principle, the breathe of life. It is the very essence of being alive, and is responsible for the maintenance and survival of life (Henare, 1988).

Mirimiri

Mirimiri is a form of massage and healing, traditionally used by Maori. It belongs to a range of healing practices understood by Maori. Biel (1998) views it as a form of rongoa still frequently used alongside Western medicine.

Nga Ritenga

Nga Ritenga refers to way of behaving that is determined by tikanga. (Henare, 1988:27) sees it as “. . . pertaining to rights and authority that extends to social structures and relationships, that are based in Maori philosophy”.

Nga Tikanga

This refers to the rules and customs that regulate the daily lives of Maori. They set the protocols of acceptable behaviour. Henare (1988:27) notes that, “Maori people actively maintain and develop their tikanga, the principles that govern appropriate conduct and dictate correct situational behaviour”.

Powhiri

The powhiri is a formal process of address and welcome. Tauroa and Tauroa (1986) write about it as a ritual of encounter.

Raupatu

Raupatu is the term used to describe the confiscation of ancestral lands by the Pakeha Government in 1864. Stokes (1978: Preface) observed that “the word raupatu means seizure”.

Rongoa

This term refers to the wide range of Maori medicines, and healing practices. Durie (1994:20), defines rongoa as, “physical remedies derived from trees, leaves, berries, fruit, bark, and moss and used to treat particular ailments ”.

Tangata Whenua

This term refers to those Maori who belong to an area by whakapapa. For example, John Rangihau's perspective reflected a person with a specific whakapapa which locates him into a whanau, hapu and iwi (in Smith, 1994).

Taumau

This indicates an ancient and broad rite of laying claim or reserving (usually lands) for oneself by proclamation. Ryan (1974:46) sees the meaning as "betrothed or reserved".

Te Iwi

The term Te Iwi is the name given to the larger grouping of whanau and hapu, descending from a common ancestor or waka. Henare (1988:13) notes that: "It was the largest socio-political organisation that existed in Maori society".

Tauwiwi

This is an inclusive term describing all non Maori. Henare (1988:14) described that: "Tauwiwi is a Maori word used for other people who are not Maori".

Te Taha Tinana

This aspect is described by Durie (1994) as the physical side of the four cornerstones of Maori health.

Te Waka

This relates the people to the canoe on which their ancestors came to Aotearoa. Kuka, T. (1998) expressing his views at a hui a hapu, noted that Te Waka was made up of a cluster of related iwi. For example, the ancestors of the whanau of Pirirakau arrived on the Takitimu waka.

Te Whanau

Te Whanau describes an extended family which may include more than one generation. They are close kinship groups. Whanau is also one of the cornerstones of Maori health (Durie, 1994).

Tino Rangatiratanga

Rangatiratanga and mana are inextricably related. Subsequently, Rangatiratanga is defined as authority, Tino Rangatiratanga as full authority (*Te Whakamarama The Maori Law Bulletin*. 1991.no 8).

Tohu

This is a sign or mark that foretells the future or an impending event. This was often interpreted by a person skilled in the ability to read significant signs (Ryan, 1974).

Turangawaewae

This term refers to a standing place where Tangata Whenua belong, and have rights and entitlements by whakapapa. It is central to Maori identity. Salmond (1975:60) wrote that, "Individual marae rights are called turangawaewae (a standing place for feet)".

Uri

Uri is the term used to describe a descendant or offspring of a particular ancestor (Ryan, 1974).

Wairua

Wairua accounts for spirituality which is a vital ingredient in the lives of Maori. It is listed by Durie (1994) as the spiritual side of health.

Whakapapa

Whakapapa is the way of immediately establishing identity through genealogy. According to Jahnke (1997:32) it is "The means by which one establishes a relationship to the land, kinship ties and status".

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga is what binds those who share a common ancestry together. Henare (1988:14) believes that "The whole essence of whanaungatanga (of belonging to whanau) is a deeply ingrained concept" in Maori society.

TE WHAKATAKOTORANGA O TE TUHINGA WHAKAPAE: FORMAT OF THE THESIS

He whiringa takitahi
 Ka hunahuna
 he whiringa tahi
 Ka raranga
 Ka mau
 If you plait one at a time
 the ends will fragment
 If you weave together
 it will hold

Kereopa, H. (1991).

This whakatauki reflects the interdependence of the relationships between Pirirakau and other iwi in all situations, especially as they prepare their raupatu claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. During the preparations for hearings relating to the claim, old issues were rekindled and the process was painful for many of the participants. Koning (1998:2), in an article in the *Bay of Plenty Times*, illustrated this when he noted the punitive measures adopted by the Native Land Commissioners between 1868 and 1886. Their haphazard processes and inconsistent procedures had the greatest impact on the hapu of Ngati Ranginui.

Chapter one is an introduction to the hapu of Pirirakau and the research topic. It provides a backdrop to the issues and circumstances that make up the context of the hapu. Three themes emerged, the land, the Treaty of Waitangi and the underlying discord which threads throughout the entire thesis.

Chapter two describes the world view of Pirirakau, and what constitutes Pirirakautanga. It does this by describing the connections of Pirirakau to their waka and their whenua and locates them within their world. There are also sections linking the importance of the Bush Campaign to Tino Rangatiratanga.

Chapter three completes the historical sections. It begins by outlining the importance of colonisation and Eurocentric beliefs and moves through a discussion of race relations, and the models that emerged from them. The next section is about the relationship between Maori and the Crown, and some breaches of that relationship that are illustrated through legislation. Maori responses to a Crown process are discussed alongside the formation of the Waitangi Tribunal, and the Tribunal in Tauranga Moana to hear my hapu's claim.

Whilst the first three chapters provide the historical background to colonisation and Pirirakautanga, chapter four is about Maori research methodology and its influence on research procedures in particular the framework which Pirirakau used for the research. It includes the aims of the research, some ethical issues for Maori, and the Massey University guidelines on ethical conduct in research involving human subjects. In discussing the Maori centred methodology used in the research it also makes a distinction between the underlying philosophies of Maturanga Maori and a Maori centred approach. Maturanga Maori methods stem from a culturally derived philosophy and structures, and a Maori centred approach locates Maori methods in a mainstream environment. This dilemma is documented in the section entitled 'Te Rapu Whakariterite: Finding the Balance'.

Chapter five is about the content of the interviews. It includes the 'participants' views about how they perceived the effects of colonisation, warfare, and confiscation on the hapu of Pirirakau. It discusses the key criteria used by the participants to measure health and wellbeing for themselves. In this chapter the whanau of Pirirakau tell their stories about how the raupatu affected them. It explains how the researcher guided the process of gathering and presenting the data. It looks at the essence of what the experience of Pirirakau has been with regard to health and reveals what those who were interviewed thought and felt about their health today, and in the past, and discusses those findings. In exploring some of the participants stories about the land, the themes of physical health, history, and the influence of the Church arose. For Pirirakau, along with the loss of land, the influence of the Church, particularly the Catholic Church, has been enormous.

Chapter six returns the mauri and places it centrally back in Pirirakautanga. It utilises whakatauki and tauparapara to describe how the people look to the past to interpret the present, and the future. The final sections identify some conclusions and a recommendation for Pirirakau researchers in the future.

The various aspects of the thesis are all inter-related. Therefore, it has not been easy to separate them into chapters. The chapters are intended to guide the reader through events of history and explore the beliefs of people affected by those events. The thesis concludes that the losses associated with colonisation and confiscation have had a significant effect on the health and wellbeing of Pirirakau.

WAHANGA TUATAHI: CHAPTER 1

Korero Timata: Introduction

At the heart of all the tensions and difficulties between Maori and the Crown is the issue of land. The starting point is the land and the sovereignty associated with it. The Crown, as it acquired Maori land, did enormous damage to an indigenous culture. This was mainly accomplished through raupatu, the Treaty of Waitangi, and through the imposition of another set of values which sought to extinguish indigenous ones. The research therefore begins its whakapapa during the raupatu period and traces some of the effects on the uri (descendants) of Pirirakau today. The research aims arise from this kaupapa. They are;

1. To show how widespread and pervasive the effects of land confiscation have been and currently are on the lives and wellbeing of the hapu of Pirirakau.
2. To identify health status as perceived by the hapu of Pirirakau.
3. To discuss the strategies used by Pirirakau to retain their health.
4. To use a Maori centred model of research that is based in the kawa and tikanga of Pirirakau. One which uses the knowledge and traditions of our hapu to inform us through all stages of the research process.

Through the use of qualitative data (interviews with Pirirakau), historical research and presentations to the Waitangi Tribunal, I will seek to provide insights into those aspects using methodology consistent with kaupapa Maori and Pirirakautanga. The research aims are based in the knowledge that by all the measures applied today Maori health status is worse than non Maori. Many Maori now view their ill health as being a result of socio-economic and socio-cultural factors that are related to the raupatu and as noted by Pomare et al (1995:14) “until the grievances arising from failure to honour the Treaty of Waitangi are resolved, Maori ill health will remain a problem”.

This view, shared by our hapu of Pirirakau, is based on the idea that following the Land Wars and confiscations, the losses were greater than just the land. Those losses extended

into all aspects of Pirirakau life, including health and wellbeing. This perception is based on such things as the reduction in the numbers in Pirirakau who are no longer knowledgeable in all domains of our reo, our whakapapa, our tikanga and our healing practices.

This introductory chapter critically examines three overriding themes that have impacted on the wellbeing of Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand since colonisation by Tauwi Pakeha. It sets the scene for contextualising the experiences of my hapu Pirirakau.

The first section of this chapter entitled 'Te Whenua: The Land', provides a brief critique of why the land is so important. The second section 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi: The Treaty of Waitangi' focuses on the importance of this document and its place in securing true partnership between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi Pakeha. The third section called 'Nga Matapono Tauwehewehe: Conflicting Values', is about the impact of a Western value system on an already established Maori one. It proposes the need to find an understanding between them. The final section of this chapter entitled 'Whakamutunga: Conclusion', provides an overview of the tensions influencing the wellbeing of Maori in Aotearoa. It sets the scene for Chapter two which is specifically about my hapu Pirirakau.

Te Whenua: The land

The integrity of Maori and in this case Pirirakau depends on the land. We derive our values and our mana from it. This is fundamentally different to how Westerners relate to their land. As Walker (1987:228) observed :

There are only two cultures in the world: the culture of indigenous peoples, and the culture of metropolitan western societies. Their values, preferences and attitudes to land differ markedly.

Arrien (1993:4) wrote that, ". . . in metropolitan societies, the land belongs to the people. In indigenous societies, the people belong to the land". Thus, recognition of the legal and

moral rights by which a nation occupies its land base is a fundamental issue of its existence (Churchill, 1993).

The colonisation of New Zealand by the British during the era of European expansionism was predicated upon what Walker (1990:9) described as “. . . racial, religious, cultural and technological superiority”. Once the Governor and his successors were established, they systematically set about stripping Maori of their land and resources. These were then made available to white settlers. Land confiscation was a feature of Britain's expansionist approach in the 19th century. It was based on ownership of what the settlers called unoccupied land. Here in Aotearoa, that meant Maori land.

Much has been written about land confiscation in New Zealand in both specific, and broad terms. Some of the ideas are expressed in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi (Orange, 1987; Walker, 1987; Kelsey, 1990). Others can also be found in the history of legislation in Aotearoa directed from Britain, (Oliver & Williams, 1981; McIntyre & Gardener, 1971). Raupatu in Maori terms was associated with colonial expansionism (Gullery, 1993). The development of the Land Wars of the 1800s was part of this resistance. (Ward, 1999:6) states that, “Maori have always linked land loss with loss of rangatira - the capacity for self-determination that comes with control over resources”.

Stokes (1978:preface) observed that, “The people of Tauranga Moana were at peace in the 1860s but they were caught up in a war that began elsewhere”. Fighting over land began in Taranaki. However, hostilities soon spread to the Waikato where the Kingitanga sought to unite the tribes under the mana of a King as a way of resisting further land loss. Those Maori declaring allegiance to their King were considered rebels in the British legal sense, and the British resorted to war in 1863, after Governor Grey failed to undermine the authority of the Maori King through ‘peaceful means’. Therefore “. . . the war in Tauranga was not a separate war. It was part of the one that began in Taranaki in 1860 and that spread to the Waikato” (Gullery, 1993:1). The context for relations between Maori and the Crown was the alienation of land, the conduct of war, and the disintegration of the mana of sovereign iwi and hapu.

The declining land base between 1840 and 1860 caused massive changes within Maori communities. Land loss had an adverse effect on economic activity, which in turn led to social dislocation. Pool (1991:36) contends that “land confiscation limited the access of Maori communities to agricultural, and thus nutritional resources”. Consequently, this limitation adversely affected the relationship between nutrition, health, and population. Pomare and de Boer (1988:17) recognise that “the loss of socio-economic status and cultural identity which went with the land, are of major importance in health”. This is a different concept from that used by Westerners. In traditional Maori terms, health is an all embracing concept which emphasises the importance of the wairua, whanau, hinengaro, and tinana aspects (Durie, 1994). From the Maori viewpoint issues involving whenua, were all about ones relationship to the land and as mentioned previously Maori saw themselves as part of the land, not owners of it.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi: The Treaty of Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840, is an agreement between Maori and the Crown. No other ethnic group has such an agreement in New Zealand. The Treaty of Waitangi described the equal relationship between the Maori inhabitants of New Zealand and the British Government. While it had the potential for a fair and even arrangement, inequalities between the partners quickly developed and as Walker (1990:96) states:

What they (the chiefs) thought they gave and what the coloniser claimed, were separated by an abyss that was to have cataclysmic consequences for the Maori people. The chiefs were not to know that nation - building in the new world during the era of European expansionism was predicated on the destruction of first nations.

Control, power and decision making passed quickly from one partner to the other, and by 1852, with the passing of the Constitution Act, the effective administration of Aotearoa had become the role and function primarily of European settlers. For Pirirakau, the ‘cataclysmic’ consequences spoken of by Walker (1990) were felt rapidly, and continuously, critically affecting the wellspring of their culture. It was to impact on their health and their very wellbeing.

The Treaty of Waitangi was regarded by Maori as a solemn contract and evidence of sincere intentions for an equal relationship. However, the European record in the last century and a half has shown a determination to dominate and, as Orange (1987:5) found that “Maori protest has kept the Treaty alive more than any other single factor . . . and the gap between Maori and European expectations of the Treaty remains unbridged”.

Temm (1988:7) observed that:

. . . the bitterness that exists today has been engendered by a melancholy catalogue of conduct that any fair minded person could only describe as dishonourable.

For Maori people, the Treaty articulates their status as Tangata Whenua. It guarantees their rights with respect to land, water, forests, fisheries, and other treasures, and confirms their right to mana motuhake (Pomare and de Boer 1988). Maori had an innate belief that land confiscation led to a range of other losses. However, it has not been until contemporary times that claims to the Waitangi Tribunal have extended beyond physical resources such as land and water. Claims have now been lodged with regard to intellectual properties, air-waves and health. With regard to health, Pomare and de Boer (1988:21) observed that:

Implicit within the Treaty of Waitangi were the concepts of equity, partnership, and economic and cultural security, all of which contributed importantly to Hauora. Poor standards of Maori health may therefore be regarded in part as non-fulfilment of these Treaty concepts and obligations.

Barrett and Connelly-Stone (1998), discussing the application of the Treaty of Waitangi to social policy, note that the Health and Disability Services Act 1993 contains only two references to Maori interests and none to the Treaty of Waitangi. Further, in relation to the application of the Treaty of Waitangi to health policy, they focus on the Department of Health document *Whaia te ora mo te iwi* (1992). This document was released in response to Maori dismay about the lack of a Treaty of Waitangi clause in the Health and Disability Services Bill (Ohia:1991). The concept of exclusion is further explored by Barrett and Connolly-Stone (1998:38) who see it as an example of the Government’s difficulty in dealing with Treaty of Waitangi issues, and note that the document

contradicts itself by declaring a commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi on one hand and refuting that on the other. They argued that:

This is a clear example of Government using Treaty-based language and concepts while denying that it has specific Treaty obligations. This leads to inconsistency between Government's official statements on the Treaty and the application of Treaty principles at operational level.

Pomare, Keefe-Ormsby, Ormsby, Pearce, Reid, Robson and Watene-Haydon (1995) draw attention to what are considered two critical factors in Maori health. The first recognises that Maori ill-health increased as a result of the changes in their socio-economic and socio-cultural status. In essence, Maori struggled to cope with colonisation. The second is the failure to honour the Treaty of Waitangi, and until grievances and breaches arising from it are resolved, Maori ill-health will remain a problem. The Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988:vol 2:11) considered Te Tiriti o Waitangi was indeed: "a document with wide implications for economic, social, constitutional, cultural, and spiritual dimensions". Durie (1989:283) also recognised that in the past "Most debate about the Treaty of Waitangi was centred on its application to property rights and its relevance to past grievances". He also noted that its other dimensions have been progressively identified, and that they include implications for contemporary issues, and the maintenance of wellbeing.

Nga Matapono Tauwehewehe: Conflicting Values

The initial stage of Maori and Pakaha interaction did not involve any fundamental changes in Maori social or economic organisation. At this point in history Maori were able to acquire some of the benefits of European culture without surrendering their own social arrangements, core values or distinctive way of life. The beginning of permanent colonisation began with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. This heralded a new phase of mastery which represented a threat to the cultural autonomy of Maori, and to the integrity of their social and economic institutions. Since that time, there has been a tension between Maori and the Crown that is centred in this domination of one culture

by another. This domination has revolved around the tensions between the values of Maori and Western society. Each of these sets of values represents a paradigm. Kuhn (1962:23) defined a paradigm as “. . . an accepted model or pattern”. Western paradigms are based on individual achievement and Maori paradigms are based in the common and collective good. Hence the tension between them. A basic misunderstanding by Pakeha of Maori values is the widespread assumption that, deep down, Maori and Pakeha are very similar, whereas Maori have always been strongly committed to their distinctive identity as a people. The Maori paradigm is underpinned by the core values which contribute to that distinctive identity.

Any true partnership and understanding between the two major cultures in Aotearoa requires that the concept of balance be addressed. As Patterson (1992:10) observes “. . . understanding is seen as a dynamic balance between two parties, however different or even incompatible they may be”. This theme is also found in Durie (1998:24) who refers to the need for balancing the two, saying, “in now managing the interface between Maori and European societies, the issue for Maori may not be simply which way is right but how to find the balance”. This highlights that the issue of finding the balance between the two paradigms is an ongoing challenge for Maori to meet.

Whakamutunga: Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the hapu of Pirirakau, and the rationale underlying the research. As a member of the hapu of Pirirakau, the choice of the topic was predetermined for me because of the people's need to understand what happened to them in the past and continues to impact on them today. This thesis seeks to reveal a Pirirakau understanding of events surrounding the raupatu, and translate that loss into what ails them today. The Treaty of Waitangi emerged as significant as the people looked to it as a means of redress, justice, and as a means of restoring their mana. Their faith was betrayed when Pakeha and their systems ignored it. Implicit in this Pakeha system are Western values which assume superiority over those of Tangata Whenua. The conflict which exists in the relationship between Maori and the Crown is generated from this

superiority of values. The improvement of the relationships inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi may be a means of determining the extent to which the health and wellbeing of Pirirakau is weak or strong, declining or growing. Having introduced the focus of the thesis, the effects of raupatu on Pirirakau as perceived by them, the discussion now turns to examine Pirirakautanga, the world view of Pirirakau, and Pirirakau's historical experience of land loss.

WAHANGA TUARUA: CHAPTER 2

Korero Timata: Introduction

Each of us perceive the world in which we live in a particular way. This is fashioned through our learning experiences and assists us in making sense of our lives. It gives form to the intellectual and cultural knowledge which accumulates over a lifetime. This chapter looks at what makes up a Maori view of the world, also referred to as Te Ao Maori. Yupiaq scholar Oscar Kawagley (cited in Jahnke, 1997:27) argues that:

A world view consists of the principles we acquire to make sense of the world around us. Young people learn these principles including values, traditions, and customs from myths, legends, stories, family, community and examples set by community leaders . . . once a world view has been formed the people are then able to identify themselves as a unique people.

The first section called 'Te Ao o te Pirirakau: The World of Pirirakau', explains the world view held by the Pirirakau hapu and how the principle themes and values are formed. This is outlined by four sections called 'Takitimu te Waka: Takitimu the Canoe', 'Te Whenua o Pirirakau: The Land of Pirirakau' and 'Nga Pakanga o Te Ngahere: The Bush Campaign' and 'tinorangatiratanga'. These events contain the essence of Pirirakautanga and the historical circumstances that comprise our view of the world. 'Whakamutunga: Conclusion', summarises where Pirirakau structures itself in order to respond to other external events.

Te Ao o te Pirirakau: The World of Pirirakau

The Maori world view used in this study stems from Pirirakau. Thus the narrative information provided by Pirirakau is hapu specific and part of a cultural reality that is still, in the main, orally transmitted. An illustration of this hapu specific way of thinking was drawn by Rangihau (1992:190) who said in regard to his iwi, "I am a Tuhoe person and all I can share in is Tuhoe history. To me Tuhoetanga means that I do the things that are meaningful to me".

Pirirakautanga is about the things that bind the hapu of Pirirakau together. It is about our identity and our struggle for the land. It is the intention of this chapter to show how strong and secure Pirirakau once was in this world and how this strength started to unravel with the advent of colonisation and land loss. In order to understand the particular world view of Pirirakau you have to begin with the waka.

Takitimu Te Waka: Takitimu The Canoe

Takitimu, the ancestral waka of Ngati Ranginui, on arrival in Aotearoa, landed at the base of Mauao, which is now called Mount Maunganui. The captain, Tamatea-mai-tawhiti then decided to go ashore and give thanks for a safe landfall after a long sea journey. To establish a connection with the whenua he climbed to the summit of Mauao and performed the ancient ceremony of implanting the mauri or life force of his people in the mountain. This action was regarded as having major significance to the people of Takitimu as it provided a taumau, a claim on the land. These are the origins of the hapu of Pirirakau.

It has been said that the name Pirirakau stemmed from the Ngaiterangi conquest of Mauao when the remnants of Ngati Ranginui fled to their forest settlements. From that point onwards the survivors became known as Pirirakau or 'clinging to the trees', thus the name was used to describe those people who lived in or near the forest. Pirirakau tradition indicates that the name was used to describe a section of Nga Marama, the original inhabitants, after the arrival of Ranginui at Pukewhanake.¹ Some of the Ngati Ranginui survivors of the Battle of Kokowai² returned to these Nga Marama villages and soon after became known as Pirirakau.

Pirirakau are primarily descended from Tutereinga who lived in Raropua. When Tutereinga grew old and approached the sunset of his life, he became concerned about his

¹ Pukewhanake, a sacred Maunga where Ngati Ranginui lived.

² Battle of Kokowai, named for the battle on Mauao between Ngaiterangi and Ngati Ranginui

inevitable death. *The Pirirakau Report* (1997:17) noted that he was asked where he would like to lie:

Koro ana mate koe, e hiahia ana koe kia takato koe i te taha o matua e moe mai ra i te tihi o Mauao? Kao engari tana hia ahau ki Tahataharoa koa rongo ai ahau i te tangi a te tai.

Old one, when death comes, is it your desire to lie with your forebears who slumber on the crest of Mauao? No take me to Tahataharoa that I may hear the murmur of the sea.

The last wish of our tipuna was particularly significant in respect of the mana whenua held by Pirirakau. Rather than lie with his ancestors on Mauao, he chose to be buried where he lived. As was pointed out by a respected kaumatua of the hapu (*Pirirakau Report* 1997:17) “through your dead are you, the descendants, guaranteed rights to the land”.

Nga Whenua o Pirirakau: The Land of Pirirakau

The executive summary of *The Pirirakau Report* (1997) noted that Pirirakau has occupied the area of land between Wairoa and Waipapa rivers extending from the foreshore back to the ranges, for about four and a half centuries. Even after the conquest of the district by Ngaiterangi, Pirirakau’s occupation continued. In the late 1850s, Pirirakau committed itself to the philosophy of the Kingitanga and as Stokes (1990:14) observed, “this commitment was to shape its conduct in relation to the Government and Ngaiterangi over the next few years”.

As it was explained in *Te Manutukutuku*, the newsletter of the Waitangi Tribunal (1996: no 37) in its report on the Taranaki claim, the Kingitanga stood for the maintenance of tribal authority. This did not mean that the King had power over the constituent members of the Kingitanga. Rather, hapu retained their independence as symbolised by the King. In spite of its name, which emulated the British monarchy, the King movement was based on traditional Maori leadership systems. Stokes (1978:6) quoted Ngata who described

the Kingitanga as “. . . one of the organisations evolved by the Maori people for resisting the destruction of their culture and the loss of its foundations, land”.

Men from Pirirakau fought in Taranaki and Waikato and, in 1863 when the wars were on its doorstep, Pirirakau transferred the mana of its land to Tawhiao. By this act they triggered radical changes in the political mosaic of the Tauranga district. As constituent members of Kingitanga holding the title ‘pupuri whenua’, who were opposed to alienation of tribal land to European settlers, our tupuna were labelled enemies of the settler Government. Pirirakau also saw action in the battle of Gate Pa and evidence suggests that they did not submit. It was also widely known that cession of land would be a condition of surrender. Having placed its lands under the protection of the Maori king, it would be right to assume Pirirakau was unlikely to have willingly ceded any of our hapu whenua. It was also known that the Governor (of that time) was intending to retain only part of the land and Pirirakau’s interests were outside of it so there was no reason for them to submit.

What could not have been anticipated was Ngaiterangi’s cession of the whole of the lands of the Tauranga district. Under Maori customary law no iwi could give away its sovereignty. As Jackson (1992:6) pointed out:

The sovereign mana or rangatiratanga of an iwi was handed down from the ancestors to be nurtured by the living for the generations yet to be. It could not be granted to the descendants of a different ancestor, nor subordinated to the will of another. The firm reality, however, was dismissed by the alien word - if in fact it was ever understood.

It can only be assumed now that this was misunderstood by the Government at the time. So far as this was concerned, Pirirakau lands were still protected because in the normal course of events, the hapu would have had the option of whether or not to sell. As it turned out, our ancestors were given no option. The surveyors, were unable to define enough good land between the two rivers and therefore crossed the Wairoa in order to make up what they wanted. Authority for them to do so came from the Order-in-Council confiscating the whole of Tauranga district (Koning, 1998). When it came into effect in

May 1865, Ngaiterangi was named as the owner of the whole of the district and the implications were obvious. We of Pirirakau, a hapu of Ngati Ranginui were dealt with under the mana of 'Ngaiterangi'. The government did not acknowledge that we were a separate and autonomous iwi with land stewardship in the Tauranga district.

A period of great unrest followed and Pirirakau continued to seek recognition of their mana whenua. The settler Government, having exhausted all other avenues, cajoled and threatened them into relinquishing the land that was the foundation of Pirirakau's existence. As the *Pirirakau Report* (1997:4) noted:

Through confiscation and forced purchase (raupatu by another name) combined, Pirirakau was dispossessed of all its lands and, what was left of the total landed estate of Ngati Ranginui passed into Government hands. By the early 1870s, 3600 acres of land which Pirirakau had occupied for more than four hundred years had been allocated to "loyal and surrendered natives".

The bulk of it was awarded to persons who, as the *Pirirakau Report* (1997:5) observed:

. . . had no ancestral ties to it, for by the end of the 1870's much of it had been alienated. The remainder of the total landed estate of the hapu had been either allocated to military settlers or sold commercially.

By the late 1880s, as Koning (1998:2) noted, "nearly half of the land belonging to Pirirakau had been alienated". He further pointed out that in the early 1900s it was estimated that Maori had lost eighty five percent of their land in less than fifty years. Pirirakau was no exception.

The decision of Pirirakau to stand firm in the face of tremendous power and opposition encouraged the Government of the day to label them rebellious. This characteristic is one that Pirirakau are proud of today as they stand to reclaim the lands that they have always believed were corruptly obtained by Government and Pakeha settlers. Further, in resisting the confiscation of ancestral lands our tupuna had again the mana and Tino Rangatiratanga of our hapu and iwi.

Nga Pakanga o Te Ngahere: The Bush Campaign

Confiscation is of critical significance to the iwi of Ngati Ranginui. Furthermore it was our hapu who lost the major part of our ancestral lands as punishment for what was considered rebellion or non compliance with Government plans. One aspect of this non-compliance was that the hapu of Pirirakau were followers of the Maori faith known as Pai Marire. The Pakeha settlers' and the Government's understanding of this was that it represented 'hauhauism' or violence associated with fighting when in fact it has been demonstrated that Pai Marire was a predominantly peaceful religion, a religion which sought to reconcile Maori autonomy with Pakeha settlement. As Stokes (1978:18) has pointed out:

The real role of Pai Marire as an expression of Maori identity, an effort to reintegrate Maori society to accommodate Pakeha presence was not perceived. European settler reaction to Pai Marire "superstition" and Hauhau "rebellion" (the terms were synonymous) was little short of hysterical.

The Tauranga bush campaign was the direct result of the policy of confiscation implemented by the Government after the battle of Te Ranga in 1864. Confiscation was considered to be an essential element in the Pakeha settlement of Tauranga where the confiscated land was given to recruits from the Australian goldfields in return for military service.

The confiscated territory was to be located somewhere between the Waimapu and Wairoa rivers but, when the Government discovered that there was insufficient land within the area, the confiscation boundaries were further extended into the territory of Ngati Ranginui and Pirirakau. Koning (1998:6) observed that:

. . . at this time, the people of Ngati Ranginui were living peacefully on their ancestral lands and apart from Pirirakau refusing to surrender, the Government had no cause for concern.

It was when the surveyors began to work beyond accepted boundaries (known as creeping confiscation) that the hapu of Ngati Ranginui resisted by removing pegs, and

impounding equipment. The Government response was to engage the military to protect the survey parties, an act which local Maori interpreted as an unjustified invasion of their land. After the battle of Te Ranga in June 1864, Ngaiterangi surrendered to the Governor. Although the confiscation of land continued to be an obstacle in the peace negotiations, the agreement reached recognised the honourable manner in which Ngaiterangi conducted the battles. Koning (1998:9) noted Governor Grey's promise that "In the ultimate settlement of your lands the amount taken shall not exceed one fourth part of the whole lands".

After accepting the surrender of Ngaiterangi at Te Papa, Grey told the Colonial Office that Pirirakau had not submitted to the authority of the Crown. In an effort to extract compliance from them, a proclamation was issued which outlined the terms and conditions on which a surrender would be accepted by Grey. The declaration stated that:

The submission of men above referred to will be accepted on the same terms as the Governor in the name of Her Majesty has granted to those who have already submitted at Tauranga, provided they come in and give up their arms within twenty one days from this date, and in event of their not doing so within that time, this promise will cease to be of any effect (Koning, 1998:9).

As loyal supporters of the Kingitanga, Pirirakau did not accept the offer to surrender; an early example of their refusal to be influenced by the blandishments of the Crown. Thus, the impact of the Tauranga Bush Campaign upon the hapu of Pirirakau is a significant part of the broader consideration of the relationship between them and the Crown.

By June of 1867, according to the *Pirirakau Report* (1997), the Pakeha military commanders were able to report that all was quiet in Tauranga. The reason seemed to be that Tawhiao had ordered all fighting to stop for a period of eight months while the soil was prepared for crops. Meanwhile, Rawiri Tata and other members of Pirirakau attended a large meeting of Kingitanga at Tokangamutu. Ngati Porou had returned to Hauraki to tend their gardens and the bulk of Pirirakau had moved to Okauia on the Western side of the Kaimai range. When Pirirakau made the move to Okauia, they took with them to the interior, their dead. This was an act of tremendous significance for

Pirirakau and above all, it was an acknowledgment that continued resistance to the Crown could mean the complete loss of their lands. It was an indictment of the rapacious nature of the Governments actions. The *Pirirakau Report* (1997:97) highlighted that:

Pirirakau had survived centuries of the turbulence of tribal warfare, but in defending what they believed to be their lands and homes, and in holding fast to a Pai Marire religion which had on of its central tenets the retention of rangatiratanga, they now found themselves almost completely dispossessed.

The consequences of war, however, cannot be simply measured in terms of military objectives, for as Koning (1998:7) argued:

The colonial troops destroyed the homes and crops of a people whose actions were directed against an aggressive Government which refused to negotiate the terms of settlement.

For the current generation of Pirirakau, the collective memories are of the long struggle since the Land Wars to regain their tribal autonomy and their unjustly expropriated ancestral land.

Tino Rangatiratanga

Tino Rangatiratanga is an enduring concept for Pirirakau. It is a collective concept that belongs to the people and it is indistinguishable from their land and their wellbeing. *Te Whakamarama The Maori Law Bulletin* (1991:no 8:4) described it as follows:

Rangatiratanga is a word our tipuna have said is inseparable from mana; and the mana of our people is part of the essence of our being. Allow others to take away our mana to limit our rangatiratanga, and we risk the diminishing of our soul. ...
What then profit a people if they lose their soul?

The continued nature of rangatiratanga was reflected in the consensus of Maori views presented to the Royal Commission on Social Policy in 1988. It was observed that rangatiratanga and mana are inextricably related, and rendered rangatiratanga as authority. Tino Rangatiratanga was then defined as full authority. In *Te Whakamarama The Maori Law Bulletin* (1991:no8:6) it is highlighted:

. . . that many people limit the korero to the Treaty. They then assume that the concept was both created by, and limited to the terms of article two. In fact of course, the authority of rangatira and the power they wielded, had existed for centuries. The Treaty acknowledged that fact; it did not, indeed it could not, create or restrict it.

Durie (1995:45) observed that “successive Governments and their institutions have refused to entertain any suggestion of autonomy or even semi-independence for Maori”. He also contended that Maori have never accepted that the Treaty of Waitangi required an abandonment of Tino Rangatiratanga. At the same time, there is general understanding and acceptance amongst Maori, that Tino Rangatiratanga is about Maori control over things Maori. Maori see Tino Rangatiratanga as economic and political independence.

The commitment to Tino Rangatiratanga remains strong within Pirirakau who have always regarded themselves as an independent people. Pirirakau, following a hui a hapu, released a public statement (1991:1) of their stance on Tino Rangatiratanga which contained the following ideas:

Tino Rangatiratanga is about asserting our identity, our mana and our right to plan our own destiny. Pirirakau’s voice will be heard in public and other people will not speak for us. Within this Pirirakau will have regard for our tipuna and our past.

Whakamutunga: Conclusion

This chapter has provided a background of where Pirirakau has located itself in terms of our world view and our historical experiences. It locates us within the fabric of our lives and our natural world and provides the setting for the formulation of our values. A Maori world view has its genesis in a waka, the land and its retention and the exercise of Tino Rangatiratanga. Therefore, the world of Pirirakau must have a structure and a set of relationships in which all participate. This chapter has examined the beginnings of those structures, to set the conditions on how land losses might be prerequisite to other losses such as language, which eventually erodes a culture at its essence.

WAHANGA TUATORU: CHAPTER 3

Korero Timata: Introduction

This is the last of three historical chapters. It discusses the impact of Western ideology on the process of colonisation in Aotearoa and examines its effects on the overall wellbeing of Pirirakau. In order for this to occur, the Waitangi Tribunal and its connection to our claim will be studied. As Jackson (1992:70) notes:

To understand what Maori claim to be the obvious links between the Treaty of Waitangi and the land, it is necessary to face our past. To seek some insight into the spiritual and economic threads which bound our people to the land and all that it provides.

For the purposes of this chapter, wellbeing refers to both land ownership and all aspects of health for Pirirakau. The chapter has also been divided into four sections and a conclusion which gives a summary of the main ideas.

The first section entitled 'Nga Whakapono me nga Tauwi Kaupapa Whakaro: Colonisation and Eurocentric Beliefs', traces the roots of these beliefs. This leads to a discussion about race relations in Aotearoa which includes two of the models of integration that have been used by the Crown.

Section two has been named 'Nga Heanga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Some Breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi Relationship'. It highlights specific illustrations that caused deterioration between Maori and the Crown relationships.

Section three focuses on the role and function of the Waitangi Tribunal. It is viewed as an institutional method of redress for the negative affects of colonisation experienced by Maori in general and more specifically my hapu Pirirakau. It is named 'Te Roopu Whakamana: The Waitangi Tribunal'.

The fourth section 'Pirirakau te Take: Pirirakau The Claim', provides a historical critique of our claims. It introduces the key determinants that are necessary for indigenous development and wellbeing. Furthermore the section portrays the perceptions shared by

my hapu of Pirirakau about our land losses and the health effects we have suffered as a result of colonisation and raupatu.

'Whakamutunga: The Conclusion', gives a personal comment of the history covered.

Nga Whakapono me nga Tauwi Kaupapa Whakaaro: Colonisation and Eurocentric beliefs

The key thrust of this section is to examine the influence of colonisation on Maori in general and more specifically Pirirakau. As Walker (1990) argued, colonisation processes involved unequal power relationships where Eurocentric beliefs concerning land, health and wellbeing superseded Maori ones. There are four key areas of exploration that will provide a way of examining how these values were used to 'move into our culture'. These areas are:

1. Whakamaramatia enei raruraru - defining and contextualising colonisation
2. Whakawhanaungatanga a iwi - race relations
3. Nga tikanga o nga reo maha - multiculturalism
4. Nga tikanga reo rua - biculturalism.

Whakamaramatia enei Raruraru: Defining and Contextualising Colonisation

Eurocentric beliefs of individualism and profit making were brought to Aotearoa by immigrant settlers/colonists. These values permeated all aspects of their beliefs. Subsequently when confronting collective indigenous cultures, value based tensions arose. Often these were about ownership of land rights and cultural status. For example these immigrants tended to view themselves as superior, intellectual, modern and civilised because they had science, religion and technology on their side (Blaut,1993; Smith, 1999). In contrast, they viewed indigenous people as primitive, uncivilised and heathen worshippers in need of enlightenment and salvation. Blaut (1993:10), writing about the dominance of Eurocentric beliefs, believed, "scholarly beliefs are embedded in culture and shaped by culture". With this in mind then, colonisation is a deliberate process whereby one culture believes itself to be superior to another and whether by

warfare, language or political imposition, dominates the other. This, according to Blaut (1993:2), fosters an unrealistic expectation that:

Europe was more advanced and more progressive than all other regions prior to 1492, prior, that is, to the beginning of the period of colonialism, the period in which Europe and non-Europe came into intense interaction.

In relation to Aotearoa, the domination of Eurocentric values is implicit in the history of Government legislation and settlement. This history ignores the values of indigenous nations and as Walker (1990) found, was another dimension of the alienation of Maori land. In this way Maori beliefs and preferences in Aotearoa have been marginalised and excluded when considering values about land and general wellbeing

The development of marginalisation, of being ignored or unheard, is also known as diffusionism. As Blaut (1993:1) contends, diffusionism is about:

. . . the belief that European civilisation has some unique historical advantage. Some special quality which gives it a permanent superiority over all others throughout history. Europeans are seen as the 'makers of history' and Europe eternally advances, progresses and modernises. Therefore, the world has a permanent periphery-an inside and an outside. Inside is seen to be the leader whilst the outside lags behind. Inside is seen to be innovative and outside imitates. Inside is white and outside is black. Implicit in this belief and behaviour is a belief in the white Christian hierarchy. According to this belief, God created the people of the outside as different and inferior.

This belief, called Eurocentricism has now become a label for all the beliefs that encapsulate the superiority of European over non-European. Within the context of Aotearoa, McCreary and Shirley (1982:9) have this to say about Eurocentrism:

Such was the British settlers sense of superiority and their conviction that their way of life was the only right one, that Maori in Aotearoa could only emulate these standards but never equal them.

Smith (1999:53) a writer on education illustrates this in a section about the Eurocentric work ethic and concepts of time:

. . . were struck by the contrast in the way time was used (space) or rather, not used or organised) by indigenous peoples. Representations of 'native life' as

being devoid of work habits, and of native people being lazy, indolent, with low attention spans, as part of a colonial discord that continues to this day

Many Pakeha New Zealanders have recognized the tangible and obvious effects of such colonisation. However, the less tangible and subtle effects, such as the colonisation of underlying philosophies and ideas have not been acknowledged and responded to. This was reinforced by Moana Jackson (1992:1-2) who stated that:

. . . the unacknowledged and denied acts of colonization flow from the same processes as the acknowledged and admitted. They are all products of a foreign philosophy, a new word introduced into our land - a word born of a Christian God, a capitalist ethic, a common law, an imperial domain, and an individuated manifest destiny. Above all, this new word is born of a cultural and racist arrogance which persists today - now more often covert rather than overt, more often cloaked in the newspeak of bicultural rhetoric or legal pluralism than the open bluster of colonialism.

Jackson, (1989:47) expressed this idea even more vividly when he wrote that, "It is also geared to annihilate us psychologically and to colonise our minds".

In summary, Blaut (1993) sees Eurocentricism as a coloniser's model of the world. This belief system became the monocultural strategy that was built into legislation to deliberately exclude Maori and damage the very foundations of our society. Within the context of Aotearoa this model suggests that colonisation assisted the Crown in justifying land confiscation on the premise that the Eurocentric, individualistic system had precedence over Maori.

Whakawhaungatanga-a-Iwi: Race Relations in Aotearoa

With these exclusionary concepts of colonisation, marginalisation and diffusionism clearly identified, Bean and MacPherson (cited in Williams,1989:xii) explores a similar phenomenon of exclusion within the analysis of race. She states that:

Where 'race' is brought in, it is often, like gender, as a discrete issue, a dimension of inequality, an 'ethnic' or 'minority group' or 'special needs' issue . . .

Being a colony has shaped all aspects of New Zealand's existence. It provided the country with an imported political, legal and education system and a transplanted culture. This transplanted culture led to a relationship between Maori and Pakeha that was defined by Pakeha. The nature of the relationship brought with it notions of inequality and racial superiority. Thus, race relations in New Zealand have always been premised on the Westernisation of Maori. Walker (1990:209) describes Westernisation as ". . . the maintenance of a structural relationship of Pakeha dominance and Maori subjection". Maori were expected to conform to Pakeha values and behaviours. It was the pressure to embrace this monocultural uniformity that led to alienation and conflict in the relationship between Maori and Pakeha.

Maori responses to these types of conflicts led to resistance that was expressed through many forms of activism. Walker (1990) writes of a range of activism including Nga Tamatoa and the Maori Land Rights Movement. These were an expression of a developing political consciousness and dissatisfaction among young urban Maori. For Pakeha it led to the development of a range of assimilation theories based on the complete compliance of Maori to Western Eurocentric culture. Tauroa (1982:15) argues that:

Much of the racial discrimination that occurs in New Zealand is racialism, stemming from the insensitivity of the dominant culture, which expects minority groups to conform to its way of life.

Pakeha were seeking to build on the myth of one people yet further colonise Maori. In order to accomplish this, the Crown put forward a series of assimilative models that were promoted in the State sector but were designed to, as Kelsey (1990:18) observes, force Maori to:

. . . adopt the psyche and behaviour of the Pakeha, whilst the same society continued to discriminate against them for being Maori. Monocultural state education sanitised the history, suppressed the language and rationalised Maori failure.

All the assimilative models are inherently racist and act as tools of imposition to force indigenous people into a society that is homogenous and where no particular ethnic group is recognised as special.

Nga Tikanga o nga Reo Maha: Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism was the first assimilative model to be used by the Crown. It is based on the belief that Maori do not have any special status in Aotearoa. It regards Maori as just another group in the population, and that 'we are all New Zealanders'. As Captain Hobson said at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 (Walker 1990:96) "He iwi tahi tatou. We are one people". Since the early days of colonisation this viewpoint has been encouraged and promoted. In recent times the Government has incorporated this philosophy through its agencies. Multiculturalism invites state agencies to be aware of the variety of minority groups in the population. It mainstreams Maori. For example, in health, kaupapa Maori services have been encouraged to widen their brief. In other words instead of concentrating on providing specific services to Maori, they are encouraged to provide service to all. Whilst to value cultural difference is important, multiculturalism deflects attention from the central concern that Maori have special status as Tangata Whenua¹. It encourages ethnic groups to compete for scarce resources on a level playing field, thus pitting one group against another. It is a very divisive process where the language, media and other application processes remain Pakeha. In this way Pakeha dominance is further confirmed. It is a way of avoiding the historical and social imperatives of the Maori situation and of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Nga Tikanga Reo Rua: Biculturalism

The second model used by the Crown is called biculturalism. There are a range of definitions of biculturalism. Spoonley (1988:105) contends that, "Central to most is the ambition of establishing Maori and Pakeha as groups of equal standing rather than one being subjugated by the dominance of the other". Likewise the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare (1986:18) defined biculturalism as:

¹ Refer to definition of Tangata Whenua in glossary.

A social and cultural partnership, which involves understanding and sharing of values and the accountability of institutions in meeting the particular needs of ethnic groups.

Biculturalism was advocated in state agencies in the late 1980s. The notion of biculturalism was introduced into the state sector at a time when multiculturalism was coming under attack by Maori. The 1984 Labour Government set out to redress some of the injustices of the past and focus on the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. During this period Crown policy fostered the inclusion of Treaty of Waitangi clauses in mission statements and words like partnership, empowerment, equity and accountability became commonplace. Kelsey (1990) however believes that in reality little has changed. Durie (1995:3) supports this finding when he writes that, "although biculturalism has been part of the New Zealand social fabric for nearly two decades there remains a lack of clarity about the concept".

Biculturalism as a model has some fundamental flaws that revolve around the inability or unwillingness of Pakeha to change the relationship and share power. For example, the Maori representation on the governing body of any major public agency is usually confined to one tokenistic Maori. This is evident on Hospital Boards where for years, despite statements saying Maori would have an equal say, they have continued to select only one Maori Board member. Yet another reason why biculturalism has not been successful in improving the relationship is the increasing preference by Maori for separate Maori institutions. This is visible in the health field, where Maori state a preference for services that are by Maori for Maori. Maori now wish to exercise their Tino Rangatiratanga as it was affirmed in the Treaty of Waitangi. This involves a power shift that significantly altered race relations in Aotearoa. When Maori have their own institutions the relationship between them and Pakeha will change from subservient to equal ones and violations of the Treaty of Waitangi will be more difficult to pursue.

Nga Heanga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi

Central to race relations in Aotearoa was the Treaty of Waitangi which promised within its principles such things as partnership and participation. Much of the history of race relations however has been of distrust and broken promises. Subsequently section two entitled 'Nga Heanga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi', draws on some clear illustrations. Due to the absence of the Treaty of Waitangi in the processes of society in Aotearoa and the Government's rejection of it, Maori tolerance has been wearing thin and Maori now wish to see the Treaty of Waitangi have more integrity.

Most early violations of the relationships between Maori and non-Maori were perpetrated by repressive laws introduced during the 1860's Land Wars that were a major factor in disenfranchising Maori. For example, the Land Claims Ordinance Act of 1841, declared land not actually occupied by Maori as 'wasteland' and therefore the property of the Crown. The Constitution Act of 1852 excluded Maori from voting because of their communal ownership of land. Politically, Maori had no say in decisions concerning land.

The powers of the Crown to take land for public purposes were derived from British law. According to *Te Manutukutuku* (1994 no30), this law has been interpreted in a series of New Zealand statutes since 1863. The process of legislation against Maori continued into the 20th century. For example, the Public Works Acts, 1908 and 1928, gave authorities, national and local, sweeping powers to take land for a wide ranging list of public works including railways, roads, quarries, harbours, hospitals, schools and universities. The powers given to the Crown to compulsorily take land cut across the guarantee of rangatiratanga in Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi. As well, when land was taken, the Crown ignored the spiritual values, identity, ancestry and occupation of Maori over many generations.

The critical role of land in Maori culture is an important understanding because it signposts why the struggle for the land is an ongoing issue and an obligation. A well-

known and often recited whakatauki describes it by saying “Whatu ngaro ngaro te tangata, toi tu te whenua” which when translated means “People perish but the land is permanent”. Western beliefs about individualism and land are in contrast to those of Maori. Western society, encourages individual ownership and profit from the land. These differences automatically lead to tension and conflict between the two peoples.

Durie (1998:115) writing about the relationship Maori have with the land, observed that:

Land is necessary for spiritual growth and economic survival. It contributes to sustenance, wealth, resource development, tradition; land strengthens whanau and hapu solidarity, and adds value to personal and tribal identity as well as the wellbeing of future generations.

For Maori, there are other issues that hinge on land and impact on the ability to maintain a healthy way of life. They are based on self-determination and having the ability to be the architect of your own destiny.

Most breaches in race relations are to be found in the failure of the Crown to honour the Treaty of Waitangi. Durie (1989) recognised that in recent times, many debates about the Treaty of Waitangi have centred on its application to property rights and its relevance to past grievances. Its other dimensions, such as overall inequalities, and its implications for contemporary issues such as health have been slower to emerge.

The Crown’s obligations towards the Treaty of Waitangi, which is generally regarded as New Zealand’s founding document, is only enforceable to the extent that it has been incorporated into various pieces of legislation and social policy. Barrett and Connolly-Stone (1998:29-33) argue that such responses can be at the least inconsistent:

The process (of settlement of claims) has, however been essentially historical in its focus and there are many issues around the health of Maori-Crown and Maori-non-Maori relationships in the present and in the future that have yet to be addressed.

Walker (1996:182) wrote that the trauma of colonisation, loss of land, status, and identity brought on what he called “a state of disease among Maori”. One of its most pervasive features was a crippling sense of whakama, the shame of the underclass, an incapacity to act decisively in a world not of their making. The Treaty of Waitangi guarantees Maori rights with respect to land, water, forest, fisheries and other taonga. Pomare and de Boer (1988:21) observed that:

It reconfirmed Maori self-determination. Implicit in the Treaty of Waitangi are concepts of equity, partnership, economic and cultural security, all of which contributed significantly to the Maori spirit of life and wellbeing. Poor standards of Maori health might therefore be regarded in part of those Treaty of Waitangi concepts and obligations.

In summary, O’Rielly and Wood (1991:327) observe that some of the problems in implementing the values inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi are related to unwillingness, fear or threat and others to a lack of focus in policy. They argue that Maori feel, with some justification:

. . . that genuine power sharing may be difficult after a hundred and fifty years of Pakeha domination, institutional racism and failure to recognise Tino Rangatiratanga in Article Two of the Treaty.

Te Roopu Whakamana i Te Tiriti: The Waitangi Tribunal

Breaches to the Treaty of Waitangi left Maori in many states. Some accepted the new Government, others withdrew, while still others fought openly against those whom they considered oppressors. Some strategies of redress on the part of the Crown were implemented as a result of the growing discontent amongst Maori. One strategy of redress, the Waitangi Tribunal, is discussed in this section. A general history of the emergence of the Tribunal is looked at, detailing its role and function. This is followed by a relational description of the dynamics between Maori in Tauranga Moana and the Tribunal during its stay in Tauranga Moana.

Oliver (1991:10) observed that:

The Treaty, then, mattered hardly at all to Pakeha politicians and public opinion for more than a century and although Pakeha could forget it and explain it away when they were reminded of it, Maori could not.

Subsequently Maori of Tauranga Moana were keen participants in reminding Pakeha of their Treaty obligations.

Maori leaders in the 1960s and 1970s thought about the breaches to the Treaty of Waitangi a good deal. They were strong advocates for Tino Rangatiratanga as guaranteed in the Treaty of Waitangi. However, these leaders were not, until recently, listened to at all by Governments who were secure in feeling paternalistic that they were able to do as they thought best and were justified in doing so. However, by the mid 1970s the demand that the Treaty of Waitangi be respected, even heeded and perhaps implemented, came to the fore. This was in the form of one specific legislative strategy, the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975). It legislated for the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal which was set up to listen to Maori grievances. However, one significant limitation of the Waitangi Tribunal at that time, was that it could only look at claims relating to grievances from 1975 onwards. Those grievances were defined as actions that Government allowed to happen that violated the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the rights of Treaty partners (*Te Manutukutuku* 1994, no 29). The Tribunal has become one of the key institutions influential in shaping New Zealand race relations (Mikaere, 1991). The 1975 Act set up a Tribunal with three members. The Ministers of Maori affairs and Justice appoint two members while the current Chief Judge of the Maori Land Court was given the chairing role. In 1985 in recognition of these limitations, the Labour Government passed the Treaty of Waitangi amendment act. Its main advancement on the 1975 Act was its recognition of claims dating back to the signing of the Treaty in 1840. In 1990, the Government made a commitment, in its Crown Proposals for the Treaty of Waitangi claims, (1995:7) “to resolve all the major claims under the Treaty of Waitangi by the year 2000”.

In terms of its role and function the Waitangi Tribunal hears and receives claims as they are researched and presented by individuals, hapu and iwi. The Tribunal is not a court of law. It is a specialist body, whose members are appointed for their knowledge and experience. The total membership is intended to reflect the partnership of the Treaty of Waitangi through an equal representation of Maori and Pakeha (*Te Manutukutuku: no29: 1994*). Its role is to act as the voice of the Treaty of Waitangi, interpreting what it said about particular events. It makes a finding on whether and how the Treaty of Waitangi has been breached. The claimants must be Maori or of Maori descent. In an information section about the role and function of the Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Manutukutuku* (1994: no29:6) contended that:

The Tribunal can examine any claim in which Maori people say their interests have been prejudiced by laws, regulations, policies or practices of the Government since 1840, which are inconsistent with the Treaty.

In February 1998 the Waitangi Tribunal came to Tauranga Moana to commence the long awaited hearings of claims from the area. The tribes and hapu of Tauranga Moana had each prepared and registered their claims some years earlier. The dates for the hearing were set and confirmed by the Waitangi Tribunal.

In preparation for the Tauranga claims, the Waitangi Tribunal held a five day overview hearing, at which representatives of the three Tauranga Moana iwi, Ngaiterangi, Ngati Ranginui, and Ngati Pukenga, gave historical evidence on past raupatu injustices. This overview was to set the background for those hearings, and begin the process of hearing claims against last century's land confiscation by the Crown. The overview provided an opportunity for the iwi and hapu to give further thought to the ways in which they might present the nature and content of the individual claims that were to follow.

The visit of the Waitangi Tribunal was long awaited by the tribes who had been preparing their claim for several years. Pirirakau had originally registered their claim (WAI 227) in 1993. The claim was lodged by kaumatua Kupara Faulkner for, and on behalf of, himself and members of Pirirakau, hapu of Ngati Ranginui. During the research process for the

Waitangi Tribunal claim the hapu decided to extend the enquiry into health and the extension of the brief into the social effects of raupatu gave me the opportunity to include research for the thesis. The research for the claim therefore gave me a background from which to formulate an academic study.

The preparation for the hui led to wide debate which centred on the process of conducting the hearings on marae. Central to that debate was concern about compromising marae protocol because of Pakeha Tribunal jurisprudence. It was thought that their presence and legalistic approach could compromise Tangata Whenua tikanga and kawa. For example, did they have the right to cross-examine Kaumatua and what about women speaking on the marae? Both these behaviours were seen as offensive within a marae setting. The age-old issue of women standing to give evidence on the marae caused many whanau to reconsider their stance on the subject. Traditionally women have not been permitted to speak in a formal capacity on most marae. However, many were influenced by the event on the Te Tii Marae during Waitangi Day Celebrations-February 6th 1997. Titewhai Harawira's objection to Helen Clark (Leader of the Labour Party in 1997), standing to address the hui. Her objection was that the kaumatua of the marae had given those rights of address to a Pakeha woman before Maori women. Discussion surrounding the issues created an environment flush with excitement and anticipation. There was both a sense of relief and a feeling of hope that after one hundred and sixty years of reluctance on the part of Government, the slow but due process of the law would ensure some redress for past injustices. It also provided a politically sustainable platform for airing grievances. Durie, E. (1996:1) refers to the Government reluctance saying:

A failure on the part of the Government to clearly articulate the objects of the settlement process has resulted in a Government held belief that the process is paying off the past while Maoridom is concerned with investing in the future.

In this introductory week, Tangata Whenua of Tauranga Moana expressed through oral history, waiata, whakapapa and supporting written evidence, the extent to which the raupatu had devastated us. The loss of land and its implications evoked the most emotion. In particular, we focussed on how that loss brought about the

disenfranchisement of our ancestors and uri as Tangata Whenua. Many of our whanau were drawn into poverty and left the area seeking work; subsequently these whanau became alienated from the whenua, whanau, hapu and iwi.

Site inspections of significant historical hapu landmarks also occurred. These visits gave support to the stories told by the kaumatua of the iwi, hapu and whanau history. The site visits assumed major importance as the hearings proceeded. These visits gave credence to hapu submissions, and offset any challenges from outside tribes disputing traditional boundaries. The week also gave the people an insight into the expectations of the Crown and how Crown formalities would dictate the proceedings.

Our histories illustrated how whanau had and continue to suffer through the generations. One of the key themes observed in whanau, hapu and iwi korero depicted how conflict arose within the hapu because of the tension between the Western concept of individual ownership of land and the inherited rights of rangatiratanga. This led to erosion of natural leadership and fighting between families. We recognised with sadness the lack of unity and suspicion amongst the tribes as a result of the raupatu. Interference in customary rights had fragmented us to the extent that we were suspicious of each other. What had been a natural alliance prior to the Land Wars dissipated, and we the people of Tauranga Moana were rendered politically and economically weak through division. The Waitangi Tribunal returned to Tauranga in May 1998 to hear the first of the claims against land confiscation by the Crown in the 1800s. Pirirakau was the first claim to be heard.

Pirirakau te Take: Pirirakau the Claim

This section aims primarily to explore the Pirirakau claim. Our hapu have long anticipated this day of presenting our claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. We had been successful in accessing financial support through the crown forestry rental trust to assist with our research on mana whenua of Pirirakau. A whakapapa link was established to the Athenree forest whenua through our tipuna, 'Tutereinga'. It provided legitimacy based

on Mana Whenua to access the crown forestry rental trust revenue. Through this grant we of Pirirakau were able to employ hapu members to research our health and land claim.

In order to critically evaluate our claim this section has been broken into two key areas. The first area, 'Hauora', provides a general definition of Maori health, a historical critique of this phenomenon follows, and specific social, cultural and economic indicators are explored further. The second area entitled 'the claim' takes into account not only the loss of land but also the strains on Pirirakau wellbeing that resulted from colonization of not only our land but as Jackson, (1992:5) states the very 'soul' of Pirirakau.

Hauora

To understand the nature of Pirirakau's raupatu claim to the Waitangi Tribunal it is important to be grounded in the historical kaupapa of Maori health in general. Subsequently, the first task is to provide a general definition of Maori health. This will be followed by an analysis of postcolonial Maori health history. The third task involves using that definitional and historical Maori health data to comprehend the social economic and cultural factors influencing the overall health and wellbeing of iwi Maori. The final task is to contextualise Maori health and wellbeing in the Bay of Plenty area by exploring some of its own health statistical data. In essence this subsection sets the scene for fully comprehending the mauri of the Pirirakau claim.

Maori Health a Definition

In traditional Maori terms health was viewed as an embracing concept that emphasised the importance of the wairua, whanau, hinengaro and tinana aspects (Durie, 1994). Such a definition recognizes the importance of balancing a number of factors including historical, cultural, economic, social and political factors. Maori approaches are wellness orientated (Pere, 1982). It emphasises harmony and balance. It is a social concept, which also addresses the relationship people have with the land, language, and environment. These are expressed alongside the interrelated issues of mana, self-esteem, and cultural identity. Given this broad definition of health used by Maori, the concept of

Maori wellbeing is seen as a more appropriate term to use when describing the complex interrelated dimensions underpinning Maori life, health and development. Henare (1988: 22) writes that, Maori health and wellbeing involved “. . . being responsible for the life, health care, and general wellbeing of their people is fundamental to a Maori understanding and practice of wellbeing”.

Postcolonial Maori Health History

In the period before colonisation Maori culture, land and health were intact. The population was free from pakeha diseases; especially those now defined as infectious, such as measles, and influenza. The outcome of colonisation by the turn of the century provided a vastly different picture. The impoverishment of Maori, marginalisation of elders and chiefly authority and a structural relationship of what Walker (1990:10) describes as “Pakeha dominance and Maori subjection” contributed to a change.

European expansion had a detrimental effect on Maori ways of life². Pool (1991) has observed that almost three generations were to pass from the beginning of colonial rule, to the time of recuperation from the shocks of contact. Fundamentally, the loss of land impacted on Maori ability to survive and severely affected their health. Economic marginalisation limited access to food and increased vulnerability to European diseases. O’Malley (1997:19) focuses on health, noting that “not only did the Native Land Court sittings facilitate the alienation of land to the settlers, they also endangered Maori health”.

As the colonisation process proceeded in the late nineteenth century, the increased complexity and size of New Zealand society required that major institutions were developed as a response to the needs of the new settlers. The health care system was one such institution. The colonists brought with them the culture, customs, traditions and ideology of nineteenth century Britain which became embedded in the New Zealand way of life. The history of the hospitals, for example, is found in the development of hospitals

² See Walker, 1987; Bedgood, 1980; Durie, 1994; Fougere, 1990; and Pool, 1991.

in England. The Government White Paper, *A Health Service for New Zealand* (1975:10) noted this and observed that:

. . . the beginnings of New Zealand's health services are to be found in the great development of hospitals in eighteenth century England. . . Voluntary hospitals were general hospitals which denied admission to classes of patients considered to be economic or therapeutic risks because of possible long stay or mortality.

As McCreary and Shirley (1982:29) also noted, "The colonial powers implanted policies which directly affected the economic, social, political and cultural lives of 'traditional' societies". The main purpose of Western ideology and health policy in Aotearoa from the time of the arrival of the first British settlers has been to replace the 'holistic' Maori model of health and wellbeing with an individualised, medically based one. Maori were left out of the process of health policy formulation, service planning, and service delivery in the monocultural system. These were unfamiliar and foreign to Maori and when they were able to utilise these services they found them of limited benefit.

The hospitals are an example of such a system. Davis (1981:12) outlines the Western medical approach to health, observing that the clearest distinguishing characteristics of this approach are:

The assumptions that the individual is the proper focus of attention, that specific episodes of illness can be linked to specific immediate causes and that such episodes of illness can be monitored by taking certain standard measures of various physical indicators. . . . this individualisation of health problems has coloured the entire range of health intervention.

In summary, Pomare and de Boer (1988:17), in exploring the disproportionately high levels of sickness in Maori people, argued that "some of these differences are the inevitable result of the difficulties associated with mono-culturalism".

Pomare and de Boer's observation illustrates one of the ways in which the imposition of a foreign value system has impacted on health which is a critical aspect of Maori life. It provides part of the explanation for poor Maori health and why Maori almost failed to survive in the new environment. There were other determinants which were to contribute

to the continuous downturn in Maori health and wellbeing.

Social Economic and Cultural Factors Influencing the Overall Health and Wellbeing of Iwi Maori.

Income and Employment

Income and employment are significant determinants of health for Maori. There are major differences affecting life chances and wellbeing, in employment and income between Maori and non-Maori in New Zealand. Maori feature negatively in these two categories. The Public Health Association (1992) found that the Maori unemployment rate was both higher and rising more rapidly than non-Maori.

Income is acknowledged as being one of the key socio-economic variables influencing health status. The National Advisory Committee on Health and Disability (1998:23) listed income as the single most important determinant of health. In plain terms, limited or severely depleted income reflects poverty, which has been and is still the single most influential variable negatively affecting health status. Maori are currently, and historically have been, over represented amongst those on low income. The Bay of Plenty Area Health Board Health Status Review (1991:30) found that, in 1990, unemployment benefits were being paid to ten to thirteen percent of its population. Twenty five percent of those were Maori. The review team set an income of \$15,000 as a poverty line and found, in several Tauranga based communities, between 68% and 70% of Maori earned below \$15,000.

Te Puni Kokiri (1998: no2:2) examined some employment patterns of the past and found that:

In the 1950s and 1960s Labour force participation rates for Maori and non-Maori were high and unemployment was almost non-existent.

By the mid-1980s that had changed and New Zealand had dramatic job losses and increased unemployment. Between 1986 and 1991 total employment fell by 6% (Te Puni

Kokiri 1998), due to an economic downturn. The impact of the downturn on Maori employment was severe due to the numbers of unskilled workers who lost their jobs. The state sector reforms also impacted on Maori. For example, the numbers 'laid off' from the corporatised Railways and the Post Office had a dramatic effect on Maori employment rates. By the end of 1991 the Maori unemployment rate had risen to 26%, and economic growth has had little effect, in the short to medium term, on the gaps between Maori and non-Maori employment status (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998). Exclusion from the labour market, the increased poverty that accompanies it and the privatisation of social agencies of the state has compounded the inability of Maori to access a range of social resources

Education

Education is an important universal determinant of wellbeing; knowledge is valued in all societies where it is the key to not only wellness but other fields of achievement. For Maori the link between education and health is two-fold: first, low levels of education are associated with poorer health, and second, poorer health can lead to low educational achievement. Many Maori children have impaired hearing resulting from the inability to access health care for the treatment of glue ear. Lack of access to care perpetuates hearing impairment or deafness that in turn leads to hearing difficulties and affects the ability to learn. The Report to the Minister of Maori Affairs from The Review Team to Consider Hearing Impairment Among Maori People, *Whakaarongo Mai* (1989:27), declares that children with otitis media and hearing impairments are less likely to do well in school observing that:

There is every indication that Maori educational under achievement is due, at least in part, to conductive hearing loss, the consequence of untreated or poorly treated otitis media.

The historical linkage between major social factors and health are recorded by Rose (1997:60), who wrote that:

All the school children, but three, have been ill with these. One has died and there are still two very bad cases. Four grown up Natives have also died within the last three weeks. I have done what I could in the way of giving medicines and advice in the case of the children. ...It has been a very sad and awful time.

The Report *Whakaarongo Mai* (1989:44) also notes that evidence has been presented to show that hearing loss leads on to adverse educational and social consequences and that:

Evidence points to Maori hearing impairment being closely linked with socio-economic factors including low levels of income, poor quality housing, under employment, lower standards of health and educational failure.

The reviews of all major state agencies record the interconnection between social factors such as employment, education and housing yet because of their continued vulnerable position in society, Maori are unable to access them.

Housing

Maori are over represented not only amongst those on low income and education, but also amongst those with inadequate housing conditions. The Maori Women's Housing Research Project (1991:61) found that housing was a major area of concern for Maori people. Many Maori communities, particularly rural and isolated communities, exhibit the effects of living in long term substandard dwellings especially those with no running water or electricity. For example, in such situations there is an increase in illnesses associated with poor sanitation. Overcrowding is also a factor that stems from poverty and results in an increase in infectious diseases.

Resource impoverishment was not confined to housing alone, but was seen to have repercussions for every other aspect of Maori wellbeing. Koning and Oliver (1994:20) explained that:

A low standard of living resulted in inadequate nutrition and poor sanitary conditions. These in turn, resulted in a high incidence of what are called "the diseases of poverty" - high rates of infant mortality and communicable diseases such as tuberculosis and typhoid.

Te Puni Kokiri (1998:1) noted that:

The historical disadvantage faced by Maori in the areas of education, employment, economic and health status had been well documented. . . .It is disturbing to find that despite improvements for Maori in some areas, gaps have either remained the same or widened.

Bay of Plenty: Statistical Data Concerning Health

Pomare and de Boer (1988:79) recorded that Maori had easily the worst mortality and morbidity rates at the end of the 19th century. *The Bay of Plenty Area Health Board Health Status Review* (1991:30) found that Maori nationally had lower health status in all areas than non-Maori and Maori in the Bay of Plenty fared even worse. This was highlighted in an article published by *The Bay of Plenty Times* (1998:1) which publicised that the gap between Maori and non-Maori is continuing to widen and that the situation is worst in the Bay of Plenty. Colin Bidois, Chairman of the Ngati Ranginui Iwi Runanga, commenting to the *Bay of Plenty Times* (1998:1), stated that Ngati Ranginui was now directly involved in both health and welfare work. This was as a result of witnessing first hand a continued downward slide in the circumstances of 'our people'.

Statistics New Zealand (1998), reporting the results of the 1996 census in the publication *New Zealand Now, Maori*, noted that the economic changes since the 1980s have impacted negatively on Maori. Despite a fall in overall unemployment figures, Maori were no better off and Maori in the Bay of Plenty were worse off. For Maori nationally 45.8% are on an income support and in the Bay of Plenty the figure rises to 50%. Similar findings are recorded by the National Advisory Committee on Health and Disability (1998:38-41) where it is reported that with regard to infant mortality, "the gap between Maori and non-Maori has widened since the mid-1980s" and:

Maori experience an excess burden of mortality and morbidity throughout life, starting with a higher infant mortality rate (mainly due to sudden infant death syndrome), higher death and hospitalisation rates in infancy, childhood and youth (predominantly from injuries, asthma and respiratory infections) and higher mortality and hospitalisation rates in adulthood and older age (especially from injuries, cardiovascular disease, diabetes, respiratory disease and most cancers).

The relatively poor health of Maori results from a number of factors such as land loss, loss of status, lack of credibility and poor self esteem and as, the National Advisory Committee on Health and Disability (1998:50) notes, it is not easy to separate cultural from social conditions. Nor is it easy to separate these realities from the process of colonisation or from the relationship inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi. Pomare and de Boer (1988: 21) highlighted the fact that:

The Department of Health has made a commitment . . . and has emphasised the implications and importance of the Treaty of Waitangi as the basis of a partnership in health between Maori people and others in New Zealand.

There are seen to be links between historical breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi relationship and current levels of poor health among Maori. Williams (1995:2) observed that:

There has been evidence given in number of claims (to the Waitangi Tribunal) to the effect that the deprivation of land base led directly to tragically poor health among Maori in the 1890's to the present day.

The purpose of the data in these sections has been used to demonstrate the depth of the damage that has been caused by colonisation on the wellbeing of Maori. It links the broad definition of health preferred by Maori to the symptom producing disease oriented one used by the monocultural system. The importance of a Maori definition of health is emphasised. It further seeks to demonstrate that the continuing pursuit of mono cultural policies and practices will not produce positive change for Maori. This, and the fact that the situation is not improving, was revealed in the first *Closing the Gaps* report in 1998. Until policy really takes account of historical determinants and includes Maori as part of their Treaty of Waitangi rights, or formulates strategy for the longer term future, Maori wellbeing is unlikely to improve.

Te Take: The Claim

To commemorate our claim before the Waitangi Tribunal, Pirirakau wished to make a symbolic beginning. The Pirirakau hearings were therefore preceded by a hiko from a point high up in the hills of Whakamarama, the traditional stronghold for the hapu in

times of danger, and back to Tutereinga Marae. The hapu of Pirirakau decided the gesture needed to acknowledge our tipuna and remember those who had passed on.

It was known by the hapu that the Tribunal hearing would reveal korero that had never been told before and that some of it was going to be painful. It would open old wounds that some whanau would have preferred to have left alone. The hikoi was intended to give our people spiritual fortitude for the emotional hearings of the week ahead

The first day of the hearing largely dealt with information contained in a report on the impact of confiscation in Tauranga Moana. This report which was commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal to provide an insight into the social impact of raupatu on Tauranga Moana (Rose, 1997). Tangata Whenua traditional evidence began the same afternoon followed by a site visit the following day. The remainder of the week was taken up with historical reports, the Bush Campaign, whanau and contemporary evidence.

At the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, we of Pirirakau were in control of our own economy. We had successful agricultural and food processing amenities. However, as our land base was eroded by a colonising government, a range of deprivations that were associated with lack of resources, became evident. For, as Ward (1999:6) noted, "Maori have always linked loss of land with loss of rangatiratanga - the capacity for self determination that comes with control over resources".

For Pirirakau, the issue of self-determination and control over our lives has been, and still is, a major issue that is associated with the land and the identity that accompanies it. As well there was the issue of being labelled rebellious. The New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 and the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863 were designed for the confiscation of land from the tribes. In particular, those tribes deemed by the British Governors to be in rebellion, which included Pirirakau. Military courts were established and land confiscation and death were included as penalties for rebellion. When Pakeha acquired Maori land through the combination of a modern system of profit-oriented economics and centralised politics, Maori were devastated. In one sweep, they were, as noted in *Pua-*

Te-Ata-Tu (1986:8), “stripped of autonomous Government, their legal basis of communal solidarity and their social and spiritual being”. They were reduced to poverty.

Pirirakau sustained large land losses through the imposition of the Western value system and our grievance was never settled. According to Stokes (1978:preface), “many of the land dealings were fraudulent” and it was easy for speculators with Government connections to get access to the remaining fraction of tribal lands. It was a time of enormous stress for Pirirakau, caused by massive involuntary contact with an alien culture whose greed for land seemed insatiable. The colonial Government’s ideology, based in Eurocentric values, ignored the partnership inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi and further marginalised and disenfranchised Maori and the European pressure to acquire land for profit or settlement was seldom questioned. The inability to regain access to land over a long period has caused long term impoverishment in Pirirakau.

Koning (1998:2) observed that academic studies have demonstrated the link between a declining land base and massive change within Maori communities. Land loss had an adverse effect on economic activity, which in turn led to social dislocation. Pool, (1991:62) also points to this effect, noting that land loss would have negatively affected Maori and their relationship to nutrition, health and population. Gullery (1993:Abstract), writing about Matakana Island, noted that alienation of land has dramatically changed the pattern of land use on the island, and created a dependency among the island’s residents on the forest and mill developments. These developments have been constructed by non-Maori families on confiscated land.

Ake (1998:3), a member of Pirirakau, was reported in an article outlining the effects of raupatu for the *Bay of Plenty Times* after the Pirirakau presentation to the Waitangi Tribunal emphasised that:

Alienation of Pirirakau from their whenua (land) which was the basis of economic, spiritual, cultural and physical wellbeing had made it difficult to withstand, adjust and respond to challenges. The situation was made worse by epidemics that swept through the whanau.

Where land had been alienated, with the accompanying loss of Maori cultural, economic, social and political institutions communities had little choice but to enter into the cheap labour force, in order to survive. This led to other dependencies associated with survival. This creation of dependencies has therefore, been a major health issue resulting from colonisation. Historical evidence, (Orange,1994:xviii) supports that gum-digging was one such dependency in the far North of New Zealand, where Maori health inevitably suffered a high level of illness and mortality. The dependency was on the Eurocentric version of work and income.

The effects on Maori health were multiple. The combination of long hours of heavy work, unhealthy living conditions, poor diet and lack of clothing led to malnutrition and such epidemic diseases as influenza, typhoid, diphtheria, measles and tuberculosis. As Rose (1997:14) reported and draws a parallel with Orange (1994), involvement in the gum industry in the Bay of Plenty was similarly debilitating for Pirirakau where the men were drawn into this dependency and faced the separation from families as well as the displacement from their traditional lands. Where tribes and individuals retained land, there was no capital to develop it and little means of accumulating funds except through sales and leases, both of which put the security of land further at risk.

Rose (1997:51) uses an approach to health that links it with education. It is an important link. Historically, education was seen by the coloniser as the primary means of facilitating the assimilation of Maori. Maori in Tauranga Moana had an indirect involvement in health through education. Schools provided the only access to health care for children and whanau, for as Rose (1997:68) noted "Native School Teachers were the sole providers of health care during the 1890s".

Through documentation of the conditions in native schools, Rose (1997) traces some of the poor economic and social conditions that led to the loss of health and wellbeing. The first state funded native school, according to Rose (1997:52) was established at Whareroa in 1871 and was closed in 1877. For some time after that, attendance at schools was exclusively restricted to a privileged few. According to Rose there was also a school at Te Puna, but this was never a native school and accordingly, there is no information

regarding the health of Pirirakau at that time. Maori details were not kept by non-Maori organisations of the day. Rose (1997:68) also observed this discrepancy, saying that:

There are gaps in the record regarding the health of various sections of Tauranga Maori-for example; I have found no evidence of the condition of Pirirakau at Te Puna during this period.

The lack of any kind of information about Pirirakau reinforced the marginalisation and non-status of the hapu as an entity in itself. There was a paucity of data about Pirirakau that threatened to dilute their identity and when a people are written out of history, how do they substantiate themselves?

Pirirakau have, throughout the bitter fighting over our land, from the time of the Treaty of Waitangi, through the Land Wars and up to now, held fast to their Tino Rangatiratanga. Health for Pirirakau has as much to do with maintaining cultural integrity as it does with access to mainstream health and medical services. This opinion is supported by Durie (1996:20) who found that health depends not only on access to health services, but also to cultural identity. He proposed that “Maori health promotions need a dual approach of economic restoration and cultural security”.

Hence our claims to the Waitangi Tribunal are based in the fact that the Crown did breach the Treaty of Waitangi in ways that had prejudicial effects on Pirirakau.

1. Confiscated Pirirakau lands.
2. Destroyed Pirirakau villages, crops and plantations during the Bush Campaign
3. The Crown compulsorily acquired the Te Puna – Katikati block, including Pirirakau land.
4. Allocated reserves of Pirirakau land to non Pirirakau members
5. Passed ordinances, acts, regulations, proclamations, notices, policies, practices, actions and/or omissions which have continued to prejudicially affect Pirirakau.

The hapu of Pirirakau contend that alienation from their whenua, which is the basis of their economic, spiritual, cultural and physical wellbeing, had detrimental and ongoing effects on their health and wellbeing.

Some of the consequences, it contends, include deliberate undermining by the Crown of our Tino Rangatiratanga and economic independence. Others are damage and destruction to the social structure and organisation of the whanau, hapu and iwi and loss of political influence. All of these losses contributed to the impoverishment of my hapu that are the results of last centuries sweeping land confiscations.

Whakamutunga: Conclusion

Each of the components of health discussed in this section make up definitions of good health and wellbeing for Maori and Pirirakau. For Pirirakau there are two aspects to our claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. One is the whenua and the other health. Maori health and wellbeing has to be located within the culture, however an iwi or hapu define it. For the hapu of Pirirakau, everything comes from the whenua; it is the wellspring of who we are. It relates to why we fought so tenaciously for the retention of it despite the heavy costs and the stigma of continuing to resist when others had surrendered³.

³ Kuka, C. 1998 Whanau conversation.

WAHANGA TUAWHA CHAPTER 4

Korero Timata: Introduction

While the previous three chapters provide an historical overview of colonisation in Aotearoa and Pirirakautanga, this chapter focuses specifically on Maori research methodology and how it informs the data collection strategy used in this study of Pirirakau. There are also links between this discussion of research methodology and issues relating to Maori development and autonomy. These links are also recognised by Durie (1989:77):

Research relating to Maori development will do more harm than good if it fails to recognise the determination of Maori people to advance into the next century with improved standards of health, higher educational achievement, greater mobility to navigate the world, and to do all of those things while retaining a secure Maori identity, a distinctive world view, and a sense of control over our own destiny.

There are six sections to this chapter. Section one is an acknowledgment of Haare Bidois. Haare was a Pirirakau man who exemplified all the qualities admired by the hapu, and who had an influence on my approach to this research. Haare passed away during the preparation for the research.

Section two entitled, 'He Whakaaro Rangahau Rereke: Science and Maturanga Maori', pinpoints the tension between academic legitimacy and Maturanga Maori which has been a feature of this research.

Section three, 'Te Whakatepetanga Rangahau Maori: Maori Centred Research' introduces Maori models of research, and specifically focusses on Maori centred research. Furthermore a critique of Maori centred research models embellishes this section.

Section four has three parts. It begins with 'Anei nga Tikanga o nga Mahi Rangahau: The Ways of Research Methodology', which is about the foundation of a Pirirakau

research framework. It is a tikanga framework that outlines how the hapu requirements were laid down. Thus, the section looks more closely at the methodology advanced by the Pirirakautanga research principles. The second part 'Nga Tikanga a Whanaungatanga te Hui me ona Hua', looks specifically at the role and function of the hui as a methodology for this study. The third part is about 'Kaupapa Maori me nga Rapunga Whakaaro i roto i tenei Rangahau: Kaupapa Maori and Ethics', which overviews the Treaty of Waitangi as a means of setting ethical standards in research, and connects Pirirakautanga to Massey research.

Section five, entitled 'Te Rapu Whakariterite: Finding the Balance', provides a personal account of the issues I faced throughout this entire research process. Section six, 'Nga Wawata o Te Rangahau: The Research Aims', provides a clear description of the kaupapa which has driven this research. 'Whakamutunga: Conclusion' summarises the main points in the chapter.

Haare Bidois

At the beginning, when I began to consider research on the possible connection between raupatu and health for Pirirakau, the first person I thought of as a reference point for advice was Haare Bidois. Over the years, this kaumatua had become a close mentor to me. Often, we would sit for hours and discuss contentious take that tolerated no 'fence sitters'. When I talked with Haare I had to have an opinion that I upheld and defended to the death, because he himself was relentless in defending his principles and perspectives. He was an original thinker and a developer of ideas. His thought process and way of thinking always took me to another dimension that I would not have otherwise considered.

Haare was a ceaseless battler against injustice for Pirirakau. He believed in himself and as a Pirirakau man was well read in the history of both Maori and Pakeha worlds. He was a significant contributor to the researching of the Pirirakau claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. I always thought Haare epitomised the essence and character of the true

Pirirakau spirit. He had the ability to stand for a principle against all odds, despite the pressure from other iwi, and retain his position on an issue, knowing the high costs that would be exacted. He always maintained his integrity and his Pirirakautanga.

His influence is throughout this thesis. During the last week of his life, he was instrumental in reclaiming a taonga that had been unearthed by a Pakeha neighbour who was reluctant to return it. He was successful in this undertaking and later it was identified by a tohunga as the prow of a waka taua, a war canoe that was thought to be pre-European. Haare's contribution to the return of a part of Pirirakau history was an important touchstone in the timing of our claim, as was his uncompromising insistence on utilising a Pirirakau defined methodology.

He encouraged me to be emulate this stance in my Pirirakautikanga so that the knowledge that has bound us together as a hapu for a thousand years continues to have relevance for succeeding generations. He left me a legacy of profound belief in the uniqueness of Pirirakau as a people and it is through his influence that I formulated and conducted the methodology based on whakapapa and kawa. For example, he maintained that you could only attend to Pirirakau business through whakapapa and that those who do not whakapapa to Pirirakau have non status and are therefore not eligible to vote. Haare revived, enforced and passed on this traditional kawa which has once again become a strong part of Pirirakautanga.

He Whakaaro Rangahau Rereke: Western Science and Maturanga Maori

Salmond (1983:32) argues that there are two major traditions for interpreting the Maori experience in Aotearoa. One based in Western scientific traditions has its origins in Europe and America. The other, Maturanga Maori, belongs to Tangata Whenua. The history of research in Aotearoa is about the history of philosophical differences between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi. It is also about the colonisation and dominance of one culture over another. One of the notable outcomes of this dominance was the academic

legitimacy given solely to Western theories. In the quest for validation and recognition of Maori methods of social research, it is no longer appropriate for non-Maori to define the needs and desires of Maori. Roa, Ropiha and Wilkinson (1993:3) challenge funding bodies to re-examine their goals and recognise the valuable stock of knowledge within Maori communities, observing that:

We need to remove the myth of academic definition, to widen the scope of research methodologies to include well practised and accountable modes of research as perceived by Maori. Without a doubt, social research has failed Maori people and society. It is time to change.

A number of statements have been made to convey the contentious nature of the relationship that Western research has had, and continues to have, with Tangata Whenua. For example, Royal, a Maturanga Maori scholar, writes of the tension in the relationship between the two. He argues that, "The Western paradigm of knowledge has severely hindered the development of a Maori methodology as a knowledge discipline" (Royal 1998:6). He comes to this conclusion after recognising that you can have no clear methodology when you attempt to utilise Maturanga Maori in a Western context whereas Maturanga Maori methodology is based on whakapapa and kawa, and has integrity when used in a Maori context.

The development of Maori models of research is outlined in the following section, and the discussion explores in detail several examples of Maori models of research. Finally, in the section 'Te Rangahau o Pirirakau', I identify the model chosen by my hapu to research the claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. That model, which I have called Maori centred research, is also used in this present study.

Te Whakatepetanga Rangahau Maori: Maori Methodology - Maori Centred Research

One form of resistance to the continued suggestions of assimilation driven by Western interests is the development of Maori models of research (Smith, 1999). These models must be carried out by Maori people according to a kaupapa which incorporates Maori

views of knowledge and Maori ways of doing things. Durie (1996:10) also pointed to this development when he wrote:

Maori health research should be conducted by Maori, for Maori. And that it is a specialty on its own. This challenges the contention that there is only one science and therefore research methods are universal.

Different models of Maori research are underpinned by different theories and philosophies which in turn lead to different methodologies. For example, kaupapa Maori is the term used in the Health and Disability sector to refer to a culturally derived philosophy underlying all aspects of health policy and service. The document, *Maori Service Specification* (Health Funding Authority, 1999:2), in describing the specific characteristic of a kaupapa Maori service, states that:

. . . it is distinguished by a set of cultural inputs which are generally absent in mainstream services . . . The inputs are the governance and mission of the service is based on a kaupapa Maori model, service users are mostly Maori, the local Maori community supports the service and there is iwi approval for the service.

A kaupapa Maori model in health services assumes that Maori wellness is the end goal of the service and all models and practices emerging from this philosophy have Maori at their centre.

The developing research theory and methodology based in Maturanga Maori and relationships that is introduced is distinctively political and constitutional. It portrays the relationship with Tauwi as an equal stand alone one, rather than an assimilationist one. It is based on the assumption that for a culture to:

. . . fully evolve, it has to have a range of its own discrete institutions, interior to the culture itself, as a forum by which robust discussion and debate can take place (Royal, 1998:2).

Royal makes a strong argument for a distinct and different form of research based in Maturanga Maori that has equal status with Western research knowledge. Maturanga Maori is not new; it has been maintained for centuries in this country. What is new is to

see it in contrast to other bodies of knowledge such as Western science. Royal (1998:5) further argues:

. . . that when this paradigm is perfected and in use, it will be possible to remove the word 'Maori' from the title so that when one cites the term 'Matauranga' it is understood to have arisen from this paradigm alone.

There is a distinction between Maori centred, kaupapa Maori and Matauranga Maori research models. Maori centred and kaupapa Maori are evolving models that are not exclusive to Maori, and are often used by mainstream institutions. Matauranga Maori on the other hand is determined by whakapapa, tikanga, and kawa, is exclusively Maori. Within Western oriented organisations, such as universities in New Zealand where Maori methods struggle for equal status, there is often difficulty in developing workable Maori models. Nevertheless, several Maori centred research models have gained acceptance during the 1980s. One example is provided by Durie (1996:2) who has developed, what he describes as "A Maori centred approach to Maori health research [that] deliberately places Maori people and Maori experience at the centre of the research". He points out that research in Aotearoa is attuned to the dominant Western modes of thinking and underpinned by Western individualistic models of practice. Despite the claim of universality, medical and health research is similarly focused on Western ways of thinking that is too narrowly focused. Murchie (1984:112), who used a Maori centred approach, supports this when she contends that:

A study of Maori health must follow more than two strands. Tinana is the physical element of the individual and hinengaro the mental state, but these do not make up the whole. Wairua, the spirit, and whanau, the wider family, complete the shimmering depths of the health pounamu, the precious touchstone of Maoridom.

Another Maori centred model is called Te Wheke¹, which uses the tentacles of the octopus to illustrate the main features of health from a Maori family perspective. The intertwining of the tentacles indicate the close relationship between the dimensions of

¹ A model developed by Rose Pere (1991) depicting the tentacles of an octopus.

wairuatanga, (spiritual), tinana, (physical), hinengaro, (mind) and whanaungatanga (extended family).

The close relationship between the four interacting dimensions (often called the four cornerstones of Maori health) were also incorporated into a now widely accepted health model called Te Whare Tapa Wha, developed by Durie (1994). The model has been used in both research and the service delivery arenas. The Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988, vol 3) also described a Maori centred research model called Nga Pou Mana. This is based on four sets of key concepts: Whanaungatanga, Taonga Tuku Iho, Te Ao Turoa and Turangawaewae. It needs to be understood that these four groups are simply categories and that other intrinsic concepts flow from them and interact in ways that enhance and develop mana Maori.

While each of these Maori centred research models have similar themes, Nga Pou Mana places greater emphasis on the external environment and the significance of oral tradition as a stabilising influence. Durie (1994) saw the debate around Maori models as seeking to achieve a greater balance of input from Maori. Now-a-days, comparisons between Maori and Western beliefs hold small attraction for Maori researchers and academics. He identifies three developments that accelerated the move towards a Maori centered approach. First, Maori were part of a world-wide move by indigenous peoples emphasising their own self-determination.. Second, New Zealand's reaffirmed commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi and its inclusion in the charters of all public institutions indicates a shift towards a Maori centred approach in politics. Third, by the 1980s it was clearer than it had been, that Maori world views and Maori understandings of knowledge were themselves distinctive and legitimate.

Durie (1996:5) outlines the following three principles that are particularly applicable to a Maori centred approach to health research.

1. Whakapiki Tangata, enablement, or enhancement, or empowerment.

2. Whakauranga, which recognises the holistic Maori view of health and the links which exist between health, culture, economics and social standing, as well as historical events.
3. Mana Maori, which draws on the concept of Tino Rangatiratanga, Maori self-determination and places importance on Maori control over research which involves Maori as subjects or which investigates aspects of Maori society, culture, or knowledge. This principle also includes the issues surrounding intellectual property, guardianship and the exploitation of Maori by unscrupulous non-Maori researchers. Essentially, this principle enforces Maori initiative and drive in health research and rejects attitudes of superiority that in the past have resulted in Maori being regarded simply as passive subjects.

A local example of a Maori centred research framework was developed in 1994 by Te Whanau Poutirirangiora a Papa, the Bay of Plenty Regional Maori Health Authority representing the iwi of the area. This group was formed in 1989 and:

. . . effectively recognised Te Whanau Poutirirangiora a Papa as the Regional Maori Health Authority which could work in partnership with the Board (Bay of Plenty Area Health Board Newsletter 1991:3).

In 1993, this officially recognised Maori Health body designed a method of research which set out some standards for Maori researchers. First designed to measure unmet Maori needs in the Bay of Plenty, this framework was called Tino Rangatiratanga as a research instrument (Te Whanau Poutirirangiora a Papa 1993). It emphasised that any research model for Maori must be underpinned by Tangata Whenua status, the Treaty of Waitangi and Tino Rangatiratanga. Furthermore, Maori centred research must also be consistent with tribal politics, Maori protocols, Maori guardianship of standards, Maori ownership of information and the Treaty of Waitangi. These standards form the basis of Tino Rangatiratanga as a research model, a model which contains Maori scientific standards and principles and that allow Maori to define their own needs. It is sufficiently flexible to acknowledge adherence to an oral tradition and because it is similar to what Pirirakau required, it influences this study.

Rolleston (1988-1989) referred to the oral tradition when considering the need to reconcile the recording of some information with the traditional practice of transmitting knowledge orally to those who have a particular role in the whanau, hapu or iwi. He used the 'knowledge base' approach for its adaptability and suitability for gathering material in a broad field like Maori health. In his view, "the aim of this approach is to recreate, store, organise and retrieve traditional and present knowledge which is not gathered at a single point" (Rolleston, 1988-1989:2).

Rolleston, who has whakapapa to Pirirakau, presents an approach consistent with the fundamental guiding principle in this study, that is, the belief that there are valid knowledge bases and research methodologies other than Eurocentric ones. Further, to understand and interpret the point of view of the individuals and groups contributing to the research accurately, researchers must place Maori people, culture, knowledge and processes at the centre of their research. Durie (1996:26) noted that:

Maori research methodologies have emerged with distinctive features. They emphasise collaborative approaches, holistic lines of inquiry, cultural safety and community participation and the ability to move comfortably within Maori society.

In this respect, Maori centred research is different from all other types of research into Maori. It places the emphasis on Maori values and how those values sustain people in their lives. In doing this it also places an emphasis on communications that only Maori will hear. Smith, citing Irwin (1999:184) records that it is research that:

. . . is culturally safe, which involves a mentorship of elders, which is culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigour of research, and which is undertaken by a Maori researcher, not a researcher who happens to be Maori

Anei nga Tikanga o nga Mahi Rangahau: The Ways of Research Methodology

Te Rangahau o Pirirakau: The Pirirakau Methodology

In order to make sense of the debates about Maori centred as versus Pakeha dominated research approaches, our hapu set down a framework/model on how we wanted research to be conducted within our hapu. We realised that a Maori centred approach to health research should focus primarily on the health of Maori people and the research methods and practices must take full account of Maori culture, knowledge and contemporary realities. The combination of the characteristics of Nga Pou Mana and the Tino Rangatiratanga model capture the essence of the methods interpreted as Maori centred. It became apparent to our hapu that the distinctive strength of Maori methods lies, as Durie (1996:24) found:

. . . in the richness and uniqueness of Maori modes of expression: styles of thinking, speaking, relating, recalling, researching and within a developing intellectual framework that rests on Maori philosophies.

In addition, to be culturally valid and accurate, Maori health research should be co-ordinated by Maori working with Maori, for Maori. For research to be beneficial to Pirirakau, our interests needed to be given paramountcy. Furthermore this model needed to utilise Pirirakau methodology appropriate to Pirirakau. Accordingly, our hapu Pirirakau (Minutes of hui a hapu March 1991) laid down the following kawa:

1. Tino Rangatiratanga is absolute in all matters pertaining to the hapu of Pirirakau.
2. Tikanga and kawa of Pirirakau to be the guiding principles.
3. Ownership of the process will belong to the hapu.
4. Guardianship of the information sits primarily with the whanau and then with the hapu.
5. Respect for the korero of others.
6. Control of our own destiny is the objective of all research in Pirirakau.
7. Whanau support will be sought by researchers.

8. Any research to be done within the hapu of Pirirakau is to be done by whanau.
9. Oral tradition will be treated as taonga tuku iho.

It is this kawa that underpinned the model of research I used throughout the thesis.

In essence, Pirirakau are not opposed to research, but we are not willing to embrace Western approaches. To do so would mean an abandonment of protocols which make cultural and moral sense to us. We are no longer prepared to give over intellectual knowledge so it can be used at random by researchers, unacknowledged and often out of context.

Nga Tikanga, Whanaungatanga, Te Hui me Ona Hua: The Process, Whanaungatanga, Strength and The Hui

For Pirirakau the hui is an integral aspect of our kawa. It is the only forum where all our rituals come together to satisfy the needs of the hapu. Whilst this is part of Pirirakau tikanga and kawa, hui is also a general term in Maori for any kind of meeting or gathering. According to Salmond (1975:1) :

. . . it is in this context that Maoritanga is most deeply expressed. Throughout the hui Maori is the ceremonial language, Maori people dominate, Maori food is eaten, and Maori rituals are practised.

The hui, especially those held on marae, have played a central role in Maori policy making. Marae have been an integral part of Maori society in Aotearoa for centuries.

It is at the Marae where the rituals of encounter and interaction, such as the karanga, whaikorero, whanaungatanga and manaakitanga are formally laid out. The Marae is the place of greatest mana, where Maori customs prevail and Tangata Whenua are the unchanging foundation.

The hui has a structure and a series of clearly understood rules which define the parts people will play. They are a focal point for Tangata Whenua who have continued to express their identity and culture through them. Marae and hui and the interactions they

imply, are of prime importance to Maori researchers. Pere (1982) refers to some principles and practices, the understanding of which are critical to the actioning of research which is by Maori. They begin with the concept of 'Ako', which does not clearly distinguish between teaching and learning, nor between the teacher and the learner. This concept also emphasises the importance of learning through exposure to situations. Learning in groups, story telling and memory work are all part of it. Story telling is an essential part of Maori life and is a powerful aspect of the development of Maori research models. It challenges researchers to measure the quantity and variety of information that can be given in culturally appropriate contexts. For Maori, it is a powerful research strategy to retain control over the context and process of the research and the ownership of information. It also allows both power and control to reside within the domain of the research participant. For Pirirakau, the hui is part of the rituals and culture of everyday life. This is the forum for discussion and where issues are resolved. By using established regular hui as a forum for data collecting the hapu utilised a structure that was already in place for their researchers.

Pirirakau find the hui process a safe process. It minimises the potential for harm as it has its own protective mechanisms built into the rituals. For example, when discussions involving contentious issues like whakapapa and korero are undertaken the rituals of karakia invoke protection against any ill feeling that may be generated. As well, at hui, the hapu discuss and determine in a transparent and open forum the roles that each whanau member will take and how they will contribute. The rituals are observed in a way that ensures that the participants are appropriately selected, that consent is obtained and other ethical issues, such as the ownership of information, are dealt with within the kawa of Pirirakau.

Kaupapa Maori me nga Rapunga, Whakaaro i roto i tenei Rangahau: Kaupapa Maori and Ethics

All cultures have values that guide the proper behaviour of members of their society. However, the history of Western ethics in Aotearoa finds its roots in colonisation and has continued to be influenced by monocultural ideology. Subsequently, these ideas have influenced research, because the Crown continues to ignore the relationship inherent in

the Treaty of Waitangi and that in itself, implies an exclusive set of ethics. In a discussion document, Te Puni Kokiri (1994:7) advocated that:

The Treaty of Waitangi be regarded as the foundation and overarching framework for the development of ethical structures and for determining the processes in which they operate.

In essence, the Treaty of Waitangi can be viewed as an ethical document in itself, influencing appropriate decisions concerning research. Within this context of decision making, Maori can expect to be involved in all aspects and levels of ethical review in New Zealand. It has been argued that the exclusion of Maori from the Treaty partnership itself constitutes an ethical issue (Mackay, 1991).

The National Advisory Committee on Health and Disability Services Ethics is a body that was established in 1988 by the Ministry of Health following the Cervical Cancer inquiry where ethics were seen to be deficient. It aimed to “make committees operate more effectively to promote the highest standard of ethical behaviour among researchers and providers” (1996:4). The document makes only one small reference to the Treaty of Waitangi, or to tikanga Maori, observing that the range of skills and expertise available to the committee should ideally include “Awareness of Maori and understanding of Maori tikanga, including knowledge of the Treaty of Waitangi” (1996:9). At the same time the Health Research Council of New Zealand (1996:2) which disburses public funds for health research, contends that the Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of New Zealand and represents the formation of nationhood and partnership between Maori and the British Crown, therefore:

The principles of partnership and sharing implicit in the Treaty should be respected by all researchers and where applicable, should be incorporated into all health research proposals.

It is argued by Maori that a much stronger statement of partnership is required to validate a Maori centred model of research in New Zealand. Ethical principles that are assumed to be validated only in Eurocentric theory do not work for Maori and they are no longer willing to accept them. As Rolleston (1988-1989:12) states, “Maori people are

questioning the value of judgements made about Maori society, or indeed any society, when they are made on alien and unsympathetic terms”.

For Maori, ethics is about tikanga. From the beginning, as noted by Te Puni Kokiri (1994:12) “Maori have had their own ethical system which has governed the way in which they view the world, and determined their relationships with each other”. Maori values or ethics are governed by the relationship they have with their land and their customs and beliefs which in turn govern the wider social traditions. Ethics or kawa have always been a central part of Maori culture and each iwi has its own kawa or practice for implementing tikanga. The culture has a unique system of ethics which is constantly being tested or adapted to change to new and emerging situations. The re-emerging tradition of Maori research has been discussed in a document published by Manatu Maori (1991:17), which noted that “originally in the manner of Western models, the researcher was deemed accountable only to themselves and possibly the sponsoring agency”. She challenged this approach, regarding it as methodologically and ethically unsound and outmoded. For Maori, this approach is not tenable. Traditionally, Maori society was tribally structured with each iwi being a nation unto itself. Knowledge and particular types of information were highly valued and tightly regulated within each iwi. Each skill had its own closely guarded secrets and to betray them incurred severe punishment such as banishment from the tribe. Thus, accountability was to the tribe and was carried by the individuals within it.

Ethics are about values and what is considered morally right. In New Zealand, we must always ascertain whose values will be given precedence, Maori or Pakeha. Given that the relationship inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi is about equality, Maori could expect that their values and priorities would be reflected in ethics. Yet ethics, ethical standards and codes of ethics continue to be founded in the dominant Western value system.

Where the Treaty of Waitangi has not been included, a major ethical issue is created. For all research in Aotearoa the honouring of the Treaty of Waitangi and the inclusion of Maori standards remains an ethical issue. The lack of acceptance in practice of equal

credibility for Maori knowledge and processes, as well as ownership of intellectual property, illustrates the continuing dominance of Western beliefs. The Western tradition, the dominant one in Aotearoa, established the following set of principles of ethics; “the value of life, goodness and rightness, justice and fairness, truth telling or honesty and individual rights” (Thiroux, 1986:63).

For Maori, who the researchers are, how they get their information, what they will do with it and who it belongs to, are critical ethical issues. Within this ethical framework, an increasingly critical issue is centred around the protection of intellectual property. Since colonisation began, the ownership of intellectual property has been a concern for Maori in Aotearoa. Honouring of the Treaty of Waitangi was not just about the reclaiming of land, as Walker (1996:174) pointed out:

Maori people have had a long and deep-seated aversion to the commodification of their knowledge, particularly when information ends up in book form and provides royalties for the author without acknowledging the Maori source.

In the 1990s with the emphasis on research by Maori, for Maori and with Maori, the concept of knowledge and information as taonga, are important areas of challenge to the ideology and practices of the dominant Western traditions. Maori are increasingly saying it is time for them to speak for themselves. Rolleston (1988-1989:12) recorded this questioning of the value of judgements made about Maori society:

Why don't you listen to what we have to say about our own wellbeing? Listen to some of the good things that there are about being Maori, instead of just recording all that is bad.

Further, ethical issues developed by Maori have come from a history of being constantly researched. In terms of health, Rolleston (1988-1989:12) recorded whanau as saying “We are the most researched people in the world and yet we seem to remain the sickest. If we are not getting better, what is the point of the research”.

As Pirirakau have always resisted being submerged into other iwi groups, so they have resisted being confined to a Western paradigm of research practices and ethics. The

retention of the values and beliefs that constitute Pirirakautanga are an important part of identity for the hapu who continue to live their lives according to ancestral ways. The paradigm arising from Western social science has failed Pirirakau, Maori and society, by ignoring its Treaty of Waitangi partner and excluding Maori values and preferences. It is limiting the growth of Maori paradigms as well as the extension of its own.

Nga Tohutohu o Te Whare Wananga o Massey: The Massey University Guidelines

Massey University has a Code of Ethical Conduct for research involving human subjects to which all researchers must adhere. The code of ethics was put in place to protect the wellbeing of respondents, as some research and treatment programmes have tended, in the past, to disadvantage them. The treatment of cervical cancer at National Women's Hospital in the 1970s is an example. Cartwright (1988:22) found that, "at that time there appears to have been no written Hospital Board requirement that the HMC [Hospital Medical Committee] consider the ethics of research proposals".

The Human Ethics Committee of Massey University now lays down the following principles in social research; confidentiality, informed consent, the minimising of harm, truthfulness, social sensitivity (especially to those of different race, gender, social class and age from the researcher, and where there are power imbalances). The interpretation of such principles is for each researcher, both culturally and historically, dependent on finding the balance between Maori and Eurocentric ideas. As my reference point in finding the balance I have referred constantly to the kawa of Pirirakau which gives clear protocols and boundaries. For Maori, a generic model of ethics represents an approach which avoids the relationships and the issues of partnership inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi. As Walsh-Tapiata (1997:175) observed:

With more and more research applications which have a whanau, hapu and iwi focus coming before committees such as the human ethics, it is my belief that some awareness of Maori ethics and Maori approaches to research need to be considered.

Iwi, hapu and whanau are the basis of Maori society and their ultimate goal is to achieve a common good for the people. The common good implies the wellbeing of all, especially the weak who benefit continually from the common good, via social, economic and political procedures. This, as Henare (1988:17) recorded, “. . . requires cultural, social, political and economic structures and systems which enhance Mana Maori”.

Bishop (1992:118) noted that the Maori University Teachers Association has listed some principal aims and objectives to achieve the relationship which is envisaged by Maori in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The first of those aims is “to enhance Maori mana and increase its presence within universities”. Some contemporary ethical realities noted by Te Awekotuku (1991) are those concerned with the availability of Maori researchers. This has consistently reflected the disadvantage of Maori in the education system. It has also highlighted the need for transitional research practices which value and respect other preferences and are safe for Maori.

Pirirakau addressed ethical issues such as fairness, protection of intellectual property, informed consent and the mana of the whanau by adhering to a kawa. This kawa is a law that was laid down by the tipuna of Pirirakau and which contains ethical rules of conduct and rituals which bind and govern our responses to certain situations. It gives us a moral framework that has guided us throughout our history. For example, when the issue of informed consent was first raised, the hapu insisted that this be processed through the kawa. That is, that it be widely debated at a hui when all had the opportunity to consider any harmful implications and give collective consent. This process is used for all issues. Ultimately, safe research practice for Pirirakau means using researchers who are familiar with the kawa and who can follow this code. Ideally they will be Tangata Whenua of Pirirakau.

Te Rapu Whakariterite: Finding the Balance

I experienced some major tensions in writing this thesis. The requirements of belonging to two worlds is very complex, and meeting the criteria of the Western system raises conflicts with your Maori world. Dual methods, processes, values and priorities

constantly require that as a researcher, I make a stand for that which is most important. Ethically, dual accountability creates a tension about maintaining balance between the two worlds. For example, being Maori and Pirirakau has meant having a responsibility and an accountability to my own people on the one hand and seeking to gain a qualification at Massey University on the other. Some Maori researchers feel as though they are, as Walsh-Tapiata (1997:175) observed “running a gauntlet”. Participating in a study in your own community in order to gain a qualification in another culture, creates competing priorities and compromises my Pirirakautanga because the power does not rest solely with Pirirakau. Walsh-Tapiata (1997:179) pursues a similar viewpoint when she discusses the challenges issued by a Maori approach, especially those which question the ethical issues of research, “none of which speaks of empowerment, as control and power still lies firmly in the hands of the ‘expert’ and their institution”.

In this study, the balance has been mainly provided by the guardianship of the kaumatua of the hapu of Pirirakau. As well, some support in finding a balance has been provided by other Maori scholars who are experiencing similar tensions and conflicts. For all of us, whether student, lecturer, health worker or educationalist, there is a take that brings us all together. The take is whanaungatanga - thinking and acting as one, for at the end of the day there is only one kaupapa. That kaupapa is the development of our people within our own tikanga and our own paradigms. It is through this philosophy that I have found a balance and an equilibrium.

Nga Wawata o Te Rangahau: The Research Aims

The preceding section has established the model of research set out by Pirirakau. It identifies the key points in what Maori centred research means for us, and outlines the kaupapa that guides research amongst our hapu. The central point of the process is the hui which is therefore an important part of Maori methodology for Pirirakau. As stipulated in chapter one, one of the aims of the research was to use a Maori centred model which has its methodology based in the kawa and tikanga of Pirirakau, and helps to inform the research process. The use of a Maori centred model is part of the overall

aim to explore a way of research which reveals some understandings of the background contributing to Pirirakau wellbeing.

The contention of this research is that aspects of the colonisation process experienced by my hapu Pirirakau have gone hand in hand with the loss of land we suffered through raupatu. Pirirakau gave their consent to formal research being conducted as they have long shared the perception that the effects of land loss permeated all aspects of life. The challenge implicit in my research is to re-examine the less tangible effects of this perception of colonisation, such as health and wellbeing.

Whakamutunga: Conclusion

This chapter began with an outline of the way in which being a whanau member influences my research development. That influence led me back to the kawa of my hapu. This kawa is woven into the methodology for the study. The discussion then highlighted the tension between Western science and Mātauranga Māori and some of the models that have emerged as a result of that tension. What has become evident for me during the research is that the Pirirakau model was always there contained in our kawa. The kawa is thus the framework for all ethical issues. It protects the safety of all the people of the hapu, not just those directly involved in the reasearch.

The next chapter flows on in a similar vein using the framework provided by the kawa of Pirirakau for the data collection. It sets out how data collection techniques operate in a Māori centred model. All aspects of the methodology were processed through the hui which for Pirirakau is the forum for all discussions. What has occurred throughout this chapter is the reassertion of Pirirakautanga that stems from the knowledge that our models are valid and applicable to research today. Our models, through the kawa, provide the wairua that guides us, and that is the mainstay of everything we do.

WAHANGA TUARIMA: CHAPTER 5

Korero Timata: Introduction

The previous chapter has identified the various influences of the methodological approach that I have adopted as a Pirirakau researcher. In seeking to explore the effects of raupatu on Pirirakau's health and wellbeing, I have incorporated approaches which are founded on these principles. The key approach has been to identify Pirirakau views and experiences as conveyed in hui and korero.

In this chapter individual whanau of Pirirakau tell their stories about the wider effects of the raupatu through hui that were conducted on marae and in the homes. A large part of their korero focussed on the whenua that was confiscated from the hapu of Pirirakau following the Bush campaign in 1867. They make the links between raupatu and their health and wellbeing and how it altered the course of their lives. As well, selected participants were each asked to look specifically at the relationship between loss of the land, their own health, and that of their whanau.

The chapter is about 'Te Whakaemi Whakaaturanga: Presenting, Contextualising and Analysing the Data'.

Part one introduces 'Te Tangata: The People' that is, the people who participated in the research and the processes surrounding their selection. This is followed by part two called 'Nga Patai: The Questions', these are the questions which were used to guide the process for the gathering of information. Section two has been named 'Nga Uiuitanga Nga Korero Putake: The Interviews' which describes what the people said and shared during the interviews.

Section three 'Nga Korero e pa ana ki nga Whakatauna: Discussion of Findings' relates in more depth the issues that were raised. From that korero, four main themes arose. These make up the following parts to the section. 'Te Whenua: The Land', 'Hauora a

Tinana: Physical Health', 'Whakaturaanga Nga Korero o Nehera: Data and History' and 'Nga Mana o te Hahi: The Influence of the Church'. Finally, 'Whakamutunga: Conclusion' illustrates how Pirirakau sought some understanding on whether they viewed health and wellbeing as an integral part of the whenua, and or, a separate component that can remain intact despite attacks to the whole.

Te Whakaemi Whakaaturanga: Presenting, Contextualising and Analysing the Data

This section starts with the gathering of the data which has been a complex process because of two coinciding events; the raupatu claims and my research for the thesis. This coincidence of events led to clear boundaries being established amongst the people about the specific purpose of the information. They asked, was it for the research or the raupatu claim? Eventually the people determined this for themselves and said that they wished to make a differentiation between what was given to me as the researcher for my thesis, and what was publicly revealed to the Waitangi Tribunal for the raupatu. For the people the information was interrelated but distinct.

Six women were selected to be interviewed for the research. They were chosen for their whakapapa, mana, and standing in the hapu as well as their specialist knowledge in hauora. The people considered that these six women would be able to give me sufficient data from which to draw a conclusion about the health and wellbeing of Pirirakau. From their interviews there were four recurring themes that were important; 'Te Whenua: The land', 'Te Hauora Tinana: Physical Health', 'Whakaturanga Nga Korero o Nehera: Data and History' and 'Nga Mana o te Hahi: The Influence of the Church'.

There have been some challenging issues for me in structuring this chapter. As a hapu researcher, I needed to capture the essence and the wairua of what my people are saying. This has been one of the major issues for me as I took on the responsibility of gathering their korero and recording some of their most valued knowledge. In order to comply with a Maori centred approach I have quoted directly from the experiences of the whanau.

They describe health as including everything that they feel positively identifies them and sustains them as a hapu. For Pirirakau, health remains a holistic perspective which is culturally bound. At the same time the dimension of physical health was repeatedly emphasised as an important component of health for them.

Several approaches have been used to collect the information that people wished to give. The hui process as described in chapter four has been an important part of the data collecting as it allows for an oral history process that is Maori. The process began long before the research for this thesis was decided. The first hui was in preparation for the claim to the Waitangi Tribunal and began approximately eight years ago (1992). A hui a hapu was called inviting all the families affiliated to Pirirakau to come together and participate. At that hui the kaiwhakahaere (organiser) described the requirements of the Tribunal. The people were also alerted to the fact that following the Tribunal hearing, a more in-depth study on health and wellbeing would continue and form part of an academic study. This process of providing and receiving information at hui a hapu has applied throughout the study and has allowed Pirirakau to reveal how we perceive health. As well as the hui process, individual interviews were conducted with key people who were identified by whakapapa. Families selected the individuals they felt most appropriate to speak on their behalf. The public forum provided by the Waitangi Tribunal in 1998 also formed a small part of the data collection because of the korero of the kaumatua. This provides the background for the next sections, Te Tangata, which identifies the people chosen, and Nga Patai which outlines the questions used to gather information relevant to this thesis.

Te Tangata: The People

Six respondents were chosen by the hapu of Pirirakau to participate, to be interviewed and to have their voices heard. All had some experience in the hauora of Pirirakau hapu. Whilst anonymity could not be guaranteed as they were all identifiable within the hapu of Pirirakau, confidentiality could. To maintain confidentiality for the purposes of the study, the respondents are numbered and the assigned number (1-6) of each respondent is

included in brackets alongside their comments in the text. This aspect of reporting the data has proved difficult because in some cases each respondent has spoken of similar issues but told different stories. This approach acknowledges the often repeated whakatauki, nau te rourou, naku te rourou, with your contribution and mine we will get there.

After the six key people were identified to participate in the study, I proceeded with the information gathering. This resulted in the completion of four recorded and two unrecorded interviews. The unrecorded interviews were part of a belief by some participants that certain information was considered too tapu to be recorded. Hapu members were satisfied with this approach and I felt that the varied methods of gaining information suited the people and the study. The participants made it clear that they would have been anxious about standing outside their oral tradition by being recorded if the researcher had been non-Maori or non Tangata Whenua. As well, I could sense both a desire to transfer taonga tuku iho to someone of a different generation and a willingness to contribute to the knowledge that Pirirakau might regain. During the time of the interviews an important rangatira of the hapu passed away. His influence on my life and this study have already been acknowledged in the section called Haare Bidois in the methodology chapter.

All six participants who were chosen at a hui-a-hapu are mature women and are considered kuia in Pirirakau. Each of them have a wide range of expertise and they all currently live in the rohe of Pirirakau. As well, they are well versed in their Pirirakautanga and have ahi kaa status which enables korero tuku iho (narrative passed down from generation to generation).

The interviews took place in the respondents homes over a six week period early in 1999, with each session lasting from three hours to a whole day. The respondents preferred being interviewed in their own kainga (homes) so that they could refer and point out sacred and historical landmarks of Pirirakau when retelling their stories. Being at home also safeguarded the tapu nature of the korero.

The interviews were formatted in the following way. First, I observed our kawa and the hui protocol by beginning with the mihimihi to the kaumatua. This was followed by a karakia and the laying down of the kaupapa. The kaupapa was then explained and the guiding questions were presented for consideration along with issues of ethics, confidentiality, and ownership and protection of information. The ritual of a shared kai completed the interviews. This interviewing format and process was workable because the numbers were small making it possible to manage complex information. I considered it respected Pirirakautanga, matched a Maori centred methodology, and ultimately the process worked well enough to be replicated by another Pirirakau researcher.

Nga Patai: The Questions

In order to have some consistency in the approach to collecting information from the stories told by the respondents, the following questions were used to guide the interview/korero.

1. How do you describe health and wellbeing for yourself and your whanau?

This question is designed to focus the responses on health and to find what is subjectively understood by it.

2 Do you think the raupatu affected our health and wellbeing?

This explores whether the people see a relationship between land loss and their health and wellbeing.

3 What do you remember that people did to keep themselves well?

The aim of this question is to encourage the participants to describe their own or their whanau's actions in taking responsibility for their health.

4. Do you think we can regain the things that we lost such as Te Reo, economic and cultural security?

The focus of this question is on new and restorative practices for regaining lost taonga.

Nga Uiuitanga - Nga Korero Puta Ake: The Interviews - What The People Said

A wide range of information was given during the interviews and that information has enabled me to have a greater understanding of my hapu. The people interviewed told stories to illustrate their information. This method of transferring knowledge was both precious and has now added further to my own body of knowledge and that available to the research. As well, it demonstrates the value of story telling in the oral tradition and a Maori centred research model especially where the researcher is Tangata Whenua. Using the four questions as a guide, I will now begin to analyse the responses.

1. How do you describe health and wellbeing for yourself and your whanau?

The responses to this question were divided evenly into two major approaches. The first approach was to focus on the physical. The idea of the special vehicle called the human body played a vital part in the continuance of a people who perceived their body as tapu. Thus, they emphasised the need to keep their bodies fit; eating and exercising rated high in their efforts to keep well. Listening to what your body tells you also rated highly. Two said (1,2) that “the body talks to you, that is, your body tells you when you’re tired and when you’ve done enough”. The following extracts illustrate the respondents’ attitudes about keeping fit:

To me, health is actually the base of life and when you look at what goes with that, you look at your body. First and foremost you look at your body and so when I think about that, I have to keep it well and trim for me everything extends from your body. Health, I believe, is keeping yourself well. (1)

I believe in self discipline. I have worked physically hard all my life and I am not often sick. I believe that this is because I am strict with myself and I eat properly. I eat the kai of the whenua. (2)

I have always had my own garden. Even as a child I worked in our mahinga (garden). Working in it keeps me fit and healthy and eating the kai that I grow is part of what I believe keeps me and my family well. (5)

Another way of keeping myself physically well is by not allowing raruraru (problems or troubles) to touch me. This way I keep a good balance and I don't allow other forces to get at me. (6)

Physical fitness was also associated with the ability to perform the roles assigned to them in the whanau, hapu and iwi. All of the respondents who had the opportunity to influence whanau did so and extended this aspect of keeping the body well to their children and grandchildren and were quite assertive about getting appropriate responses. The desire to influence whanau in adopting healthy ways was often put first. For example, one respondent voiced the future oriented importance of the whanau:

To me, my whanau is most important ... you must take care of the babies, even before yourself. (1)

The second major approach to health was strongly associated with cultural beliefs that included rongoa (Maori medicine). Traditional Maori treatments for health were shown to be still highly valued and were the first preference in health care. This was associated with strongly held cultural beliefs about what constitutes health for Pirirakau. A sign of this direction was associated with the felt need for rongoa. Without access to this highly valued traditional care, none of the respondents would have felt comfortable in their efforts to keep well. As two people expressed it:

sometimes your own efforts aren't enough and you need some help, so then you think, now we may need some rongoa. (1)

My husband's foot was gangrenous and the doctors wanted to amputate it but we refused as a whanau and told him we would rather put our faith in rongoa. We used kawakawa as a poultice and it worked. His foot healed and no other treatment was needed. (2)

All the respondents spoke of the constant pressure they endured in standing firm on their preference for rongoa. Most also went to doctors of Western medicine for some conditions, but all said that in conjunction with that they would use rongoa. Rongoa overall meant more to them and sustained their beliefs. It was more culturally satisfying, as rongoa was never administered by itself. It came with korero and karakia and often those were the most important aspects. All the respondents felt that doctors of Western medicine limited their time too much and didn't 'hear' what they were saying about their needs and so were often unable to help.

Health was regarded as an aspect of self-determination by all the respondents. They saw health as something to be proactive about as well as being in control over that aspect of their lives. The connection with self-determination was related to the ability to keep well and to support their whanau, hapu and iwi in the continued struggle to reclaim their ancestral lands. This is an aspect that they saw as being little changed since the days of the Bush Campaign when Pirirakau warriors needed to maintain an optimum level of physical fitness. Self-determination, for those interviewed, equated with control over ones own resources and this began with self and whanau and extended to the land.

The six people who gave information went on from physical health to the special aspects of culture that were regarded as part of health. Two of those told quite involved stories which related to the past, present and future, which for them made up all the dimensions of health. Some of these related to the centrality of their own marae but also the respect for other marae and their tikanga. Here the issue of tapu came to the fore and children were taught to respect that and to some extent to fear retribution should tapu be violated. This respectfulness of kawa and protocols of others was associated with health in the widest sense. With regard to Pirirakau, the violation of the kawa of others brought both the perpetrator as an individual, the group that they were with, and Pirirakau into disrepute and possibly poor health.

The importance of whakapapa was evident in all the korero and writing. All the respondents spoke of their whakapapa and of their tipuna. They all connected this with

cultural identity, self esteem, health and ultimately Pirirakautanga. Cultural identity became a major issue in health and was the loss that was most referred to. Each of the respondents spoke of the loss of land, the loss of identity, and the hurt. For example, one kuia began her response by saying that she wished to talk about her own kuia.

I wish to talk about the hurt my kuia suffered due to colonisation and loss of her status as Tangata Whenua. (3)

They all, in one way or another, talked of the effects of dispossession and illustrated their points by showing the pain and hurt that they still carry for their tipuna. One included statements such as this in her korero:

My kuia's parents' names are significant to me. My kuia's father's name, Whakamomori, to me means a desperate bid, in this case a desperate bid for the retention of land to the point of suicide. My kuia's mother's name was Te Kanohi, this is significant to me in that it means the face. My interpretation of these names that make up my kuia's history and whakapapa is to face the desperate bid for the retention of land of the Pirirakau. I feel that my kuia, with that whakapapa and history stood for facing the desperate bid to retain Pirirakau land. (3)

2. Do you think the raupatu affected our health and wellbeing?

Guiding people into this area of thought and memory led them to relate their special stories, so that most of the information in this area was given in story form. The respondents told the stories which were important to them. Many were painful to recall as they involved memories of the past, and of the things their parents and grandparents did in response to the conditions of the day.

All of the respondents knew that the effects on Pirirakau in terms of physical health was devastating. The older ones remembered diseases such as the flu epidemic of 1918 when both kuia spoke of their parents and grandparents going around with soup and rongoa to assist the sick, when often all the people in a household would be ill with 'the terrible flu'. Tuberculosis and other infectious diseases such as scarlet fever and diphtheria killed many of the whanau. These diseases, alongside the loss of land and identity contributed

to an erosion of health. For example, no Pirirakau health data was kept in the early days of colonisation in Tauranga. All the respondents saw this loss and gap in knowledge as a critical one. They perceived having no information about themselves as proof of non existence, of having no identity as a hapu. The loss of identity in combination with the devastating effects of infectious diseases impacted markedly on Pirirakau's collective consciousness. The emphasis on physical health was a strategy that assisted in the survival of a hapu. It was an act of self preservation for a people under attack, as well as an attempt to hold on to the mana that is derived from the land and its retention. The loss of turangawaewae was always described as a health issue. Several of the respondents referred to it, and, as one said:

The whenua was just taken. No compensation was given for it. The land was just taken. It hasn't really stopped.(2)

Many of the respondents made reference to a report in the *Bay of Plenty Times* (13.5.2000) which highlighted the issue of the continued loss of mana whenua that comes with confiscation. It describes Pirirakau's continuing struggle to retain control over the whenua in their recent refusal to give consent to an application for a subdivision on the hapu's sacred ancestral lands.

Another respondent described what happened to their whanau following the raupatu and what effect it had on them.

In the past, our whanau was continuously pushed onto smaller and smaller bits of land by the pakeha government and their laws. In the end we couldn't live off it. The land was too small to support the whanau and our uncle got sick with typhoid fever because of the overcrowding and poor conditions. (3)

When the whenua was taken we lost a lot more than the pakeha wanted to acknowledge. They set out to break us, to extinguish our spirit and our way of life forever by removing our essence and the source of our wellbeing and strength. (5)

3. What do you remember that people did to keep themselves well?

Much of what was done in response to diseases was remembered, especially by the older ones. What they did could be seen as a self care issue associated with self-determination, which had not been a problem until their health was put at risk by the colonising process. Many of the remedies were also a response to the depth of poverty associated with landlessness. Rongoa and our own traditional practices and beliefs were frequently the cure for physical, spiritual and emotional pain. A whaea remembered:

When we got sick we would use rongoa Maori. I remember when we got hakihaki (sores) my mother used gum leaves in water. We didn't have baths like we do now so she used to fill it up with hot water, put gum leaves in there and leave it for a while until it was cool enough to get in. It cured me. (2)

Alongside this was the spiritual healing which some remembered well:

When any of our family were sick my Koro would come and stay with us and karakia over us all night. The whanau would all sit around the bed and tautoko (support) him. He would not leave until the crisis had passed or we had started to get better. (5)

There was also a pattern of 'not buying things' from the Pakeha shops because of both lack of money, and lack of faith in the Western system which was unfamiliar to them. For these reasons, the chemist of the day was rongoa, customarily used by the old people of Pirirakau. The faith in our own medicines was associated historically with exclusion from the health system, poverty, and cultural preference. There is some evidence that the people of Pirirakau still subscribe to and have returned to these practices. For example, all the marae belonging to Pirirakau now have kawakawa and other rongoa plants growing and readily available. This health initiative was instigated by one of the kuia who when interviewed said of it:

It's one of our traditional medicines and it's free. We can teach younger people how to make it and go back to taking it at the marae ourselves. This way they will see us and learn that it works. It's about teaching the young ones to have confidence in their heritage. (3)

There is a perceived connection between the return to traditional health practices and the revitalisation of a people in their tinorangatiranga over themselves.

The other major aspect of health was the concept of social events having a dual purpose which covered whanaungatanga and the sharing of resources. As one person put it:

The social life for our people then was the tangihanga and the mahikai. Pirirakau would all gather at the tangihanga and all do their waiata and korero, and generally catch up on each others lives. That was one side of their social life. The other was their mahikai, where they would do everything together. They would enjoy themselves as well as work hard. They were great times. (2)

There were wide ranging stories about whanau fishing expeditions, vegetable gardening and the gathering of kai moana. They described how these activities contributed to health and wellbeing for Pirirakau and how whanaungatanga (togetherness) and their connection with Papatuanuku (mother earth) was important to their perception of a balanced harmonious life.

People made mention of the loss of land and loss of authority over their traditional food gathering sources and access to kai. When the land began to dwindle and the mana whenua authority was affected, the people were forced to adapt to more individual ways. It became increasingly difficult for them to retain the collective values they traditionally held. This was further reinforced by the increased availability in the 1960s, of appliances such as freezers which encouraged individual preparedness, but discouraged group caring and sharing.

4. Do you think we can regain the things that we have lost such as Te Reo and economic and cultural security?

This was the area of greatest pain as it dealt explicitly with losses that are always an active area of hurt. One of the areas of major loss was described as the loss of our minds:

. . . we lost more than health, our minds have gone to Pakeha. (1)

This was expressed as one of the greater effects of colonisation, where it was seen that events beyond their control forced Maori thinking to be replaced by a more individual and Pakeha way of thinking.

Five of the participants thought there was an ability and readiness to regain a lot of what had been lost in terms of attributes and all were involved in working towards that goal. Each saw the ultimate goal as Tino Rangatiratanga or mana motuhake. They were all involved in aspects of health which, when they came together, formed an important part of the unity we call Pirirakautanga. Even those who moved away from Pirirakau temporarily, valued, consciously retained, and passed on to their children and grandchildren what they learnt there. Four believed that tinorangatiranga was lost and two did not, but all believed that in refusing to bend to the Crown, they had in fact retained a part of their identity that was more important than anything else. Thus, what has been described in Pakeha history of raupatu as rebellion has always been believed by Pirirakau to be a positive attribute. Whakapapa, knowing who you are and pride in who you are is central, and children carrying on in that tradition are part of that centrality for the health and wellbeing of Pirirakau. The following statement was offered by a whaea about cultural identity:

I'm their mother from Pirirakau, Ngati Ranganui and from Ngaiterangi. They know who their mother is and who their father is and where we come from. They also know who they are and where they come from because they have been brought up with it. (2)

All the respondents believed that some of the things that were lost, such as te reo and tikanga, could be regained but that it would take a long time and not be easy. The Kohanga Reo movement and the formation of kapa haka (cultural) groups were seen as valuable in beginning to restore the language and customs. Some things such as whakapapa and the old waiata which told stories of past events, were seen as being gone forever. Following the raupatu in the 1860s, families moved on taking a lot of the knowledge with them; whakapapa, korero, waiata. Much of that is lost permanently, not only to Pirirakau, but to everyone in the Moana.

Another issue of loss was the silence caused by shame. For example, in the past no one spoke about events following the raupatu and consequently suppressed all that information. Even today that is so, and it is regretted that part of our history was lost in this way. The issue of not speaking about our past because of the stigma attached to us as being rebels and disloyal to the Crown, became a matter of deep whakama, suffered by the people of Pirirakau. It led to a silence that was not healthy and that often led to mental anguish:

The silence, the repression of the truth for whatever reason, contributes to the legacy of bitterness. (2)

My parents would never talk about our history or even who we were related to. I would often ask my father who certain people were at the marae. He would always reply, none of your business and don't ask questions. It was not until years later that I found out they were my uncle and auntie. My father would never tell us about our history despite him being a man learned in whakapapa and history. If he shared it with us he would only be digging up bad feelings about the past. I suspect that they had fallen out over the land. (5)

None of the participants wished to return to the past, so that in general, the opinion expressed was one of hope and acknowledgment that the culture will survive but in a different form. As one kuia said:

The experience of the young people is different; maybe some things will survive, other things are gone forever. (1)

All felt that progress was slow, but was being made. The preparation for the Tribunal Claim and hearing was seen as one part of the process of regaining things that were thought to be lost because people were asked to recall historical korero as given to them by their tipuna. Another part was the people themselves reclaiming control over their lives and having pride in themselves instead of being shamed by the past.

The importance of the Waitangi Tribunal in the process of struggling against injustice was very important to health and wellbeing. The fact that all had participated, in one way or another, was part of a painful, but healthy process. The formal requirements of the

Tribunal, despite the Crowns' dominance, allowed a platform for Pirirakau to air our grievances. Thus there was a feeling of hopefulness that stemmed from the Tribunal and the research. It was felt that all these processes would eventually intersect and advance the hapu. The strong health message was, look after yourself and your whanau, so you can participate in this progression.

Cultural beliefs are very strong and evidence of this was seen in the belief that overall they could proceed with the blessings of the tipuna who were showing themselves through signs that supported the direction of Pirirakau at this time. One such sign was linked to the visit in February 1999 by Pirirakau to a nearly lost tribal pa site at Okauia, near Matamata. This site was a refuge for Pirirakau during the Bush Campaign and had been lost to us in recent times. Kaumatua of Okauia held this knowledge, and invited Pirirakau to visit and share their history. The rediscovery of the waka prow was also interpreted by Pirirakau as a propitious sign. The *Bay of Plenty Times* (1.3.1999) reported that the tauihi of a waka was found in swampy land near Omokoroa in February 1999. This was only two weeks after the existence was confirmed of a Kaimai Ranges pa site dating back to the mid 1800s. Together the two events were interpreted as a positive sign.

Nga Korero e pa ana ki nga Whakataunga: Further Presentations of Findings

This section begins with some more direct quotations from the six respondents interviewed, which refer to the health of Pirirakau. Many of the participants told stories with similar themes which offered a perspective on health and wellbeing that intertwined with their world view as members of the hapu of Pirirakau. Their comments thus express a Pirirakau view of life and health. The following comments were made when asked to describe what health meant to them:

Health is self-determination, it is something within yourself and not fixed by a tablet. It is something decided by yourself that you must look inside of yourself for the answers. (1)

Health is the base of life, keeping physically fit and eating the right kai, but in the end it is about depending on yourself and a belief in yourself.(2)

Control over oneself and family and keeping physically fit. (4)

These three comments illustrate their feeling about the central issues of health and wellbeing for themselves and their whanau. Whilst the physical nature of health was often mentioned first and was thought of as being important, the land and the associations around it emerged as the foundation of their lives. The constant references to the whenua as critical to identity, and as a source of keeping fit and nutritionally well was evident throughout the interviews. For example a kuia made this point more than once:

. . . my whanau, all of us, we've stayed here on what is left of Pirirakau land and not moved an inch. Even the younger generation (now in their forties and fifties) have stayed instead of going to the city for work. Some have left and come back. (5)

Another respondent expressed it in this way:

. . . it's about our life on our whenua. We share it, we live it. It's who we are. (4)

Durie (1998:115) raised this aspect of life, saying that:

A Maori identity is secured by land; land binds human relationships, and in turn people learn to bond with the land. Loss of land is loss of life, or at least that part of life which depends on the connections between the past and the present and present with the future. "Whatu ngaro-ngaro te tangata, toitu te whenua. People perish but the land is permanent".

Four main themes arose from the korero about the way in which health was perceived by the participants. The importance of land and identity to health; the importance of physical health; data and history and the influence of the church, each of which pointed to the critical nature of land to cultural identity. These four themes are used in this chapter to indicate the relationship between land confiscation and health, for they constitute in the lives of Pirirakau a way of life that still prevails, and has come out of their history.

The importance of land has been discussed earlier in this study. It is nevertheless worthy of further emphasis, for Maori have always had a close relationship with their land and their identity is closely associated with the whenua. Mana, independence and personal and group integrity are all linked to it. In regard to this aspect Durie (1998:115) noted that:

Land is necessary for spiritual growth. It contributes to sustenance, wealth, resource development, tradition; land strengthens whanau and hapu solidarity, and adds value to personal and tribal identity as well as the wellbeing of future generations.

This explanation holds true for Pirirakau who have also offered a hapu specific meaning about land. For them loss of land has also meant loss of mana, and therefore the potential to lose health, for as one said:

Our mana comes from the land. It is everything to us, the basis of our lives and our identity and our wellbeing is part of that. It is our connection with our tipuna.
(2)

It is therefore not surprising that the people stood firm, were labelled rebellious, fought, and used 'legitimate' ways to retain not only the land but their self respect and integrity. Nor is it remarkable, as Durie (1998:115) observed that:

. . . for one hundred and sixty years or more Maori energies have been consistently focussed on land retention and the return of land alienated by force or unjust laws.

Te Whenua: The Land

Pirirakau are a small hapu of under one thousand people. They all affiliate to and contribute to the maintenance of their four marae; Paparoa, Poututerangi, Tutereinga and Tawhitinui. As well, they maintain numerous family urupa (cemetery), a health centre, two Kohanga Reo, a sporting complex, kaumatua flats, a Catholic Church and until recently two schools, one a private Convent and the other a public school. Whilst Pirirakau is a relatively small hapu compared to others in Tauranga, geographically it has

the largest land mass in Tauranga Moana and its claim to the Waitangi Tribunal is therefore a very expansive one although what remains as hapu estate is very reduced.

When large tracts of Pirirakau land were lost and some whanau moved to other areas outside Pirirakau's rohe, it contributed to the general depletion of the hapu's knowledge and cultural base. What was retained was sufficient for the whanau to have a level of wellbeing because for Pirirakau, survival was based on maintaining the relationship between ourselves and the whenua. Henare (1988:18) points out that, "Mana Maori is Maori wellbeing, integrity, and emphasises the wholeness of social relationships". Ever since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Pakeha have had difficulty in dealing with tribalism and have sought to have a group of Maori with whom they can relate. Durie (1998:55) wrote that:

Under the Maori Community Development Act 1962, an earlier reference to tribal committees was changed to Maori committees to underline the significance of a new cultural identity based less on tribe than on simply being Maori.

However, this more universal and bland definition of Maoriness has been seen, especially in recent years as another ploy in the Government's armoury of colonising behaviours. Thus it was regarded as a way of undermining the tribal structures which Pakeha find so difficult to deal with.

For Pirirakau, Pirirakautanga is all important and cultural identity is associated with the land, both with the land lost and the land we hope to regain through the Waitangi Tribunal claim. Through loss of land other things were lost or more difficult to retain. In all the korero, the most recurring theme that stood out was the feeling of loss as a consequence of the raupatu and its aftermath. The aftermath includes the loss of those precious things or taonga tuku iho which define us, who explain who we are and which makes us distinct from all others. That which nurtures and protects us, and gives expression to our sense of wellbeing. The close relationship with the land held by Pirirakau was described by one of the respondents who said:

As a mother, my kuia knew the significance of the placenta and its lifeline to the whenua. All my children's whenua were buried within the Pirirakau rohe. (3)

This strong connection to the land and the formation of the Waitangi Tribunal has renewed the drive for the future.

Pirirakau already have a vision for the future that includes health and wellbeing (Minutes of hui a hapu, March 1991). Pirirakau hold that wellbeing is tied to the whenua. Our wellbeing encompasses te taha wairua, te taha tinana, te taha hinengaro, te taha whanau. These dimensions have been under constant attack, whether by unjust laws such as those which allowed land confiscation or policy which excluded Maori. Throughout this period of history Pirirakau have endured and will continue to survive. We lost almost all of our land in the confiscations and were forced to move onto a greatly reduced area, which in turn forced us to seek a living outside Pirirakau. Many of our whanau left because of these events which seemed beyond their control. As people left, much knowledge and history was lost but even when members of the hapu felt that they had to leave, they did not abandon their responsibilities. They were drawn in from time to time through tangihanga and other whanau activities to fulfil those obligations.

These were the factors raised in the stories told by those members of the hapu who were interviewed. As a response to this and in order to survive, Pirirakau were encouraged to stay together on what was left of tribal land. This had the effect of more securely binding the remaining lands and the whakapapa. The commitment to stay together and survive was so strong that many married within the hapu. This is a practice that continues today, as stated by several respondents:

It started back a long time ago, as you know, some of our uncles and aunties married each other, first cousins even. Sometimes it has affected their children, in other cases it hasn't. Some are lucky, some are not so lucky. (3)

We knew we were second cousins but we were prepared for those risks and still have kids. Two of our kids have been affected, but we have managed, and we have no regrets. (4)

Pirirakau have expended tremendous energy in making sure that their presentation to the Waitangi Tribunal is forceful and accurate, for the return of the land depends on it. With the return of the land and the recognition by the Crown that Pirirakau has been dealt with unjustly, will come some healing of the bitterness. The healing will also be assisted by the restoration of the rightful place for Pirirakau alongside other hapu and iwi in Tauranga Moana.

As I have stated elsewhere (Kuka, J.,1998) in a presentation for Pirirakau at the Waitangi Tribunal hearing :

When we welcome you, as we stand on all our turangawaewae, speaking our reo, singing our waiata, with full knowledge and familiarity with our Pirirakautanga. When our history is recited with pride by all within the Moana, and our hapu finally understand that the history of the raruraru lie not between ourselves, but with what has been done to us by the Crown. Then we can say “Kei te ora matou!”

Hauora-a-Tinana: Physical Health

Since their first contact with Pakeha settlers, Pirirakau have made significant efforts to maintain their physical fitness. Physical fitness was described as a mainline defence from colonisation for a small and vulnerable hapu. During my life, I have also observed the importance that Pirirakau place on physical health. As a hapu, we resist obesity, eat well, exercise regularly and promote sports and physical activity. This fits in with the culture of Pirirakau which fosters physical wellness and prowess. In accordance with this strong physically oriented value system, Pirirakau have established a hapu health centre, called Te Huhunu o Pirirakau Hauora. This is named for a spring that in times gone by our people would drink from when they were sick or needed healing. It was also during times of drought the only source of water available that could sustain the whole hapu. The spring continued flowing long after others had dried up.

Pirirakau Hauora has a variety of programmes at the health centre which include aspects of health promotion and the prevention of illness. For example, several physical health

programmes are in place which as well as being popular are valued by the people who plan other activities around them. In doing this the people have put in place a model of health care, one that is based on the old ways previously mentioned by several respondents when they spoke about the shared hapu and whanau occasions enjoyed in their childhood. Therefore, it was not surprising that much of the korero in interviews and hui for this research began with the lead in about the importance of physical health. For Pirirakau, physical health is anchored in the whenua and has its foundations in the broader aspects of health. That is, the spiritual, mental, whanau and physical dimensions which all the participants described. Health was described as 'the base of life', and when you look at what the base is, you look at your body, as one respondent said:

You look at your body-everything extends from your body. The base of life, and when you look at what that base is, its so important to be well and be able to do things alongside your tane and the whanau. (2)

The idea that the body is an important vehicle for personal health, and in order to contribute to the survival and progress of Pirirakau, a healthy body is required. This concept has a wide social connotation and therefore includes issues such as growing and tending kai, the provision of care, shelter, and access to services. Physical health was spoken of as an important part of economic survival.

Another aspect of physical health was finding the balance between the need for Western medicine and rongoa. It is an important distinction and was mentioned in the same context as keeping fit. There was always a felt need for rongoa and most participants chose rongoa initially over other forms of care. It was stated as a preference because when you went to the Tohunga you were offered treatment and korero as well. Often, said several respondents, 'We needed a korero and some advice as well'. (1/2)

Western medical practitioners were attended sporadically and most often as a last resort when there were symptoms that required urgent treatment. For example, surgical interventions or medication that could only be procured on medical prescription. Some

said quite openly that although they went for ‘medicine or tablets’ but that wasn’t really what they needed.

All of the respondents attended Western primary medical appointments at the clinic which was set up by the hapu in 1993 in temporary premises. In 1996 the hapu were successful in applying for a grant from the then Regional Health Authority (Midlands) in order to consolidate their service. Together with another grant from Midlands Regional Health Authority in 1997, the present Pirirakau Hauora was purpose-built and opened a year later so that Pirirakau had access to health services that were defined, owned, and operated by them. Part of the strategy to increase access to health services was to broaden the range of health activities and to make them more affordable. Setting fees to see the clinic doctor at a lower level than those of other general practice clinics is an example of how health services are made more affordable.

The kaupapa of Pirirakau Hauora includes being committed to the health and wellbeing of the whanau of Pirirakau by being guided by our kaumatua, Pirirakau tikanga and respecting the diverse uniqueness of Pirirakautanga. Pirirakau intends to achieve this by providing health services, and support, and with the eventual aim of becoming self sufficient. Most Pirirakau whanau attend this health clinic where all the staff are clinically qualified, Tangata Whenua, familiar with the kaupapa and follow a kawa as set by Pirirakau.

The basis of a definition of health for Pirirakau included their own views about what we might now call holistic approaches to health and wellbeing. However, a strong opinion evident throughout the interviews, was the belief that physical health was to some extent a controllable factor or at least something that could be worked on as a priority in extenuating circumstances. That is, within the often traumatic events of the times when we lost our rangitiratanga over the land, control over physical health became the one thing that was left. Physical wellness represented control and survival. It was explained by my whanaunga Haare Bidois, who in 1998, used these words when describing our endurance, “Our present state is a testimony to our hapu’s relentless resistance and

strength and of the will to survive in the face of crushing opposition. Sufficient to say Pirirakau is still here”.

Whakaaturanga nga Korero o Nehera: Data and History

Many of the comments made by participants in this study, identified specific losses such as tikanga, te reo, and waiata which are all important aspects of health and total wellbeing. Their loss was associated with the necessity for people to leave their ancestral homes after their land was alienated by force or by unjust laws and always the losses were associated with the whenua. Whilst Pirirakau still have some Maori speakers, Kuka, T. (1998), observed that consistent efforts are still required to enhance both knowledge and performance in this area. Pirirakau are attempting to replenish their resources in the area of te reo by fostering language wananga. In this, as in all other matters relating to our identity, we continue to stand firm on our kawa and our protocols, and we continue to promote our language. The hapu have focused on the ongoing development of te reo and the establishment of Te Kohanga Reo o Pirirakau in 1984 was an initiative intended to address the issues of language and tikanga development within the hapu. It is one of the ways in which Pirirakau have held to their Pirirakautanga for they believe that te reo is an important factor in establishing identity and learning the culture and the traditions. Pirirakau suffered as did other iwi and hapu from the effects of discriminatory legislation. The legislation against te reo in the early part of the nineteenth century caused a near extinction of the language and it was not until 1990 that it became an official language again. The growth of the Kohanga Reo movement was a response by Maori and Pirirakau to ensure the continuance of the culture and cultural identity through language.

All of the participants thought it was possible to retrieve some of the history that is considered important to them, such as the dimensions that are associated with a Pirirakau identity. Some of them thought that a proportion of our history was lost forever with some modern redefinitions replacing old words. A participant focussed on this when she

referred to the use of the traditional word for waiata that she thought was lost forever because the old meanings had gone from memory:

Waiata ... although they never called it waiata in those days. It was called a pau. Not a true waiata. He aha to pau they would say to each other after the men had finished their whaikorero. Now we say he aha tou waiata. (1)

She also thought that the culture is likely to be reconstructed. It would be different in the future because the present generation have not had the experience of being with the old people. Nevertheless, the general opinion of the participants was that a movement had already begun, driven by the young people of Pirirakau that would sustain the development of Pirirakautanga into the future. The following statement made by the same participant illustrates that feeling:

So for all the young Pirirakau, they should agree that they go with what they've got, and the only way they know how. And I believe they have lost something that can never be put back. It's gone forever, it has, it's gone forever. What they can put back into it is what their own moemoea (dreams) are, with what they've got. There are some things we may be bringing back, like our recent trip to Okauia, it was great, all the young people finding out about themselves. Maybe something will survive, other things are gone forever. We are getting back some of our history. With our recent connections to Okauia, it's hopeful. (1)

Nga Mana o Te Hahi: The Influence of The Church

Although not specifically included in the interview schedule, the influence of the Church was mentioned as an important issue for Pirirakau. All of those interviewed referred to it at some point in their stories, either in relation to colonisation or how the Church's message was thought in earlier times to fit with spirituality. Because it was not specifically asked for, but recognising its importance to the participants, I have included it in this discussion.

In describing the influence of the Church, several respondents referred to this, including one who said:

My family is Catholic and I am a Catholic. Our linkages with the Church at Te Puna are old ones. They are less secure now that we understand more about what their kaupapa was, but the priests and nuns were very successful in their indoctrination of us, and many of us have taken on the mannerisms of the Church and mixed those with spirituality. (2)

In the early days of colonisation, Pirirakau and the priests of the Catholic Church had a co-operative relationship with many families supporting its work. For example one of the kuia interviewed recorded that her tipuna, a Frenchman who was a master builder, assisted with not only Tutereinga Marae but also the Catholic Church. This man was seen as:

. . . a driving force with his family, delegating them to different roles. One was in charge of the land that the Church was built on. Another (was) in charge of the land for the convent and another in charge of the roofing iron for the Church. (3)

Another referred to Pirirakau and the practices of the Church by saying:

And I must say though, for the Pirirakau, they are quite deep in their karakia. The church, it is important to them. It has been part of their everyday life and their children's. (2)

In relation to the purpose of the Church, Belich (1986:327) noted that:

Missionary authors lauded the Maori adoption of Christianity, and books on colonisation made much of their eagerness for European contact and settlement, and various writers praised their martial qualities of courage and chivalry.

He did however go on to issue a cautionary note and stated the belief that this early favourable publicity about Maori was in fact part of an advertising campaign to gain support for missionary activity in the colony and to attract more British settlers for it. To achieve this aim required an appropriate portrait of Maori. They should as Belich (1986:327) noted: "be neither too ignorant nor too savage to be made the subject of the saving and sanctifying influence of the gospel". It is important also to note that favourable images of Maori were often qualified in various ways and the notion of a civilizing mission involved assumptions of cultural superiority. This aspect of cultural superiority is referred to by Blaut (1993:3) in a discussion about the teaching of European beliefs and history where he noted that:

Some of your teachers would have also claimed that only the people of this region (Europe) are really human: God created the people of other places as a different non-human, or rather infra-human species. All of your teachers of science as well as history would have agreed that non-Europeans are not as intelligent, not as honourable, and for the most part not as courageous. God made them inferior.

Ohia (1975:3) also noted that:

Europeans viewed the world, in terms of a broad three stage hierarchy in which the white race, western civilisation and Christianity occupied the top rungs of the racial, cultural and religious ladders of mankind.

Thus a distinction was made between the lands inhabited by Christians, given divine guidance and protection for this reason, and the lands of non Christians which it was believed, were there for the taking.

In Tauranga Moana, there are two parallel Christian histories, the Church Missionary Society which pursued the faith of the Church of England, and the Catholic one associated with the French settlers. O'Malley (1996:3) recorded that in 1838 the Reverend Brown on behalf of the Church Missionary Society, purchased the site for the present mission station, and not long after, acquired the whole of the Tauranga peninsula. Brown's purchases were disputed by some local Maori. They persistently, but unsuccessfully, claimed legitimate rights to the land. Brown's view, remained unchanged and he insisted that he had acquired the land to protect local Maori "from unrestrained and unamendable colonisation". Henare (1988:35) notes that:

Value conflicts exist within Maori society and between Maori and Pakeha. These take the form of clashes between *nga tikanga me nga ritenga* and what is understood to be Maori Christian values-that is Maori influenced by Pakeha value systems.

A participant in the study raised this point when she said:

Our thinking is very Pakeha now. Whakaaro Pakeha and the Church is part of this complicated change. Although I get a lot of comfort from the Church, they have also been part of the alteration in our way of thinking because they taught us their

ways. They set out to do that. You could say they have given something and taken something. Looking back now, I think they have taken more than they gave. (2)

In the early days of contact with European settlers, Maori were successful traders, often in partnership with non-Maori, and to extend their trading domains, needed to acquire the skills of Western literacy. That was, reading and writing. Missionaries were the obvious teachers and thus Christianity was in the early days, associated with education. The *Pirirakau Report* (1997:32) noted that:

In January 1841, for instance, Brown recorded there was a great demand for religious tracts from Ngaiterangi. Similarly, Ngati Ranginui were interested in new ideas and methods of communication.

The report goes on to state that Brown held a service for a congregation of about one hundred and twenty people. This was followed by afternoon school for men, women and children on the northern banks of the Wairoa river. Brown recorded that the school was in the charge of a native teacher, and “it appears from his book to be attended with much regularity, and the Natives are evidently progressing in knowledge”.

A school for Anglican catechism was established by Brown at Oikemoike for Pirirakau around the 1840's. However, for Pirirakau, there was an alternative to the instruction offered by Brown and his colleagues. The *Pirirakau Report* (1997:33) observed that, “Bidois established a school called Te Kareti near the site of Poututerangi Marae where he taught literacy skills and gave instruction in the Catholic faith”.

Pirirakau is a Catholic community, for theirs was the French missionary connection. Matakana Island a nearby community also became strongly Catholic. Their history records a priest visiting from Pirirakau once a month to take mass and to officiate on other occasions such as marriage and tangihanga. The strong Catholic presence at Te Puna ensured the Marist priests who were stationed at Otumoetai provided instruction at Pirirakau. By the 1850s, Rose (1997:33) observed, there was evidence to suggest that Maori in Tauranga, including Pirirakau, could read and write.

In the middle to late 1800s Pirirakau women married French settlers so that names such as Bidois, Borell and Potier are still amongst us. The church is thus tied up in whakapapa. Both Louis Bidois and Charles Potier arrived in 1839 and married into the hapu. Bidois, worked for the French Catholic Mission and he married Irihapeti Kaumoana (Whakamomori). They were mentioned in the story of one of the respondents who knew that this couple were married by a French priest, Father Barnard, and later the marriage was sanctioned by Bishop Pompellier, who was the first Catholic missionary in New Zealand.

Potier, like Bidois, married a member of Pirirakau, Porina, the daughter of Puhi and Meria. The *Pirirakau Report* (1997:29) observed that:

... these men had a significant religious influence on the Pirirakau hapu. A particular brand of French Catholicism was adopted by the hapu and Brown was later to record several instances of dogma clashes between himself and the Pirirakau converts.

These clashes were not uncommon, for Maori were used to thinking of religion and the civil law as one, and Henare (1988:33) noted that:

Western civilisation, when it reached New Zealand, presented a combination of Christianity and British law ... so that he (Maori) assumed the law and the gospel to be one.

However, Maori learnt through the experience of colonisation that there is a difference between the message and the messenger, and that Christian beliefs and the activities of the Crown were not necessarily the same thing.

This dislocation in values was illustrated by a participant who spoke about her tipuna who had, in good faith, married a Frenchman and a Catholic. She continued to relate how one of their sons was killed in a skirmish in the service of the Crown. In her words "To add insult to injury for the tragic loss of her son, the Crown saw fit to make a Crown grant of Pirirakau land in the name of Louis Bidois and his ten half caste children". The

Crown compensated her kuia for the loss of her son by giving land to her French husband who she claimed had no interest in the area because he was a foreigner.

One participant went on to say :

Instead of the Crown granting my kuia the land, they granted it to the Frenchman. 'Ko tenei te tangi o toku kuia'. My kuia never wanted the land to be known as Bidois land because it belonged to her people, the Pirirakau. To me as Tangata Whenua, this is the subtle and devious manner in which the Crown acted in those days. This deep hurt over land that the Church became involved in forms part of the bitter legacy that has been carried by my people through history to today and explains something of the mixed feelings aroused by the visit of the Waitangi Tribunal. (3)

There is no consensus of opinion about the teachings of the Catholic Church at Pirirakau. Some of the hapu were, and still are, strongly Catholic and some of the people incorporated other Christian beliefs into their own, and Henare (1988:34) argues that:

Through the process of acculturation and the adjustment of Christian teachings and rituals to the forms and customs of the existing religious system, whanau, hapu and iwi became Maori Christians.

One respondent who describes her family as devout Catholics put it this way:

My father who was originally Morman, became a Catholic and finished up being a Katokita, which is a lay minister in the Church. Needless to say, we had karakia every morning and Church after dinner every night. At night when we had our dinner, because we were all gathered round the table, as soon as we finished our meal we would have our karakia. We never cleared away the dishes first-always karakia first. (2)

When all the family were gathered after karakia, my parents would go on to talk about makutu (spell or incantation). During all the discussions, they taught the family how to look after themselves so makutu would not affect us. This way we began to look after ourselves and our families through karakia. This blend of Christianity and spirituality in the people of Pirirakau, was the complex result of a combination of events. (1)

Another participant expressed it this way:

My kuia told me that they converted to the church because her mother did not want them growing up in the old ways. Those old ways had forces that she did not want her children exposed to. (3)

There were many reasons why Pirirakau embraced christianity so readily. One was that the hapu was vulnerable spiritually following the raupatu, the old ways of makutu were less popular and began to be seen as evil. As well, the people were able to identify with the mystical rituals of the Catholic church. Durie (1998:54) refers to this complexity as being:

. . . a product of several forces: colonisation, christian conversion an emerging sense of Maori nationalism, and immigration with a rapid reversal of population dominance.

Whakamutunga: Conclusion

This chapter describes the perceptions of health held by my hapu Pirirakau. The data was gathered during a very significant period in modern history that was created by the visit of the Waitangi Tribunal to hear our claims. Therefore the visit and the raupatu were prominent in the minds of the people during the interviews. Pirirakau have always seen health as part of a wider social and cultural context, hence my discussion of the importance of land, language, and tribal kawa. However, through the presentation to the Tribunal we gained an additional insight into what influences have moulded certain health characteristics for us. This additional information surrounding the raupatu altered our perceptions and enabled us to recognise how there had been a subtle shift in emphasis in Pirirakau's view of health over the years. It began with the raupatu, and was about a response to the violent and physical nature of our struggle with the Crown forces during the land campaigns. The strong emphasis on physical fitness was viewed as vital for the hapu at the time as a means of survival. The strategy was described as been in part successful, as it has assisted Pirirakau through the turmoil succeeding the raupatu, the epidemic of infectious diseases and the economic hardships that were to follow. However, it was only with the recent information gathered for the raupatu claim that it became clear that this strategy was at the expense of other things that strengthen a tribes

tikanga asset base and adds mana. Although other tribes had similar colonising experiences, they did not appear to have suffered the same drastic loss in tikanga as Pirirakau. Bidois (1998) made this comment about what he felt he had lost, and his whakama about being unable to korero Maori .

In being so staunch we may have weakened ourselves in other places such as the reo. We don't even know any of our waiata, we only have a few Kaumatua who are willing to accompany us to hui outside of our rohe. In the end we have to depend on our relations in the next hapu to help us. Sometimes we see other tribes as having great mana, because of their fluency and deep knowledge. We of Pirirakau are very well physically and politically, but less so in those tuturu (true) ways of our old people.

Thus a belief system and a history that began with the waka Takitimu landing on the shores of Aotearoa was radically changed by the arrival of the colonists, and led to a changed world view, a world where health no longer had all the Pirirakau dimensions in harmony and balance. This has led to a future where the old people are themselves rapidly losing the traditional meaning of the totality of health and the younger generation have no memory of it.

WAHANGA TUAONO: CHAPTER 6

Korero Timata:Introduction

This final chapter describes how the use of ancient knowledge still has relevance today. I have elected to complete this thesis utilising a structure similar to a whaikorero. At the beginning of this thesis I opened by describing the arrival of the Takitimu and the implanting of the mauri on Mauao with a karakia. This chapter is the korero whakamutunga which uses a tauparapara and a whakatauki format from Pirirakau to bring the thesis to a close. The tauparapara and whakatauki reinforce and illustrate how our history lessons still contain key messages for us. Pirirakau see that it is only a matter of seeking them deeply within our own knowledge. The tauparapara and whakatauki remain important to us because that knowledge and information was regarded by our tipuna as being integral parts of the mauri (the life force) which ultimately determines the survival of a race.

There are six sections to this chapter. Section one entitled, 'Tauparapara o Tauranga Moana', provides a ritual incantation that begins the korero and returns the thesis to Maturanga Maori. Section two, 'Ka Tau me nga Mea Katoa: Everything falls into Place', is a summation by the hapu of how a belief system that was brought to Aotearoa from Hawaiiiki continues to sustain their descendants. Section three, 'Te Whakarapopotanga Hauora-Te Whakamaramatanga a Pirirakau; How Pirirakau Define Health', is about how they express hauora for themselves. The fourth section, named 'Nga Tutotutanga: Recommendations' is about my recommendations for Pirirakau's ongoing health and wellbeing. Section five, 'Whakamutunga: Conclusion', draws the thesis together, while section six 'Nga Taonga i Tuku Iho: Knowledge from the Past' brings this thesis to completion with our only surviving whakatauki.

Tauparapara o Tauranga Moana

This thesis began with an ancient incantation recited on the arrival of the Takitimu waka. It is therefore appropriate that I draw the thesis to a close using the traditional ways of our people. From the karakia, it proceeds with the tauparapara and concludes with a Pirirakau whakatauki. It is a Matauranga Maori process and the structure can be found in whaikorero.

I have chosen to use a tauparapara because it is in this way that you gain an insight into the depth of our beliefs. A tauparapara is a class of chant or incantation used at the beginning of a whaikorero to establish the orators claim to mystical and esoteric knowledge. The chants contain archaic words and historical references. Often the recitation contains mana and tapu rather than specific information. For the orator, the text of the tauparapara has to be followed exactly.

The traditional korero of Tauranga Moana tells of the arrival of the Takitimu, Tainui, Te Arawa and Matatua waka to this area. However, it is the visit of the Tainui waka which has special significance and is commemorated by a tauparapara. This tauparapara is the most frequently recited by all the tribes in Tauranga Moana. It identifies the Tangata Whenua and establishes their mana whenua and mana tangata.

The Tainui waka, on entering the harbour ran aground on the Ruahine bar outside the entrance. When their efforts to dislodge themselves were in vain, the Rangatira of the waka, Hoturoa made a sacrifice to the gods in order to save the people. He cast the kuia, Wahinerua overboard and her body was used as leverage to enable the waka to roll off the sandbar and proceed unimpeded into the harbour. Wahinerua was later washed ashore at the base of Mauao and became transformed into a rock known today as Te Kuia rock.

Papaki tuana nga tai o Mauao	As the storm broke over Mauao's rocky foreshore
I whakanuku nuku hia	In vain they tried to move the great canoe
I whakaneke neke hia	Forward and aft
I whuia rere hia e Hotu a	It was Hotu
Wahinerua ki te wai	Who cast Wahinerua overboard
Ki tai wiwi	Into the swirling waters
Ki tai wawa	Into the churning waters
Tihei Mauri Ora!	We live again
Ki te whai ao	We emerge out of the darkness
Ki te Ao Marama	Into the light of day

The tauparapara contains information about an early survival strategy which had special meaning to the tribes. It has endured long after others have faded into the mists of time. This strategy formulated hundreds of years ago by the Tainui waka provides an unchanging paradigm that Pirirakau lived by, following the raupatu. This is not unusual in our history as our korero often tells of sacrifices made when our people's survival was in jeopardy and a specific deed was required to enable us to continue. The Rangatira, Hoturoa, of the Tanui waka, so long ago made the decision to sacrifice a human life, and so too, we of Pirirakau have had to forsake aspects of our tikanga which also constitutes a sacrifice. In this way the Tainui waka was able to proceed and become the great confederation of tribes that they are today. Pirirakau have used the same cultural paradigm as a tool with which to survive our land loss and protect our health for the future. The tauparapara provides an illustration of how cultural and spiritual precepts which arise from indigenous science, continue to sustain the people. For Pirirakau, the discovery of an ancient tauihi (prow) in swamp land, and the hikoi, provided two tangible links to the past within a month and reinforced the relevance of an ancient cultural truth.

Whakaotinga Korero - Ka Tau Nga Mea Katoa: Everything Falls Into Place

It was reported in the *Bay of Plenty Times* (18.5.1998) that after the hikoi of the hapu to the tribal pa site on the Kaimai Range, a spokesman for Pirirakau, Rawiri Kuka observed that both events were significant and very personal to the Pirirakau people, and that:

It feels as if everything is starting to fall into place. They are important in verifying the history of the tribe and the old stories we've been told.

At the end of this particular fragment of the history of the hapu of Pirirakau, I too have a sense that everything has fallen into place. So much has happened along the way to change me. Families have come home to re-establish ties and reacquaint themselves with being Pirirakau again. The hapu have visited old and significant pa sites, and as a result there has been a revitalisation in the hapu. Activities such as tikanga and kawa wananga are part of the resurgence. The raupatu claims have required a new unity within the hapu and as a result we are more organised and able to respond rapidly to any infringements to our Pirirakautanga. For example, Pirirakau's recent objection to a property development on a wahi tapu site, was made quickly and effectively, and the *Bay of Plenty Times* (13.5.2000) recorded our opposition. It is thought that since the raupatu claims our whanaungatanga has been strengthened and as a result we are more cohesive and organised.

The participants in the research have experienced some of the joy, the pride and the pain of remembering the past. Deep personal pain has been felt by the participants and their whanau as some of their most secret knowledge was shared publicly for the first time. It was laid bare before the Waitangi Tribunal for scrutiny and challenge. The whanau were prepared to pay this cost knowing that a small part of our history previously denied, would be written back into the annals of Tauranga Moana. For all of us at Pirirakau the healing has begun.

During the latter part of the thesis two of the whanau participants passed away, alongside a personal friend, colleague and mentor Aroha Biel. Their lives and their deaths have had

a profound effect on me and they have changed my perception of our people's history forever. In spite of the gaps left by the absence of these rangatira, their contributions are still felt.

Te Whakarapopototanga Hauora - Te Whakamaramatanga a Pirirakau: How Pirirakau Define Health

We of Pirirakau had definite ideas about what constituted health or ill health for us, and as the researcher I was asked to record what was said in context with our history. Rolleston (1988/1989:5) who researched health in a nearby hapu of Ngati Ranginui also found that the people there wished to define health for themselves. He recorded that:

. . . because health is such a broad concept in the Maori view, it was decided to accept whatever it was that Maori people themselves considered was "Maori Health".

There were two very strong messages in the korero from the participants. First, cultural identity was recognised as a key factor in the health and wellbeing of Pirirakau and that stems from the whenua. Second, physical fitness was recognised as being of major importance to survival. Both these aspects of health formed part of the essence of who Pirirakau are, and they are passed down from generation to generation. Physical fitness was described as a mainline defence from colonisation for a small and vulnerable hapu.

Many aspects of health were raised during the interviews and the discussions, but the claims to the Waitangi Tribunal which mainly centred on the regaining of lost land, the restoration of status and mana whenua were defined as critical health factors. Thus landlessness was seen as an impediment to health and wellbeing for Pirirakau. The Western medical health model was found to be useful only in the treatment of symptoms. The Pirirakau beliefs and attitudes about health are very land based, and whilst we connect to the wider issues of Maori health such as colonisation, it is also very Pirirakau specific. Raupatu was always seen as an underlying cause of ill health. Perceptions of injustice and perceptions of regaining land were very powerful messages around health. For Pirirakau, the loss of land is a much larger issue than money and restitution for the

past. It encompasses the total range of things that are included in the paradigms of a culture. It is because of this that our hapu do not believe that money will compensate us for our greater losses.

Although the people felt that some things can never be fully recovered, aspects of knowledge can still be found in whakatauki, tauparapara and taonga tuku iho. These remaining taonga are sufficient as reference points for us to continue to build on. They contain the essential elements that make up Pirirakautanga. Thus, although relatively few taonga are left to us, we remain intact as a people despite consistent and prolonged attacks to the whole. As I noted in a presentation to the Waitangi Tribunal:

This expresses and manifests itself in many ways and for Pirirakau it is ultimately about our Pirirakautanga. Our wellbeing is dependent on this. In essence then, they are saying that the separation of our people from the land, the language and family is in itself a prescription for illness (Kuka,J.,1998:2).

Health for Pirirakau is ultimately about our Pirirakautanga and the totality of all that it encompasses. It is both inclusive and to some extent exclusive, for we of Pirirakau see ourselves by choice, as a self-contained people who live out our lives in a unique way that sets us apart from others, and also signifies our identity. The spiritual, mental, physical and whanau domains of health arise from this reality. Thus there was agreement amongst the participants that we had been affected by the raupatu in one way or another.

The participants agreed that the complex dimensions of health and wellbeing have been rearranged throughout our history, with one taking precedence over another when the need arises. Until such time as a hapu finds equilibrium in recovering from a trauma, behaviour is temporarily altered. This is what happened to Pirirakau when through colonisation and warfare our circumstances and priorities changed as they were required to adjust to events outside our control. The evidence of this study suggests that over time, we of Pirirakau have kept ourselves well in order to survive and continue the process of regaining our occupational, and customary rights as Tangata Whenua. What began with the unjust confiscation of our lands resulted in a strategy for health and survival.

Jahnke (1996:18) observed, “in shaping a vision for the future the configuration of the past often provides a framework for reconfiguring that future”. Something of what she described provided an illustration of the re-configuration which occurred to guide the efforts of Pirirakau in the claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. The discovery of an ancient canoe prow represented both a cultural reconfiguration and an affirmation of the usefulness of old knowledge for Pirirakau.

Our hapu of Pirirakau believe that healthy development for the hapu is an ongoing process. We have a dream for ourselves that recognises, that for us, Pirirakautanga and tinorangatiratanga are one. The kaumatua issued this statement in support of that dream:

Pirirakau have decided to set up a runanga that will determine our own destiny. The kaumatua would like to see the younger generation do it, and we the kaumatua will be the guides. It will need the consensus of all the people in Pirirakau to make it work. It is time to speak your mind on all the subjects as the time is right to declare what we want. We need to become self sufficient. (Faulkner, K. Pirirakau Kaumatua 1991)

Health was among the issues that the people identified as being of major importance and a targeted priority although our kaumatua stated that this was not to be in isolation from the land, the marae, and the development of the people. This would give us the ability to carry our vision into the future and to never again be unprepared for attacks from the outside world.

Both the thesis and the raupatu findings have influenced the shape and nature of the vision for the next decade. The vision shows that the kaupapa remains the same and that consistency of purpose, self reliance and self responsibility are lasting characteristics. These findings indicate that we of Pirirakau remain committed to our rangatiratanga. Rangatiratanga is sometimes expressed through words like independence, self responsibility, health, and self reliance, but the meanings are always about Tino Rangatiratanga.

From the information given, it has been possible to set out some factors which constitute a measure of health for Pirirakau. Those factors are, identity associated with the whenua, tikanga, language, whanau unity, whakapapa, and whanaungatanga. Remaining strongly in touch with these unique aspects of our culture has contributed to the relatively good health and wellbeing of Pirirakau. For us, the shaping of our individual and collective identity is found within the total environment. We have focussed on retaining good health while the world changed around us and in order to do this we have a history of holding to our essence which is Pirirakautanga. Durie (1994:79) discusses the issue of identity, saying that:

Maori self-determination is a shallow goal if a Maori identity is not a part of the equation.

Nga Tutohutanga: Recommendations

Recommendation one:

The first recommendation is for a Pirirakau researcher to undertake further research in the future. What has emerged from this study is a recognition by us that tinorangatiranga at a research level must recognise the right of every hapu to define for themselves the models and methods which will address the different constructions of their knowledge. An essential element of tinorangatiranga for us therefore, is the right to situate our ourselves within a Maturanga framework.

Pirirakau now believe in an independent pathway when entering into their own research, one which validates their tikanga, kawa, world view and the fact that they carry authority as a partner under the Treaty of Waitangi. Support for this stance could be strengthened by a formal agreement being designed between Te Putahi-a-Toi, Maori Studies Massey University and Pirirakau. We would expect that any agreement between us be constructed according to our Pirirakautanga. This would more effectively support the validation of our use of Maturanga Maori within the conventions of academic enquiry. In this way the tension between the two paradigms would be lessened.

Recommendation two:

It is recommended, as part of an ongoing research plan, that a similar study be done after five years. In five years the Treaty of Waitangi hearings will have been completed in Tauranga Moana, and settlement issues begin to be processed. I suggest that a similar methodology to the one used in this thesis be used, and that it should further examine the findings. Some questions will need to be asked again, for example, 'is physical health still a priority over other priorities?', 'have the links between the whenua and identity altered?' Future research should also address the question of how raupatu settlements may have impacted on the hapu's view of health and whether the tinana, the physical component, remains an important dimension of health for Pirirakau.

Whakamutunga: Conclusion

The focus of the research has been to explore the relationship between land loss and health and wellbeing, that is, to investigate how widespread and pervasive Pirirakau perceive the effects of land confiscation have been on their lives and wellbeing. The idea that land loss had a disastrous impact on health was first put forward in a modern New Zealand context by Sorrenson (1955) in his thesis entitled *The Purchase of Maori Lands 1865 -1892*. This approach was later taken up by Dow (1999:14) who observed that "The idea that there was an association between land alienation and poor health had no impact upon the thinking of policy makers before 1940".

Using the linkage between whenua, health and wellbeing, has required that I as the researcher have needed to blend, in some way, two value systems. This also led to my meeting dual accountabilities throughout the study. One accountability was to my own people who required that I respect their tikanga and the other to the university who also placed requirements on me. There has always been a tension between the two value systems that is reflected in the discussion of theories and models of research.

The exploration has been accomplished through the processes of both Western research and Maturanga Maori. Some differences between them have been illustrated and I have

sought to show that poor Maori health status has its genesis in breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. The struggle to have our values and models validated continues to be a challenge for as Reid (2000:3), director of Te Ropu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare in the Wellington School of Medicine, says:

There is no evidence that a “brown mirror image of the Pakeha model of research” will be useful for Maori health development. We have to have the bravery and the vision to move past the Pakeha model to experiment and find the variety of different models that we need.

The centre of the discussion is around historical issues and the methods used by Pirirakau to maintain health and wellbeing, in order to compensate for major losses when the hapu was under enormous stress. The research required an intimate understanding of Pirirakau people in our settings. It also demanded a different kind of approach, one based on knowledge of our kawa, values and patterns of behaviour.

The information from participants reconfirmed that we of Pirirakau hold that our wellbeing is closely tied to the whenua and that it encompasses te taha wairua, te taha tinana, te taha hinengaro and te taha whanau. Since the arrival of British settlers and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the whenua has been under constant attack whether by law, policy or ridicule. During this period and into the present we of Pirirakau have defended our ancestral lands against such attacks. We have cared for ourselves and made significant efforts to remain well in order to continue the struggle to regain and hold onto our land. The establishment of Pirirakau Hauora, staffed by Pirirakau, and on Pirirakau whenua, is an example of a place where Pirirakautanga is foremost. The Pirirakau Hauora, as well as linking us to the whenua, allows our autonomy as a Maori health provider and gives an appropriate economic base from which to develop.

The findings of this study are that the loss of land had other unacknowledged consequences for the hapu of Pirirakau. One of these losses was health as we defined it. It has been shown through the information given by the participants who were interviewed, that they believe that the raupatu had an effect on the health of the hapu of Pirirakau making them more conscious of the need to care for their physical health at that

time. They believed that this stemmed primarily from the major issues of colonisation. Land and its people are the centre of life for the hapu of Pirirakau.

Nga Taonga Tuku Iho: Knowledge from the Past

When the unprotected village of Pirirakau was wiped out by a taua of Ngaiterangi warriors, they discussed what to do with the bodies of the children. Should they hide them before Pirirakau men returned from their fishing expedition? The decision was, to put the children's bodies into the sea and let the tide disburse them.

This whakatauki, consisting of only two short lines, carries a whole history of the hapu. It is one of the few remaining whakatauki left to us. It represents the feelings of deep anguish and desolation felt by the people, when realising that they faced a future without their tamariki and were on the brink of extinction as a hapu.

The whakatauki is a legacy left by our tipuna for us to learn from, it illustrates what happens to a people when either children or land are taken.

Me pehea nga tamariki?

Waihoa ma te tai e kotia.

What about the children?

Leave it for the tide to do the inevitable

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