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He Huarahi Motuhake
The Politics of Tribal Agency in Provider Services

Huia Tomlins-Jahnke
2005

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The Politics of Tribal Agency in Provider Services

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He Karakia

Karangahia Tāne ki te paepae tapu
i a Rehua

I te hiku mutu o rangi
Ka turuturu i konei
Te Tawhito-rangi,
Te Tawhito-uenuku
Te Tawhito-atua
Ka rawe Tāne
I te hiringa matua
I te hiringa taketake
Ki te ao mārama,
Ka waiho hei ara mō te tini
E whakarauika nei, e tā e!

He Poroporoāki

E po! E po!
E tangi tonu ana te po ki Parahaki,

E heke! E heke!
E heke tonu ana a Roimata a Hūpe.

Ka kore e mutu ko te mamae
Ka kore e mutu ana te ngaungau ki taku ate
Aue, Aue, Taukiri e!

Kei tōku pāpā, kei taku kaiarahia, kei te hoea morehu o te pakanga tuarua o te ao,
Ahakoa kua rere atu ki rerenga wairua, ahakoa kua hoki koe ki te tini ki te mano, kei te tika tonu
koe kei roto i te ngākau, kei roto i te hinengaro. Kua ngaro kē te tangi o te manu huia, kua ngaro
hoki tou reo whakatangitangi ataahua.

Na reira e te matua, arohaina ana koe e te whānau. Kua whawhaitia i te whawhai pai,
Kua omahia i te oma pai,
Ka ea, Ka ea.

This thesis is dedicated to my loving parents
Guy Perenara Tomlins and Olivia Munro Tomlins

He Mihi

Kei aku nui, kei aku rahi,
Kei te pae maunga Tararua,
Kei ngā karanga hapū o
Raukawa te Au ki te Tonga
E te Rūnanga o Raukawa,
Ka rere ngā mihi aroha ki a koutou,
Nā koutou ahau i awahi, i tohutohutia ki tēnei mahi
Kei te mihi, kei te tangi atu mo tēna taonga, ko te mohiotanga.
Tēna rawa atu koutou katoa.

Ko Kahurānaki me Aorangi ngā maunga
Ko Ngaruroro me Te Awe ngā awa
Ko Ngarengare me Ngai Te Ipu ngā hapū
Ko Houngarea me Te Whakaki ngā marae
Ko Takitimu te waka
Ko Ngāti Kahungunu te iwi

Tihei Mauri ora, ki te whei ao, ki te ao mārama!

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Huia Tomlins-Jahnke
March 2005

Abstract

This thesis explores the nature of tribal service provision, in particular the characteristics that distinguish tribal provider services. An indigenous research paradigm, Māori philosophical traditions and tribal histories provide the context for researching and theorising about the three tribal organisations upon which this study is based. The thesis argues that tribal authorities emerged not only as a response to state policies of devolution but also as ongoing expressions of self-determination. How tribal organisational bureaucracies were established historically provides the context for examining the interface between tribal organisations and the state. In particular, specific historical events leading up to the 1840 annexation of New Zealand by Britain that demonstrate British assumptions of authority, humanitarian ideals and interventions by state functionaries in the affairs of New Zealand.

A discussion on the nature of the state as the basis for Eurocentric bias in modern constitutionalism offers a platform for understanding the art of government. Four interconnecting themes give a systematic basis for exploring the distinctive characteristics of tribal provider services that emerged as significant in this study; 'ngā mahi a ngā tangata' examines advocacy, responsiveness and relevancy. 'Ngā mahi mā te iwi' considers how links to the Māori communities are constituted relative to whānau, hapū and marae. 'Ngā mahi a ngā tipuna' explores how culture counts and the place of Māori culture and traditions in the workplace. 'Ngā mahi tuara' examines cultural frameworks located within Māori philosophical and customary practices and traditions.

Finally, an analysis is given of the contracting environment and the counterstrategies employed by the participants in this study in countering the limitations imposed by the terms of state contracts.

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Introduction

“We will no longer tolerate policies, which take no account of our language, customs and lifestyle, nor will we continue to accept being governed or administered by anyone who does not understand the way we think or appreciate our values... We will master our own affairs, we must command our own destiny...”¹ Matiu Rata 1979.

The idea of alternative and separate pathways to advancing Māori social, cultural and economic aspirations is embodied in the Māori title of this thesis ‘He Huarahi Motuhake’; that is, developing as Māori without compromising the core values that underpin traditions and preferred lifestyles, yet creating opportunities for the realisation of Māori potential on their own terms while maintaining control of decisions that affect Māori futures.

This thesis was motivated, in part, by negative publicity surrounding Māori organisations, and a growing perception among the general population that Māori were inept at managing and controlling their affairs. The research upon which this thesis is based, set out to investigate the nature of tribal providers, their characteristics and distinguishing features through the experiences of those who work at the ‘flaxroots’. The aim was to explore the reality of their workday lives in tribal service provision, thereby dispelling some of the myths and negative views held about Māori organisations most often perpetuated by media accounts.

In recent times the notion of ‘motuhake’ is most often associated with the concept of ‘mana motuhake’ which refers to separate power and autonomy, and ‘mana Māori motuhake’ where power and autonomy are vested in Māori people as self-determining. For Māori tribes this was the basis upon which the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 between representatives of the sovereign tribes of Aotearoa and the British Crown. It is the foundation upon which Crown Māori relationships were based and New Zealand was established, first as a British colony and later as an independent nation. Signing the Treaty in 1840 was a response by Māori tribes and their leaders to, among others, the promises that modernity, in the form of new technology, new knowledge, resources and life-style, offered. Print literacy presented a powerful new form of communication that Māori enthusiastically embraced.

¹ Auckland Star, 10 November 1979. Matiu Rata was Minister of Māori Affairs from 1963-1979 until his demotion to the back bench and his resignation in 1979. He became the leader of the Mana Motuhake political party, which was launched in 1980.

The idea of separate power and authority was inscribed in the motto and coat of arms of the Kingitanga movement of the Tainui people established in the 19th century as a response by Māori tribes to British imperialism. The central objective of the Kingitanga movement was the goal of autonomy encapsulated by the motto ‘mana motuhake’ that also inferred traditional structures and Māori aspirations for development existing alongside non-Māori structures (Cox, 1993).

The term ‘mana motuhake’ gained political currency in 1979 when Matiu Rata, a former Minister of Māori Affairs, rejected the one-people ideology of Pākehā politics, resigned from the Labour party and in 1980 established the Mana Motuhake political party. His actions were interpreted by the media as separatist and discriminatory rather than attributing them to an attempt to progress Māori aspirations in the face of government indifference to Māori needs. The party manifesto expressed an agenda for Māori social change pursued by both radicals and conservatives alike that sought, among others, self-determination in all matters affecting Māori people and the transformation of all social and political institutions to include bicultural Māori and non-Māori perspectives (Walker, 1981).

In 1984 Māori leaders gathered at the first Hui Taumata or Māori economic summit to discuss and plan pathways for Māori cultural, social and economic development, at least for the next ten years. Among implications from the Hui were that tribal development would be the vehicle for Māori advancement driven by tribal authorities aimed at Māori mana motuhake or self-determination. After 1984 however, Māori were hit hard by major economic restructuring that precipitated an upsurge in Māori unemployment levels, almost negating the plans from the hui. Survival became the major focus for most Māori communities. But the effects of economic reform, although harsh, did not quell Māori insistence on greater autonomy as Māori medium language early childhood centres were rapidly established outside state systems. Te Kohanga Reo (language nests) became a symbol of Māori self-determination and a framework for the establishment of Māori language medium primary (kura kaupapa) and secondary (wharekura) schooling.

The development of Māori medium education evolved as a resistance to state options and a response to the deficient educational outcomes of Māori children in predominantly euro-centric schools. Māori demanded greater control of the education

of Māori children and therefore a greater say in what counts as education. The long-term goals focussed on the regeneration and revitalisation of the Māori language, a participatory prerogative involving the extended family, and an unwavering vision of successful Māori futures at all levels of New Zealand society. It was mana motuhake in the best sense of that term.

After 1984 Māori initiated strategies in education established the trend by Māori in other social sectors- health, social services and justice to relocate outside western frameworks (the ‘for Māori by Māori’ principle) and develop Māori centred systems and organisations. The Government emphasis on devolution as part of the state-restructuring programme assisted the establishment of Māori service provision. Rather than a policy of separateness as such strategies were often defined, alternative pathways allowed for Māori aspirations to be realised within Māori frameworks alongside mainstream options.

In the year 2000 the incoming Prime Minister Helen Clarke and many of her most senior Labour colleagues began a series of tours of Māori communities organised by Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Māori Development. Reflecting on these meetings the Prime Minister Helen Clarke said,

“We have encountered people and whole communities overflowing with ideas and plans, some already underway and others still in the design and development stages... The talent and capability to succeed and prosper abounds in Māori communities. We have seen it first hand in the innovative and creative developments all around the motu [land]” (In Walker, 2004:319).

Twenty-one years after the first Hui Taumata in 1984 significant gains by Māori support the Prime Minister’s impressions of dynamic and innovative communities. In the preparation and build up to the Hui Taumata 2005, a set of three stimulus papers were released in 2004 as a framework for organising ideas, for setting the agenda for the Hui and as an invitation to dialogue around the three key themes; developing people, developing enterprise, and developing assets. The themes offer strategic directions for Māori development over the next twenty years. In particular, visions of a skilled Māori workforce located in future-proof areas of economic growth and stability, developing generations of entrepreneurs, increasing assets through active participation in business, and producing leadership in terms of quality

decision ‘making’ and decision ‘makers.’ As this thesis goes to print the outcome of the Hui is yet to be determined and although a different focus is planned in contrast to the first summit, it is probable that the underlying theme central to the philosophy of the next two decades will remain one concerned with mana Māori motuhake.

This thesis set out to investigate the nature of iwi service provision from a Māori perspective. Chapter One places the thesis within an indigenous paradigm for research arguing that an indigenous worldview while privileging the concerns, practices and participation of indigenous researchers, does not exclude the views of others. An indigenous paradigm provides a global context for researching and theorising about tribal communities premised on the supposition that indigenous peoples share compatible worldviews and philosophical orientations. The method employed in this research is described drawing on relevant principles of kaupapa Māori and Māori centred research.

Key theoretical assumptions that underpin much of the philosophical and cultural perspective of the thesis form the basis for Chapter Two. Drawing from the cosmological narratives a theoretical framework is constructed around a number of principles relevant to investigating contemporary tribal organisations.

Perspectives of customary Māori socialisation are outlined in Chapter Three as a basis for analysing the contemporary condition of tribal organisations. Ngata’s geneological method is applied as a framework for a brief summary of the tribal histories of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga. This provides a context for outlining the social and political history within which modern formations of Māori social organisations and tribal entities have evolved in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Specific accounts related to the development of tribal authorities provide the focus for Chapter Four. It is argued that tribal authorities emerged not only as a response to state policies of devolution but also as an ongoing expression of self-determination. The extent to which tribes could claim autonomy within imposed structures was largely determined by the state through tribes replicating state bureaucracies. How tribal organisational bureaucracies were established and the extent to which tribes reconcile tribal aspirations and accommodate compliance

mechanisms in their structures are discussed.

The interface between tribal organisations and the state is the primary focus of Chapter Five. The chapter begins with specific historical events leading up to the 1840 annexation of New Zealand by Britain that demonstrate British assumptions of authority, humanitarian ideals and interventions by state functionaries in the affairs of New Zealand. The central argument is that these assumptions formed the basis upon which New Zealand's nationhood was premised and the foundation upon which the Crown's relationship with Māori tribes was largely determined. This is the context for a discussion on the nature of the state and the basis for Eurocentric bias in modern constitutionalism expressed in the writings by the contractarian theorists from the enlightenment period - Thomas Hobbes, John Lock, Jean-Jacque Rousseau and Emmanuel Kant. The chapter closes with a discussion on the notion of citizenship in relation to an emerging politics of indigeneity. While the concept of equality is a liberal democratic ideal centred on the individual, it is in fact a principle that is difficult to implement in practice.

Chapter Six explores the practices involved in the 'art of government', and exposes systems and processes referred to as 'internal colonisation.' Three significant themes from the study are investigated; participants perceptions of the state, the intersection of Māori Pākehā relations in terms of the assumptions and constructed knowledge held by Pākehā about Māori, and the 'art of resistance' exploited by the participants in this study as strategies for working in dual ontological systems.

Chapters Seven and Eight explore the distinctive characteristics, special features and symbolic markers that distinguish an iwi organisation from other providers delivering the same service. Four interconnecting themes provide a systematic basis for exploration; 'Ngā mahi a ngā tangata' examines advocacy, responsiveness and relevancy. 'Ngā mahi mā te iwi' considers how links to the Māori communities are constituted relative to whānau, hapū and marae. 'Ngā mahi a ngā tipuna' explores how culture counts and the place of Māori culture and traditions in the workplace. 'Ngā mahi tuara' examines cultural frameworks located within Māori philosophical and customary practices and traditions.

Chapter Nine provides an analysis of the perceptions held by the participants in this study of the contracting environment that are confirmed by the literature. The

contention is that the relationship between the state and the community continues to reflect the contractual environment of the 1990's. The difficulties providers have in linking 'output' oriented contracts designed with the individual in mind, to the actual needs and reality of the Māori community is outlined. An analysis is presented of the counterstrategies and tactics employed by the participants in countering the limitations imposed by the terms of state contracts. Finally, a case study is used to outline NKII's experience of contracting with the state for the provision of iwi social services. The obstacles encountered in the course of NKII's contract that contributed to the demise of the iwi social services are examined. Questions are raised regarding the political will, commitment and integrity of the state to support Māori development beyond that of political rhetoric and within contexts germane to Māori families. The thesis concludes with Chapter Ten, which draws the threads of the thesis together.

The importance of leadership and the place of women in tribal development remain relatively unexplored and therefore offer significant focus for further research. Overall this is a study of Māori resilience and agency. It is a story of struggle at the interface with the state for a greater say not only in tribal affairs but also in determining alternative pathways for Māori self-determination, ngā huarahi motuhake by those close to the battlefields of tribal development.

Giving his perspective and an objective summation of the position of Māori in a letter to Sir Apirana Ngata in 1928, Sir Peter Buck wrote,

“...You and those associated with you are so close to the battlefield that the dust of conflict surrounds you. You are hanging on to trenches, giving way here to consolidate there and so improving the whole position. You are too busy with the daily detail and the continuous duty to know what the relationship of your sector in the line is to the whole line of struggle...it is not a struggle of active opposition but it is struggle all the same though many may not realise that a struggle is on. With us it is a twofold struggle; a struggle without and a struggle within...government and officials, materialists and spiritualists would have us abandon all and accept their culture...if we do that we become nothing. We become standardised to wear a made to order suit that was made by European factories with no knowledge of Polynesian hips...we are forced to have alterations made to suit the particular physique”(Sorrenson, 1986:144).

Chapter One

An Indigenous Research Methodology

This study of tribal service providers is located within an indigenous approach to research that in Aotearoa New Zealand has come to be variously theorised and described as kaupapa Māori¹, Māori centred², or Māori-related³ research. Theorising Māori approaches to research is embedded in frameworks structured around Māori experiences, concerns and aspirations that underpin the politics of Māori development and self-determination. Māori cultural and spiritual dimensions, such as principles of tikanga and whakapapa, lie at the core of this approach whereby the values, assumptions, concepts, and perspectives upon which the research enterprise is premised, are taken for granted. The knowledge generated not only traces the dimensions of meaning from within a Māori worldview but reflect what has been described as ‘holistic perspectives’ (Durie, 2003a). The strength of such an approach is that it is inclusive of alternative mainstream perspectives thus enriching the analysis by drawing from global views.

This chapter has three objectives. The first is to link the thesis, located in a Māori field of study, within the global context of a dynamic indigenous paradigm for research. This is achieved by exploring the interior rigours and specificities of an indigenous worldview through the voices of indigenous writers and researchers, thereby privileging “indigenous concerns, indigenous practices and indigenous participation as researchers and researched” (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:107) yet not necessarily excluding the voices of non-indigenous writers.

The second objective is to map the differing perspective’s within Māori approaches to research with particular emphasis on the salient features of research that are highlighted in the literature.

¹ For example see (Bishop, 1994; L. T. Mead, 1996; Pihama, 1993; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1997)

² For example see (Cunningham, 1998; Durie, 1997; Jahnke & Taiapa, 1999)

³ For example (Kirikiri, 1998)

The third and most important objective of this chapter is to describe the method and techniques used to carry out this study with iwi providers by drawing on relevant principles of kaupapa Māori and Māori centred research (Durie, A. 1992, 2002; Durie, 1997; L. T. Mead, 1996). It is argued that within the context of a Māori research field both of those approaches are analogous in values, attitudes and practices. The politics of researching Māori communities provide a discursive platform from which to debate epistemological, ontological and axiological issues specific to this study that were encountered along the way.

Towards An Indigenous Paradigm

Defining the terms

The theories, concepts and interpretations of reality developed by indigenous researchers that describe the indigenous world may be categorised, in part, by Thomas Kuhn's concept of a paradigm (Kuhn, 1979). Drawing on his critique on the nature of science and scientific communities, Kuhn defined a paradigm as,

“...a social construction of reality...the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community...more specifically it is a belief system that prevails in a given scientific community at a given time in history” (In Chalmers, 1982:89).

The notion of paradigm is not used in this thesis in the sense of ‘competing traditions’ or indeed of systems of theories, principles, concepts and assumptions that are either static or doctrinaire.⁴ The term is used instead to apply to the ‘natural context’ of indigenous worldviews and theories of societies (Youngblood Henderson, 2000), which extends beyond the received Western definitions to include the natural and spiritual worlds. The position taken is consistent with James Youngblood Henderson when he says,

⁴ L.T. Mead also publishes under Linda Tuhiwai Smith. In commenting on Irwins (1994) suggestion that ‘kaupapa Māori’ is a paradigm Linda Mead points out that the use of such a term sets up comparisons with western science thereby undermining a central aim of kaupapa Māori which is to resist such comparisons. In reference to Kuhn's definition, Mead maintains that “kaupapa Māori is both less than and more than a paradigm”(1996:208). The aim here is not to suggest that particular and localised approaches fall into this category. The term is used loosely to suggest a community within a global context that share similar ontological and philosophical orientations.

“Indigenous peoples are attempting to effect a paradigm shift to replace the Eurocentric way of viewing the world with a new context that would be an ecological or natural context of Indigenous knowledge rather than a refined artificial one” (Youngblood Henderson, 2000:14).

There is of course a danger in sweeping the ‘constellations of beliefs and values’ of entire nations of indigenous peoples under the rubric of a single organising concept thereby assuming a universal indigeneity. The intention is to locate the global context alongside which a Māori approach to research may be positioned. In this sense a ‘given scientific community’ so described, includes the collective experiences of members that constitute a global community of indigenous researchers and their communities.

The tensions at the interface of often competing indigenous and western thinking regarding what constitutes science and therefore a ‘scientific community,’ are well documented by indigenous intellectuals and theorists.⁵

From an indigenous perspective, Linda Tuhiwai Smith offers a sustained critique of the genealogy of western scientific traditions, the contribution of science and research in buttressing the machinations of imperialism, colonialism and globalism and the complex interface between indigenous ways of knowing and western science (L. T. Mead, 1996; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

Lakota theorist, Vine Deloria is critical of the narrow focus of western scholars and their obedient faith in the disciplinary paradigms within which they work. Such paradigms he argues, promote an inherent racism that is doctrinaire and encoded in empirical instruments, processes and procedures. The non-western tribal equivalence of science is the oral tradition and therefore, because of the nature of indigenous languages, represents indepth knowledge of the land, the flora and fauna, and the existential experiences of particular groups of people. Rather than producing fragmented knowledge, the processes of generating knowledge calls for a methodology based on the interrelatedness of things such as between people, their environment, the metaphysical world and time and place (Deloria, 1995:37-59).

⁵ See for example (Battiste, 2000; Cajete, 2000; Colorado, 1996; Deloria, 1995; Durie, 1996a; Jahnke & Taiapa, 1999; Little Bear, 2000; L. T. Mead, 1996; G. H. Smith, 1997; Smith, 2000; L. T. Smith, 1997; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Walker, 1997; Youngblood Henderson, 2000b)

In his exploration of an indigenous science paradigm, Tewa educationalist Gregory Cajete uses the word ‘science’ arbitrarily, arguing that the term relates to specific ways people come to know the world and generate knowledge, hence ‘knowledge’ and ‘science’ are used interchangeably among indigenous scientists. Furthermore, as an organising concept the term Indigenous science not only describes “...the entire edifice of indigenous knowledge...” but is also ‘inclusive’ of other views that emerge out of western scientific traditions (Cajete, 2000:3).

Drawing on the work of Paulo Freire, Linda Tuhiwai Smith elaborates on the importance of ‘naming’, asserting that within the projects of indigenous peoples, ‘naming the world’ is not only about reclaiming original indigenous names. It is also about maintaining a relationship with the meanings and the capacity as indigenous people to name their realities (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:157). J. Edward Chamberlin aptly illustrates this in his comments about the words ‘tulku’ and ‘tjukurrpa’ used by Aborigine Charlie Tjungurray to describe his relationship to his homeland in Australia.

“...The words represent all that is most significant about the relationship between his people and their land, between their past and the present and between one and another” (Chamberlin J. Edward, 2000:131).

Like Cajete, Pamela Colorado also chooses to name ‘indigenous knowledge’ as ‘science’ primarily as a way of bridging the two epistemological traditions. Reflecting on her university training that excluded indigenous perspectives thereby undermining her ability to communicate effectively in the traditions of the academy, motivated Colorado to raise important questions about the high status of indigenous knowledge held by indigenous peoples. She concluded that science was an equivalent knowledge system that not only held high status and esteem but was also capable of “carrying the weight of God” (Colorado, 1996:6).

Mason Durie goes further than this by emphasising the way in which Māori approaches to knowledge and western scientific thinking tend to converge on common ground. The similarities, he points out, are discernible not so much on points of difference from conventional science but rather in terms of a difference of balance. Both approaches accept the existence of ‘unforeseen circumstances’, both use a process of deduction to reach conclusions, and both have developed highly

specialised systems of storage and retrieval of knowledge (Durie, 1996a:7). He stops short however, of concluding that Māori knowledge is science since the methodologies and the nature of the evidence are different. “Science is one such system, Maori cultural knowledge is another. A particular challenge of Māori students of science will be to live in two worlds of understanding and to be enriched by both” (Durie, 1996a:10). Sympathetic with the view held by Colorado however, is Durie’s insistence that indigenous advancement requires “the capacity to move from one perspective to another and to embrace both” (Durie, 1996a:12). Graham Smith warns that what counts as science should not be taken for granted by indigenous academics as unproblematic if the dangers of positivistic frameworks embedded in science are to be exposed. The danger of such frameworks affects indigenous ways of thinking requiring a shift from the ‘circle’ to ‘square’ boxes (Smith, 2000).

In an effort to define the word ‘science’ Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley and his Yupiaq elders found that they were unable to identify a corresponding Yupiaq word (Kawagley, 1995). Cajete makes a similar claim about Native American languages. “In Native languages there is no word for ‘science’ nor for ‘philosophy’ or any other foundational way of coming to know and understand the nature of life and our relationships therein” (Cajete, 2000:2). The emphasis by indigenous peoples on inter-relationships between the physical and metaphysical realms, between people and the natural world both past and present generates a holistic sensibility that is at odds with fragmented ontologies. As Bonnie and Eduardo Duran explain, “(w)ithin the Native American worldview, compartmentalization ideology is an imposition that attempts to displace a more interconnected experience”(Duran & Duran, 2000:91). It is perhaps for this reason Cajete has defined the boundaries that constitute Native or Indigenous science as encompassing the full range of disciplines associated with the social sciences and the natural sciences.

Among the indigenous research imperatives suggested by Tuhiwai Smith includes a project that centres around ‘discovering’ western science and technology, where science is utilised to benefit indigenous development (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:160). This view supports the indigenous perspectives presented here particularly the alignment of the word ‘science’ as an organising concept to suit

indigenous projects and frameworks.

The notion of an indigenous paradigm as a global context for researching and theorising about Māori and tribal communities is premised on the supposition that indigenous peoples share worldviews and philosophical orientations that are compatible.

An indigenous world-view

Indigenous belief systems, understandings of the nature of the world and philosophical traditions, while specific and particular to individual tribes or groups, are largely compatible between indigenous cultures. Among reasons for this is a similar system of beliefs and assumptions among indigenous peoples, for comprehending the world and their place in it, which may be expressed in the concept of world-view (Cajete, 2000:62). One definition of world-view or knowledge system describes it as possessing four major attributes:

“a theory of knowledge that explicates what counts as knowledge and how that knowledge can be known; how knowledge can be transmitted and learned; how knowledge is distributed internally and externally to a community (knowledge relationships and power); and knowledge innovation- to what extent and how knowledge can be changed or modified” (Whitt, 1996:23. In Roberts & Wills 1998:44).

Oscar Kawagley describes worldview as a cognitive map consisting of principles that are acquired to make sense of the world around us. These principles, including the values, traditions and customs that they give rise to, are instilled from childhood through the retelling of cultural narratives (such as myths, legends, poems, histories), through participating in rituals and ceremonies, and through the collective experiences of the community over several millennia (Kawagley, 1995:7-8). While Kawagley employs the metaphor of a cognitive map in defining the concept of ‘world view’, Māori Marsden uses the concept of ‘central systematisation’ in providing a more general definition.

“Cultures pattern perceptions of reality into conceptualisations of what they perceive reality to be; of what is to be regarded as actual, probable, possible or impossible. These conceptualisations form what is termed the ‘world view’ of a culture. The world-view is the central systematisation of conceptions of reality to which members of its culture assent and from which stems their value system. The

world view lies at the very heart of the culture, touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of culture” (Royal, 2002:18).

Similarly, worldview is also defined as

“...one in which the individual is a part of all creation, living life as one system and not in separate units that are objectively relating with each other. The idea of the world or creation existing for the purpose of human domination and exploitation...is absent in native American thinking” (Duran & Duran, 2000:19).

Leroy Little Bear refers to worldview as Aboriginal philosophy, describing it “as being holistic and cyclical or repetitive, generalist, process-oriented, and firmly grounded in a particular place” (Little Bear, 2000:78). A common theme is the notion that indigenous worldviews include empirical relationships with local ecosystems.⁶

Worldviews are expressed in stories, symbols, analogies and metaphor and are coded in mythology (Cajete, 2000:62; Kawagley, 1995; Walker, 1990). Mythologies convey worldviews through cultural, spiritual, and social institutions, both formally and informally, and in conscious and unconscious ways (Cajete, 2000:62). Such mythologies transmit the principles of harmony and respect that underpins the natural order of the indigenous world. For example the cosmological narratives of indigenous peoples incorporate the animate and the inanimate world, humans and animals, the physical and spiritual realms as related and interdependent of each other. The values and principles that evolve and which are embedded in the worldviews of most indigenous peoples, place humans alongside, and not above or below, other living things (Cajete, 2000:52; Kawagley, 1995:9; Little Bear, 2000:78; Youngblood Henderson, 2000:259). Within Māori geneological traditions, the animal world is considered the tuakana or elder to humankind (Te Matorohanga & Pohuhu, [1978]). Cajete makes the point that “the interplay of humans with the natural world and the cosmos as seen in Native peoples’ creation stories depict the lines separating human, animals, and forces of nature as rather fluid, instead of rigid” (Cajete, 2000:40).

⁶ (Cajete, 2000; Kawagley, 1995; Little Bear, 2000; Walker, 1997; Youngblood Henderson, 2000b)

The notion of fluidity and flux is also applied to indigenous concepts of time and space. An indigenous temporal approach to the world demonstrates the values and diverse views that are held regarding the concepts of 'time' and 'space', but where common themes emerge. Customarily, precise measurement was not important to the Yupiaq preferring instead the convenience of commonsense measurements and estimations. Rather than count the number of fish caught, it was more important to compare the space filled with those of times past to judge whether there was enough for a year (Kawagley, 1995:57). The cyclical events of seasons, migrations, births and deaths and the repetitive patterns of motion, that customarily directed the rhythm of the lives of Plains Indians, results in a concept of time that is dynamic but without motion. "Time is part of the constant flux but goes nowhere. Time just is" (Little Bear, 2000:79).

Time is also conceptualised in spatial terms. For example in Native American thinking history is spatially conceptualised and not as a linear event with a beginning and an end. Spatial thinking emphasises events as a 'function of space', so that the actual place where the event happened is an important factor. This approach may be an integration of time and space, a constant flux, where the notion of being in 'space' versus 'time' is fluid.

In applying this perspective to their work as psychotherapists Duran and Duran stress that, at least in their own tribal communities, the idea of waiting for the passage of time to receive healing makes no sense. The important factor is 'intensity' and not passage of time so that "...time passing may not be as crucial as the intensity of the therapeutic process" (Duran & Duran, 2000:90-93).

From a Māori perspective the placement of time past is associated with the front 'mua' while the future lies behind 'muri' (Salmond, 1978). The spiritual realm of Māori is understood as a dimension that is beyond any space-time framework (Marsden, 1975; Shirres, 1997). To locate something in time or space is to know its place within whakapapa, a 'taxonomy of the universe' (Roberts & Wills, 1998).

Just how significant spatial concepts are in Native American thinking is highlighted by Youngblood Henderson; "Aboriginal knowledge has developed a privileged place for space and all its energies instead of time as the most important ordering concept of reality" (Youngblood Henderson, 2000b:264). An important

point that is implied here is that worldviews (about notions of time, space and the order of things for example) and the corresponding systems of knowledge are symbiotic. How people come to view the world is largely influenced by what knowledge they hold about the world. What knowledge people are capable of possessing is influenced by their worldview (Ladson-Billings, 2000:258; Shujaa, 1997). Indigenous epistemologies are specialised knowledge systems that are intimately connected to certain spaces, such as land, and transmitted through language (Meyer, 1998; Youngblood Henderson, 2000b). Kawagley and his elders demonstrated in their search for a Yupiaq lexicon for science that language is the key to understanding indigenous thought processes and conceptual ways of thinking which, in turn, shape an indigenous worldview. It is through language that an identity as a Tewa or Yupiaq or Māori, is expressed.

An indigenous paradigm as a global context for researching and theorising from within a localised Māori research field is premised on the assumption that indigenous peoples share worldviews and philosophical orientations that are compatible and that the distinct and uniqueness of each knowledge system, is respected. The term ‘indigenous’ not only signifies a position as first peoples of their lands. But it also enacts a politics of recognition and unity among global communities of indigenous researchers and scholars via active networks of interaction, shared scholarship and debate. Their shared histories and similar experiences of colonisation describe a process that severely ruptured the structures of their communities by violent processes of cultural degradation, political oppression and economic exploitation. For this reason, Indigenous researchers tend to work deep within the seams of their communities, not only adding to the global enquiry about and by indigenous people (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999), but developing localised systems of enquiry and appropriate approaches to investigating the fabric of their communities. The term indigenous, although a borrowed term, provides a space of recognition where sharing between and among indigenous scholars regularly takes place. As Charles Royal argues “...whilst colonisation is a reality for so-called ‘indigenous’ peoples, the ontological and epistemological concern of unification with the world is a better place for us to meet” (Royal, 2002:3).

Māori Approaches to Research

“What researchers may call methodology...Maori researchers in New Zealand call kaupapa Māori research or Māori centred research. This form of naming is about bringing to the centre and privileging indigenous values, attitudes and practices...” (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:125).

Māori academics and other scholars engaged in research have long emphasised the need for appropriate approaches to investigating the lives of Māori people⁷. The development of a distinctly Maori field of research that has as its central core Māori people and culture is intimately connected to the politics of Māori self-determination and identity. Research that is beneficial to Māori communities and in line with Maori aspirations is the primary foci. However, efforts by Māori researchers to carry out research in any Māori community first requires earning their trust since many remain deeply suspicious of the research enterprise generally, and the motives of researchers in particular. Such attitudes are historical in origin and stem from encounters as the ‘researched’ in colonizing projects undertaken by foreign explorers and early settlers. They were Pākehā men and women who constructed Māori knowledge and culture based on imported values and ideals that were centred in Europe. Such experience is not unique to Māori but is a commonality shared with other indigenous peoples. They share a common history of cultural exploitation and ‘authoritative’ construction of their histories and cultures in the countless books and essays written about them from non-indigenous viewpoints (Miheua, 2003:xi).

Constructing Māori knowledge and Culture

Pākehā research of significance to Māori began with James Cook’s first voyage to Aotearoa in 1769. Earlier encounters with Dutch explorer Abel Tasman over a century before had very little impact on the people, although constructions of Māori as ‘native’ were recorded in ship logs and travellers’ tales, and archived in Europe (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Among the most well known collectors and commentators of Māori knowledge and culture were Governor Sir George Grey (Grey, 1853,

⁷ See for example (Bishop, 1994; Bishop & Glynn, 1992; Durie, 1992; Durie, 1996a, 1997; Irwin, 1994; L. T. Mead, 1996; Ngata, 1988; Pihama, 1993; Smith, 1995; Stokes, 1985; Te Awekotuku, 1991a)

1928), S. Percy Smith (Smith, 1904), Elsdon Best (Best, 1924, 1972) and Augustus Hamilton (Hamilton, 1896). Their investigations represent the kind of research encounters that occurred between Maori and European in the 19th and early 20th Century (Salmond, 1997). These early associations remain extremely influential encounters because the writings and interpretations that were produced helped shape colonial attitudes to, images of and histories about Māori that remain deeply entrenched in the psyche of many New Zealanders.

One example is S. Percy Smith's construction of the theory of a 'Great Fleet' that purported to explain the origins of the Māori and their journey from island homelands to Aotearoa New Zealand (Smith, 1904). Until it was finally discredited by historians in the latter half of the 20th century (Simmons, 1976), the Great Fleet myth remained a powerful orthodoxy entrenched in the New Zealand education curriculum and fed to generations of New Zealand primary school children. Theorizing from an entirely alternative ontology, S. Percy Smith simply "...violated the traditions he recorded by condensing them into European conceptions of history and linear time" (Walker, 1996:167).

These early purveyors of Māori intellectual knowledge, custom and society often combined their roles as colonial administrators, officials and adjudicators with those of cultural philanthropist and researcher intent on recording for posterity the last vestiges of a 'dying race'. The first Governor of New Zealand, Sir George Grey, used a number of influential Māori chiefs and confidants including Tamati Waka Nene, Rangihaeata and Te Rangikaheke as informants, from whom he gleaned much of his material on Māori.

Elsdon Best, perhaps the most well known of the colonial officials, surveyed Māori land and observed Māori people. The scientific community held him in high regard because of his meticulous and systematic study of Māori material culture and society (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:83). As with Grey, Best's informants were among the most knowledgeable and respected tribal members, mainly tohunga from the Tuhoe of the Urewera,

"...who had access to the kind of knowledge he thought would reveal the most profound aspects of primitive culture. Their knowledge existed within a much wider cultural framework which was under attack by the colonial urge to civilise and assimilate Maori" (Smith, 1995).

One of the most serious collectors and hunters was Augustus Hamilton who became Director of the Dominion Museum. Among his responsibilities as Director was the collecting, preserving, ordering and arranging of exhibits and specimens and their classification (Pischief, 1998). Excerpts from Hamilton's diary show clearly the disdainful attitude he held towards Māori and his determination to secure access to forms of Māori knowledge and artefacts at any cost. He openly sketched aspects of local pah, exploited chiefs, photographed at will, stole artefacts and disturbed and collected human remains⁸ (Pischief, 1998:54). Hamilton also supported the two orthodoxies of the day established by S. Percy Smith, the popular myth of the Great Fleet and the earlier settlement of New Zealand by an aggressive Maori people (Smith, 1995). But perhaps Hamilton's most enduring legacy in the construction of Māori heritage is his distilled vision of what constitutes Māori art. His compendium of art forms determined the appearance of 'traditional' Māori art that shunned contemporary innovations of painted images in 19th century Māori meeting houses such as Rongopai at Waituhi (Jahnke, 1991). Hamilton determined that 'traditional' Māori carvings should be painted monochromatic (red) when in fact some tribes painted in polychromatic (black / white / red). The perception of a 'traditional' Māori art form still remains an entrenched orthodoxy that continues to be upheld including among some Māori.

The problem was not so much in the authenticity or significance of the material collected by these early commentators, but in the way such material was subsequently analysed to fit a Eurocentric framework. Knowledge that makes sense in one particular cultural context cannot always be understood through the tools, which govern the understanding of other belief systems and worldviews. This is confirmed in a revealing insight of one such researcher who, after twenty years of living and researching among Māori in isolated communities, including learning to speak Māori language, confessed "We have never been allowed inside the palisades of Māori thought" (Elsdon Best, cited in Smith, 1998).

The assumption that western knowledge and worldviews is the only route to progress and development has made it difficult for Māori forms of knowledge and

⁸This critique is the researcher's own and is the result of analysing the extensive excerpts from Hamilton's diary reproduced in Pischief's thesis. Pischief makes no such claims.

learning to be accepted as legitimate. Questions of legitimacy and validity ultimately arise out of the differing values and perspectives about knowledge and learning. Historically much emphasis was placed on literacy, critical thinking, theoretical knowledge and access to new knowledge that was very often linked to social status, power and wealth, and ultimately control over the lives of others. This attitude has been ingrained in western thought and culture in Aotearoa, the implications of which have seriously undermined the existence of any other dimensions regarding the value of alternative bodies of knowledge.

The view of at least one Māori tertiary institution is that “Māori knowledge will not be renewed and perpetuated as long as it remains within the confines of a knowledge system from another culture...” (Royal, 2002:18). Knowledge creation and innovation requires systems, processes and institutions that are indigenous to Māori knowledge for generating knowledge from within (Royal, 2002). Such a view has led Māori academics to raise questions about the place of Māori customary knowledge in mainstream institutions and caution its inclusion within these institutions and in academic frameworks (A. Durie, 1995; Durie, 1998c). Such concerns have some implications for this thesis undertaken as it is within academic frameworks in a mainstream university. An important consideration is determining an appropriate methodology for research conducted by a Māori researcher about Māori/tribal communities.

Appropriate Methodologies for Māori Research

The construction of methodologies appropriate and relevant to Māori is dependent on the researcher understanding a Māori worldview as it relates to knowledge including the values that are associated with knowledge production and transmission.

A Māori worldview is encapsulated in whakapapa, a description of reality in the form of genealogical recitals that provide a framework for understanding patterns, linkages and connections between animate and inanimate things. Implicit in the meaning of whakapapa are ideas of orderliness, sequence, evolution and progress. These ideas are embodied in the sequence of cosmological narratives, traditions and tribal histories. They trace the genesis of human beings from the creation of the

universe to the creation of the first woman, and the development of culture and human institutions.

Salmond describes whakapapa as “...arrangements of knowledge which ordered the knowledge of beings so as to make it possible to represent them in a system of names” (Salmond, 1997:172). The system of names connect and link to form a ‘taxonomy of the universe’ whereby Māori are able to order, locate and know the phenomenal world (Roberts & Wills, 1998:46). Whakapapa maps out the very nature of existence (Smith, 1998). In the words of Bishop Manuhua Bennett, Māori theologian and scholar, “...one of the functions of whakapapa is to funnel the relation between past, present and future, and tie it together” (Sited in Metge, 1995:90).

Customary attitudes to knowledge

Knowledge is highly valued and particular types of information, such as whanau or hapu specific, remain highly prized and often tightly regulated. Customarily, secrecy and imposed sanctions were the norm and the observation of tapu formed a practical basis for the protection of such knowledge. An especially effective gate-keeping system was the establishment of a specialised class - the Tohunga. They were experts, proficient in particular fields (Te Awekotuku, 1991a: 28).

Specialised schools of learning, or whare wānanga, were also established and functioned as centres for the development and transmission of knowledge in specialised subjects, and for the training and cultivation of scholars. Certain types of knowledge were restricted to those who had been prepared to receive and extend it. Often such specialists were identified and dedicated at their birth (Stirling & Salmond, 1980).

Knowledge was also perceived as hierarchical as demonstrated in the cosmological narratives. The kete wānanga retrieved by Tane Mahuta came in three separate kete (baskets). The symbolic content of these were: kete tuauri - peace, goodness and love; kete tuatea - prayers, incantations and ritual; and kete aronui - war, agriculture, wood-work, stone-work, and earth-work (Buck, 1977 [1949]:449). The knowledge that all people needed in order to carry out their daily activities was contained in the kete aronui and kete tuauri. This knowledge was acquired through observation, practice and the guidance of kuia and kaumātua. Accepted knowledge

was recognised as the collective property of whānau and hapu and as such was sanctioned, preserved and protected through rituals and karakia (Metge, 1995) contained in te kete tuatea. The extensive body of personal and tribal information that people needed to know to establish and retain their identity, and to help them survive physically, had to be committed to memory (King, 1978). At all levels, accuracy, accountability and correct usage were important. At an individual level, specialised knowledge contributed to a person's mana and therefore it was unlikely a kaumātua or kuia would give away too much at once, since knowledge in this context was considered a taonga.⁹ On a collective level, to make mistakes and misuse the information would lessen the mana of the entire whānau, hapu or iwi.

A Māori relevant process of enquiry

A relevant process of enquiry is one that locates Māori people as the focus of the research activity. Research methodologies for such enquiry in the field of Māori research are described as either Māori centred or kaupapa Māori.

Durie has proposed a Māori centred approach to research that “...does not ignore the range of research methods...but...deliberately places Māori people and Māori experience at the centre of the research activity” (Durie, 1996b:2). This contrasts with Eurocentric approaches characteristic of the classical scientific model of research based on the notion of ‘universality’ that excludes Māori cultural knowledge, values, realities or perspectives. It also distinguishes it from mātauranga Māori research. The outcomes of most western models have tended to be little more than fragmented constructions, negative representations or wholesale misrepresentations of Māori people, in so far as they do not always make cultural factors explicit. With reference to research in health sciences, Durie has identified three developments that he maintains have hastened trends toward a Māori centred approach to enquiry (Durie, 1996b:3).

The first of these is a worldwide drive by indigenous peoples toward self-determination and greater autonomy of their own affairs. In terms of research into the lives of indigenous communities, sovereignty matters have raised issues related to indigenous knowledge, intellectual property rights, ownership and control. The

⁹ Anything highly prized and of value.

United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples provides a minimum set of international standards that require national States to recognise and adhere to, including that of cultural and intellectual property rights (Mead, 1993, 1994b, 1996). In New Zealand, the rejection by Māori of Eurocentric interpretations of Māori knowledge and world-views has seen the emergence of distinct methods that counteract established disciplinary approaches (Durie, 1996b).

The second development that has fostered distinct Māori approaches to research was the renewed emphasis of the Treaty of Waitangi by the New Zealand Government and the inclusion of the Treaty in Government objectives. The onus was now on institutions, particularly those funded by Government, to reflect the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Failure to “...make explicit provisions for Māori could be seen as inconsistent with Government Treaty objectives” (Durie, 1996b). Such provisions allowed Evelyn Stokes, in her paper to the National Research Advisory Council, to argue at a top policy level for Māori focussed research priorities including the need to train more Māori researchers (Stokes, 1985; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

The third development was the emergence of distinct frameworks favoured by Māori that emphasise an integrated approach to understanding Māori perspectives thus undermining entrenched disciplinary foci (Durie, 1996b). The model for Māori well-being ‘te whare tapa whā’ proposed by Durie offers a perspective of Māori health consistent with a Māori world-view. This model uses the metaphor of a ‘strong house’ with which to describe Māori health and well-being. Each of the four walls represents dimensions of taha wairua (the spiritual side), taha hinengaro (thoughts and feelings), taha tinana (the physical side) and taha whānau (family) (Durie, 1994c:70). Other Māori frameworks include Te Wheke (the octopus) by Rose Pere (Pere, 1988), and Ngā Pou Mana (supporting structures) described by the Royal Commission on Social Policy (Durie, 1994c:75). As Durie maintains, the broad multidisciplinary approach emphasised by such frameworks as Whare Tapa Whā make transparent key linkages and causal relationships that might otherwise be obscured through a single disciplined approach such as history, anthropology or sociology (Durie, 1996a:4).

In the main, Māori researchers regarded as fluent speakers and knowledgeable

of Māori language and customs developed the interpretative and theoretical frameworks described above. But, a small group of mainly university based Māori researchers in quite different situations who had struggled with the methodological and ethical issues they encountered while researching in Māori contexts, framed their discussions under the rubric of ‘kaupapa Māori research.’¹⁰

An important dimension in the development of kaupapa Māori research is its emergence from within the politics of resistance and emancipation concerning the validation, recognition and legitimation of te reo Māori and tikanga (Pihama, 1993). As a localised theoretical positioning (Smith, 1990; G. H. Smith, 1997) kaupapa Māori research is defined as research over which Māori maintain conceptual, design, methodological and interpretative control “...research by Māori, for Māori with Māori” (Smith, 1995:1).

Although it is primarily derived from Māori epistemological and metaphysical foundations (Nepe, 1991) kaupapa Māori, as a framework for interpreting and carrying out research in Māori communities, is sufficiently theorised to incorporate a full range of other methodological approaches including western perspectives such as critical theory (Pihama, 1993) or health research (Keefe-Ormsby & al, 2001; Keefe-Ormsby et al., 1999). Kaupapa Māori allows for processes that are culturally safe (Irwin, 1994) and to recover and reinstate matauranga Māori (Glover, 1997). Kaupapa Maori provides for qualitative interpretations grounded in a Māori world-view (Tomlins Jahnke 1997a). It also creates space for non-Maori researchers working alongside Māori as a whanau of interest (Bishop, 1994; Bishop & Glynn, 1992) and for the development of alternative approaches to generating theory and therefore alternative conceptions of the world.

Kaupapa Māori research is part of the broader politics of kaupapa Māori which largely developed outside of western institutions, that is related to identity, is connected to Māori philosophy and principles where the validity and legitimacy of Māori language and culture is assumed. It is concerned with self-determination and autonomy over Māori cultural well-being (Smith, 1990). The features of kaupapa Māori research are concerned with practices and methods, and Māori conceptions

¹⁰ See for example (Bishop, 1994; Bishop & Glynn, 1992, 1999; Irwin, 1994; Pihama, 1993; Smith, 1990; Smith, 1985, 1995; L. T. Smith, 1997; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999)

of knowledge (L. T. Mead, 1996:200).

Approaches to research described as kaupapa Māori or Māori centred, are closely aligned and because they focus on Māori people, are descriptors that are more a matter of semantics and varying perspectives of the same approach. Both advocate methods of enquiry that not only benefit and enhance Māori communities but also enable Māori to take control of their own lives (Bishop & Glynn, 1992; Durie, 1996; Smith, 1990; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Both approaches have been influenced by Treaty of Waitangi research, the development of alternative frameworks and participation in global networks of indigenous activities.

Kaupapa Māori research takes an antipositivistic stance, yet Māori researchers working within the medico-science health field are able to frame their methods within a kaupapa Māori approach. Similarly, researchers describing Māori centred research are open to borrowing western instruments within the positivistic tradition¹¹ and adapting these to suit a Māori method of carrying out the research. Alternatively Māori centred research allows for the development of tools to explore the interface between science and mātauranga Māori in which the focus of analysis is based on a 'paradigm of potential.' Thus, the application to contemporary issues, such as the debate about GM, "... can be better understood within a framework that is linked to holistic perspectives" (Durie, 2003a).

Kaupapa Māori and Māori centred research are concerned with strategic research that is interdisciplinary, based on a Māori ethicality and Māori paradigms, and aimed at Māori development. The emphasis, therefore is not only on where the locus of control is located; that is with Māori, for Māori and by Māori as Linda Smith points out, but just as importantly on controlling research into the lives of Māori people '*as Māori*' (Durie, 1996:8). Outcomes or gains for Māori should be measured against a range of indicators that help shape Māori research across interdisciplinary approaches (Durie, 1996). Research undertaken by the Waitangi Tribunal is an example of this where an interpretation of history results when Māori concepts, language, memories, understandings and explanations form the basis of

¹¹ The Oranga kaumatua study carried out by Te Pumanawa Hauora at Massey University adapted the North American instrument SF36 to explore the well-being of Māori elderly, and used it alongside other Māori measure of well-being (Te Pumanawa Hauora, 1997)

the research methods. The framework which underpins Te Hoe Nuku Roa, reflects a linking of perspectives, dimensions and concepts, which are often separated (M. H. Durie, 1995).

The repackaging of 'Māori centred' and 'kaupapa Māori', within a framework specifically aimed at 'fitting into' the State's science, research and technology (SR&T) agenda attempts to bring a Māori worldview into the proximity of science and the scientific method. The intention was to create a 'space' and to initiate a developmental process that might, in time, lead to other funding arrangements. The nature of the interface between these two worldviews is such that a framework was considered necessary as a transitional step to ensure Māori could engage in the Government's debate. Now embedded as State objectives for Māori development research under the Ministry of Research, Science and Technology (MORST), the categories for Māori centred and kaupapa Māori research, as they are proposed for the SR&T environment, remain insufficiently theorised and problematic (Cunningham, 1998). In a bid to attract funding, the categories of 'Māori centred' and 'kaupapa Māori' as defined for MORST, promote a dichotomy and boundaries which overlook much of the large body of Māori scholarship and theoretical discussion; particularly in respect of kaupapa Māori theories where such boundaries are either blurred or simply do not exist. Promoting these claims through uncritical inclusion by the State via MORST, simply assumes a universal accord on the part of the Māori research community. What is required is an opportunity for rigorous debate and the construction of an alternative framework that genuinely reflects an accurate conception of the two perspectives- 'kaupapa Māori' and 'Māori centred' research.

Investigating the nature of Māori service provision

This thesis is an original study that focuses on the nature of tribal service providers and the people who work within them. There is a dearth of such studies. Focussing on the experiences of the men and women working in these organisations, and the historical and cultural context within which their experiences are grounded, makes it possible to gain insights into what it means to work as Māori in a Māori organisation providing services to Māori people and their communities.

The specific aim of this study was to investigate the nature of Māori service provision through qualitative case studies of various Māori providers of health, education, social services and justice. The nature of Māori service provision refers to those characteristics which distinguish a Māori provider from any other provider organisation. The principles that underpin the investigative approach are drawn from both kaupapa Māori and Māori centred perspectives and provided the framework to design and implement the case studies. It offered an indigenous approach to describing qualitative research and addressing the ethical issues relating to research undertaken by a Māori researcher within Māori communities. A number of 'working principles' have been previously identified that have implications for this research, among them the principles of whakapapa, te reo Māori, tikanga (L. T. Mead, 1996:210-222), mana Māori (Durie, A. 2002; Durie, 1997) and whakatuia (Durie, 1997).

The principle of whakapapa

The principle of whakapapa operates on a number of levels. It is through whakapapa that ancestry is traced, links to land and place established, historical relationships with other tribes located, and pathways to whānau, hapū and iwi identified. These considerations have important implications for research in terms of understanding Māori society, working with kin-based groups, and the role of the researcher (L. T. Mead, 1996:212).

Access

Each of the organisations in this study was selected according to the principle of whakapapa. Originally, after initial consultation, six organisations agreed to participate and constitute the six case studies. But as the study progressed this number was reduced to three in order to bring a sharper tribal focus. Consultation required face-to-face meetings with each organisation to establish the researchers tribal affiliations and to outline the research plan to their satisfaction. The original six organisations represented a range of iwi, hapu, whānau and pan-tribal groupings; three large tribal organisations in Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, a small whānau (family) trust (Ngāti Kahungunu), a pan-Māori educational provider of kohanga (early childhood), kura kaupapa (primary) and wharekura (secondary)

schooling, and a newly established provider initiated by a single Ngāti Kahungunu woman in her tribal role.

Access to the four Ngāti Kahungunu organisations was facilitated in part by the researchers membership of two districts and several subtribes in Ngāti Kahungunu - Te Wairoa and Heretaunga. Participation in iwi and hapu activities in both districts, and active involvement in, and contributions to hapu affairs by family members, provided further opportunities for engagement.

Access to the Ngāti Raukawa organisation was less straightforward and required the advocacy of one of their tribal leaders and an undertaking that Ngāti Raukawa would also be involved in the supervision of the study.

At a personal level, carrying out a study of an organisation belonging to an unrelated iwi was justified in part by locating historical whakapapa relationships between Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa through a shared ancestress. Closer whakapapa links to Ngāti Raukawa, however, were also established through an affiliation to Ngāti Toa Rangatira and through the institutions of whāngai and intermarriage.¹² Knowing and understanding these links made it possible to carry out a method of research that required in-depth interviewing of tribal members within the Ngāti Raukawa district.

Access to the pan-tribal education provider was generated by the process of 'tono,' which was initiated by the provider. The process of 'tono' involved an invitation from the provider to attend a meeting where a formal request was made for assistance in implementing a school-based English language programme. As part of the request the organisation also offered access to the organisation for research purposes. Although not a tribally based organisation, on an individual basis all of the participants maintain strong links to their iwi, some linking to the same whanau and hapū as the researcher.

As the research progressed however, it became clear that the three large iwi organisations in Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa would constitute a distinctive study. Almost three quarters of the participants, 30 of the total 44 participants interviewed, worked for the iwi organisations. The focus of the study therefore

¹² Two paternal grand aunts each married Ngāti Raukawa men, one of whom adopted the researchers brother.

shifted from a general examination of Māori organisations to a study that was more tribally centred, and from focussing specifically on successful outcomes to the characteristics of providers.

This study is therefore based on three tribal organisations: the delivery of iwi social services by Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated (NKII) and Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga (TTOH), and health provision by Te Rūnanga o Raukawa (TROR). An indepth description of the iwi organisations is provided in Chapter Four.

Issues of bias and insider/outsider perspectives

Whakapapa links between researcher and participants raises questions regarding what constitutes a ‘conflict of interest’ and what does not? Who is an insider and who is not? When is an insider an outsider? And what does the notion of insider/outsider mean in practice in relation to the researchers role?

In contemporary urban settings it cannot be assumed that “...whakapapa is not ‘working’ when Māori people are involved” (L. T. Mead, 1996:212). Each of the organisations in this study is located in an urban setting but the staff carry out their activities in both urban and rural areas. It was assumed that the participants working for iwi organisations were affiliated to the host tribe. However this was not necessarily the case. There were instances where participants were ‘outsiders’ working for an iwi organisation to which they had no recent genealogical links but could associate through marriage or historical relationships. One example is of a Nga Puhī participant working in Ngāti Kahungunu who rationalised her position as an outsider by recalling the geneological links between the eponymous ancestor Kahungunu and her Northern tribe. Other ‘whakapapa outsiders’ in the organisations could be considered ‘insiders’ in terms of belonging to the organisational ‘whanau’- a social or supportive network or ‘kaupapa whanau’ (Metge, 1995:294)¹³

Researching with kin-based groups in the researchers tribal district, presented challenging issues in terms of insider/outsider perspectives and the potential for bias. Much of the literature about insider/outsider conveys issues related to insider ‘indigenous’ information and outsider ‘non-indigenous’ accounts from the standpoint of non-indigenous (Lockhart, 2003; Southwick, 2001; Thompson, 1998) and indigenous researchers (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000).

Mead notes that "...being a Māori researcher does not mean an absence of bias, it simply means that the potential for different kinds of biases needs to be considered reflexively" (L. T. Mead, 1996:212). Fundamental to hapu and iwi organisations are the deep kinship connections among the workers. It is not uncommon for siblings, close cousins, aunts, uncles, nephews, and nieces, even grandparents to work for the same tribal organisation. It would be fair to say kinship connections among the employees are inevitable in hapu or iwi based organisations. Whakapapa is the basis upon which a tribal organisation can legitimately consider itself as hapu or iwi based.

Interviewing Ngāti Kahungunu participants invariably meant interviewing people who were close kin to the researcher. At these times it was important to remain aware of the subjective nature of the interview process by recognising instances of whānau or hapu bias. It was also important to understand the way kinship discourse intersects with the data gathering process. Dual positions as both an insider (member of the hapu and iwi) and an outsider (not employed by the organisation) justified close proximity as well as distance to kin participants during interviews.

Time was allocated for the close proximity of 'whānau talk' or whakawhanaungatanga¹⁴ prior to the interview commencing, thus allowing the remainder of the research interview to be kept at a 'distance' from whānau talk. Keeping 'distance' was not a matter of maintaining a 'marginal native' stance criticised by Deyhle when carrying out qualitative research among her Choctaw people in American Indian communities (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000). Since the interviews were carried out during work hours it was a practical means of keeping the interviews 'on the topic' as much as possible and within time limits imposed by the participants themselves.

Paradoxically when researching in Ngāti Raukawa as an outsider (non-member of the tribe and not employed by the organisation) acceptance of the researcher was possible on the basis of 'being Māori' with social and professional links to tribal

¹³ Mason Durie has used this term to refer to a group of people who are not kin but belong to a whanau of interest such as a sports team, a parent body or a club.

¹⁴ Discussion (and gossip) about family.

members. In situations where there were no kinship links, time was still necessary for 'whānau talk' prior to interviews as a lead into the interview. The point is that the position of insider in indigenous communities enhances the validity of the research process, data collection and analysis (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000; Swisher, 1998). Furthermore, it is not so much an issue of bias or conflict of interest as finding a pathway to more effective research and therefore more reliable results.

The Principle of Te Reo Māori

There are a number of important points about the principle of te reo Māori that apply to this study. Māori world-views are embedded in the language and therefore provide access to bodies of knowledge and social practices that are not otherwise accessible. This has implications for researchers interacting with Māori participants. When Māori speakers choose to speak English they are making connections and using expressions which in Māori make a lot of sense (L. T. Mead, 1996:214).

All the interviews were conducted in English but every participant used Māori language at sometime during the course of the interviews. This ranged from occasional use of terms or concepts, to an emphasis on explaining points of view either in Māori or by frequent reference to whakatauaki, whakapapa and waiata. Some participants insisted each interview begin and end with the customary practice of mihimihi and karakia conducted in Māori. On several occasions when interview times coincided with staff meetings, there was an expectation of active participation by the researcher. These meetings were conducted entirely in the Māori language and required each person to formally report on activities to the wider group.

The utilisation of Māori language in the data restricted the choice of transcribers to those people who may not be fluent speakers of Māori but at least had a working knowledge of the language. In other words it was important that the transcriber could recognise Māori terms for general syntax and spelling purposes.

The Principle of Tikanga Māori

The principle of tikanga overlaps with notions of ethical behaviour because tikanga is concerned with customary practices, obligations and behaviours, which govern social practices (L. T. Mead, 1996:215).

Once permission was obtained from the organisations for this study to proceed,

information meetings were held and prospective participants were invited to take part. Participation in the research was voluntary and the sample drawn from the management and staff of iwi social services of NKII and TTOH, and iwi health services at TROR. Thirty participants, spread equally between the two iwi, agreed to participate. As a group they represented a range of tribal and hapū affiliations, background experiences and age groups. Two thirds of the participants, twenty-three, were women and there were seven men.

The ethical procedures approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee were followed in the process of consultation, information delivery and research methods. Institutional ethics committees focus primarily on principles of respect, truth, minimising harm, informed consent, respect for privacy and confidentiality.¹⁵ For Māori, concomitant with these principles is the importance of ensuring the mana of the individual (participant) and the collective (whānau, hapū, iwi) is not diminished but enhanced throughout the research process (Durie, 1992:7; Tomlins Jahnke, 1997:53). The principle of tikanga in terms of the researchers conduct can be understood in more detail in relation to the principle of mana Māori.

Principle of mana Māori

The ‘mana factor’ in the ethical practice of good research for Māori is important (Durie, 2002). The significance of mana Māori or Māori control is the assumption that Māori people are best equipped to direct research, which investigates the lives of Māori people, their communities, culture and knowledge. Intellectual property rights, research ethics and the management of research are among the issues inherent in this principle (Durie, 1997:11). Associated with the principle of mana Māori is mana tangata, which embodies the notion of upholding the dignity of a person or persons. The physical and psychological welfare of Māori should not be harmed by the outcomes of the research (Durie, 1992:7). Among implications of such practice for this study is the conduct of the researcher; how the research methods were negotiated and managed, how the researcher engaged with the participants and

¹⁵ Massey University Code of Ethical conduct.

how issues of ownership and control of information were resolved.

Research methods negotiated

The interviews were based on a set of open-ended questions that allowed for a standard interview as well as a reflexive free-flow conversational style to emerge. The experiences of Brayboy and Deyhle confirm that reflective conversations were due in part "...to a shift of power relations; the indigenous people with whom we worked demanded control of what knowledge we needed to know" (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000:167).

A draft of the interview schedule was piloted in advance, with a small focus group of five Māori who were selected for their experience in working with Māori and tribal organisations. Apart from participation in the focus group, they had no other involvement in the study. Feedback from this group resulted in the adjustment of the interview questions into two sets; one set of questions relevant for managers and the other set for staff. The schedule was also refined to focus the investigation around six key themes: general information about the organisation, the place of culture, community and state interface, distinctive features and outcome measures. The final schedule was presented to the organisations for approval during the consultation phase.

Engagement with participants

Interviews were carried out over a period of one year and held during work hours in offices provided by the organisations. This arrangement was the most convenient for the participants as it allowed them to schedule their interviews between their other appointments. It was also important to avoid the study encroaching on their private time because the nature of their work can demand long hours during the week including weekends. The participants were interviewed individually, most of them at least twice although all of the managers were interviewed on three separate occasions. Approximately four to five hours of audio recording were taped with participant consent.

The approach taken by the researcher was to work through the schedule, to limit researcher comments and to allow the participants to talk uninterrupted. Points of clarification were noted and discussed when it was appropriate. Although

anonymity for participants could not be guaranteed, confidentiality in terms of what was disclosed during the course of the interviews was a priority. This factor may account for the frank and often candid responses to questions during the interview.

Ownership and control of information

Interacting with tribal groups results in the imposition of a dual accountability on the researcher, accountability to the participants and accountability to the wider whānau/ hapū/ iwi community. This commits the researcher to,

“...acknowledging iwi leaders and their collective responsibility for the mauri of tribal intellectual knowledge thereby ensuring that the locus of control is retained by the person or group providing the information” (Jahnke, 1996:54).

The participants were involved in editing and modifying their transcripts. Later during the analysis stage they were able to comment on and make changes to the interpretations of their narratives, and to confirm the parts of their interviews inserted verbatim within the body of the thesis. This collaborative process ensured the participants maintained control of the research process (Durie, 2002:7), thus avoiding the possibility of the researcher alienating the explanation of their experiences, their thoughts and ideas from the cultural and social reality of their workday lives. It also assisted in the development of theory grounded in concrete experiences of the health and social service environment informed by a Māori world-view.

Understanding Māori attitudes to knowledge includes a responsibility for researchers to respect the dignity and safety of whānau history and whakapapa that participants may disclose during the course of the study. Where participants recited substantial whakapapa and whānau history, either to make connections or illustrate a point of view, transcripts were returned in person rather than mailed through the post. It was also agreed that all audiotapes, transcriptions and computer disks of the interviews would be returned to the participants at the conclusion of the study.

Principle of whakatuia

The principle of whakatuia is about integrating and making links between a complex range of factors that include “...interactions between past and present;

the individual and the collective; the body, mind and soul; people and their environment; political power and social and economic spheres” (Durie, 1997:10). Its application for this thesis is the process of analysis and the integration of social science, business studies, Māori and indigenous perspectives, among others, in order to make links and demonstrate the complex nature of the topic. In terms of the literature the potential for the area of study was vast, and initially it was difficult to know what was relevant and what was not. This was compounded by the fact that there were so few studies related to this topic it was necessary to rely on the qualitative data, rather than pre-empt it, to provide crucial sign-posts. An integrated approach to the literature and theoretical perspectives across disciplines was necessary to contextualise and analyse the themes that emerged as significant from the qualitative data. Among the reasons for this is the considerable importance given by Māori and indigenous peoples to an integrated approach to understanding knowledge (Durie, 1997).

Qualitative analysis tool

The computer software HyperRESEARCH, a qualitative tool to assist with the coding and analysis of the data was employed for this study. This tool substantially reduced the labour intensive nature of conventional methods by eliminating the need to make multiple photocopies of the text, assign codes and manually cut, paste and sort the coded text¹⁶.

The data was coded according to a master-code list of 180 names created during the coding process. During the analysis phase, the master-code list was reviewed, modified, edited and renamed according to the frequency of the code references; that is the number of times any one code name was assigned to a particular set of source data.

The edited master-code list was then mapped graphically into six code-maps to show links between codes, emerging themes and relations between them. The code maps were then used as the basis for the themes of the study and the relevant source data retrieved into separate reports, one for each of the six code-map themes.

¹⁶ Research Ware, Inc. 1999. Distributed by Sage Publications Software. scolari@sagepub.co.uk

The reports were analysed, sub-codes assigned and colour coded, and then organised to form a basic plan for writing the relevant chapters. Each set of coded data was automatically assigned a reference number by the software. It is this reference number which appears in parenthesis in the body of the thesis alongside the participants verbatim quotes, or where the encoded data is referenced. For example the reference [TH16248/36c] refers to the participants identification, encoded reference number, report page number and the report (a, b, c, d) in which the reference is located. This system was useful for quick and easy retrieval when collaborating with participants during the write up phase. All participant verbatim quotes are *italicised* and information added by the researcher for clarification purposes are also in parenthesis [].

The principles underpinning the investigative approach described here are by no means definitive nor are they mutually exclusive. They are also interrelated on a number of levels. The principles of whakapapa, te reo Māori, tikanga, mana Māori and whakatuia offer a distinctly Māori framework for considering an indigenous method and process of research and for resolving ethical issues from a Māori standpoint. Māori people, Māori language, concepts, ideas, memories and knowledge form the heart of the process.

Chapter Two

Philosophical Foundations

He hanga ngā te waha o te ngutu nō mua iho anō¹

A central endeavour of indigenous philosophy is the location of cosmology as the textual foundation in order to characterise what it is to be human. It is a

“...grand guiding story, by nature speculative, in that it tries to explain the universe it’s origin, characteristics and essential nature. A cosmology gives rise to philosophy, values, and action, which in turn form the foundation of a society’s guiding institutions” (Cajete, 2000:58).

An indigenous philosophical orientation is grounded in allegorical systems and narratives that help give meaning to the indigenous experience. An indigenous strategy whereby cosmology is inherent in philosophical traditions appears in stark contrast to western philosophy that is based on the edifice of Greek, Roman and Judaeo-Christian thought. The western view holds that while myth provides an explanation, it is simply not adequate. The science of philosophy developed over time with the aim to free people’s thoughts from mythology.

“Myth doesn’t work. People end up believing in the figures as if they were real (they believe in real gods). They miss out on an understanding of the single truth,” (Phillips, 2000:47).

The notion of ‘belief systems’, what is ‘real’ and what constitutes a ‘single truth’ are problems of philosophy that are beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the questions that arise here are instructive in identifying a particular mind-set and set of assumptions in western thought embodied in the concept/theory/discourse of universality. In western traditions the terms with which the characterisations of philosophy are articulated are void of any explicit references to indigeneity or ethnicity (Outlaw, 1995:304). Among the tasks of the western philosopher is to achieve the ‘foundational knowledge’ or ‘wisdom’ that allows a distinction to be made between the real from the apparent, the true from the false, the appropriate from the inappropriate. Foundational knowledge is considered timeless and universal, thereby characterising humans as ‘all the same’ with an emphasis on the

¹ This whakatauki translates as ‘although seemingly to be only from the lips it is actually of ancient origin’. Ancient sayings and customs gain force from their antiquity, providing precepts for modern times (Mead & Grove, 2001:68)

‘free, rational individual’ (Outlaw 1995). The emphasis on a ‘universalist philosophy’, a philosophical discourse that characterises humans as ‘all the same’ or as ‘free rational individuals’ reveals, at the very least, a Eurocentric bias.

The weight of compiled prejudice, legacies of the philosophical enterprise dating from the early Greeks (such as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle) to the enlightenment thinkers (for example Kant, Hegel and Hume) who built on the original Greek ideas, have provoked challenges from African philosophers in particular and calls by them for a re-evaluation of philosophy to take into account race and ethnicity (Chukwudi, 2000; Eze, 2000; Mills, 1997; Outlaw, 1995). Enlightenment philosophy, for example, was instrumental in codifying and institutionalising the scientific and popular European perceptions of the human race (Eze, 2000:5). These are perceptions that articulate Europe’s sense of cultural and racial superiority that have remained at the very core of the philosophical enterprise.²

By contrast, a basic tenet of an indigenous paradigm is that ‘universality’ as a concept applied to all indigenous peoples, is untenable, at least in terms of understanding the specificities of the social conditions of respective indigenous societies. On the matter of ‘truth’ Sir Apirana Ngata argued “...we can do more for those who honestly seek the truth, and so for science, by approaching the subject from the native standpoint” (Ngata in Sorrenson, 1987:42).

From a Māori standpoint, and in relation to this study, cosmological narratives offer a philosophical perspective from which a theoretical framework may be constructed for examining and understanding the nature of contemporary tribal organisations. The messages embedded in cosmological narratives provide cultural symbols and representations reflected in traditional practices and beliefs relating to all aspects of Māori life, including social organisation. Such messages reflect the philosophy, ideals and norms of the people who adhere to them as legitimating charters (Walker, 1978). They offer insights into the nature of social relations that are embedded in cultural values attitudes and practices and reinforced in oral traditions such as tribal whakapapa (genealogy), waiata (song), whakatauki (proverbs) and kōrero tawhito (ancient narratives). Viewed this way, the cosmology and the principles that may evolve from them offer a range of theories that imply a particular way of understanding social relationships and possibilities of change.

Theory in this sense is implicit.

Principles of social organisation within the genesis narrative

The genesis narrative³ describes a remote past, the procreation of multiple progeny by the primeval parents, Ranginui and Papatuanuku within dark confined spaces that inhibit their offspring's growth, progress and acquisition of knowledge necessary for their wellbeing and for the future of humankind (Buck, 1977 [1949]:440). Several strategies that demonstrate principles relevant to understanding Māori social organisation were implemented in the sequence that leads to the forced separation of the parents and the transformation of the primeval family. Principles that have particular relevance include: hui, utu, tapu, noa, tuku iho, whakarite oranga, wānanga, whakamatautau and whakariterite.

The principle of hui

The siblings applied the principle of hui in order to discuss ways to generate space and let light into their world. These were the sons elected by their parents to hold authority over certain domains: Tangaroa - sea (ika / fish), Rongomatāne - cultivated food (kūmara/sweet potato), Haumiatiketike - uncultivated food (aruhe/fernroot), Tānemāhuta (ngāhere/forest, manu/birds), Tāwhirimātea – winds and storms, Tūmātauenga - humankind. These six leaders⁴ considered the social practice of hui or gathering and kōrero/discussion a relevant strategy for matters of importance affecting the group. Within the hui context consultation and decision-making processes took place in the search for a suitable solution.

Tūmātauenga, the deity of war, understandably proposed killing their parents but Tāne took a more compassionate and even-handed approach by suggesting instead their separation. Not all of the children agreed, but the majority took it in turn to try various techniques until Tāne finally accomplished the separation of

² For further discussion see for example the critique by Charles Mills (1997) and Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze who expose the deep prejudices of the 'fathers' of enlightenment thinkers, namely Emmanuel Kant, David Hume and Georg Hegel. Eze in particular highlights the contributions of Kant, Hume and Hegel to philosophical vocabulary such as 'race', 'progress', 'civilisation' 'savagery' including their biases in interpretations (Eze, 2000).

³ While various tribes have their own versions of the creation cosmos, this interpretation is based on the Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou narratives.

⁴ Elsdon Best names at least seventy offspring (Best, 1995 [1924]).

earth and sky. Despite this transgression against the primal parents' enforced separation, elements of hui such as consultation, discussion and problem solving strategies of experimentation, combined with a group effort, led to the desired outcome. Within Māori communities, group effort or mutual help was a fundamental expression of blood kinship (Buck, 1977 [1949]:375). The hui was important to social order since it involved the participation of the whole community and the practice of protocols and formalities relevant for each occasion. The social interaction that resulted helped reinforce kinship ties, alliances and the values associated with housing, feeding, entertaining and settling any differences (Pere, 1982:41).

The principle of utu

The instigation of war by Tāwhirimātea against his siblings was in retaliation for their act of transgression in separating the parents (Buck, 1977 [1949]:440). The act of war and aggression demonstrates the principle of utu or revenge, a dimension of social control that supplemented other mechanisms such as personal rank, spiritual beliefs and the institution of tapu (Walker, 1990:69). While revenge is the most serious level of utu, there are other meanings that are also relevant for social organisation. Depending on the context, the concept of utu can also mean reciprocity, equivalence, payment or compensation. For example, providing gifts of food or produce was, and still remains, a widely practised custom that maintained and helped cement social relations and kinship ties (Walker, 1990:69). But the gift was also likely to cause a change in social equilibrium that required a reciprocal action at a later time. Ranganui Walker explains,

“...the gift set up an imbalance between the recipient and the giver. At some later date, equivalence was restored when the recipient gave a return gift after a successful hunt or food-foraging expedition. In this case, gift-giving and utu mediated warm and enduring social relations of mutual support” (Walker 1990: 69).

The concept of utu also applies to compensation for an injury. Misdemeanours such as adultery or theft that occurred within the same hapu disturbed social relations, which led the family of the injured party to seek compensation, very often through making war. Such occurrences between parties from differing hapu, if not voluntarily recompensed or resolved, almost certainly led to inter-hapu war (Buck, 1977

[1949]:371; Walker, 1990:69). The whānau or hapū were equally held responsible because an individual was a unit within the family /tribal group (Buck, 1977 [1949]:371). The epic narrative of the war of the gods also introduces other tenets of customary society affecting social organisation: the principles of tapu and noa and the principle of hierarchical structures.

The principles of tapu and noa

The principles of tapu and noa are demonstrated by the actions of Tumātauenga, who was the only brother to withstand the wrath of Tawhiri. In order to avenge his sibling's cowardice, Tumātauenga also waged war by debasing them and using their offspring as food (birds, fish, kumara) or common implements (nets, spears, spades) (Buck, 1977 [1949]:441). His action of cooking and eating his brothers children, not only asserts the superiority of humankind in the natural order, but also negates the tapu of these offspring thus rendering them noa (Walker, 1990:68; 1992 [1978]:171). This sequence establishes tapu as emanating from the celestial realm of the gods, the ira atua.

Māori Marsden defines the concept of tapu as,

“...the sacred state or condition in which a person, place or thing is set aside by dedication to the gods and thereby removed from profane use. This tapu is secured by the sanction of the gods and reinforced by endowment with mana” (Marsden, 1975:148).

Tapu is also represented as a series of prohibitions (Best 1973:29), uncleanness (Walker, 1990:67) or regulation and control (Durie, 1994c:8). Shirres maintains that the primary meaning given to tapu consists of two symbiotic elements- reason and faith, both of which link tapu with mana (Shirres, 1997:33). The element of reason perceives tapu as ‘being with potentiality for power.’ The element of faith sees tapu as the ‘mana of the spiritual powers’ of the deities. Taken together these elements represent the ‘primary tapu’ (Shirres, 1997:34). In this sense, tapu applied to people of rank, places of worship and ancestral houses (Walker, 1990:67).

The notion of tapu in terms of restriction, prohibition, regulation or control are what Shirres refers to as ‘extensions of tapu’ and are the means of respecting and protecting those things that are ‘intrinsically tapu’ such as the kumara (sweet potato),

the waka (canoe), the whare whakairo (carved meeting house) or the mana of the deities (Shirres, 1997:37). In this sense, tapu is also about tribal survival and emphasises efforts to protect food supplies, or ensure that sea-going vessels were watertight or houses secure enough to prevent collapse or authority respected so that decisions could be implemented.

Tapu in the restricted sense applied to such activities as the *carving* of a waka (with links to Tangaroa), or whare tipuna (ancestral house with links to Tāne) or the *harvesting* of kumara (with links to Rongomatāne). In this context the waka, the whare tīpuna and the kumara are intrinsically tapu. The ‘extensions of tapu’ relating to kumara for example, places a system of restrictions in terms of time (planting, weeding harvesting), places (garden, kumara pit), tools (spades, kētē), food (hangi) and the people involved (their hands) (Shirres, 1997:38). Thus “...the mana of the spiritual powers is the source of the tapu of the person and extends to the tapu restrictions surrounding the person”(Shirres, 1997:34).

The link between mana and tapu is such that as concepts they are often used interchangeably.⁵ The difference is related to the notion of ‘being’ where mana is the power of being fully active and alive, and where the power is realised over time. Tapu is related to ‘becoming.’ As Shirres explains, a child or youth of chiefly rank is yet to acquire the power or mana of a chief, but at birth already has the tapu of a chief (Shirres, 1997:37).

The laws of tapu largely governed the social relationship and interactions between and among people and their environment. Marsden suggests that the legal connotation of tapu implies that a ‘contractual relationship’ is entered into between an individual and their deity. The contract requires the person dedicating himself or herself to the service of a deity in return for benevolent protection and “the power to manipulate his environment to meet needs and demands”(Marsden, 1975:119). The Māori view held that, depending on one’s cooperation with the deities, the

⁵(Best, 1995 [1924])Shirres points out examples from several of Sir George Grey’s manuscripts where the birth of a child is described as both the beginning of mana (GNZMMSS28) and the beginning of tapu (GNZMMSS31). See Shirres (op.cit:36).

environment could be manipulated by the application of spiritual laws. The tohi rite of initiation, consisting of the acts of dedication and of consecration, was the mechanism through which this contractual relationship was entered. The consecratory act was the medium through which a person was imbued with mana. Water was a means by which mana was transmitted (Marsden, 1975:124). Tapu was all pervasive and with the power to control behaviour, it entered many aspects of Māori life (Walker, 1990:68).

Among applications of tapu for controlling human behaviour was the institution of rāhui. Rāhui were imposed to prohibit the public use of a valued natural resource in times of extreme shortages to protect the resource and allow for sufficient time to recover (fish stocks, bird-life etc.). In the event of a death by drowning, a rāhui was imposed over a specified area until the body had been recovered (Durie, 1994c:10; Firth, 1929:259; Walker, 1990:68). This prevented people taking food from these waters thus the mana of the victim and their whānau remained intact. But it was also a reinforcement of safety measures; the drowning may have been related to a rogue current, or a submerged obstacle.

At the most personal level, tapu was applied to the body (primary tapu) especially the head, considered the most tapu part of a person, and anything that came in contact with the body such as hair combs or clothing (extensions of tapu). All things pertaining to sickness, death, urupā (burial ground) and wāhi tapu (sacred place) were tapu. The relationship of a person to each of these contexts was regulated by conventions of tapu often defined in terms of a contaminated or 'unclean' sense (Best, 1995:270; Firth, 1973 [1929]:246; Walker, 1990:68). It could be seen as a type of public health measure (Durie, 1994c:8).

Principle of noa

The mediation of social control by tapu was made possible by Tumātauenga's action of cooking and eating his brothers' children thus lowering their prestige and rendering the tapu of these offspring noa. Among the definitions of noa include 'free from tapu' (Firth, 1929:252), 'normal' (Buck, 1977 [1949]:353), 'common'

or 'profane' (Marsden, 1975:122; Walker, 1990:67) 'neutral' or 'sterile' (Marsden, 1975:122).

The mechanism employed to counteract the effects of tapu was the 'pure' rite designed to whakanoa; that is "...cleanse from tapu, neutralise tapu or to propitiate the gods" (Marsden, 1975:122). Water was the element used to cleanse from contamination, and cooked food was the means for neutralising tapu or for the propitiation of the gods (Marsden, 1975:122).

Shirres makes an interesting distinction between the ability to neutralise tapu that are the 'extensions of tapu' on the one hand, and tapu that is intrinsic, the 'primary tapu' "...possessed by something in its own right" and therefore not able to be removed or extinguished (Shirres, 1997:42). According to this theory, the whakanoa rite renders free from restrictions 'extensions of tapu' through the ritual eating of food. This does not remove the 'primary' or 'intrinsic' tapu, but acknowledges through the ritual offering of food, the relevant deity as the source of tapu (Shirres, 1997:42). The acknowledgement of a deity and the sets of obligations that such an acknowledgement incurs relate, in part, to the structural hierarchies of the deities or the principle of tuku iho.

The principle of tuku iho

The war of the gods establishes the structural hierarchies of the deities and the definition of their roles as divine authorities over specific departments of life. As the only dissenter Tāwhirimātea joined his father. His revengeful attack on his brothers and the storms he mustered wreaked havoc on all but Tūmātauenga. The chaotic dispersment of the fleeing deities to safer regions, both terrestrial and marine, provides a rationale for such evolutionary theories as the development of species from a common ancestor⁶ (Buck, 1977 [1949]:440).

The classification of the departmental deities according to rank may be justified according to specific activities assigned to them. Tāne stands out as the most important of the deities because of the important tasks he assumed, which had the

⁶ When attacked Tangaroa fled from sea to sea. In the ensuing storms, his grandchildren Ikatere and Tutewehiwehi sort safety at sea and inland. Ikatere and his family became fish, and Tutewehiwehi and his progeny became reptiles (Buck, op.cit: 440).

greatest effect on the Māori world. These tasks include responsibility for letting light into the world, procuring all knowledge necessary for human endeavour, procreating all the flora and fauna, creating the first woman and therefore the generation of humankind.

Tumātauenga, as the deity of humankind, is also the departmental god of war associated with the destruction of man. The frequent tribal wars and the prestige associated with successful warriors elevated the status of Tū in Aotearoa. Male children in particular were dedicated to Tū for the art of war or Rongomatāne for the art of peace (Buck, 1977 [1949]:456). As the god of peace and agriculture, Rongo assumes an important role that includes responsibility for such important functions as hospitality and generosity. These are fundamental values in Māori society encapsulated in the concept of *manaaki tangata*. Furthermore, under Rongo, the process of dispute resolution, entitled ‘*maunga a Rongo*’, ensured lasting peace (Buck, 1977 [1949]:457).

Tangaroa’s importance relates to his status as the origin and tutelary being of all the fish in the oceans and waterways, and the origin of carving. Tāwhirimātea is the personified form of winds and responsible for all things meteorological. It was to Tāwhirimātea that appeals were made for favourable winds or to abate storms on sea voyages.

The significance of Haumiatiketike is as the deity of the *ruhe*, the root of the bracken fern and uncultivated food. An important factor is a single deity designated to represent a staple food source. Ruaumoko, the youngest of the brothers is said to have remained at his mothers breast during the episode which saw Papatuanuku turned over and so he never emerged to see the light of day. As the deity of earthquakes and volcanic phenomena, it is by these means that the power relationship between humankind and the environment is maintained.

The period of conflict and hostility in the cosmology not only exposes the structural hierarchy of the deities, but also thrusts humankind into a synergistic relationship with the environment revealing sets of obligations that determine mutual responsibility. The practical value of the deities to human affairs was conceived during this phase. For example Tangaroa’s position as divine head of the department

of marine species calls for the recognition of this by fishermen through ritual observations as a practical defence against obstruction from securing a successful catch. The pure ritual is used by the fishermen to propitiate Tangaroa as deity of the oceans, before setting out to fish and again on their return having successfully harvested their catch.

The principle of whakarite Māranga

A further sequence that demonstrates relevant principles of social organization in the creation narrative is referred to as ‘te hurihanga a Mataaho’. Continuous floods of rain, bitter frosts, hail and heavy snow marked the parent’s grief at their forced separation. Concerned at their own increasing discomfort, and to alleviate their parents grief, Mataaho acted on the brothers decision to turn the body of Papatunuku face down, an action encapsulated in the phrase te hurihanga a Mataaho (Buck, 1977 [1949]:441). The effect was to restore the balance of the elements in the natural world thereby ensuring the wellbeing of the Earthmother and her sons, and by implication, the effective management of the earth’s natural resources.

The structural hierarchy of the six departmental deities revealed during the creation phase is further reinforced in other phases within the cosmological narratives.

Cosmological narrative	Principle	Application
Separation of Ranginui and Papatunuku	Hui	Consultation, discussion Communal effort Managing the decision making process
War of the gods	Tapu & noa Utu Tuku iho (Structural hierarchies)	Regulation & control Retribution/reciprocity Establishing the relationship between humankind & nature Obligation
Te Hurihanga a Mataaho	Whakarite Māranga (Balance & Wellbeing)	Managing natural resources
Obtaining the three baskets of knowledge	Wānanga (enlightenment)	Acquisition of knowledge
Search for the female element	Whakamātautau (experimentation)	Research and development
Creation of the ira tangata	Whakariterite (accuracy) Whakapapa	Quality control Formation of identity and social organisation

For instance, Tane was the most important leader among the sons of the primary parents. He carries many names that indicate the nature of his leadership and his association with significant events. As Tāne-nui-a-Rangi his name denotes his status as the great Tāne, offspring of Rangi. As Tāne Māhuta he represents trees, as Tāne-i-te-wānanga he represents knowledge and (Best, 1977; 1995 [1924]:118).

Tāne was chosen to perform as Tāne-te-waiora representing life, prosperity, welfare and sunlight the most significant tasks in the creation of humankind. He was elected to obtain the wānanga or knowledge contained in three baskets according to their symbolic contents (Buck, 1977 [1949]:449). Tāne led the search for the kū (female element) in order to create the ira tangata (Buck, 1977 [1949]:450) and he was delegated the task of procreation with Hineahuone, into whose nostrils he had breathed life creating the first human (Buck 1977: 451). These three events highlight several recurring themes underscoring many of the customary values in Māori society that remain extant.

The principle of wānanga

In order to obtain the three baskets of knowledge Tāne was required to undertake a long and perilous journey through the spaces of twelve heavens. His journey was made all the more difficult by attacks from Whiro the one dissenting brother who objected to Tāne being selected to carry out the task. But others supported him along the journey and the custodians of the wānanga granted access.

However, the value and tapu condition of wānanga was such that Tāne was required to undertake the ‘pure’ rite, a ritual of purification with water designed to ‘cleanse from tapu’ (Mardsen, 1975), before the kete wānanga (baskets of knowledge) could be handed over. The ritual emphasises the sacred nature of the task. It accentuates the need to protect and preserve the wānanga as a valuable tool of enlightenment and also to ensure its appropriate use. The ritual offers a symbolic access to something of high status and value (such as the wānanga), it is a transitional zone to accommodate a shift in emotion and a psychological state of preparation for what is in store (the retrieval of the wānanga).

The names⁷ and symbolic contents of each basket are te kete tuauri containing the values of peace, goodness and love. Te kete tuatea comprises the knowledge of ritual, prayers and incantations and te kete aronui holds the knowledge necessary for everyday living- war, agriculture, woodwork, stonework, and earth work (Best, 1995 [1924]; Buck, 1977 [1949]:449).

This narrative emphasizes, among others, the Māori attitude to knowledge and the skills necessary for its acquisition. Knowledge is highly valued and must be protected to ensure enlightenment and to guard against inappropriate use. This attitude was reinforced by the performance of the 'pure rite' over Tāne that signals the tapu or protective forces that must be brought to bear on what is a valued mission. Knowledge is not easily attainable as Tāne discovered during his epic journey in countering the attacks by Whiro. The brothers' selection of Tāne to carry out the task provided him with the necessary mandate to obtain the knowledge on behalf of the group, thus justifying the necessity of a proven right of access to knowledge. Knowledge requires the support and sanction of the custodians charged with protecting the wānanga, as symbolised by Tāne undergoing the tohi rite before receiving the three baskets of knowledge and successfully completing his mission.

Search for the female Element

There are a number of themes that emerge from Tāne's search for the uha or female element and the creation of the ira tangata (humankind). One theme has to do with the experimental nature of the procreative search among inanimate forms that results in the development of native species of flora and fauna. By testing his procreative powers with female personifications in the natural world Tāne produced, among others, named trees (for example kahika, matai, totara etc), birds (such as the tui and weka) and insects that are indigenous to New Zealand (Best, 1995 [1924]:119; Buck, 1977 [1949]:450; Walker, 1990). Although the search was unsuccessful in terms of finding the uha, it was hardly a journey that 'came to nought' as Best describes (Best, 1995 [1924]:119). But the narrative does provide

⁷ Buck (1977) also references names for each basket as kete uruuru matua, kete uruuru rangi, kete uruuru tau or tawhito (p449). The names referred to here are cited by Buck (p449) from the Tuhotoariki poem collected by Best who sourced the Matorohanga manuscripts. Refer to Buck (p443) and Best (1995 [1924]: 110) for further discussion.

the origins or whakapapa of indigenous flora and fauna, a rationale for the genealogical relationship between natural species and humankind. Applied to the contemporary context, this narrative may be regarded as justification for inter-species genetic transfers. However this was also a failed experiment establishing the boundaries between humankind and species of flora and fauna.

The notion of enduring long and arduous journeys is a recurring theme in the cosmological narratives and the sequence that describes the quest for the uha is no exception. It was a long and continuous search that was carried into all realms and regions (Best, 1995 [1924]:119). As with Tāne's journey to obtain the kete wānanga, the immense time spent and the vast spaces covered indicate the exceptional value of the element sought. Although the search did not involve the danger of attacks from recalcitrant or vengeful siblings, all the same, the task was difficult and challenging.

A further theme relates to the importance of whakariterite, of accuracy and getting things right. Failure to find the appropriate female element leads Tāne and his brothers to conclude that the ira tangata was not derived from within their own realm of the ira tua but would have to be created. Their resolve to mould a female form was a combined effort with each sibling contributing knowledge and resources, carefully deliberating over each anatomical formation. Tāne was delegated the task of breathing life into the inanimate form thus creating the ira tangata, the first human a woman named Hineahuone (Buck, 1977 [1949]:450; Walker, 1990:14). The quest for the uha, the experimentation that entailed and the creation of the human form by contributing knowledge and resources emphasises the importance of accuracy in terms of having the appropriate ingredients to create life.

This principle is further reinforced in an episode of the Maui cycle of narratives. During the performance of the tohi rite for Maui, his father utters a mistake in the ritual, which explains the loss of immortality. Embedded in this narrative is the emphasis on a word-perfect recitation of waiata and karakia. Failure to do so resulted in misfortune or even death (Walker, 1992 [1978]:174).

Application of the principle of whakariterite in society is observed for example in the erection of a carved meeting-house. While the work is in progress only those

persons authorised are allowed access. The tapu nature of the work means that certain regulations are enforced and strict adherence to these stringent rules to ensure the proper performance of the work (Firth, 1973 [1929]:252). During his marae restoration programmes, it is said that Sir Apirana Ngata was not averse to slashing apart a weaver's tukutuku that was not correctly executed. His actions ensured the weaver had a second opportunity to perfect their craft and that their safety was protected thereby exercising the highest level of quality control⁸.

The principle of whakapapa

At the most fundamental level, the cosmological narratives are the source of a genealogical matrix that reveals the interrelationship between humankind and all other things that exist in the world. Whakapapa is the basic ontological and epistemological method that offers a rationale for the order of the Māori world that is described by a unique taxonomy of relationships. Through whakapapa Māori are able to trace their links to the flora and fauna in the natural world. Tāne's search and experiments to find the female element produced trees, birds, insects, lizards and stones (Buck, 1977 [1949]:450) before creating Hineahuone and human life, the ira tangata. These links to the distant past and the creation of the universe may be interpreted in the ancient whakatauki 'e kore au e ngaro, te kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea'⁹ to mean,

"...we are the seeds or direct descendants of the 'heavens' and can trace our whakapapa back through time to the very beginning of time and of the creation of the universe..."(Mead, 1996:211).

Whakapapa provides access to a deep understanding about Māori society and how people relate to one another and to the world about them. An identity as Māori is conceptualised through whakapapa that enables a person to trace their relationship to other people (tangata), to kin (whanaunga), to the land (whenua), to a place (tūrangawaewae) and to a customary whānau/hapu meeting place (mārae). This combined formation of identity is important for understanding the nature of tribal

⁸ This story is anecdotal and popularly retold in the Māori art community.

organisations since these institutions are established and operate on the basis of whakapapa.

Within the Maui cycle of narratives, Maui's search for his parents and his subsequent encounter with them, illustrate the social convention of identification that persists today. Having established his territorial origins Maui's parents were able to identify him. When first-time meetings occur between any Māori person, tribal origins are quickly established and mutual relatives identified thus establishing a common bond (Walker, 1992 [1978]:173).

In a society where succession was based on primogeniture, the social status within a family was important. Through whakapapa a system of social stratification depended on seniority of descent among the direct and collateral descent lines (Makereti, 1986 [1938]). A significant mechanism of social organisation that is based on whakapapa is that of tuakana and tēina. This is a ranking system whereby the 'tuakana' is ranked senior and above the 'tēina' or junior. The narrative that describes how Tāne obtained the wānanga is an early account, which demonstrates the importance of this mechanism. Whiro objected to the sibling's choice of Tāne to carry out the journey to obtain the wānanga on the grounds that Whiro himself was the tuakana, the senior in birth to Tāne. Tāne's journey is thus hampered by the many battles that Whiro wages against him (Buck, 1977 [1949]:448).

Generally, it is the elder sibling who assumed the responsibility for making decisions and leadership roles that affect the family. In most tribes it was usually a senior male who was groomed to assume his place as leader once his elders were no longer able to or had died. However, narratives within the Maui cycle provide justification for a teina to assume such roles based on personal traits and suitability. As the pōtiki (youngest), the last child born of five brothers, Maui is a model for junior children who might aspire to leadership. His many exploits show that he possessed the kinds of traits admired by society, the ideal character who was intelligent, resourceful and daring yet also cunning and deceitful (Walker, 1992 [1978]:172). These were among the personal attributes and requisite qualities considered to be necessary for the ideal leader.

⁹ Translates as 'I shall never be lost; the seed which was sown from Rangiaitea' (Buck, op.cit: 37).

The Maui and Rupe cycle of narratives offer some indication of the values attached to close kin. For example, Maui's encounters with his grandmothers, Murirangawhenua and Māhuika, illustrate the nature of the relationship between kuia (grandmother) and mokopuna (grandchild). As the repositories of wisdom and knowledge, these kuia were reluctant to divulge their knowledge when Maui sought access. Just as Tāne discovered on his journey how difficult and challenging it was to find the female principle and to procure the wānanga, Maui also found that knowledge is not easily obtained, nor is it freely given out. For the elders it would mean a diminution of mana. Eventually the persistent Maui, resorted to trickery and deceit in order to obtain the secrets his kuia held (Walker, 1992 [1978]:174).

The theme of searching for a parent (Maui for his parents) or sibling (Rupe for his sister) is another common theme that demonstrates the significant nature of primary relationships. Close kin were bound by sets of obligations and a loyalty to protect each other's welfare (Walker, 1992 [1978]:175). By contrast the Maui cycle also introduces the dangerous nature of relatives by marriage (Walker, 1992 [1978]:176). In-laws (particularly brother-in-laws) were bound by the same sets of obligations. In times of need in-laws would defend the mana of their married kin even to the death if necessary.

From this perspective the principle of whakapapa establishes a person's identity that is confirmed through common bonds, loyalty and powerful sets of obligations that most often determine how kin interact with one another. It both limits and extends social interaction. The tuakana-teina relationship may lead to a restriction of roles for younger family members, but wider links with other groups may provide the incentive for activity and involvement on a broader front.

Relationship between humankind and the deities

The values and sanctions that derive from the cosmology are expressed as a spiritual conception of the universe and the relationship of humans to the pantheon of spiritual beings or deities of uncertain form. Visible symbols or ari were associated with the deities such as natural phenomena (rainbows, comets, trees, stones), living creatures (birds, fish, lizards), or carved or stone images. Recitation of karakia, a

formula of words, was necessary to seek to influence the deities, to procure benefits or avert disaster. There were vast numbers of incantations each relatively specific to meet all possible contingencies in human life. Karakia were necessary for any ritual act and were recited by the tohunga who were the mediums of the gods (Buck, 1977 [1949]:489).

The word tohunga is derived from the root-word 'tohu' meaning a sign or manifestation. According to Māori Marsden, the term tohunga means 'chosen one' or 'appointed one' and not 'expert' as so often translated (Marsden, 1975:155). The efficacy of karakia lay in its faultless repetition, so too did the mana and delivery of the tohunga, since a mistake signalled an ill omen. Offerings sometimes accompanied the incantation. For example, the deities always received the 'first fruits' of any activity' – the first kumara dug, the first fish or bird taken, the first piece of weaving, the first person slain in battle (Metge, 1976:23).

There were several classes of tohunga the highest class being the tohunga ahurewa, whose function was to mediate between the gods and the community to ensure the welfare of the tribe. These were the most powerful of the tohunga. The second class was the taura who operated in the field of the occult and were regarded as inferior in mana and less learned than the tohunga ahurewa. Specialist tohunga experts in various fields of creative activity included carvers and moko artists (Marsden, 1975). However every person as lay-people learnt an assortment of karakia to help them out of difficulties that arose in their activities when a tohunga was not at hand (Buck, 1977 [1949]:490).

Chapter Three

Historical and Cultural Context

“Our hearts are not with this policy of imposing Pākehā culture forms on our people. Our recent activities would indicate a contrary determination to preserve the old culture forms as the foundations on which to reconstruct Māori life and hopes”

(Sir Apirana Ngata to Sir Peter Buck, 1/8/1928.¹)

The historical and cultural context within which the tribal organisations in this study are located, and the social and political environments that gave rise to their development during the latter years of the 20th century, underpin a complex and multi-layered organizational milieu conditioned, in part, by traditional patterns of social organisation. The social organisation of Māori described in writings by Makereti Papakura (Makereti, 1986 [1938]), Te Rangi Hiroa (Buck, 1977 [1949]) and Sir Apirana Ngata (Ngata, 1988) in the early part of last century provide analysis and theoretical models based on genealogical primacy that still hold relevance for interpreting and understanding the contemporary condition of tribal organisations today. Collectively their writings offer theoretical perspectives that are interpreted through distinct tribal lenses (Ngāti Mūtunga, Ngāti Porou and Te Arawa).² They also offer a tribal consciousness expressed not only through lived experiences as active tribal leaders, but also, in relation to this study, through the unique roles they held in the development of tribal organisations: Makereti in the development of tourism, and the preservation of customary knowledge and protocols of Te Arawa (Makereti, 1986 [1938]); Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) in Māori health, public administration and Pacific anthropology (Buck, 1977 [1949]; Condliffe, 1971; Sorrenson, 1986); and Sir Apirana Ngata in politics, land development and cultural revitalisation (Butterworth, 1969; Sorrenson, 1986; Walker, 2001).

Makereti and Ngata in particular were steeped in the language, histories, culture and protocols of their respective tribes. However, all three leaders were in no doubt as to the nature of a new world order within New Zealand and the profound impact colonisation exacted on the lives of Māori people. What they might not have imaged perhaps was the pace of change accelerated by the urban migration of the mid 20th

¹ (Sorrenson, 1986)

² Although in his book ‘The Coming of the Māori’ Buck often makes relevant comparisons within a broader Polynesian context, influenced by his academic career in the Pacific and as the Director of the Bishop Museum in Hawaii.

century. Urban settlement served to fracture many lives through geographical dislocation, isolation and alienation from tribal lands and kin, and to alter, at least in the short term, customary dimensions of social organisation. It is a contemporary phenomenon where in a global economic environment alternative formations of Māori social organisation have evolved, sometimes alongside more conventional tribal organisations and sometimes quite independent of tribes.

This chapter is written in two parts. Perspectives of customary Māori socialisation described by Mākereti, Buck and Ngata are outlined as a basis for analysing the contemporary condition of tribal organisations. It is proposed that the concept of ‘condition’ refers to the state, the form, the situation and the circumstances of an organisation that is tribally constituted through genealogy.

Part two begins with an application of Ngata’s genealogical method as a framework for presenting a brief summary of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga tribal history. Relevant aspects of the social and political history of the 19th and 20th centuries are outlined, within which modern tribal entities, such as rūnanga, and new formations of Māori social organisations (such as the Māori War Effort, Māori Committees, the Māori Women’s Welfare League and Urban Authorities) evolved. In addition a summary details various types of legal instruments utilised by tribes and Māori organisations to create their own entities in order to conduct tribal business and provide services (in education, social services etc.) to Māori communities.

Group Identity and Customary Social Organisation

Most commentators of Māori social organisation indicate the earliest form of social unit was based on the crews of founding waka or canoe (Buck, 1977 [1949]; Firth, 1929; Mākereti, 1986 [1938]; Ngata, 1944). As these groups expanded into larger family groupings, names were established that linked the group to the canoe captains. This early form of group identity consisted of the prefix *tini* (numerous), followed by the name of the canoe commander, such as *Tini o Toi* or ‘the many people of Toi’ (Buck, 1977 [1949]). Ngata’s study of historical documents, including whakapapa tables and Native Land Court records of these districts, led him to conclude that the *Tini o Toi*³ formed the earliest groupings occupying the eastern

seaboard of the North Island from the Bay of Plenty to the Wairarapa and Manawatu. These groups were a merger of Toi's descendants and people who predate Toi's settlement (Ngata, 1944:5).

Buck estimated three waves of canoe settlement that over time saw intermarriage between these later arrivals and the tangata whenua or first settlers (Buck, 1977 [1949]:332). From his study of Polynesian cultures Buck theorised that the early settlement was probably drawn from a number of island groups, and once settled in Aotearoa the distinctions remained even though they now lived on the same land mass (Buck in Sorrenson, 1986:183). He proposed that local areas corresponding to canoe territories should be regarded as if they were different islands in Polynesia. It was, Buck insisted, impossible to regard the culture of one island as the standard for all of Polynesia. In the same way it would be erroneous to regard the culture of any one canoe area as universal for New Zealand as a whole (Buck in Sorrenson, 1987:77).

The waka was the largest social grouping of Māori society, but apart from loose confederations such as Te Arawa and Tūwharetoa, the waka came to be a metaphorical bond of identification that joined the descendants of these settlers with the ancestral home of Hawaiki (Firth, 1929:115; Mitchell, 1972:29). At times however, the waka bond was also the means of forming alliances between tribes in the promotion of mutual security or in the pursuit of economic, social or political purpose. For example, the Waikato and allied tribes of Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Haua and Ngāti Raukawa are of the Tainui waka (Kelly, 1949).

Whānau, hapū, iwi

The basic social unit in Māori society was the biological family, the whānau. The value placed on whānau within societal structures is demonstrated, in part, by the term whānau, which means 'to give birth'. Customarily this unit varied in size and consisted of several generations lead by the elders (both men and women) who were the repositories of knowledge, the family mentors, the economic guides, and

³ According to Ngata among the earliest settlers who comprise the Tini o Toi and occupied these districts include Maruiwi, Mamoe, Awa, Ruatamoe and Rangitāne tribes (Ngata, 1988:5). He also makes the interesting point that earlier tribal names without prefixes and some more recent, were descriptive and associated with the names of plants and birds such as Te Raurauhe-maemae, Te Pananehu. Some of the more recent names for which there are traditions are nicknames arising from incidents in tribal history or the life of an ancestor (Ngata in Sorrenson, 1987:176).

the primary caregivers of the young. Whānau lived and worked together as a self-controlled unit and when this unit expanded over succeeding generations the term hapū (also meaning pregnant), was applied. The terms whānau and hapū express at least three important values that underpin Māori social organisation; birth from a common ancestor, close kinship ties and collective unity for mutual benefits.

Hapū was the main political and economic entity but its status and viability was only achieved if certain conditions were in place whereby an identity as hapū was recognised. These included the emergence of an effective leader (man or woman) descended from a founding ancestor who possessed the requisite skills and ability to strengthen the identity of the hapū (Buck, 1977 [1949]:333; Walker, 1990:64). Warfare skills and political marriages helped define, secure and confirm the territorial polity of a hapū usually under the name of the founding leader. For example, although not a warrior or a military genius, Te Huki of Ngāti Kahungunu used diplomatic skills by arranging a series of political marriages for himself and his offspring, commonly referred to as Te Kūpenga a Te Huki, to secure a net of lasting unity between hapū of the East Coast from Whāngāra to the Wairarapa (Mitchell, 1972:145).

Hapū were able to combine in large-scale economic activities such as market gardens, fishing operations and in the production of major assets like pātaka (storehouse), waka (canoe) and whare whakairo (carved ancestral meeting house). Political alliances were entered into between hapū to protect and defend, if necessary, their economic resources and territorial assets (Walker, 1990:64).

Most everyday social and political activities occurred at the whānau and hapū level. But at other times the largest and most effective political grouping was the iwi or tribe. The term iwi can also mean 'bone' thus reinforcing the eligibility for membership; that is, all hapū descended from common ancestors who are related to each other by blood ties (Buck, 1977 [1949]:333).

Usually an eponymous ancestor of great mana, such as Raukawa of the Ngāti Raukawa and Kahungunu of Ngāti Kahungunu, was the point of reference through which iwi identify was defined.⁴ As a social grouping 'iwi' is a phenomena that

⁴ Buck makes the point that not all tribes originate from an eponymous leader. The example he gives is that of the Te Rarawa and the adoption of an ancestral name Ngāti Kahu by a group who had over time come under the mantle of Te Rarawa but were not direct descendants. See Buck in Sorrenson (1987:221) for a full explanation.

developed in New Zealand since no tribal organisation was part of the circumstances of the migrations. Crews were selected representatives of different families of close kin thus bringing with them the nuclei of the organisations that later developed into tribes and sub-tribes (Ngata, 1988). According to Buck, the notion of iwi as a political grouping is a recent development and in a modern era, necessary for the development of a 'race consciousness' as Māori. He wrote

“...to me, the development of a race consciousness must be based on tribal consciousness. The tribal independence has always been present...what will racial consciousness be but the combining together of tribal consciousness” (Buck in Sorrenson, 1986:182-3).

Characteristics of Social Order

Makereti identifies three significant characteristics of the social order of whānau and hapū; the importance of communal effort or māhinga tahi, the value of hospitality or manaaki tangata, and the self-sufficiency and autonomy of the group or mana motuhake (Makereti, 1986 [1938]:38-9).

Māhinga tahi

Every member of the community, regardless of rank, was expected to work. Great store was placed on an individual's effort towards the survival of the group or for the common good rather than personal gain. The importance of individual effort for the common good is encapsulated in the whakatauki,

‘Ka ora pea i a koe, ka ora koe ia au’ (Mead & Grove, 2001).⁵

This is confirmed by Pāterangi of Ngāti Kahungunu, who maintained,

‘Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini’ (Mead & Grove, 2001:24).⁶

In other words, the combined effort of many was necessary for the successful completion of any task or project ventured. In the application of his Native Land Development policy Ngata demonstrated many times his adherence to the principle of mahingatahi. For example at his farming scheme at Horohoro near Rotorua, Ngata declined a request from the newly settled Māori families for occupancy of the new cottages until they had built enough to house everyone (Sorrenson, 1987:26).

⁵ Attributed to Huata of Ngāti Kahungunu this translates as ‘Perhaps I survive because of you, and you survive because of me’. Each tribal member is essential to the survival of the others.

⁶ Attributed to Paterangi of Ngāti Kahungunu and translates as ‘the collective effort necessary for the success of a project’.

Manaaki tangata

The value of manaaki tangata, in its widest sense, is associated with the concept of mana, manifest in the expressions of respect, warmth, kindness and sincerity towards visiting individuals or groups of people (Pere, 1982:66). Tribal mana was often judged by the ability to formally welcome, honour and entertain guests, and the way they housed and fed them. The principle of manaaki tangata remained the same regardless of the occasion or numbers of people thus ensuring the reputation of the local people, for hospitality (including the meal) and scrupulous conduct towards a guest, was upheld. At its most simplistic manaaki tangata could be expressed towards kin from a neighbouring whānau or an individual from a distant hapū.

Both Mākereti (Makereti, 1986 [1938]:158-9) and Buck (Sorrenson, 1987:254) comment on the efficiency and speed with which hapū or iwi could mobilise to organise, prepare and successfully accomplish hosting large occasions such as the tangihanga of a dignitary or the opening of a meeting house. However, Ngata also points out the competitive nature of providing a feast of the regions special delicacies and the long-term fallout that can sometimes occur when the outcome is inadequate (Ngata in Sorrenson, 1986:105). The principle of not offering food so meagre that it causes embarrassment is encapsulated in the whakatauki ‘he kai kō ana, hurihia kētia’⁷(Mead & Grove, 2001:80).

Mana motuhake

Mana motuhake or autonomy and self-sufficiency of whānau was sustained around the principle of whakapapa and protected under the mantle of a hapū and/or iwi name. Commenting on the extent to which whānau, hapū or iwi governed their own affairs Mākereti wrote,

“A Māori tribe always kept to itself, and did not let other tribes come in or interfere with it. All outsiders were barred, except as guests and then they would be entertained in a most hospitable and ceremonious manner” (Makereti, 1986 [1938]:39).

⁷ ‘When food is inadequate or poorly prepared it is better to turn one’s back on the food and on the visitors’ Mead & Grove op.cit).

In addition whānau membership, and therefore hapū and iwi membership, was based entirely on whakapapa, and so the social order and classificatory nomenclature (such as rangatira, tuakana, tēina, tuahine, tungāne, kaumātua) denoting relationships between members, reflected this. Such classificatory terms served to reinforce kinship bonds promoting a sense of obligation, loyalty, responsibility and duty to the community as a whole. What this meant in practice was an integrated system of whānau support at every level of the community from birth to death. For example, childrearing was not necessarily the prerogative of the parents alone, particularly the mother. This was a shared responsibility among the community, most often the elder men and women, which released the younger and more agile parents to assume the strenuous tasks (Pere, 1982:59). The whānau attended to all matters that concerned them (for example in housing, health, education and welfare) except in matters of importance, which affected the wider hapū (such as justice or warfare). Then the leader or chief of each whānau would participate in the decision-making processes and politics of hapū (Makereti, 1986 [1938]:39).

The basis of rank and leadership were generally on seniority of descent from founding ancestors. In Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou this could be either male or female (Mahuika, 1977; Mitchell, 1972; Ngata, 1944). However, although acknowledging the high born status of āriki women such as Hinematiaro of Ngāti Porou,⁸ most commentators ascribe the criterion of the rangatira (chiefs) as the first-born in the senior male line (Buck, 1977 [1949]:343; Firth, 1973 [1929]:106; Walker, 1990:65; Winiata, 1967). Others delineate between three ranks of priest, chief and ariki. Priests gained proficiency through study and chiefs could be an ascribed position depending on their qualities of leadership in which case their rangatira status was not necessarily passed on to descendants.⁹ Āriki were considered to be highborn aristocracy, descendants of first-born children in a continuous senior line (Firth, 1973 [1929]:106; Mitchell, 1972:46).

Social control was exercised and maintained in Māori society through a system of “rank, mana, utu and spiritual beliefs pertaining to tapu, mauri and mākutu” (Walker, 1990: 67).¹⁰

⁸ For example Buck (1977: 344).

⁹ Mahuika disputes this view in the case of Ngāti Porou rangatira who were ascribed according to whakapapa.

¹⁰ See Walker (1990: 67) for further discussion.

The ‘genealogical method’

The cosmological narratives demonstrate that whakapapa is a genealogical matrix that offers a rationale for the order of the Māori world. The term whakapapa is the process of laying one thing upon another, of placing succeeding generations in ordered layers in the recitation of genealogy (Metge, 1995; Ngata, 1944). Ngata regarded whakapapa as the ‘fundamental data’ for ethnological and historical study. As a scholar, his knowledge and understanding of western research methods applied by anthropologists, such as Dr W.H.R. Rivers, on other indigenous peoples¹¹ (Rivers, 1901), confirmed in Ngata’s mind that as a basis for the study of Māori society, whakapapa ‘stood supreme’. The strength of a whakapapa framework, he reasoned, was that it allowed for a multi-dimensional approach to investigating the complexities of Māori society. It enabled an investigation of the actual growth and development of the hapū and tribal organisation and even to determine, in some instances, the period and circumstances under which tribal names were applied (Ngata in Sorrenson, 1986:103).¹²

“Traditions and historical notes woven round them [whakapapa] illumine and are illuminated by them. You can take the whakapapas [sic] to pieces, arrange & rearrange them...and from the dissection get at the scheme or schemes of Maori social life” (Ngata in Sorrenson, 1986:114).

As a basis for presenting a brief tribal history belonging to the organisations in this study it is possible to use relevant components of the genealogical method proposed by Ngata that are identified in Fig 1. This approach provides a historical context for discussion. It consists of relevant aspects of tribal narratives of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, an outline of the geographical boundaries that constitute the tribal rohe, trans-tribal links between the two iwi and some significant nomenclature relevant to this study.

¹¹ See for example Rivers 1901 study of the Torres Strait Islanders.

¹² The example Ngata gives relates to Ngāti Horomoana of Te Whānau-a-Apanui whose name commemorates a local tragedy in which a group of children were drowned while crossing the Motu River (Ngata in Sorrenson 1986:103).

Fig.1: The Genealogical Method: A framework for studying customary social organisation

Component	Application
Tribal narratives & historical literature	Evolutionary development of iwi (e.g. patterns of migration) Review of historical literature & tribal narratives
Trans-tribal linkages	Political, economic and kinship links across tribes
Geographical boundaries	Geography of place Environmental concerns Hereditry
Social customs	Culture traits (e.g. marriage customs, motives behind making/returning gifts etc) Culture forms (e.g. language, art & craft) Cultural symbols (e.g. marae, tāonga pounamu)
Time and space	Dimensions (e.g. past, present, future)
Etymology/nomenclature	Language- root words naming of a group, children, commemorative events, kinship terms etc. Use of technical terms (e.g. whakapapa, whakamoe)
Change	Adaptation Managing change Modifying customary institutions (eg tangihanga, whānau) Attainment (and measurement) of Māori standards of comfort and happiness

Adapted from (Ngata, 1988; Ngata, 1944; Sorrenson, 1986)

Migratory patterns and geographical boundaries: A brief overview of tribal history

The rohe or territory of Ngāti Kahungunu extends along the eastern seacoast and the western mountain ranges of Huiarau, Ruahine, Tararua and Rimataka running parallel from Māhia Peninsula in the north to Cape Palliser in the South. Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga extends from Waikanae, north to the Whangaehu River. Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga claim ancestors who migrated to New Zealand in founding waka from Hawaiiiki.

Ngāti Kahungunu

In the case of Ngāti Kahungunu, the Tākitimu and the Horouta waka brought the ancestors of tribes who occupied the east coast area from Māhia to the Wairarapa

(Halbert, 1999:67; Lambert, 1925:2; Mitchell, 1972:25; Ngata, 1944:43).¹³ Several migrations from Poverty Bay helped establish Ngāti Kahungunu as a tribe in the Māhia/Wairoa district (Ngata, 1944:2). But it is the ancestor Kahungunu and his marriage with Rongomaiwhine that establishes his pre-eminence as an ancestor of the tribes who take his name.

Kahungunu was born in Kaitaia the child of Tamatea-pōkai-whenua and his second wife Iwipupu, the great granddaughter of Porourangi. The family migrated from the North as a consequence of quarrels and warfare, and moved south to Tauranga where Kahungunu grew to adulthood. Kahungunu was not a warrior but his personality, versatility and charm enabled him to win favours of tribes as he journeyed from Tauranga down the East Coast to Māhia (Mitchell, 1972:73). Among these favours were the many marriages he entered into along the way. However his marriages¹⁴ first to Ruareretai, the eldest daughter of the Poverty Bay chief Ruapani, and later to Rongomaiwhine¹⁵ of Te Māhia, produced offspring who became the ancestral leaders of much of the territory that constitutes Ngāti Kahungunu.

For example, his grandson Rākaihikuroa's engagement with the Rangitāne tribe at Heretaunga was a deliberate movement aimed at effective colonisation. Rākaihikuroa's son Tawhao claimed Te Whanganui o Orotu¹⁶ as his mara or source of food, while Taraia floated his calabash at Hukarere¹⁷ thereby claiming the fishing grounds at the mouth of the Ngaruroro and Tukituki rivers. This area is generally referred to as 'te ipu a Taraia'¹⁸ (Mitchell, 1972:111; Ngata, 1944:19).

Rākaipaaka, a grandson of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine, settled in the Nuhaka district thus establishing the hapū Rākaipaaka. In a bid to cement unity among warring factions Te Huki, the great grandson of Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine, intermarried throughout the various tribes from Poverty Bay to the Wairarapa and 'set his net' by placing his grandchildren as 'pou' or posts at significant ends of the district. Referred to as Te Kupenga o Te Huki, these 'pou'

¹³ There is some contention and controversy regarding the place of the Horouta waka in Ngāti Kahungunu tribal history. Refer to Lambert (1925), Mitchell (1972) Ngata (1972:22) and Halbert (1999) for further discussion.

¹⁴ Ruareretai was Kahungunu's first wife and Rongomaiwahine his third.

¹⁵ Most hapū of Te Māhia maintain their right to express an iwi identity as Rongomaiwahine.

¹⁶ The Napier and Port Ahuriri area.

¹⁷ Napier Bluff

¹⁸ Translates as 'the calabash of Taraia'.

and their descendants became the principal chiefs of that locality (Mitchell, 1972:143-4).¹⁹

The settlement by the various tribes of the territory that constitute Ngāti Kahungunu occurred over several generations of migration²⁰ from Turanganui-a-Kiwa²¹ (initiated by internal quarrels and dispute), and whose mana whenua principally derived from tipu raupatu or conquest. Over the generations peace-making marriages and alliances between the new migrants and the earlier inhabitants meant that the rights of the various descent groups called for frequent redefinitions (Ballara & Scott, 1993:38). In his summary of the establishment of Ngāti Kahungunu as a tribal entity Ngata concludes;

“...the tribal name Ngati Kahungunu has...a restricted application. It was established in the Wairoa district through Rakaipaka and Hinemanuhiri, the children of Kahungunu’s eldest son Kahukuranui, by his second wife Tuteihonga. In Hawkes Bay the name followed in the wake of Rakaihikuroa and his sons and grandson. Thence by sundry migrations and intermarriages the name extended until it superseded other tribal appellations in the territory south of Hawkes Bay” (Ngata, 1944:28).

No overall unified tribal hierarchy developed which controlled all of the people of Hawke’s Bay. For example, by 1850 the missionary William Colenso noted that there were at least four paramount chiefs²² of independent and equal status in Heretaunga and Te Whanganui-a-Orūtu (Ballara & Scott, 1993:33). Chiefs in southern Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa enjoyed freedom of action, ensuring consensus and forming temporary alliances when the need arose to achieve concerted action (Ballara & Scott, 1993:34).

This was also the case in the Mohaka, Wairoa, Nuhaka and Te Māhia areas. There were at least four paramount chiefs²³ in these territories and some chiefs of lesser status; the high-ranking chiefs never curtailed the freedom of action of the lesser-ranked chiefs. The status of these leaders was such that they were autonomous

¹⁹ For an indepth discussion refer to (Mitchell, 1972:143-148).

²⁰ The migrations by Taraia I, his father Rakaihikuroa and their families to Hawke’s Bay from Tūranganui took place 14 or 15 generations before 1850 (Ballara & Scott, 1993:37).

²¹ The original name for Gisborne.

²² These included Tāreha te Moananui of Ahuriri, Kurupo Te Moananui of Ngāti Hawea (Te Awanga, Cape Kidnappers), Te Hapuku of Te Whatuiapiti and Puhara Hawaikirangi of Heretaunga and Te Whatuiapiti.

²³ Paora Rerepu of Ngāti Pahauwera and associated hapū, Te Koari, Te Apatu and Ihaka Whaanga of different combinations of hapū in Wairoa and Rakaipaka.

leaders of independent tribal communities (Ballara & Scott, 1993:35). And despite tendencies in the 19th century to unite under the name Ngāti Kahungunu, the pattern of independent communities persisted (Ballara & Scott, 1993:39).

Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga:

Like Ngāti Kahungunu, the history of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga include accounts of internal disputes leading to migration and settlement in other territories. Descended from the ancestors who arrived on the Tainui waka, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga is one of a confederation of tribes, that include Ngāti Toarangatira and Te Ati Awa, who migrated south from Maungatautari,²⁴ Kāwhia and Taranaki to settle in the Manawatu, Horowhenua, Wellington and the northern South Island area. The colonisation of these west coast territories was characterised by a number of significant factors. The migrations were strategically planned and organised events; kinship ties and acts of diplomacy helped secure safe passage southwards; and the institution of ‘take raupatu’ or ‘right of occupation’, (with the assistance of modern arms) was enacted as a claim to entitlements in the new territories.

In the early years of the 19th century, the initial migration from Kāwhia by Ngāti Toarangatira under the leadership of Te Rauparaha was a planned event. Ngāti Toa had provoked the enmity of many tribes of Waikato and Maniapoto which precipitated Ngāti Toa’s plans for resettlement in a distant territory to avoid the possible threat of annihilation, and to seek new opportunities (Carkeek, 1966:16; Kelly, 1949:315; McDonald & O’Donnell, 1929:11; Royal, 1994:17). On an earlier visit to the West Coast with the North Auckland chief Tamati Waka Nene, Te Rauparaha had singled out Kapiti and the adjacent mainland as ideal places to settle. His Ngāti Raukawa kin at Maungatautari were not persuaded to accompany him on his migration south in the first instance but they were to follow some years later in a series of epic journeys. Each expedition is named and demonstrates the tradition of commemorating significant events by naming (Royal, 1994:37). For

²⁴ This is the original name for the area that is now Cambridge, near Hamilton.

example, tahu-tahu-ahi,²⁵ heke karere,²⁶ heke whirinui,²⁷ heke kariritahi²⁸ and heke mairaro.²⁹

Through intermarriage Ngāti Toarangatira and Ngāti Raukawa are closely related. Te Rauparaha's mother, Parekohatu was the daughter of Karoaputa, a prominent chieftain of Ngāti Raukawa living at Maungatautari, and his father, Werawera was a chief of Ngāti Toa. However, despite older siblings, Te Rauparaha had acquired the mana of the paramount chief Hapekituarangi.³⁰ These relationships and the ancestral ties of other Ngāti Toa chiefs with southern tribes in Taranaki and Te Ati Awa helped secure safe passage (Boast, 1997).³¹ The journey took more than a year so it was essential to exercise diplomacy and seek the cooperation and help from Ngāti Tama and Te Atiawa in order to prepare resting places and cultivation areas along the way (Carkeek, 1966:11).

The heke tahu-tahu-ahi and the subsequent migrations led by the Ngāti Raukawa chiefs Te Whatanui, Te Peehi and Te Ahukaramu, initiated profound changes in the tribal boundaries in the south west coast of the North Island and northern areas of the South Island. Kāpiti became the headquarters of Ngāti Toa but not without resistance from the tangata whenua tribes Muaupoko, and Rangitāne and their close kin Whanganui and Ngāti Apa (Carkeek, 1966:12). Customarily, the right of conquest or 'take raupatu' was a legitimate claim to land ownership providing the conquest was succeeded by active secure occupation which resulted in permanent rights of ownership (Sinclair, 1975:91). The Battle of Waiorua at Kāpiti marked the pivotal event which led to Ngāti Toa success in taking the governance of Kāpiti Island (Burns, 1983; Royal, 1994). Following the migrations of Ngāti Raukawa from

²⁵ The term given to Te Rauparaha's migration from Kawhia after he had ceded his lands there to Te Wherowhero (Carkeek, 1966:12).

²⁶ This expedition to Otaki in 1825-26 was led by Te Ahu Karamu and other Ngāti Raukawa chiefs to ascertain whether the rumour that Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa had perished was true. They found Te Rauparaha safe and well at Rangiorua, a fortified pa at Otaki (McDonald & O'Donnell, 1929:14).

²⁷ The chiefs Te Heu Heu of Tuwharetoa and Te Whatanui of Ngāti Raukawa accompanied Te Ahu Karamu and others on this journey. The whiri or plaited collars were made extra large for the journey (McDonald & O'Donnell, 1929: 16; Carkeek 1966: 23). According to Wiremu Kingi te Aweawe of Rangiotu, this migration was called Te Hekewhirinui, the chosen sub-tribes of Ngāti Raukawa (Te Aweawe, 1967)

²⁸ The name bestowed on Te Whatanui's party and the fact that they had specially modified their muskets (Te Aweawe, 1967).

²⁹ This is named for Whatanui's migration where he took his people south through Hawkes Bay and the Manawatu Gorge to Horowhenua (Te Aweawe, 1967).

³⁰ In answer to Hape's question from his deathbed regarding a suitable successor, Te Rauparaha volunteered to take his place. Hape's response was to hand Te Rauparaha his mere and with it his mana thus Hape overlooked his own sons (McDonald & O'Donnell, 1929:7).

Maungatautari and Te Ati Awa from Taranaki, the settlement of lands acquired by Ngāti Toa was at the discretion of Te Rauparaha's sister Waitohi who apportioned them among the migrating iwi and their various hapū (Carkeek, 1966:23; Royal, 1994:90). Accordingly,

“Ngāti Raukawa were given the land from Kukutauaki at Te Horo, to Horowhenua, Manawatu and Rangitikei. Te Ati Awa and Taranaki were given Waikanae and Paraparaumu. Kāpiti and Porirua remained with Ngāti Toa. At this time Ngāti Toa had not yet begun their movement into the South Island” (Royal, 1994:90).³²

For Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa, the territory and land occupied by the whānau or hapū belonged to the whole community. No one member was free to deal with the land independently of the community or society. No chief was able to decide on property placed by agreement under the mana of another chief. Chiefs were tribal leaders rather than rulers of their kin (Ward, 1974:65). The community included kin groups and also peoples formerly conquered, handed over by other chiefs as part of a gift or various refugees (Ballara & Scott, 1993:35). The pattern of social organisation in Ngāti Kahungunu of independent autonomous tribal chiefs and communities was also true for Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga. The regional identity of Ngāti Raukawa became stronger as a result of settlement, intermarriage and the continued alliance with Ngāti Toarangatira and Te Ati Awa as a confederation of tribes.

The latter part of the 19th century and early years of the 20th century marked a period of retrenchment for most tribes as large scale land sales and the seizing of significant blocks of land by the Crown escalated. In Ngāti Kahungunu, including other regions of the country, land commissioner Donald McLean was largely responsible for Crown purchases and other acquisitions of land for Pākehā settlers (Ballara & Scott, 1993). Individuals also sold collectively owned land.

Besides land sales, and as a result of the Land Wars, Crown allocation of Māori reserves was contentious and often failed to recognise Māori understandings of

³¹ Boast makes the point that social relationships between Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Raukawa and Te Ati Awa were complex due in part to connections by descent or marriage. For example in his evidence to the Native Land Court in 1872, Matene te Whiwhi acknowledged his multiple affiliations “I belong to the Ngati Toa, Ngati Awa and Ngati Raukawa” (Boast, 1997:5).

³² See also (Carkeek, 1966:24).

land tenure, especially when two tribes had similar claims. In the case of Ngāti Raukawa and Rangitane inter-tribal agreements and pacts were important in securing harmony and accord in a bid to avoid on-going hostilities.³³ But these were disregarded by the Crown negotiating instead with Rangitane and other tribes including members of Ngāti Raukawa, eventually obtaining consent for the sale of land without determining the rights of ownership nor the earlier understandings between tribes (Durie, 1993:5).

In Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa land was also acquisitioned under the Public Works Act for building national road and railway systems (Walsh-Tapiata, 1997:74; Ballara and Scott 1993).

Tribal links between Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa

The most significant ancestral link between Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa is that of Mahinārangi and the Waikato chief Tūrongo. Mahinārangi was the great granddaughter of Tūpurupuru the principal chief of Tūranga-nui and the great-grandson of Kahungunu. Born in the Heretaunga district Mahinārangi married Tūrongo and their son Raukawa is the eponymous ancestor of the Ngāti Raukawa tribe. Such connections are still recalled and reinforced at times of tribal significance and to honour important cultural events. For example, King Kōroki of Tainui was given the honour of naming and opening the meeting-house Takitimu in Wairoa in May 1937.³⁴ As a cultural symbol, the Takitimu house was built as a memorial to the Ngāti Kahungunu statesman Sir James Carroll.³⁵ At Tūrangawaewae, the official residence of the Kingitanga, the carved meeting-house is named Mahinārangi and the dwelling house, Tūrongo (Mitchell 1943:150). Overtime, intermarriage between members of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa and the other tribes of the confederation has also strengthened kinship links. More recently the Ngāti Raukawa initiative at Otaki, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, has provided educational opportunities for their own and other tribes including Ngāti Kahungunu people in Otaki and

³³ For example, the Manawaroa Agreement that secured peace and goodwill between the newcomers Ngāti Raukawa, and Rangitane and their allies. For indepth discussion see (Durie, 1993:3-5).

³⁴ This is the date given by Ngata for the opening of Takitimu (In Sorrenson, 1988:236).

³⁵ Sir James Carroll successfully contested the Waiapu European Electorate in 1892. He served as Minister of Native Affairs in the Liberal Government from 1899 to 1912 and Minister of the Crown in the Balance, Seddon, Hall-Jones and Ward Governments. He was Acting Prime Minister during Joseph Ward's absences in England in 1909 and 1911 (Mitchell op.cit: 210).

within the rohe of Ngāti Kahungunu (Tomlins Jahnke, 2002:72).

The development of Iwi Governance structures as legal entities

Rūnanga schemes

The development of the iwi rūnanga of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa, although evolving along quite different pathways can be understood within the context of historical responses by Māori, to State initiated rūnanga schemes of the 19th and 20th centuries. Very often these legislated schemes were introduced by the State as notional gestures towards Māori autonomy or as a distraction from another intent, such as to regulate Māori activity. Various described in the legislation as ‘Rūnanga’ (tribal council) or ‘councils’ or ‘committees’ some of these schemes achieved little more than undermining Māori aspirations and the politics of self-determination or to secure Pākehā advantage through, for example, the acquisition of enormous tracts of Māori land.

The historic pattern of Māori struggle to establish national organisational structures that serve Māori interests and aspirations of autonomy or self-determination is one of counter-balancing Eurocentric imperatives; that is of striking a balance between customary boundaries, autonomous hierarchies (based on chiefly status) and distinct political processes, while simultaneously counteracting the constraints of an entrenched hegemonic system of colonial power and racist patronage. Where systems of organisation initiated by Māori were left to flourish under Māori control, such as the Māori War Effort during the 1940’s, the outcomes were noticeably positive, achieving a degree of unity that was far-reaching across all levels of tribal society. During the 19th century Māori set up rūnanga and other committee structures at a number of levels by kainga (village), hapū, or iwi, or according to goals and functions such organisations were intended to fulfil (O’Malley, 1998:12).

Customarily, rūnanga were a localised system of tribal councils or assembly of leaders that were most often used to achieve mutual protection or to counter external threats. By the 19th century Māori leaders also used this system of tribal and intertribal meetings as political rallies to form national kotahitanga or unity (Cox, 1993), to establish the King Movement (Gorst, 1864; Ward, 1974) and to develop responses

to increasing Pākehā dominance (Walker, 1990:152).

As a legal entity the system of 'rūnanga' was first promoted by Sir George Grey to enhance government control and direction of Māori (Butterworth, 1989:10; Cox, 1993:80). Grey's experience working among Māori and his knowledge of their tribal systems was the impetus to adapt Māori structures to suit the advancement of state agendas and to severely undermine Māori initiatives such as the Kingitanga and other land resistant schemes. The 1858 Native District Regulation Act, for example, allowed for the establishment and implementation of district rūnanga (20 were envisaged), each operating under the direction of a European district commissioner (Cox, 1993:81; Walker, 1990:118; Ward, 1974:125).³⁶ Rūnanga were set up to deal specifically with local issues such as cattle trespass, roads, sanitation, schools, land disputes and alcohol. Members of rūnanga³⁷, drawn mainly from the rangatira families, were paid a small salary to act as magistrates and a number of salaried officers as assessors, karere (Police) and mailcarriers, to implement the system. The runanga could also recommend to Government appropriate laws to deal with these local matters (Butterworth, 1989:10; Walker, 1990:118).

Grey's rūnanga system gained marginal success mainly among the close kinship tribes in the north. Walker (1990) and Cox (1993) identify several underlying reasons for the eventual abandonment of rūnanga as state policy. Grey's approach to the management of tribal affairs was an attempt to unify Māori while masking the Crown's fundamental aim to acquire land for a burgeoning settler population and to control Māori disaffection. In Hawkes Bay,³⁸ distrust of the court system and concern over land issues among Ngāti Kahungunu led Te Hapuku and other Ngāti Kahungunu chiefs to resist the formation of a district rūnanga despite appearing outwardly amenable to the policy (Cox, 1993:87).

By contrast in Ōtaki the resident magistrate, Walter Lawry Buller³⁹ was able to gain the trust and support of leaders Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Mātene Te Whiwhi

³⁶ For an indepth discussion on Grey's 'runanga' policy and implementation see Ward (1984:125-146), Walker (1990:118-119), Cox (1993:60-93).

³⁷ Two representatives were selected from each area designated 'hundreds', a traditional English subdivision of a county or shire with its own court. Six 'hundreds' was considered the optimum number for each district. Refer to Cox (op.cit: 81).

³⁸ Colonel Andrew Hamilton Russell held the Civil Commissioners office in Hawke's Bay.

³⁹ Buller was a missionary's son and fluent in the Māori language.

so the rŭnanga operated reasonably efficiently. However, this relationship was later undermined by Buller's involvement in the purchase of disputed land from Ngāti Apa, despite strong protest from Ngāti Raukawa (Cox, 1993:87). Waikato tribes had abandoned Grey's rŭnanga system altogether in favour of an indigenous model of governance that supported the administration of tribal affairs and recognised, among others, the mana of the Māori King Tāwhiao to dispense justice (Cox, 1993:86).⁴⁰

According to Cox and Walker (Cox, 1993:75; Walker, 1990:118) a major flaw was the imposition of the rŭnanga system over the existing structure of chiefly rank,⁴¹ and the drawing up of rŭnanga districts without reference to tribal boundaries, inter-tribal hostilities, or Māori aspirations. Failure to consult with local rangatira invariably resulted in the indigenous organisational structures being ignored. Chiefs were intent on maintaining their own mana and pursuing their own models of political development (Walker, 1990:149). From an entrenched colonial perspective the

“...colonisers deemed it their right to decide on behalf of the colonised how they should be colonised. Chiefs invited to join the rŭnanga regarded it as a right to exercise their rangatiratanga. Chiefs left out ignored or disparaged the rŭnanga” (Walker, 1990:118).

In fact, the State's solicitation of Māori support was illustrated in the selection of leaders prepared to cooperate and those who were less compliant were ignored. It was largely a way of Government imposing structures designed to give a semblance of autonomy on the one hand while regulating Māori activities on the other (Butterworth, 1989:10; Cox, 1993:75; Walker, 1990:119).

The failure of Grey's rŭnanga system is attributed to an ineffectual administration, communication and advisory network at the national level and severe fiscal constraints imposed by the State (Butterworth, 1989:10; Cox, 1993:88). Cox argues that a national body akin to a Ministry of Native Affairs may have facilitated an effective infrastructure to successfully implement the Grey's system. Furthermore,

⁴⁰ Grey intended the rŭnanga system to undermine the Kingitanga. John Eldon Gorst, the resident magistrate and civil commissioner in the Waikato, was expelled by a raid carried out by Rewi Maniapoto who was convinced that the Government's intention was to undermine traditional Māori leadership (Cox op.cit: 86).

a representative national body of Māori leadership drawn from each district might have seen the scheme prosper. However, Cox concedes that while the political climate was favourable for the formation of a national Māori body,

“...it is possible that a rival national parliamentary structure for Māori in the mould of the Kohimārama Conference⁴² would have been supported and could perhaps have diffused momentum for Kingitanga...[but] it would be doubtful if all iwi would have submitted to the authority of such a body...Grey’s own assimilationist leanings would have precluded (and probably did) a national body at that time” (Cox, 1993:89).

In addition, the financial constraints of a colony that had been under arms for several years saw Government spending related to Māori affairs severely curbed until the scheme was officially abandoned under the Stafford Ministry in 1865 (Cox, 1993:88). It was, as Cox points out, an extinguishment of the first regime of legislative and administrative participation for Māori (Cox, 1993:89).

District Councils

A further legislated regime akin to Grey’s rūnanga system became possible at the turn of the 20th century with the establishment of District Councils under the Māori Councils Act 1900⁴³. The Act devised by Sir James Carroll, provided for limited administrative and legislative power to Māori Councils in the supervision of Māori affairs (Butterworth, 1989:13). In particular improved sanitation in Māori villages and around marae, the control of liquor sales and the suppression of customs considered harmful such as tohungatanga (Walker, 1990: 174; Cox, 1993: 97). The structure of the councils was a response to concerns generated by a declining Māori population. It also recognised that Māori organisation took place at community level therefore some councils operated vigorously through tribal leaders and committees. An important feature of this Act compared to Grey’s Rūnanga was that it provided for annual national conferences of Māori council representatives which helped gain Māori acceptance.

⁴¹ For example, see footnote above.

⁴² Governor Gore Browne convened a month long meeting of 200 chiefs at Kohimarama on 6 July 1860 ostensibly to discuss the Treaty of Waitangi but also to test tribal opinion as tribal uprising, particularly in Taranaki and the Waikato, escalated. Tribal representation was nearly universal except for the disaffected leaders of the Waikato and of Taranaki

⁴³ The other important piece of legislation introduced by Sir James Carroll at the same time was the Māori Lands Administration Act, which created Māori land Councils with three elected Māori representatives out of seven members. Some of the functions of the Native Land Court were handed to the Councils, providing for leasing rather than selling Māori land.

However, this legislation was also an attempt to successfully undermine Māori initiatives such as the Kotahitanga Parliament⁴⁴ (Cox, 1993: 93). Tainui tribes, who supported the Kingitanga, refused to accept the Māori Councils Act. The limited legislative authority and restricted focus on health, sanitation and temperance issues, served to intensify Māori anxiety with the system. The major concern for tribes was land whose jurisdiction passed out of Māori control with the enactment of the 1905 Māori Land Settlement Act.⁴⁵ By 1910 lack of co-operation from Māori and seriously under-financed, there followed a general decline in the effectiveness of District Councils (King, 1981:290).

Tribal Committees

The events surrounding the establishment of tribal committees as a result of the Māori War Effort during the years 1940-45 highlight several factors that coalesced, opening up an opportunity for Māori to develop organisational structures in line with Māori aspirations. One factor was the context of a world war that provided a distraction from the States domestic colonising agenda⁴⁶ to one of international significance - New Zealand's contribution to the war effort. The social and political changes brought about by the Second World War between 1939 and 1945 had a lasting effect on Māori society (Love, 1977:320). The New Zealand war effort demanded human resources and Māori were regarded as a source for military enlistment and civilian manpower. Furthermore the Government depended heavily on the Māori Members of Parliament⁴⁷ to assist and fulfil the national recruitment needs in respect of the Māori effort.

Another factor was the astute leadership demonstrated by the Māori

⁴⁴ The establishment of the Kotahitanga Parliament was a response to the alienation of tribal lands, the continued undermining of Māori ability to secure tribal autonomy and the political aspirations of the tribes to form their own parliamentary institutions. The first meeting of the Māori Parliament took place on 14 June 1892 at Waipatu Marae in Heretaunga. See Walker (1990: 165).

⁴⁵ This Act effectively altered the composition of the Land Boards established to lease Māori land to Pākehā settlers. These Boards were composed predominantly of Pākehā.

⁴⁶ In the years preceding WWII the Labour Government was not making any concessions to Māori demands for, among others, a reorganisation of government administration and the creation of a separate Māori wing of government. Māori were also pressing for the appointment of Māori to senior positions within a new structure (Butterworth op.cit: 17).

⁴⁷ The Māori members under Peter Fraser's government included Eruera Tirikatene, Paraire Paikea and Sir Apirana Ngata, although in 1943 Tiaki Omana replaced Ngata in Eastern Māori. Fraser took the Premiership after M.J.Savage died in March 1940.

parliamentarians, and a Prime Minister - Peter Fraser - who was reasonably sympathetic to Māori affairs (King, 1981: 295). The War Cabinet charged Northern MP Paraire Paikea⁴⁸ with the task of recruiting and together with Sir Apirana Ngata, their campaign substantially increased Māori recruitment into the armed forces. This led to the eventual formation of an entire Māori fighting force, the 28th Māori Battalion, organised in Company's along tribal lines' (Love, 1977:325). However, in the process the Government required an accurate register of eligible Māori for domestic and overseas duties. Since a register of Māori voters was not required for Māori parliamentary seats, and unable to source a suitable list from anywhere else including the Department of Native Affairs, the War Ministry turned to Paikea who seized the opportunity to develop a structure independent of the Native Department (Butterworth, 1989: 17; Cox, 1993: 100).

A further factor was the nature of the organisational structure Paikea planned. His proposal, which was supported by Southern MP Eruera Tirikatene, suggested the establishment of a Māori parliamentary committee, comprising the four Māori MP's and Rangi Mawhete⁴⁹ of the Legislative Council, responsible for coordinating a network of tribal committees. The function of the tribal committees was to provide services in three distinct areas - recruitment, deployment of civilian manpower and supervising food production. The organisational structure that was developed was a hierarchical model consisting of 21 districts or zones with paid recruitment officers granted military status at the rank of 2nd lieutenant. Some 315 tribal committees were formed with two representatives from each committee serving on one of 41 regional executive committees.

Perhaps the most important factor was that the strength of the Māori War Effort Organisation (MWEO) model allowed input from all iwi, was responsive to local needs and therefore able to elicit overwhelming support from tribes nationally. An added appeal was that the MWEO was almost entirely run by Māori people along tribal lines, a 'by Māori for Māori' approach. Not only had the MWEO fulfilled the administrative function it was primarily set up to do, but also came to "embody the

⁴⁸ See Love (1977: 331) regarding Paikea's personal ambitions which saw him appointed to Ministerial rank in the Labour Government without the Māori Members having agreed to this appointment. He was a member of the Executive Council from January 21, 1941 until his death on April 6, 1943.

⁴⁹ Rangi Mawhete was appointed to the Legislative Council on 9 March 1936 and served until 8 March 1950 (Cox op.cit: 111).

aspirations of Māori leaders and could conceivably facilitate Mana Māori Motuhake” (Cox, 1993: 103).

Tribes had direct access to Māori Members of Parliament and therefore to the legislature where they were able to contribute significantly in the area of service delivery to Māori. This service provision expanded beyond recruitment to include domestic labour needs and social welfare matters. The benefits to Māori communities were such that Māori preference for dealing with the MWEO and bypassing departmental officials (who were almost all non-Māori) was so evident it became a significant thorn in the State’s bureaucratic side.

The Native Affairs Minister Rex Mason opposed the involvement of the MWEO in social welfare and labour issues viewing it as a serious encroachment into his domain. Treasury called for the disbandment of the MWEO although it continued for the duration of the war years (Cox, 1993: 101-2). The power and the motivation that existed within the MWEO was based on Māori control of committees to deal with Māori problems and in the process receive the recognition by state departments, industry, local government and the community at large (Love, 1977: 395).

The establishment of Māori committee’s

Efforts by the Māori Members of Parliament to enshrine the national MWEO model in legislation, the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act of 1945, were met with a modicum of success. The Māori M.P’s sought to establish a national organisation that would strengthen Māori authority by coming under their auspices and independent of the Department of Māori Affairs.⁵⁰ It was hoped that by redefining the administrative responsibility the result would lead to greater independence for Māori thereby releasing Māori affairs from the control of Ministers appointed by the majority government. This would ensure Māori had a real input into all matters affecting Māori policy (Love, 1977: 389; Cox, 1993: 102).

The Native Department had consistently failed not only to take into account Māori aspirations but also to deliver appropriate services in a manner that measured up to the example of the MWEO (Cox, 1993: 103). But the Department drafted the

⁵⁰ One of Fraser’s measures as Prime Minister was to substitute ‘Māori’ for ‘Native’ in all official usage from 1947. See King (1981: 295).

Act and the key aspects the Māori M.P's sought, including a new Department of State⁵¹ (Butterworth & Young, 1990), designating Māori control of the structure were disregarded thus limiting its effectiveness by undermining Māori aspirations for independent authority. The essential requirement of control by Māori was missing (Love, 1977: 396) and the

“...heart and spirit of the Māori War Effort Organisation was discarded in favour of the orthodoxy of the Native Department. The vitality, spirit and unity developed by the Māori War Effort Organisation through providing Maoris with some control over their own affairs was now lost” (Love, 1977: 401).

Although Prime Minister Peter Fraser was sympathetic to the needs of Māori and despite repeated appeals by the Māori MP's for Māori to administer the Act, in the end Fraser was not prepared to place Māori administration in the hands of Māori (Love, 1977: 416)⁵².

What the 1945 Act did provide for, however, was a multi-tiered system of tribal committees, tribal executives and district councils. The tribal committees were the base of the structure, above them were the tribal executives located in the Departments structure to administer and oversee the activities of the tribal committees. The Department appointed Welfare Officers and Māori Wardens to act as liaisons with the Tribal and executive committees thus curtailing the autonomy sought by the Māori politicians (Cox, 1993: 105-6). Later and in response to the post war urban migration, the tribal committees were replaced with Māori committees under the Māori Welfare Act 1962. This Act also established the Māori Council at the top of a four tiered structure modelled on Pākehā bureaucracy. The eight district councils covering the country were largely based on the Māori Land Court boundaries – Waikato, Waiariki, Aotea, Tairāwhiti, Ikaroa and Te Waipounamu. The Auckland District Māori Council served the urban Māori population (Walker, 1990: 204).

Although it had tried to accommodate changing social patterns after urbanisation, the weakness of the system was that, as an artificial construct based on Pākehā bureaucratic systems, Māori committees did not fit established systems for

⁵¹ Refer Butterworth and Young (1990: 85) for further discussion.

⁵² See Love (op.cit: 320-367) for an indepth discussion.

mobilising people through traditional networks of whānau, hapū and iwi committees. However, in many districts, especially in less populated areas, marae committees designated themselves Māori committees in order to qualify for membership in the council structure. A major incentive for membership was the “role assigned to district councils of allocating priority in the disbursement of government subsidies to marae-building projects” (Walker, 1990: 204). The New Zealand Māori Council provided some important leadership particularly in its campaign for the recognition and implementation of the Treaty of Waitangi. There were however misgivings held by some tribes and others that the Council might simply be a pawn of the State captured by the conservative politics of Māori affiliated to the National Party (Walker, 1990: 205). During the 1960’s and 1970’s when tribal leadership seemed to wane, the Government recognised the Council as representing Māori generally by using it as a sounding board for pending legislation.

Māori Women’s Welfare League

Although not strictly a rūnanga or a council along the lines described thus far, nevertheless the establishment of the Māori Women’s Welfare League (MWWL) in 1953 signalled the formation of the first post WWII national Māori organisation. There were at least three reasons why the creation of the MWWL was important. First was an identified need for a forum specifically for Māori women to articulate their concerns across tribal lines without the constraints of customary imperatives that in some tribes prohibited women from speaking on the marae. The establishment of the MWWL was initiated by Māori women and supported by their communities⁵³.

The second reason was to highlight the social and welfare needs of urban Māori as a result of an enormous relocation of the population brought about by the post war urban migration. The 1960 Hunn Report supported some of the issues identified by the League in health, education and crime although the Report tended to emphasise a deficit view of Māori people. For example Māori parents were blamed for Māori underachievement in education (Hunn, 1961).

Third, the League was able to draw on the experiences of Māori women who

⁵³ Rangi Royal, a Māori welfare officer, assisted in setting up the league and launching the first conference in Wellington. At that conference Whina Cooper was elected president of the Dominion council and Mira Petricevich (Mira Szaszy) secretary.

not only understood at grassroots level the needs of Māori people and their families both in rural and urban contexts, but many of the women also sat on Māori committees of the Country Women’s Institute and the Māori Health League. The structure of the League consisted of a Dominion council (whose members were elected at an annual conference), local branches and district councils. Over the next twenty years the annual conferences were important forums for the articulation of Māori views on all aspects concerning Māori social and welfare matters. These included issues associated with housing, education, health, welfare, crime, discrimination in employment and accommodation, and the establishment of pre-school education centres (Walker, 1990: 202). The League became a major non-political pressure group for representations to governments on Māori issues (King, 2003:476).

Table 2: Government and Iwi initiated Rūnanga systems

System	Structure	Jurisdiction	Authority	Outcome for Māori
Grey’s Rūnanga system	20 district rūnanga Magistrates, assessors, karere & mailcarriers Overseen by European district commissioners	Limited to local issues Recommend laws to government for local matters	Native District Regulation Act 1858	Imposed over existing customary structures. Limited Māori autonomy. Government control of Māori activity. Ineffective infrastructure. Lacked universal Māori support. Under financed by treasury.
Māori District Councils	District Councils operated through tribal leaders Annual national conferences	Sanitation Control of liquor Suppression of customs deemed harmful by the state	Māori Councils Act 1900	Initiated by Māori MP. Government restricted focus and control of Māori activity. Limited Māori autonomy. Lacked universal Māori support. Under financed by treasury.
Māori War Effort	Māori Parliamentary committee Tribal committees Regional committees Districts Māori Recruitment Officers (2 nd lieutenant)	Recruitment to military service Deployment of civilian manpower Supervising food production. Responsive to domestic labour and social welfare needs	Iwi Māori MP’s	Systems based on whānau, hapū & iwi. Iwi control. Universal Māori support. Opposition by the Minister of Native Affairs. Treasury called for MWEO disbandment.

System	Structure	Jurisdiction	Authority	Outcome for Māori
Tribal Committees	Multi tiered system of committee, district executive and national executive	State appointed Welfare Officers & Māori wardens liaise with committees	Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945	Artificial construct based on Pākehā bureaucratic systems. Limited Māori autonomy. Marae committee redesignated Māori committee.
Māori Women's Welfare League	Dominion Council, District Councils, Local Branches Annual conference	Highlight needs of Māori across all social and welfare sectors Initiate social research	Māori women Māori community	Pan iwi focus. Māori control. Universal Māori support. Pressure group to Government on Māori issues.
NZ Māori Council	Māori committees, District Councils, Regional executives, National Council	Judicial activities on behalf of Māori at a National level	Māori Welfare Act 1962	Tribal committees abolished Māori committees established. Limited Māori support. Inadequate resources & funding. Recognition by Government as representative of Māori

Some legal governance options

Some tribes and other Māori organisations have opted to use legal options such as Incorporated Society status⁵⁴ to establish governance arrangements. However, some iwi argue that it does not provide for the full extent of tribal jurisdiction and management (Puketapu, 2000:202)⁵⁵. Other tribes have opted to establish Māori Trust Boards, which were established under the Māori Trusts Board Act 1955. The Act initially provided for receiving and distributing compensatory payments from the government for past injustices. However, under the government restructuring of the 1980's, the trust board structure was considered to severely constrain tribal autonomy. The Minister of Māori Affairs advises on the appointment of members, the state gives approval to conduct business and therefore the accountability rests with the Crown rather than the tribe itself (Durie, 1998b: 225).

Effects of the urban migration

Māori centred organisations such as the New Zealand Māori Council and the Māori Women's Welfare League were established in part as responses by Māori to

⁵⁴ Incorporated Society Act 1908

⁵⁵ Under the Incorporate Society Act 1908, unless a member is registered, benefit cannot be obtained. Members are not allowed to receive pecuniary gain either direct or indirect.

social conditions of Māori society that were transformed by an escalating population drift to urban centres. World War II was the catalyst for the demographic shift as Māori moved from rural communities to the towns and cities to work in essential industries. These were jobs that were previously not available to Māori. By the 1950's Ngata's land schemes (Sorrenson, 1986) proved unsustainable for a burgeoning Māori population thus contributing to an economic decline in most rural Māori communities.⁵⁶

Furthermore, postwar State-assisted relocation schemes provided an added incentive for Māori families to migrate to towns and cities seeking employment, thus contributing further to the rural depopulation and decline. Apart from the few experienced Māori war commanders who secured work as teachers or administrators in Māori Affairs, Māori men took manual jobs in large numbers as unskilled labourers on wharves, in factories, in meatworks and on construction sites. During the postwar years of prosperity of the 1950's and 1960's the employment trends were favourable. But by the 1970's and 1980's a period of national economic downturn left Māori workers vulnerable to unemployment. The combined effects of declining rural communities, rapid urban migration and a serious lack of educated Māori professionals and skilled labourers in trade-related industries produced some of the mitigating circumstances in the development of a Māori proletariat (King 2003:471).

For the Māori migrant at least three significant characteristics underpinned the urbanisation process: adjusting to living and working in close proximity with Pākehā and Māori from other tribal groups; conforming to the fiscal demands of a culture of capitalism; and maintaining the continuity of customary values through the redefinition of cultural imperatives.

The task of integration into close proximity with Pākehā meant dealing with a social, political and economic milieu largely determined by Pākehā society, while Māori and Pākehā continued to live predominately discrete lives. The growing interaction between two peoples accentuated, among others, the myth of harmonious race relations perpetuated by Pākehā statesmen and politicians alike, as instances of institutional racism and overt discrimination in employment, accommodation

⁵⁶ Some individual farmers and land incorporations such as the Mangatu Incorporation in Gisborne were very successful.

and public establishments (hotel bars and picture theatres) became widespread (Butterworth, 1974:38; King, 2003:472; Rangihau, 1975:173). But the interaction also extended to members of differing tribes learning to cohabit and cooperate with one another by, for example, finding ways to resolve differences in custom and overcoming traditional antagonisms.

Conforming to the fiscal demands of a 'culture of capitalism' (Walker 1990:198) grounded in Pākehā mores, propelled Māori into managing salaried incomes for the first time and meeting financial commitments associated with budgeting and saving to pay rent, hire purchase, rates and mortgage repayments (Walker 1990: 198; King 2003: 472). These were fiscal traditions that, up until this time, Māori had had little, if any, experience (Ngata in Sorrenson, 1987:24).

But perhaps the most significant characteristic of urbanisation was apparent in the continuity of a distinct Māori identity and customary values maintained through alternative formations of social organisation and redefining cultural imperatives. A key to the cultural adjustment of Māori to urban life was through membership of voluntary associations such as church and culture groups and affiliations to sports clubs. In the main these were multi-tribal situations that emphasised recreation rather than competition but where the essence of belonging was based on communal membership and promoting cultural continuity - Māori values, identity and cultural norms. There emerged a substantive redefinition of cultural imperatives such as tangihanga, hui and tribal status to account for urban living outside customary frameworks and traditional tribal boundaries. Inner-city tangihanga in a garage or sitting room very often replaced the traditional tangi 'back home' on rural marae. Issues regarding how to conduct hui in an urban context, incorporating all the attendant rituals, had to be resolved.

The transformation of Māori social organisation during the 1960's became apparent as the whānau was increasingly replaced by the more mobile 'nuclear family', and customary whānau and hapū were transplanted in modified form (Walker 1990:200; Metge 1995:66; King 2003:472). This was no more perceptible than in the development of multi-tribal urban marae⁵⁷ particularly in areas where

⁵⁷ For example Te Unga Waka at Epsom, Hoani Waititi in West Auckland and Maraeroa in Porirua East. Some tribes however, such as Tuhoie in Panmure, have built urban marae that are tribal specific.

there was an absence of marae or where tribes who held mana whenua were unwilling to share existing hapū marae. The emphasis on marae was due to its status as an important symbol of Māori culture, identity and values and therefore a relevant context and site for cultural continuity based on Māori autonomy (Durie 1998b: 221-223). Several decades earlier Ngata had recognised the value of marae as a way “to bring a community together with the Māori sentiment” (Ngata in Sorrenson 1987: 192). Marae and tribal meeting houses are built on land designated Māori reservations under the Māori Affairs Act and as such are unalienable. Thus for landless Māori “...the marae was their remaining turangawaewae on which to hang their identity as the indigenous people who once owned the whole country...” (Walker, 1990: 187).

However, not all urban Māori had access to these contexts, or considered marae as the preferred meeting place. Many families ceased to have any active links with their whānau and hapū or lived experiences of Māori language, ritual and culture. It could no longer be assumed that most Māori were linked to hapū and iwi structures. Many were not only alienated from tribal structures but also from the general mainstream society evident in cycles of high unemployment and crime statistics, substandard housing, poor educational achievement and ill-health (Durie, 1998a, 1998b; King, 2003; Walker, 1990).

By the 1980's and 1990's at least 80% of Māori lived outside their tribal areas (NZDS, 1991) most as urban dwellers. Social and cultural diversity of Māori was even more apparent. This has led some to question whether autonomous tribal development is appropriate for Māori advancement in a contemporary world (Jones, 1994; Maaka, 1994) because for most Māori living urban lives, a tribal identity was little more than ‘parochial nostalgia’ (Maaka, 1994).

By the conclusion of the 1984 Hui Taumata (Māori Economic Summit Conference) Māori aspirations were clear; to break the cycle of dependency, to ensure the funding of positive outcomes for Māori, to enhance the life chances and well-being of Māori people and, consistent with the aspirations of Māori leaders since the 19th century, to control their own affairs through tribal structures using marae and whānau-based systems. In preparation for planning strategic pathways for Māori social, cultural and economic development, the Hui declared the years

1984-1994 the Decade of Māori Development⁵⁸.

The decade of Māori development

The genesis of Māori development can be traced to the period of first settlement when, far removed from the temperate island environment they had known, Māori learned to adjust to the challenges of a harsh climate and the relative vastness of a difficult terrain. Innovative techniques and technologies were developed and over time a highly efficient economy evolved. This was based on imports and exports of food, technology (weapons, tools) and natural resources (pounamu/greenstone) between the north and south island tribes. The trading of produce and other goods between interior and coastal tribes was carried out mainly through a system of barter (birds for kaimoana/seafood) (Gardiner, 1994). In the early 1800's and following contact with Pākehā, tribes in favourable locations prospered by growing and shipping produce to Sydney as well as for local markets and Pākehā settler communities. Some tribes invested in the purchase of capital goods such as shipping fleets and flour mills (Walker, 1990:100-101). Although this tribal economic boon lasted little more than two decades, it indicates that it was possible to combine traditional organisations into the newer corporate trading entities.

It is argued that the economic challenges that Māori face in modern times are no more complex than those faced by tribal entrepreneurs of the mid 19th century (Gardiner, 1994; NZIER, 2003:5). But the negative effects of colonisation manifest in the loss of huge tracts of land and economic base to a burgeoning Pākehā settler population, the individualisation of title to Māori land, the 'land wars' and disenfranchisement of tribes precipitated a very rapid decline and an end to a brief but successful Māori involvement in the non-Māori cash economy. The combined effects of the psychological impact of land deprivation, escalating health problems and little resistance to disease decimated large populations (NZIER, 2003).

Māori development was to evolve however, in different forms, and Māori continued to contribute substantially to the economic progress of New Zealand as farmers, labourers, construction hands, public servants and domestic workers (Ngata

⁵⁸ Minister of Māori Affairs, Koro Wetere called for a development decade, which was endorsed by the hui.

in Sorrenson 1986:95).⁵⁹

It was not till the early years of the 20th century that Māori agency reasserted under the leadership of Apirana Ngata focussed specifically on land development. The foundation of Ngata's land consolidation schemes were premised on land development as the only solution to its retention; tribal self-sufficiency and autonomy under hereditary leadership; the application of customary systems of social organisation based on whānau and hapū; the maintenance of tribal organisation 'at all costs,' and concomitantly the retention of "...the spirit of the old institutions at their best" (Ngata in Sorrenson, 1987:43). By the mid 20th century, reeling from the Great Depression and the mechanisation of farming operations, the schemes eventually proved unsustainable for a growing Māori populace who had little option but to migrate to towns and city centres in search of employment opportunities and promises of 'the good life.'

The 1970's heralded major changes in the Māori social and political spheres. On one front Ngā Tamatoa, a group of young urban university educated Māori, became the public expression of political consciousness among Māori. Their activities included monitoring the legal court system⁶⁰, petitioning for the inclusion of Māori language in the education system⁶¹ and engaging, although infrequently, in radical protest action.⁶²

On a more conservative front the New Zealand Māori Council substantiated and complemented the activities and protest action of Tamatoa through, among other channels, submissions to Government. In particular, the Māori Council cited statutes⁶³ that contravened Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi. To its credit the Government took cognisance and for the first time ever, monocultural laws were modified and amended to take account of a colonised culture (Walker, 1990: 212).

⁵⁹ Ngata was very critical of the absence in official and historical documents about the contribution of Māori to the New Zealand economy and to colonial settlement during the 19th and 20th centuries. Among examples he gives are, dairying in Taranaki, Nuhaka, Ruatoki and the far North, railway and road construction, work with timber companies & State Forests, gumdigging, bush-felling, domestic service, teaching and so on. See Ngata (in Sorrenson:1986:95) for further discussion.

⁶⁰ Members of Tamatoa provided assistance to Māori offenders needing advice and legal aid.

⁶¹ Their petition collected thousands of signatures, and resulted in the introduction of the 'link system' of teaching Māori in primary and secondary schools in 1974. A Māori language day was established, as was a one year teacher training scheme for native speakers.

⁶² For examples see Walker (1990) pp 210-211.

⁶³ For example the Public Works Act, the Mining Act, the Petroleum Act, the Rating Act, and the Town and Country Planning Act (Walker, 1990: 211).

Under the stewardship of Matiu Rata, then Minister of Māori Affairs, the Government also instituted the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 which established the Waitangi Tribunal.

The functions of the Tribunal were to hear Māori grievances, enquire into claims and make recommendations to Parliament. The constraints of the Act were three-fold; the tribunal could only hear claims after the Act came into being; they had no power other than to make recommendations to Government; and it was Parliament who ultimately held the power to settle grievances (Walker, 1990: 212).

At this time, and as far as many Māori were concerned the Tribunal was little more than a 'toothless tiger.' But by 1983 when the Motunui Report (Waitangi Tribunal, 1983) was released it was clear to Māori and the Crown that the Tribunal had the potential to radically unlock Māori potential.

Nonetheless, an invigorated political consciousness throughout Maoridom, paved the way for a powerful Māori land rights movement to emerge. Most notable among the protest actions were; the 1975 Te Matakite o Aotearoa land march of 30,000 people from Te Hapua the length of the North Island to Parliament led by north Auckland tribal matriarch Whina Cooper⁶⁴; the occupation of the Raglan Golf Club led by Eva Rickard (Walker, 1990: 213-124);⁶⁵ and in 1977 the occupation of Bastion Point for 506 days led by Joe Hawke and Ngāti Whātua (Walker, 1987:51-55). Waitangi Day treaty 'celebrations' in February also became the focus for protest action.

The groundswell of Māori resistance manifest during the 1970's intensified throughout the 1980's as Māori challenged the pace and scope of the 4th Labour Governments free-market capitalism. Paradoxically, the year Labour launched its monetarist regime in 1984 was the year the Government empowered the Waitangi Tribunal to hear claims retrospectively to 1840. With cautious optimism Māori also launched the Decade of Māori Development in 1984 little knowing of course that by the end of the decade Māori leaders would be faced with the contradiction of counting the human cost of free market policies in their communities and assessing

⁶⁴ The Land March protested against the continued alienation and control under state legislation, of the remaining vestiges of Māori land. Refer Walker (1990: 212) for further discussion.

⁶⁵ Under the Public Works Act, Māori land was taken at Raglan for an emergency airfield during WWII. Under the Raglan County Council, the land was handed over the Raglan Golf Club.

the substantial gains that were made as a result of it (Hui Whakapumau, 1994).⁶⁶

In his summary at the Hui Whakapumau, Durie identified at least six themes that underpinned the philosophy of the decade: the Treaty of Waitangi, tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), iwi development, economic self reliance, social equity and cultural advancement (Durie, 1994a:4). Meanwhile, the ability to hear retrospective claims and the appointment of Māori Land Court Judge Eddie Durie as Chair radically transformed the effectiveness of the Waitangi Tribunal and its work in progressing claims. The effects of radical economic reform, substantial state restructuring and an increased government commitment to global markets that characterised the national and international political and economic environment strongly impacted on Māori development initiatives and directed Māori energies towards alternative enterprises.

The government's Māori Affairs policy was generally unclear and at best, adhoc (Jones, 1994:125; Parata, 1994:134). Government sought to give greater recognition to the Treaty of Waitangi through, for example, the inclusion of the principles in statute while ideologically wedded to new right neoliberalism.⁶⁷ The ultimate goal of the states restructuring programme was the policy of devolution, which meant government withdrawal from direct delivery of social services and the transfer of delivery functions to other agencies or local authorities. The devolution of the Department of Māori Affairs in 1987, proposed in the discussion document He Tirohanga Rangapū⁶⁸, was an expression of the states monetarist formula under Rogernomics of separating commercial, social and regulatory functions into agencies such as the Māori Development Corporation, Ministry of Māori Affairs, and the Iwi Transition Agency (Kelsey, 1990:43).

In the Governments 1988 policy Te Urupare Rangapū⁶⁹ emphasis was placed on tribal policies and delivery mechanisms. Ostensibly a policy of 'partnership' in Māori development, devolution proposed a progressive transfer of responsibilities

⁶⁶ For example, see (Keefe-Ormsby & al, 2001)

⁶⁷ That is a commitment to markets and to freedom as 'individual choice'. This concept is associated with 'free marketeers' who claim the individual as consumer exercises power through the laws of supply and demand on the level playing field of the market place (Apple, 2001:9-20; Kelsey, 1990:32).

⁶⁸ The Government's discussion paper which proposed the demise of the inefficient Māori Affairs Department.

⁶⁹ Labour Government's Māori affairs policy statement outlining the process of devolution of the Māori Affairs Department.

for government programmes to iwi authorities (Kelsey, 1990; Walker, 1990:285). The policy appeared to support Māori aspirations for economic and social autonomy, which would allow for ‘Māori solutions to Māori problems’. What this sometimes meant in practice however, was under-resourced Māori and tribal groups taking over work previously undertaken by government departments funded by the taxpayer (Maaka 1994).

At the same time it allowed state agencies to come under closer scrutiny. A report entitled *Puao-Te Ata-Tu*⁷⁰ released by John Rangihau and his review team in 1986 concluded that the Department of Social Welfare practised institutional racism in its dealings with Māori people and their families.

One of the outcomes was the establishment of the Mātua Whāngai programme aimed at Social Welfare targeted children being retained within the whānau rather than under the control of the state (Metge, 1995:58-60). The underlying philosophy of the programme centred on the importance of Māori values, practices and social structures of whānau, hapū and iwi to the nurturing of children. Thus tribal approaches to service delivery was not only considered integral to the programme, but in the end “...blood ties are...more appropriate and more dependable than the goodwill of the state or foster parents” (Durie, 1998b: 224).

From the Crown’s perspective *Urupare Rangapu* required government agencies to consult with iwi, form partnerships and devolve services and resources to them (Durie, 1996: 224). The instrument aimed at answering the question of mandate was the *Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990*. The Act recognised the status of tribes but it was immediately repealed later that year by the incoming National Government, losing in the process a mandating mechanism (Durie, 1996:225).

At a national level the economic reform environment of the 1980’s provided a basis for such programmes as the *Mana Enterprises Scheme* for Māori business development, *Māori Access programmes* for Māori employment and training and other targeted programmes in education, health, social services and justice (Puketapu, 2000:52). The modern concept of Māori development was seen not only to emphasise

⁷⁰ Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare. (1986). *Puao-te-ata-tu*. A Report to the Minister of Social Welfare, Wellington.

economic self sufficiency, but also social equity, cultural affirmation and a greater measure of Māori autonomy (Durie, 2002:2). However, the contradiction for Māori development was the reforms incorporating free-market economic policies resulted in the devastation of whole communities of Māori people rendered unemployed in the name of economic efficiency (Keefe-Ormsby & al, 2001). But the reform climate also provided opportunities for tribes and other Māori groups to move towards greater economic self-sufficiency supported by government policies and resources. Moreover, and of particular significance for this thesis, the new climate had allowed tribes to compete for the delivery of services to their own people.

Chapter Four

The Development of Tribal Authorities

“It is now apparent that the Government will not guarantee security and health for all its people. The message is abundantly clear the State will act increasingly as a safety net a backstop but not a dependable quality provider. We need to care for ourselves in that environment. The task of the Rūnanga will be to ensure that the necessary resources to promote well-being will be available to hapū”

(Mason Durie, 1991).¹

The authority vested in hapū and iwi may be conceptualised by the terms ‘mana motuhake’ and ‘rangatiratanga.’ However, the concept of an ‘iwi authority’ is a modern construct introduced by the 4th Labour Government as a vehicle to deliver its policies of devolution outlined in two documents ‘Te Tirohanga Rangapu’ and ‘Te Urupare Rangapu.’ The development of iwi authorities in Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa during the 1980’s emerged, in part, out of the political context of devolution² and on-going tribal aspirations of self-determination. The notion of ‘self-determination’ is understood by Māori to mean Māori control over resources and greater independence from the state (Durie, 1998b:6).

With reference to original data this chapter begins with a historical overview of the development of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Raukawa and Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Kahungunu as legal entities within the socio-political context of the 1980’s and 1990’s. It is argued that the development of tribal authorities was not only a response to state decentralisation policies but also as an ongoing expression of self-determination.

An explanation is given on how iwi organisational bureaucracies were established. The extent to which tribes could claim autonomy within imposed service delivery structures was largely determined by the state through the replication of state-run bureaucracies within tribal frameworks. However, tribes were seen to demonstrate that it was possible to reconcile tribal aspirations and accommodate compliance mechanisms.

¹ Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Report (In Walsh-Tapiata, 1997:95)

² In this context devolution means “the transfer of control of resources to groups able to act independently of the minister or department, subject only to prior agreements” (Cody, 1990).

Development of Rūnanga

The notion of Rūnanga as an organisational structure and vehicle for autonomy was not unfamiliar to Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga or Ngāti Kahungunu. During the 19th century Raukawa had operated Grey's Rūnanga system efficiently under Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi as discussed in Chapter Three. Although the system operated in Hawkes Bay, concerns over land issues created an atmosphere of resistance to their formation. Ngāti Kahungunu statesman Sir James Carroll had sponsored the Māori Councils Act 1900 that established District Councils. These also operated in Kahungunu although they were short-lived. The common feature of these structures was that they were primarily designed to accommodate the government's political and economic policies.

Kahungunu were some of the first to set up Rūnanga and some of the Rūnanga they established...looked at Māori control over Māori, and at that time...per every five hundred. Māori...had their own warden and the warden was able to impose fines...impose curfews...prohibit drunkenness...stop Pākehā stock roving on our lands and fine Pākehā. It was only when they started fining Pākehā that the government chucked it out [NT1871/104].³

The development of Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Kahungunu and Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Raukawa as legal entities and tribal authorities in the 1980's was shaped, in part, by two parallel developments, one driven by factors external to the tribe, the other an internal organic movement lead by tribal leaders. An ideological commitment to free-market economic models had seen a radical transformation from state monopoly capitalism to global capitalism manifest in government policies of devolution, deregulation and reduced state dependency. It was an environment that paradoxically supported Māori ambitions for greater autonomy and tribal structures with the promise of a degree of self-governance, through limited Māori control within government structures (Durie, 2004a:6).

An active tribal polity had begun to focus on consolidating tribal aspirations. Ngāti Raukawa were well into preparing for the twenty-first century and tribal

³ According to historian Alan Ward, Pākehā settlers "did not trust, nor would they co-operate with Māori efforts to establish more regular methods of law and order as in the rūnanga system...this was largely because their ethnocentric pride and their racialism made them unwilling to subordinate themselves to Māori authority at all..." (Ward, 1974)p160.

language preservation through their experimental programme Whakatupuranga Rua Mano: Generation 2000 (Winiata, 1979)⁴. Education was to be the key and by 1981 Ngāti Raukawa had moved to establish a new tertiary institution named Te Wānanga o Raukawa (Waaka, Hapeta, Kuiti, & Royal, 2000; Walsh-Tapiata, 1997:85).

Ngāti Kahungunu leaders meanwhile were actively promoting aspirations of tribal development within the context of ‘kotahitanga tuhonohono’ (to bind together in unity). Kahungunu tuhonohono (a united Kahungunu) became the catchcry as a way forward for the tribe as a whole.⁵

Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Kahungunu formed itself basically as a direct result of those two things. One, at the call of our ...people saying consolidate, tuhonohono Kahungunu in terms of the tribal kanohi...at the same time there was this opportunity to devolve these resources and sort of put them into...this entity called Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Kahungunu [MA67633/53a].

...to me it was coincidental...some say it was contrived merger, but I say it was more collision of time than any...deliberate attempt to merge the devolution/Rūnanga Iwi Act, with their own search for kawa and kotahitanga of Kahungunu, the soul of Kahungunu [NT4776/105a].

Kotahitanga or unity of purpose had been an underlying principle of the first meeting of the Paremata Māori (Māori parliament) hosted by Ngāti Kahungunu and convened at Waipatu Marae in Heretaunga on the 14 June 1892.⁶ Then, as later, the aim was Māori self-determination and self-management not only through a national Māori parliament but also through hapū or community committees to manage local affairs. Māori newspapers published models for local hapū committees and rules for their selection and conduct (Ballara, 1998:231; Walker et al., 1992). In Hawkes Bay, as elsewhere, hapū who adopted this system set up joint committees consisting of two sets of hapū. For example, two committees were Ngātiterangi Aranaki and Ngātiterangi Tepaia⁷, and Ngāti Paki and Ngāti Hine-manu (Ballara, 1998:231). The kaumatua leading localised efforts during the 1980’s were themselves

⁴ [DE1215/50a]

⁵ [MA67633a]

⁶ [NT4776/105a]

⁷ The spelling of these hapū is in line with the text of the Māori niupepa (newspaper) Huia Tangata Kotahi (July 14, 1894 p4) and not as Ballara has them listed in her text.

descendants of leaders of the Paremata Māori representing Ngāti Kahungunu, and hapū who had adopted the Paremata committee models.⁸

Māori Response to devolution

As far as Māori were concerned the devolution of the Department of Māori Affairs was the most visible application of the government's decentralisation policy. The ultimate goal of decentralisation involved less state intervention with government exiting from direct delivery of services (e.g. health, education, social services, justice) and instead offering for purchase the delivery of services from Crown agencies, local authorities, voluntary or private sector providers. Restructured government ministries were then apportioned responsibility for regulatory and policy functions (Kelsey, 1990:32).

In 1988, the policy affecting the Department of Māori Affairs was outlined in the government's discussion paper 'Te Tirohanga Rangapu: Partnership Perspectives.' From a Treaty perspective, Māori would argue the notion of partnership was a far cry from rangatiratanga or 'self-determination.' Partnership, though anticipating a relationship of equals, ran the risk of being simply a vehicle for the implementation of Government policies.⁹ The plan proposed a policy ministry to replace the Department of Māori Affairs and programme delivery would be devolved from the Department to approved iwi authorities and mainstream government departments.

However, notwithstanding Māori expectations, the central tenet of the plan was government control over policy and resources, while handing over delivery to those iwi authorities approved by the state (McClean, 1988; Office of the Minister of Maori Affairs, 1988). Only registered iwi were eligible for government support and services and Rūnanga were to be financially accountable to the state.

Indeed, Māori demands for control of resources led Treasury, in support of the Government, to rationalise its own set of principles whereby "devolution and/or

⁸ For example Te Okanga Huata, Wi Huata, Eru Smith, Beattie Nikera, Numia August, Charlie Mohi, George Niania, Ted Nepia, Ruruhira Robin. Their tipuna who participated at the Paremata Māori hui at Waipatu included Henare Tomoana, Karaitiana Takamoana, Teira Tiakitai, Ekengarangi Hapuku, Paora Ropiha, Peni Te Uamairangi, Tamati Te Apatu, Urupene Puhara (Walker et al., 1992).

⁹ Refer 'Te Tirohanga Rangapu: Partnership Perspectives' 1988.

alternatives to it are principally about government exercising its Treaty given right to govern in a more equitable and efficient manner” (Kelsey, 1990:249).¹⁰ Māori expectations of greater control over Māori resources (and therefore Māori lives) guaranteed under Article 2 and restated at the Hui Taumata in 1984 for example were reduced to matters of equity and efficiency. Reframing government policy within liberal democratic rhetoric such as the notion of ‘equity’ assumed a level playing field, a reality that did not exist in New Zealand, at least in respect of Māori. Management terminology was regularly applied by government officials in policy documents during this period (Cody, 1990). Kelsey argues that the Treasury dominated government decision-making from 1984 until at least 1988 by a Cabinet that had become increasingly dependent on its advice (Kelsey, 1990:29).

Tirohanga Rangapu reflected a general absence of Māori input thereby lending credence to those who considered it a one-sided partnership intent on keeping “Māori people in a state of continued dependence upon Government agencies goodwill and funding”(Kelsey, 1990:249). Although there was some experimentation with various approaches to iwi management, such as Mātua Whāngai and the Community Organisation Grants Scheme (COGS), none of these initiatives ever completely embodied devolution in its fullest sense(Cody, 1990:159). The impetus had potential for Māori management and control but within Government frameworks (Durie, 2004:6).

The indication was that Māori and the government held different views regarding what constituted a partnership or indeed Article 2 rights. Recourse by Treasury to view a crown/Māori relationship as an issue of equity, and therefore at best a covert reference to Article 3, would no doubt have appeased government economists¹¹. Moreover, over time Māori assertiveness in competing for power and resources as a Treaty partner has tended to engender Pākehā anxiety and feelings of insecurity very often fuelled by the media into a full blown ‘white-backlash’ (Walker, 1990:281).

There is a view that contrary to Māori perception, the restructuring and devolution of the Department of Māori Affairs had little to do with government’s treaty policy,

¹⁰ (Treasury, 1988) in Kelsey, 1990:249.

or Māori development aspirations outlined at the Hui Taumata. Māori Affairs was simply a victim of Rogernomics modus operandi, of separating and privatising state departments' commercial, social and regulatory functions' (Kelsey, 1990:43). The governments act of "(l)inking devolution to the treaty, and claiming it reflected a commitment to rangatiratanga, was a convenient vehicle to sell the policy to Maori" (Kelsey, 1990:247). Such views are compelling, particularly when the government's grounds for justifying its policies to Māori were confusing. Devolution was variously promoted as a partnership, community empowerment, debureacratism, and government abandonment of responsibility for Māori Affairs (Durie, 2004:6).

But the situation was even more complex than a 'convenient sell.' The enactment of devolution policies came as a shock not only to Māori but to many Labour party faithfuls, including some MP's and cabinet ministers (King, 2003:448). The Treaty, although often awkwardly applied, had become the centrepiece of its Māori policy and there were genuine efforts to insert Māori perspectives and recognise the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in legislation (Palmer, 1992:82).¹²

Many Māori saw devolution as a way to greater independence and reduced dependency on the state although consultation with tribes and other Māori groups was an expectation of the process (McLean, 1988).¹³ Following on from the Hui Taumata, Māori visions for economic development and commercial business had been boosted in 1985 in the form of the MANA Enterprises Scheme. Its primary objective was to facilitate Māori entry and participation into business, while also aiming to reduce Māori unemployment (Durie, 1998:7-9). The scheme was to last a decade before it was finally disestablished in 1994. The funding was diverted into existing enterprise assistance programmes and operated through the Community Employment Group (Department of Labour and the Business Development Boards

¹¹ According to the Establishment Unit, the mission statement in the policy document 'Te Urupare Rangapu: Partnership Response' was written in a form that would be acceptable to all New Zealanders (Kelsey, 1990).

¹² A directive to cabinet in June 1986 required Departments to take Treaty considerations into account and that all future legislation should draw attention to any implications for recognition of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. For full discussion see Palmer (1992:82-83).

¹³ One of the recommendations from the 1988 conference Te Hui Whakawaa Taumata stated 'That devolution be continued by the National Alliance in consultation with the Māori people and Government'. The National Alliance was a proposal for the 23 Authorities and other Māori organisations such as the NZ Māori Council, Māori Womens' Welfare League form a National Alliance as a body to present a national Māori perspective to Government (McLean, 1988:3).

(Ministry of Commerce) (White, 1995:5).

Despite the contradictions in opinion the government's Māori policy statement was confirmed and released in the November 1988 document 'Te Urupare Rangapu: Partnership Response.' At least three main strategies of change emerged. Restructuring the Department of Māori Affairs into an iwi Transition Agency was aimed at assisting iwi to develop their operational base over a five-year period. A Ministry of Māori Policy, which began operations on 1 July 1989, would provide advice on all matters of government policy-making that affect Māori affairs. The policy, sponsored by Koro Wetere the Minister of Māori Affairs, was designed to offer Māori greater self-sufficiency and reduced dependency on the state (Durie, 2004:6). It echoed several of the goals of the Hui Taumata by proposing that this was, "an opportunity for Māori to use traditional institutions and structures for designing and delivering their own programmes and services" (Office of the Minister of Maori Affairs, 1988:6). That is, traditional institutions as 'legal personalities' (Palmer, 1992) approved by government as agents of the state.¹⁴

Establishment of tribal authorities

Concerned with issues of monitoring and accountability in the disbursement of taxpayer funds, the Government established formal relationships with participating tribal and regional authorities by introducing a contractual system. As agents of the Crown, these contracted authorities could disburse the funds at concessional rates to Māori businesses. However, identifying such authorities became a source of debate among Māori and a subject of confusion for the Government (Palmer, 1992:97). This coupled with the Crown's desire for financial accountability led to the introduction of the Rūnanga Iwi Bill 1990,¹⁵ which was enacted later that year (Palmer, 1992:97; White, 1995:4). The Act seemed to offer fresh possibilities, a new 'Māori order' promising more power to marae and hapū structured around Māori ways of doing things through Rūnanga.¹⁶ But this legislation was short-lived and repealed in 1991 by the newly elected National Government so no tribal authority

¹⁴ The Tainui Trust Board refused to become an agent of the state and withdrew from any involvement with the Māori Economic Development scheme, by then renamed Māori Authorities New Alliance (MANA) (White, 1995).

¹⁵ Originally entitled the Iwi Empowerment Bill.

¹⁶ [NT1871/104]

gained legal status under the Act. Partly because there was already provision to establish Māori authorities through existing legislation, for example Māori Trust Board Act 1953 and Incorporated Society's Act 1909. But in all probability it was because Winston Peters, the newly appointed Minister of Māori Affairs, was keen to increase the distance from the approach taken by the previous labour government.

By then, however, many iwi including Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa had held hui to find a structure that would enable them to source government funding to provide much needed services. Had the Rūnanga Iwi Act survived it would have recognised the status of tribes and offered a constitutional forum for Government business (Durie, 1998:225). The change of government in 1990 signalled the formal replacement of devolution with a policy of 'mainstreaming' Māori programmes (such as the MANA Enterprises scheme), within government departments.

On assuming his appointment as Minister of Māori Affairs Winston Peters immediately commissioned a ministerial report on the policy directions for Māori Affairs. The result was the Ka Awatea report released in March 1991, which identified Māori development as the key issue for Māori social, cultural and economic wellbeing.¹⁷ There was less emphasis on iwi as the driving force for Māori and a stronger focus on equity whereby government, through a new Ministry of Māori Development, would take greater responsibility in the reduction of disparities between Māori and non-Māori. The so-called 'deficit theory' presumed that Māori aspired equality with non-Māori. While that was essentially the case, the approach also inferred that Māori ambitions were totally aligned with non-Māori life-styles and end-points. Although Ka Awatea was launched in Parliament with Māori in attendance, its status remained unclear as to whether the government fully accepted the report (Durie, 1998:9). By October 1992 Winston Peters was replaced as Minister of Māori Affairs, the Ministry of Māori Affairs and the Iwi Transition Agency were dismantled and replaced by the current Ministry of Māori Development.

It was within a political climate of radical change that Ngāti Kahungunu and

¹⁷ (Ministerial Planning Group, 1991)

Ngāti Raukawa became involved with managing the MANA Enterprises Scheme¹⁸ and Māori ACCESS programmes. They also required some form of legal mechanism for purposes of accountability to the government.

By 1987 the tribal authority in Ngāti Kahungunu was represented by Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Kahungunu (TRNK). The Kōmiti Whakatinana, a multi-iwi group drawn from representatives of the Raukawa Marae Trustees and the Raukawa District Council, represented Ngāti Raukawa interests (Walsh-Tapiata, 1997:87). The Board of Māori Affairs¹⁹ managed the funding for the MANA scheme but the Department of Māori Affairs administrated the programme delivery through tribal authorities (Office of the Minister of Maori Affairs, 1988:34).

The first official employee of TRNK took up the position as Mana Enterprise Coordinator; all other iwi co-workers were seconded officers from the Department of Māori Affairs²⁰. Not surprisingly many long-term Māori employees within Māori Affairs were unhappy with the Governments proposed devolution of the department. It had come to be regarded as a relatively secure employment destination for Māori intent on a career in the public service, for example as welfare officers or clerks (Butterworth, 1989; Butterworth & Young, 1990). Many such employees in Kahungunu were hapū and tribal leaders whose families had experienced the success of Māori centred development initiatives such as Ngata's land schemes and the Māori War Effort programmes (Gardiner, 1988), only to have these efforts undermined and thwarted by, among others, successive governments withdrawing their support. Informed by a history of government recapitulation on Māori matters, iwi members were perhaps justified in their distrust of government plans to adequately deliver to Māori. Despite some parochial factionism many tribal members, particularly those working for Māori Affairs, were not entirely confident that an iwi Rūnanga had either the capability to deliver to iwi or alternatively the sustained backing of the government, therefore saw little reason to support its establishment.²¹

¹⁸ This scheme came as a result of recommendations from the Hui Taumata for the establishment of a Māori Enterprise Development scheme, which was supported by the Government.

¹⁹ This was a statutory body established by the Board of Native Affairs Act 1934/35. The board's functions were in four main areas; land development, Māori housing, Māori ACCESS and MANA Enterprises. MANA Enterprises and Māori ACCESS programme delivery were shifted to the Department of Māori Affairs in 1987.

²⁰ [AW9579/46a]

²¹ [AR79818/50a]

Others viewed the policy as the devolvement of functions to iwi to deliver the same state initiated services as Māori Affairs. In the years preceding and following World War II, Māori whānau had become increasingly dependant on the benevolence of the state through a series of wide-ranging social and welfare activities offered through Māori Affairs. Under this new regime, there would be little autonomy for tribes to deliver adequately resourced iwi initiated programmes and therefore devolution could be seen simply as a transfer of state dependency.²² Other issues centred around whether or not mainstreaming would improve state-sector responsiveness to Māori, concerns regarding the state of readiness of iwi authorities and a suspicion that the proposal was simply service delivery on the cheap (Kelsey, 1990:249).

The newly appointed Mana Enterprise Coordinator for TRNK represented a new generation of educated young leaders intent on forging a regime that was both independent of the state and ‘*behaved like an iwi*’. The Coordinator’s immediate strategy was not only to create physical distance from the department by moving to a separate site, but also to ensure a psychological distance and a sense of independence by, for example, installing separate phone lines. As she explained

I didn’t like saying Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Kahungunu...after they rung in and been introduced to the Department of Māori Affairs and I’ll put you through to this extension which was the iwi. So I felt well if we’re going to be the iwi let’s behave like one and get our own telephone line and get our own building [AW10844/46a].

Mana Enterprises and Māori ACCESS programmes provided seeding opportunities for initiating what would become a tribal authority Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Kahungunu, a local hapū based legal entity Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga, and a multi-iwi authority Komiti Whakatinana o Raukawa (KWR). Strictly speaking the organisations managing state programmes could be seen as agents of the state. But most tribes considered the programmes to be consistent with their own goals and objectives and they were agents of autonomy (O’Malley, 1998).

A condition of the government’s devolution policy required that an organisation be authorised by the state in order to receive funding for service provision. Therefore a legal entity was required in order to continue to receive Māori ACCESS funding.

The move to a legal entity in the establishment of Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga

was a reactionary and pragmatic one. A change in the status of the Rūnanga from a ‘cultural whakapapa’ constitution to a legal entity such as an incorporated society or charitable trust was dependent on tribal imperatives and a lengthy process of consultation among tribal leaders and their communities. Whether it was intended or not the Taiwhenua achieved a fast track process. The trustees of a local charitable trust, who had all but expended their activities and their funds, offered to change the name of their trust and to temporarily lend their constitution to the ‘new’ Kahungunu entity.²³ During that period, this type of expedient transaction was not uncommon among Māori organisations and groups seeking legal status in response to government imperatives. It was seen as simply a means to an end, an opportunity to exploit legal mechanisms to ensure autonomy and independence in order for iwi development to occur unimpeded by the state. In any event, the trust was renamed Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga (TOH) and with a borrowed constitution was recorded as the first incorporated iwi body before TRNK. The latter gained legal status as an incorporated society some months later albeit with its own constitution.²⁴

The approach by the Komiti Whakatinana o Raukawa (KWR) of establishing itself as a legal entity was more measured. The origins of KWR lay with several institutions of Ngāti Raukawa including the Raukawa Marae Trustees and the Raukawa District Council. The Raukawa Marae Trustees was created in 1938 under Section 10 of the Native Purposes Act (1936) encompassing the three tribes of the Confederation: Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toarangatira and Te Ati Awa.²⁵ The primary role of the Trustees was concerned with the maintenance and upkeep of the newly built Raukawa Marae, and to administer lands belonging to the Confederation (Walsh-Tapiata, 1997:76). In time this committee found its role extending beyond its legislated duties to include areas such as housing and social welfare. Furthermore, they were one of the few legislated bodies²⁶ within the Confederation and partly because of this the Trustees found themselves negotiating with government agencies on behalf of the iwi.

²² [NT43302/57]

²³ [AW26274/47]

²⁴ [AW27001/48]

²⁵ [DE564, 916/50]

²⁶ The Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board was established under the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Act 1943 primarily to administer investments for educational scholarships for the children of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toarangatira and Te Ati Awa (Walsh-Tapiata, 1997:79).

For this reason, and to reduce duplication in dealing with issues in common, the Trustees and the Raukawa District Māori Council resolved to form a joint committee in 1985 called the Komiti Whakatinana o Raukawa (Walsh-Tapiata, 1997:80). The Raukawa District Māori Council is a regional body affiliated to the New Zealand Māori Council established under the Māori Community Development Act (1962). Membership is multi-tribal drawn from Ngāti Raukawa, Muaupoko and Rangitāne, and other pan-Māori groups such as the Māori Wardens' Association. During the 1980's several women involved in establishing health provision for Ngāti Raukawa gained their administrative and management experience working for the Raukawa District Council.²⁷ The need for an authority that could administrate funds and wages was already apparent.

The pay came through...the health department. At that time the Raukawa District Council...didn't have the mandate to have the money come through them until when the Rūnanga came into being...[MK43345/56a].

In 1986 government approached the Komiti Whakatinana o Raukawa (KWR) to manage the MANA Enterprises and Māori ACCESS programmes. As part of its management structure KWR formed Raukawa Investments Ltd to administer the funds that accompanied these programmes. Recognising the need for an iwi authority, and with limited power as a non-incorporated body, KWR underwent an eighteen month process of consultation hui and the preparation of a constitution for approval as an Incorporated Society. This came on the 9th January 1988 followed by a hui of endorsement by the founding members on the 27th March 1988. In effect the Rūnanga had now been established and the Komiti Whakatinana was designated the Rūnanga Whaiti (Executive Committee) of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa (Walsh-Tapiata, 1997:87).²⁸ By 1991 Ngāti Toarangatira, Muaupoko, Rangitane and Te Atiawa had withdrawn their membership to form their own Rūnanga. Hui-a-iwi held within Ngāti Raukawa revealed widespread support for a greater say in the affairs of the iwi. This led to changes in the structure and constitution of the Rūnanga to enable hapū representation on the governing body (Walsh-Tapiata,

²⁷ [MK2761/55]

²⁸ Founding members included the Raukawa District Council, Raukawa Marae Trustees, Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board, Te Wananga o Raukawa, Rangiatea Vestry and the Otaki Māori Racing Club.

1997:91), rather than representation from the five founding institutions: Raukawa Trustees, Raukawa District Council, Otaki and Porirua Trust Board, Otaki Māori Racing Club and Rangiatea Vestry.

At the same time Ngāti Kahungunu were also responding to the needs of the people and preparing for the passing of the Rūnanga Iwi Act, by holding a series of iwi-wide consultation hui throughout the rohe (region).²⁹ Customarily the tribal territory was referred to as Ngāti Kahungunu ki te Wairoa, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga and Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa. Te Okanga Huata had long advocated the unification of the three takiwā (districts) that constitute the territory of Ngāti Kahungunu under the umbrella of a Rūnanganui. This is encapsulated in the following tribal pepeha (proverb),

“Te Rūnanga o Kahungunu ki te Wairoa hopupu honengenenge matangirau, Kahungunu ki Heretaunga ararau haukunui haoro o te kahu takoto noa, Kahungunu ki Wairarapa ka piki whakarunga o te maunga Tararua ka titiro whakararo a ko kamo ko Wairararapa”(Teariki, 1993).³⁰

Huata argued that the strength of the iwi would be found in unifying the three districts, something that had never been achieved in the history of the tribal territory. According to Canon Wi Huata, Te Okanga Huata also favoured “a straight out huihui ngā tangata with its own rules and not so much an Incorporated Society...it was really incorporated to get the funding” (Teariki, 2003). In his study of Māori organisations, Puketapu found that a number of his respondents established legal entities, such as Incorporated Societies, to gain access to funding opportunities (Puketapu, 2000:202).

There was general agreement however, in preparation for the delivery of services to iwi, three areas were too large to manage and so the Kahungunu elders resolved

²⁹ [MA46704/52][NT4776/105]

³⁰ Wairoa Hopupu Honengenenge Matangirau refers to the whirlpools, eddy's and snags of the river whereas at the river mouth it is calm. Heretaunga ararau - Heretaunga of the arcadian pathways, Heretaunga haukunui - Heretaunga of the life giving dew, Heretaunga haoro o te kahu - Heretaunga whose beauty can only be seen through the eyes of a hawk in full flight, Heretaunga takoto noa - Heretaunga from whence all chiefs have departed and we the humble servants remain (Hawea Tomoana pers.comm.14/4/04) Lake Wairarapa is referred to as 'Te Whatu o te ika' the eye of the fish. Kamo and whatu are both words for 'eye'. Raparapatanga is the flapping/flashing of the abundance of fish at the mouth of Lake Wairarapa. It also refers to the sparkling surface of the lake appearing like the eye of the fish as seen from the top of Tararua (Hawea Tomoana, pers. comm. 17/4/04).

to establish six Taiwhenua.³¹ The term ‘taiwhenua’ is derived from the word ‘tai’ meaning the sea, and ‘whenua’ meaning the land³² (Teariki, 2003). The Kaumātua thought that reconceptualising hapū in order to manage their affairs would unite the tribe³³ and allow for regional distinctiveness, fairer distribution of resources and wider representation on the iwi authority Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Kahungunu (Tomlins Jahnke, 2003:14). The taiwhenua would be the contracting mechanism with the government in order to provide services *without standing on the mana of whānau, hapū and iwi* [NT166165/83a]. There was agreement that in order to exercise governance appropriately, it was better to develop six regions named taiwhenua and to manage the iwi responsibilities through these newly formed structures.³⁴ The process of reconceptualising the rohe (territory) was based on customary boundaries and inter-hapū relationships, although the result was very much a modern construct.

From my observations of the six Taiwhenua...Wairoa seemed to have kept itself very much intact...virtually from the Mohaka River going right up to the Paritu. Heretaunga, virtually starting from the Mohaka...down to Akatio was broken up into...manageable lots, three Taiwhenua which became Whanganui-a-roto...Heretaunga, Tamatea and...Tamaki nui rua [MA46704/52a].

At a political level, however, clustering hapū under an artificial nomenclature such as taiwhenua was also seen as a vehicle to protect the autonomy of hapū and the whakapapa of hapū from contractual agreements with the crown.

Taiwhenua...was an aloof vehicle from whakapapa...this created body was...able to do things that whakapapa wouldn't have to get mixed up in. You wouldn't put your whakapapa on the line every time you had to do a contract with government or something, whereas if you were whānau, hapū, iwi you bore the name of your whānau or...your hapū on a contract with government...the term taiwhenua was separate from our whakapapa [NT99477/83a].

The Rūnanga Iwi Act had stipulated that iwi must have a defined rohe, one that was relatively easily described for Kahungunu because of its geographic isolation as described here...

³¹ [AB192035/40a]

³² [MA50118/101a]

³³ [MA46704/101a]

³⁴ [AB50138/67a]

From Wharerata's in the north to the Rimutaka's in the south. It's a geographic spine of the internal ranges of Urewera, Tarawera, Kaimanawa, Wharerata, and Kaweka right down to Tararua. It's quite a neat fit. If there was going to be a regional delivery system then ours is obvious. Coast on one side, ranges on the other and we're all one iwi. So we saw that as an opportunity to set up one delivery system for this whole area [NT7774/105a].

Within the rohe (territory) however, other iwi also had claims to territory including Rongomaiwahine and Rangitane. The boundaries of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga were also geographically defined

Mai i waitapu ki Rangatawa, mai i miria te kakara ki kukutauaki, our most northern point being up the Rangitikei River northwards, in terms of our tribal rohe and our most southern point is a dry river bed down beside Te Horo [DE2353/98a].

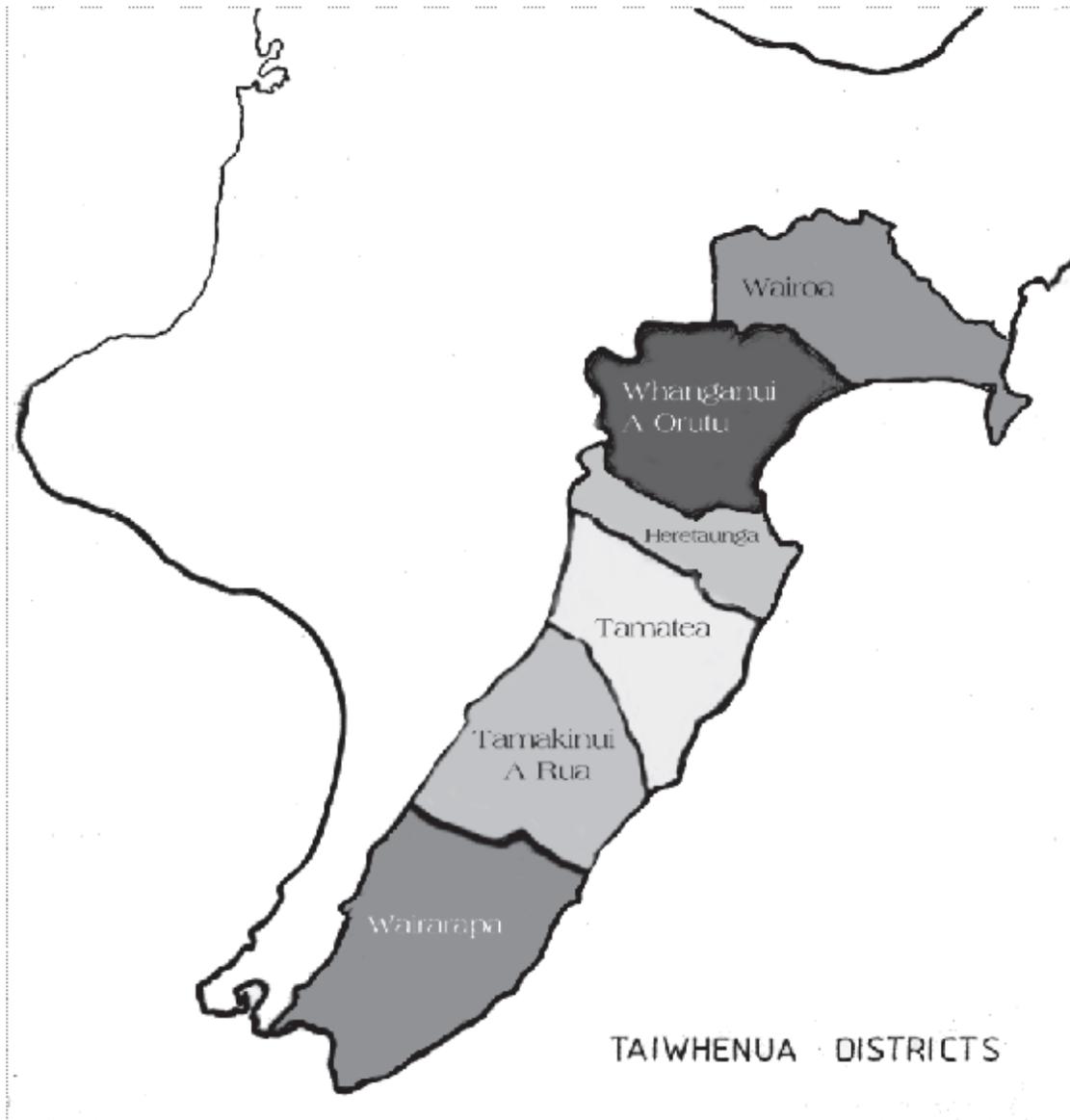
Like Kahungunu, Raukawa also had a rohe that overlapped other iwi – in this case Muaupoko and Rangitane.

Not all of the districts of Ngāti Kahungunu accepted the proposed Rūnanga model. There were literally split-ends of the tribal rohe, Wairoa in the north and Wairarapa in the south, that opposed the establishment of a Rūnanga. The territorial boundaries of mainstream councils and government agencies, including the Māori Council are generally population based. For this reason Wairoa was more likely to be included as part of the Tairāwhiti (East Coast) district of Gisborne or as the 'toenail of Ngāti Porou.' Some Wairoa people preferred to align with Tairāwhiti (Teariki, 2003). But when territory is based on whakapapa, Wairoa is considered by Ngāti Kahungunu to be the upoko³⁵ of the iwi. In terms of kotahitanga hui it was the first time Wairoa was included as part of a proposed tribal organisational collective of Ngāti Kahungunu.³⁶ In Wairarapa the Rangitane tribe objected to any notion of being subsumed within another iwi, and many who were Kahungunu, rather than seek links based on whakapapa, preferred to forge closer ties with the political hub in Wellington³⁷ or relatives in the Manawatu.

³⁵ The upoko is the head and considered a sacred part of the body. Here the term is used as a metaphorical reference to Wairoa being the tribal birthplace of Ngāti Kahungunu. It was at Mahia, in the district of Wairoa, that the eponymous ancestors Kahungunu and Rongomaiwahine lived.

³⁶ [NT7774/105a]

³⁷ [NT8719/105a]



By 1991 Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Kahungunu was the mandated iwi authority representing the people of Ngāti Kahungunu. Within this structure the traditional iwi rohe, originally divided into three regions, was expanded to six Taiwhenua. Each Taiwhenua became a 'legal entity' as an Incorporated Society or Charitable Trust with its own executive. The aim was for each taiwhenua to manage its own development autonomously.³⁸ Their representatives (including others such as the Kaumātua Council) formed a Rūnanganui executive, which established an administrative and meeting base in Hastings (Jackson, Pitman, & Ruru, 1999).

One of the criticisms of the government's process of contracting and devolving the administration of programmes to iwi authorities was the lack of administrative, management and training resources in order to build strong management systems. Although it was acknowledged that most tribal and regional authorities were conducting their business in an efficient and effective manner, this was not the case for all and calls by Māori for adequate resources and tighter measures of accountability generally went unheeded (Himona, 1988).

...the nature of those contracts and the very nature of engaging into providing outputs, deliverables really took over the organisation before it actually had time to define for itself what it's purpose, what it's kaupapa, what it's role should be and get that right [MA67633/102].

By 1994 the Rūnanganui itself was experiencing major difficulties and many people became increasingly disillusioned with what they perceived to be a lack of accountability not only to the Crown but also, and some thought more importantly, to the iwi of Ngāti Kahungunu. There were calls for an independent review and by 1996 altercations between some members of the executive had resulted in litigation (Jackson et al., 1999:22).

In order to resolve matters for the Rūnanganui, a receiver was appointed to investigate and to close down its affairs. This was a political receivership not a financial one. The Rūnanganui was in reasonably sound financial health (Mulholland, 2001),³⁹ although by the time matters were eventually resolved the

³⁸ [MA56724/102a]

³⁹ [AR25140/49a]

financial viability of the organisation had been severely undermined⁴⁰. Judge McHugh of the Māori Land Court was elected to chair the process and the results were duly presented at a hui-a-iwi.⁴¹ A new Iwi Authority was formed in 1996 under the rules of an incorporated society called Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated (NKII), which retained an executive board comprised of taiwhenua, kaumatua and rangatahi representatives. Immediately, a register of electors was established and elections were held for the positions of Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the Iwi Incorporation (Jackson et al., 1999:23).

The changing role of Iwi Authorities

By 1991 the role of Iwi Authorities as recipients of service or contracted funding was further expanded after the first of the fisheries settlements was targeted for iwi under the Māori Fisheries Act 1989. The signing of the Sealords Deed of Settlement in 1992⁴², which was considered by Government as a ‘full and final’ settlement of all commercial fishing rights, brought with it significant implications for iwi authorities and urban groups. The deed was legislated by Parliament as the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claim) Settlement Act. Under the Act the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission (Te Ohu Kaimoana) was established and was primarily responsible for allocating the assets received in the deal’ (Durie, 1998b:161; Jackson et al., 1999:22). The Commission was also to take a significant role as arbiter in the dispute among Māori over the allocation of assets.

The Act stipulated that pre-settlement assets were to be distributed to iwi. The issue regarding the meaning of the term ‘iwi’ led to a series of long drawn out and ongoing court battles between tribal and urban Māori groups from the New Zealand High Court to the Privy Council in London (Durie, 1998:165-8). Existing iwi authorities, including Te Rūnanganui o Ngāti Kahungunu (Tomoana, 2002),⁴³ claimed exclusivity on the basis of whakapapa, while urban Māori groups argued for inclusion based on their provision of services to significant numbers of Māori city dwellers with pan-tribal affiliations or affiliations at least to a whānau, where hapū and tribal linkages are unknown (WAI414, 1998).

⁴⁰ [AR25140/49a]

⁴¹ The hui-a-iwi was held at Ruahāpia Marae near Hastings where the rules of incorporation were presented.

⁴² For an indepth discussion see Durie (1998b:141-171).

⁴³ See (TaiwhenuaNewsletter, 1998)

In referring the matter back to the High Court in New Zealand, the Privy Council framed the question that in the allocation of fisheries assets solely to iwi, in this context did iwi only mean traditional Māori tribes? Among responses, there was widespread reaction against arguing the application of customary traditions to contemporary issues in the courts in New Zealand and abroad (Durie, 1998b:168). As Mason Durie contends,

“...it appeared rather absurd that a judicial committee on the other side of the earth had been asked to define the nature of Māori society. Almost as ironic was the involvement, largely by default, of a Crown agency, Te Ohu Kaimoana, as an arbiter of tribal altercation and a gatekeeper for Māori access to a distinctly Māori resource” (Durie, 1998b:171).

A contradiction often overlooked in arguments regarding tribal Māori versus urban Māori is that most tribal authorities manage their affairs in offices situated in urban areas, and their members are located in both urban and tribal contexts. This is certainly the case for Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Kahungunu in Hastings with taiwhenua in Wairoa, Napier, Hastings, Waipukarau, Dannevirke and Masterton. As of 2001 Taurahere representation was included on the NKII Board, the result of which “has widened the perspective of the Board with the contribution of our urban based whanaunga adding value to the debates and discussions at the Board table”(NKII, 2002b:3). Te Rūnanga o Raukawa ki te Tonga has offices in Levin, Palmerston North and Feilding. Most of their constituent iwi live and work in towns and cities within their respective tribal rohe, or in other towns and metropolitan cities in New Zealand and abroad⁴⁴ (Mulholland, 2001).

In reality, both Rūnanga offer services within an urban context that benefit Māori whānau regardless of known or unknown tribal affiliations. Sharing the allocation of resources (from fishing or otherwise) with urban Māori authorities in metropolitan cities for example would cater for the contemporary reality of a significant number of the Māori populace. As recent statistics show, nearly a quarter of Māori do not associate with any iwi (TPK, 2001b). Although some tribes such as Ngāti Kahungunu for example offer taura here representation on tribal Rūnanga, a move to collaborative ventures between urban and iwi authorities would strengthen

⁴⁴ [DE10809/98a]

opportunities for Māori development generally, and for all migrant iwi affiliates as well.

Population Profile

Approximately 32,088 Māori or 6.1%⁴⁵ of the total Māori population reside in the Hawkes Bay region. According to the 2001 Census over 56% of the responses by Māori in Hawkes Bay affiliated to a Ngāti Kahungunu iwi (Rongomaiwahine, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairoa, ki Heretaunga, ki Wairarapa, ki Whanganui a Orotu, ki Tamatea, ki Tamaki nui a Rua and Rangitāne). Significantly though, Ngāti Porou, Tuhoē, Ngāpuhi and Tuwharetoa were the largest identified iwi affiliations from outside the Hawkes Bay region (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a; Tomlins Jahnke, 2003:15; TPK, 2001b:78-79).

In 2001, 49% of the Māori population in Hawkes Bay lived in the Hastings District while 29% lived in the city of Napier. The Māori population in the Masterton, Carterton and South Wairarapa District totalled 5,406, and some 9.7% of the total Māori population in the Wellington Region (Statistics New Zealand, 2002b).

Ngāti Raukawa was one of the largest locally identified iwi in the Manawatū/Wanganui region recording approximately 3,640 affiliates⁴⁶. In 2001 the majority of the region's Māori lived in Palmerston North (24%) (TPK, 2001b:93-4). The largest identified iwi to which Māori affiliated, outside the region were Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Porou, Te Ati Hau Nui A Paparangi and Ngāti Maniapoto (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a; TPK, 2001b:96).

Organisational Structures

In his study of organisational approaches to Māori development, Brendon Puketapu identifies tribal organisation as having two frames of reference. A tikanga identity where regulation is enacted according to tribal custom, and a legal identity requiring compliance with the law (Puketapu, 2000:200). He distinguishes between tikanga-recognised organisations such as Rūnanga a iwi, Rūnanga-a-tupuna rohe and hapū Rūnanga, and legally-recognised organisations such as Incorporated

⁴⁵ (Statistics New Zealand, 2002b)

⁴⁶ The Manawatū/Wanganui region consists of seven territorial local authorities (TLA's). These districts are Ruapehu, Wanganui, Rangitikei, Manawatū, Palmerston North City, Tararua and Horowhenua.

Societies, Charitable Trusts and Trust Boards. Some tikanga-recognised organisations are also legally recognised (Puketapu, 2000:203).

Puketapu found that at least 11% of respondents in his study of Waitangi Tribunal Claimant groups had established Rūnanga-a-iwi, a confederation of hapū or marae at an iwi level. Some 7% of claimants formed Rūnanga-a-tupuna rohe. This is an alliance of hapū within a tribal area and is generally formed to promote and facilitate the management of shared kaupapa at the hapū level. The concept of taiwhenua in Ngāti Kahungunu approximates this description. By far the largest group, 78% of respondents, were those claimants who had established hapū Rūnanga which were identified as the most significant decision-making social group in tribal affairs.

A major characteristic of a tikanga-recognised organisation was found to be a dependance on tikanga for procedural guidance (Puketapu, 2000:201). By contrast legally recognised organisations were less concerned with observing tribal custom and protocols than with legal jurisdiction over tribal assets and affairs. A perception held by external groups was that the ‘entity’ was the tribe even though most legally recognised organisations have legal powers to carry out activities in the best interests of the beneficiaries or shareholders. The study found that those opposed to a legal entity were concerned with the potential for abuse of power by an ultimate legal tribal authority. However, proponents believed that “greater accountability, transparency and effective management of tribal affairs would address this concern”(Puketapu, 2000:201).

Among the respondents who favoured legally recognised organisations for the management and control of tribal assets and affairs, 31% preferred an Incorporated Society status. As a legal entity proponents perceived it to be robust and flexible and allowed for a combination of tikanga and commercial practice. Those opposed to Incorporated Society status believe that it does not provide for “the full extent of tribal jurisdiction and management”(Puketapu, 2000:202). Under the rules of Incorporation, unless a member is registered, benefits cannot be obtained. Nor are members permitted to receive any pecuniary gain, direct or indirect (Puketapu, 2000:203). Questions regarding the kind of organisation necessary to protect and develop tribal assets revolved around how to sustain the tino rangatiratanga agenda, how to ensure certainty of legal powers and capacity and how best to organise

tribal and legal governance (Puketapu, 2000:202).

Puketapu's study offers useful insights into the broad issues regarding the choice of organisational structure that various tribal and non-tribal groups have entered into, and some of the associated issues that emerge. What this current study on Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa organisations aims to do is show some of the infrastructural specificities of two contemporary tribal Rūnanga.

Tikanga-a-iwi and Tikanga-kawanatanga

Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Raukawa (TROR) and Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Kahungunu (NKII) are mandated to act on behalf of whānau, hapū and iwi who live within their respective tribal regions. As legal entities under the Incorporated Society Act 1908, they are also recognised by the government as iwi authorities. There are a number of broad characteristics that emerge from the data, which both Rūnanga share in common. It is possible to illustrate these characteristics using two-dimensional frameworks as shown in Table 1 and Table 2.

Two main tikanga underpin the Rūnanga infrastructure, a tikanga-a-iwi (driven by whānau, hapū and iwi imperatives) and a tikanga-kawanatanga (concerned with government policy, contractual provisions and legislation) as illustrated in Table 1. The tensions between tribal, government and legal imperatives are mediated in the control and management of pou rahui (territorial authority), mana tangata (vested authority), kaupapa ture (constitution) and tikanga here (bureaucracy). These in turn influence infrastructural arrangements of each Rūnanga consisting of the roopu rangatiratanga (governance), the roopu whakahaere (management) and the various divisions that make up the ratonga (service provision).

Pou Rāhui: Territorial Authority

The customary territorial authority of TROR and NKII has already been covered in some depth in Chapter Three. Briefly, it is based on historically defined territories, recognised in tribal literature and maintained by continuous occupation by members of whānau and hapū. More recently Ngāti Kahungunu constructed six taiwhenua within their rohe in response to a new environment of devolved service provision. Customary boundaries do not align with the territorial local authorities (TLA) under which tikanga-kawanatanga operates. The boundaries of territorial local authorities

are defined according to ‘communities of interest’ determined by non-Māori such as regional councils, health boards, and the Ministry of education (Tomlins Jahnke, 2003:14; TPK, 2001b:159).⁴⁷ The difficulty is heightened when TROR and NKII deliver services to clients across several TLA jurisdictions.

Table 1: Te Wāhanga o Ngā Rūnanga: Rūnanga Operating Environments		
	Tikanga-kawanatanga	Tikanga-a-iwi
Pou rahui (territorial authority)	Territorial local authorities (TLA) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boundaries defined according to regional council boundaries • Superimposed over tribal territories 	Geographically defined territories Historically defined territory that identify names associated with the geography of place <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognised in tribal oral & written histories • Maintenance of ahi ka roa (continuous occupation) • Ngāti Kahungunu reconceptualised territory as 6 taiwhenua
Mana tangata (vested authority)	Incorp Society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • legislated authority • Authorized to receive govt funding • Compliance regulations set out in legislation • Registered with the registrar of Incorporations • Membership is by registration 	Marae, whānau, hapū <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Authorized to act on behalf of the iwi • Regulated according to tikanga • Whānau & hapu based marae • Membership according to Whakapapa
Kaupapa ture (constitution)	Constitution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a requirement under the Incorp. Society Act • Elections based on principles of democracy 	Kawa <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hui is the forum for setting constitutional agenda • membership according to iwi affiliation (TROR & NKII) and Māori (NKII) • elections based on principles of whakapapa
Tikanga here (bureaucracy)	Bureaucratic structure <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • determined by legal entity, rules of govt contracts, Te Ohu Kaimoana requirements • evident in written rules, employment contracts, nomenclature, time and space 	Mana Whakahaere <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hui (formal meetings) • wananga (seminar) • tikanga (custom) • kaupapa (strategy) • kawa (protocols)

Mana Tangata: Vested Authority

Although the Rūnanga are authorised by their respective iwi to act on their behalf, their legitimacy is confirmed by whānau and hapū most often at marae hui

and regulated according to local tikanga (customs). There are twenty active marae within the rohe of TROR⁴⁸ and eighty marae within NKII's tribal jurisdiction⁴⁹. The Taiwhenua o Heretaunga alone serves seventeen marae in its region. Membership of Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga and Ngāti Kahungunu is claimed through whakapapa regardless of where a person is domiciled at any given time.⁵⁰

Within a tikanga-kawanatanga framework, TROR and NKII are registered with the Registrar of Incorporations. Membership is by registration, and compliance regulations are set out in the legislation (Incorporated Society Act 1908) and as a charitable trust under the rules of the Inland Revenue Department (IRD). As recognised iwi authorities, TROR and NKII are authorized to receive government funding within contractual arrangements determined by the state. A database of registered iwi members is maintained by each Rūnanga (including TTOH), which serves the purpose of both tikanga-kawanatanga (eg. registered membership as an incorporated society) and tikanga-a-iwi (eg. information dissemination). In order to generate a tribal economic base TROR has also established several limited liability companies, aimed at protecting the tribe's assets against insolvency.⁵¹

Kaupapa Ture: Constitution

A written constitution is a requirement under the Incorporated Society Act 1908. Hui-a-iwi is the preferred forum for setting the constitutional agenda and determining the structure of the organisation. Elections are held to determine hapū representation on governance. In Ngāti Raukawa annual elections held at marae in the 24 hapū elect one principal representative for each hapu plus three proxy's for times when the principal representative is unable to attend meetings.⁵² Irregular attendance at trustees meetings was identified as an issue of governance particularly in ensuring consistency in decision-making and advancing the business at hand.⁵³ The application of proxy employed by TROR seems to offer a practical solution to such problems.

⁴⁷ It is acknowledged that Māori may be represented on these authorities although in a minority position.

⁴⁸ [DE6616/98a]

⁴⁹ [NT20440/82a]

⁵⁰ [DE10809/98a]

⁵¹ [DE19355/99a]

⁵² [DE11278/98a]

⁵³ [AR22508/22a]

Although, NKII does not offer this option in its constitution because of an expectation that elected Board members attend meetings to represent and vote on issues themselves and not delegate that responsibility.⁵⁴

The constitutional model adopted by NKII attempts to account for a complex mix of tribal/pan-tribal membership, representation based on customary (geneological) and democratic (secret ballot) principles and a double-tiered tribal structure of Rūnanga and six taiwhenua all of which operate as independent legal entities. The constitutional review of Ngāti Kahungunu undertaken in 1997 (Jackson et al., 1999) forms the basis of current arrangements. Until recent changes in the constitution, eligibility for membership of NKII was open to all Māori including non-Māori⁵⁵. For the benefit of taiwhenua receiving government contracts, and to meet a major requirement of Te Ohu Kaimoana that membership is iwi focussed, NKII membership excludes non-Māori but remains inclusive of all Māori through mātāwaka⁵⁶ representation⁵⁷ and taurahere.⁵⁸

We...had to recognise that if we just focussed on iwi membership [Ngāti Kahungunu] then in terms of say one of our taiwhenua, their normal day to day operation in providing services...tendering for government contracts to provide the service part of the criteria ...is that you cannot get funding to provide for one sector of the community...you can't get funding just to provide Ngāti Kahungunu people with a service, if you're going to provide for Māori then it must be inclusive of all...Any other Māori that lives within our rohe can become a member as well [SK15571/107a].

The introduction of a central register held by NKII, has allowed the taiwhenua electronic access to data for various levels of membership.

NKII has a three-tier election process, which provides for mandated representation from the tangata whenua but also includes representation of five taurahere groups.⁵⁹ Tangata whenua must have the mandate of their marae or hapū

⁵⁴ Aramanu Ropitini, pers.com. 22/4/04.

⁵⁵ [SK15571/107a]

⁵⁶ Kinsfolk who descend from ancestral canoes. Refer NKII Constitution 6.4.2 Ngā Mātāwaka vote only as individuals at general meetings on Article 3 matters.

⁵⁷ [SK15571/107a]

⁵⁸ These are Ngāti Kahungunu people who reside outside the iwi boundaries or rawaho. [NT48605/82a].

⁵⁹ The taurahere are Tamaki Makaurau/Te Raki (Auckland), Ngā Parirua o te Ika (From Taranaki in the West across to the Bay of Plenty, Poverty Bay, Waikato and the Central Plateau), Te Upoko o Te Ika (Manawatu/Wellington), Otautahi (Canterbury) and Te Waipounamu (currently represented by Murihiku). Each area sends two representatives to Board meetings but only one of the representatives has voting rights.

through a marae election process to secure a position on the Taiwhenua Board. Taiwhenua Board members are eligible to stand for the Chair and Deputy Chair of their organisation. Each taiwhenua has its own board of trustees whose members are elected by their constituent hapū, and two representatives from each taiwhenua form the NKII Board (NKII, 2003). While representation at whānau and hapū level remains fundamental for taiwhenua, provision is also made for ngā mātāwaka⁶⁰ but with limited rights of participation.⁶¹

The Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga (TTOH) board of trustees has 14 democratically elected members.⁶² Heretaunga-wide elections are held to elect the chairperson and deputy chairperson of the Board.⁶³ At the NKII Board level the chair and deputy chair are also decided by postal ballot. The three levels of elections (hapū, taiwhenua, iwi/Rūnanga) that are held triennially encompass customary (marae/hapū/taurahere/mātāwaka), and democratic (postal ballot) procedures.

The varying constitutional arrangements adopted by TROR, NKII and TTOH demonstrate an ability to effectively exercise tribal autonomy and integrate traditional political processes with democratic principles within the constraints of the rules of a legal entity.⁶⁴ It allows for a collective tribal identity and a high degree of autonomy in determining, among others, representation at the ‘grassroots’ hapū level. It is an example of what Cornell and Kalt refer to as a ‘cultural match’, that is a match between governing institutions (such as TROR, NKII and TTOH) and the prevailing ideas in the community about how authority should be organized and exercised (Cornell & Kalt, 2001:18). Also, the cultural match and concomitant accountability to hapū would no doubt help eliminate concerns tribal members might have regarding a potential for the abuse of power that Puketapu raises and referred to earlier in this chapter.

⁶⁰ The current chairman of the Taiwhenua o Heretaunga Board of Trustees is a mātāwaka (Ngāti Porou) representative, who was supported by a local marae and hapū as their representative.

⁶¹ Refer 12.2.7 of the Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated Constitution.

⁶² There is a complex configuration of representation as follows. There are 17 marae/hapū in the Heretaunga Taiwhenua rohe. Seven marae/hapū form 2 cluster groups- a representative for 5 marae/hapū and 1 representative for 2 marae/hapū. Ten further marae/hapū representatives, the chair and deputy chair completes the 14 members (Marei Apatu, pers.comm. 17/4/04).

⁶³ [CH34012/97][SK16959/107]

⁶⁴ For example, any alterations to the constitution must be done according to the Incorporated Society Act 1908. In order to retain a charitable trust status Inland Revenue Department restrictions apply.

Tikanga here: Bureaucracy

Although the notion of bureaucracy is frequently associated with red-tape, inefficiency and wastefulness, it is also seen as an efficient form of organisation because all tasks can be regulated by strict rules of procedure (Giddens, 1997:286). Max Weber argued that inevitably organisations become more and more bureaucratized particularly as they grow in size. He maintained that bureaucratic authority was the only way of coping with the administrative requirements of large-scale social systems (Giddens, 1997; Weber, 1976). According to Wolfgramm contemporary Māori organisations engage at the operational level with multiple layers of bureaucracy and mainstream institutionalism. Features that characterise Māori bureaucracies, such as legalistic frameworks, have been imported directly from wider society institutions (Wolfgramm, 2002:2).

The bureaucratic system adopted by TROR, NKII and also TTOH, is largely determined by at least three institutions. First is the legal framework of an Incorporated Society. Second are the rules that direct and administer government contracts and legislation, and third are the infrastructural requirements State agencies such as Te Ohu Kaimoana stipulate as necessary conditions for receiving benefits.

At an operational level, these are evident in, among others, the rules of a legal entity, the rules of a constitution, administration procedures (eg. manuals of policies and procedures, government contracts), the archiving of information (eg. annual reports, minutes, data-bases, registers), the nomenclature associated with a hierarchy of officers (eg. Boards of Trustees, chairperson, deputy chair, the executive, chief executive officer, general manager, secretary), employment contracts and conditions of employment (e.g. wages and salaries, holiday pay) the organisation of time (eg. schedules, timetables, appointments), the rationalisation of space (eg. designated and purpose-built buildings, office, boardroom) and concrete symbols of corporate status (eg. logo, corporate identification, car fleets, dress code).

These aspects aside, according to Cornell and Kalt and their research on the Native American experience it is not the size of the bureaucracy that counts, nor is it necessary to build a complicated system of offices and staff (Cornell & Kalt, 1995:22). An important factor is to establish rules that will allow for a level of consistent governance in the way tribal affairs are handled. If tribal development is

to progress "...a professional and capable bureaucracy, is a critical element in translating tribal policy choices into results"(Cornell & Kalt, 2001:18; 1995:23).

What sets an iwi bureaucracy apart is the sociocultural factor⁶⁵ whereby the bureaucracy is mediated by customary processes of hui (formal meetings) and wānanga (seminars or conferences) that are underpinned by appropriate tikanga (customary procedures such as karakia, koha) and iwi specific kawa (protocols). In turn, such processes ensure that the kaupapa (theme or strategy) of the organisation aligns as much as possible with tribal aims and aspirations. This is manifest in the form and function of roopu rangatiratanga (governance), roopu whakahaere (management) and ngā ratonga (service provisions).

Roopu Rangatiratanga: Iwi Governance

Institutions of governance that match the culture of the people, their ideas about how authority should be organised and exercised, is more likely to have legitimacy among the people and therefore gain their support (Cornell & Kalt, 2001). However, this does not necessarily mean reverting to traditional systems of governance. According to Cornell and Kalt "(t)he trick is to invent governments that are capable of operating effectively in the contemporary world, but that also match people's ideas, traditional or not, about what is appropriate and fair"(Cornell & Kalt, 2001:24).

A common characteristic of the iwi Rūnanga in this study is the centrality of mana tangata (people) and an emphasis on the collective (whānau, hapū, iwi) embodied in, among others, tribal metaphor, pepeha (motto) or whakatauki (proverb) adopted by the organisation. These may be applied as a descriptor of the goals, or as the organisations mission statement or as an overarching vision statement of governance that applies to the organisation as a whole. The Rūnanga Whaiti Kōmiti is the executive board of TROR. The values of the organisation are expressed in the whakatauki...

Te Rūnanga o Raukawa te rau hou o Raukawa. He iti na motai tangata Rau. The Rūnanga of Raukawa is like the new leaf of the Raukawa tree⁶⁶.

⁶⁵ The sociocultural factor is said to be concerned with social norms, attitudes, beliefs, values and lifestyles of the organization's stakeholders (Gilbert, Jones, Vitalis, & Walker, 1992:72).

⁶⁶ M.H.Durie, pers. comm.11/6/04.

The mission statement is “to serve the best interests of, and be accountable to, the hapu and affiliated iwi of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, as tangata whenua...this includes members of the Iwi residing outside of the defined rohe”(TROR, nd). Among the guiding principles of the organisation, is an attestation that people are the wealth and most valuable asset base of the tribe, and that their good health and wholistic wellbeing is achieved through proper attention to te taha hinengaro (the mind), te taha tīnana (the body), te taha wairua (the spirit) and te taha whānau (the family) (TROR, nd).⁶⁷ The function of the Rūnanga Whaiti Kōmiti is to set the strategic direction of the organisation and to establish the values and policies in consultation with management.⁶⁸

The pepeha adopted by the TTOH Board of Trustees is ‘te haro o te kahu’, the flight of the hawk, and is associated with the whakatauki ‘Heretaunga haoro o te kahu’- Heretaunga seen through the eyes of a hawk in full flight. The hawk is considered a kaitiaki (guardian) of Kahungunu and the whakatauki is an exhortation to use the hawk’s vision in order to see beyond the horizon. The whakatauki is also employed as a metaphor to describe the governance structures. The TTOH Trust Board is called Te Haro, a name that “refers to the vision or ‘aerial view’ that the Trust Board is charged with maintaining over Heretaunga.”⁶⁹ Te Haro elects within their membership ‘Te Kahu’ a smaller executive of the Trust, which maintains a close functional role with the management. The mission statement offers a philosophical approach to achieving the aims of the organisation ‘kanohi ki kanohi, pokohiwi ki pokohiwi, ka whawhai tonu atu.’⁷⁰ The function of TTOH Trust Board is to set strategic oversight and direction to the organisation.⁷¹ Another level of governance similar to that of Te Haro is undertaken by Rūnanga formed to provide strategic direction to specific areas of the organisation.

There is broad stakeholder representation including membership from vocational sectors, agencies and communities. An important function of these Rūnanga is that

⁶⁷ For a full reference of the principles refer to (TROR, nd).

⁶⁸ [DE49042/32a][MK112443/37a][AE38537/90a]

⁶⁹ See Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga Draft 22 Sep 03 (1.1.1).

⁷⁰ Translates as ‘face to face, shoulder to shoulder we’ll strive together without end’ [CH43970/5a].

⁷¹ See Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga Draft 22 Sep 03 (1.1.1).

they are an effective mechanism to ensure the Taiwhenua is accountable to its community.⁷²

The Mission Statement for NKII is ‘Te whakapakari te mana me ngā ōhāki a te iwi Ngāti Kahungunu’, that is, to enhance the mana and well-being of Ngāti Kahungunu iwi (NKII, 2001). Central to the strategic thinking of NKII is a set of guiding principles (NKII, 2002a),⁷³ one being ‘te tu honohono o Kahungunu’ which refers to whakapapa or geneological networks as a basis for unity of purpose (Tomoana, 2002). The theme of unity promulgated consistently by the elders over the years, links with a primary function of the Taiwhenua o Heretaunga, which is described as *kotahitanga*, *the uniting of the people including the urbanised invisible masses* [AW25242/96]. Under the NKII constitution there are two further committees, the Kaumātua Taumata a council of elders and a Kaiwhakawā Rūnanga, a standing committee to be convened from time to time for the purpose of mediation and dispute resolution.

The function of the NKII Board is to set strategic goals and budgets, provide political advocacy, monitor and evaluate government policy, seed new projects and provide wānanga⁷⁴.

⁷² See Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga Draft 22 Sep 03 (1.1.2)

⁷³ For a full reference of the principles refer to Ngāti Kahungunu 25 Year Vision Draft Summary, 2002.

⁷⁴ [NT48131/82a] [NT62259/39a] [AB71163/20a] [AB197155/21a] [AR22508/22a]

Table 2: Organisational Structures

	<i>Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Raukawa (2002)</i>	<i>Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Kahungunu (2002)</i>
Roopu rangatiratanga (Governance)	<i>Kōmiti Whaiti (Chairman and committee = 24) Te Rūnanga o Raukawa te rau hou o Raukawa. He iti na Motai i takahi te one-i-Pakerekere.</i>	<i>NKII Board of Trustees (Chair/Deputy Chair and committee = 17) Te whakapakari te mana me ngā ohaki a te iwi Ngāti Kahungunu TTOH -Te Haaro & Te Kaahu (Chair/ Deputy Chair and committee = 14) Heretaunga haaro o te kaahu</i>
Roopu whakahaere (Management)	<i>CEO Manager (health) Manager (social services) Staff (health professionals/ coordinators/ administration)</i>	<i>General Manager- NKII Staff Pou Kaiwhakahaere Rangatiratanga / Kaiwhakahaere Mātua General Manager-TTOH Divisional Managers/ Unit Supervisors/ Staff</i>
Ratonga (Services)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administration • Health Services • Social Services • Social Workers in Schools • Family Start • Employment • Sports • Justice • Research & Development • Business Ventures 	<i>NKII</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iwi Social Services⁷⁵ • Communication • Commercial ventures • Treaty claims • Research/ long-term planning • Sponsorship • Education ScholarshipsTTOH • Health • Family Start • Education & Training • Scholarships • Wānanga o ngā hapū • Conference facilities • Business & Corporate Services • Resource Management • Treaty of Waitangi • Tikanga a hapū • Rūnanga

Perceptions of governance

A number of the participants in this study were involved in governance either as a condition of their roles as managers, or as active members of local marae and hapū, as close kin to current trustees, or as past trustee members. In determining their understanding of the functions of governance, at least three perceptions emerged.

⁷⁵ Iwi social services were discontinued in 2002 as part of the restructuring and separating political and corporate affairs, and a shift from delivery to research and long term planning (NKII, 2002b).

One view held that many trustees have little understanding of the operations of an organisation,⁷⁶ of what is involved in delivering a service⁷⁷ or what the service actually entails⁷⁸. It was considered important that trustees know the nature of the work undertaken by kaimahi (employees) and what their work involves⁷⁹. Community feedback had confirmed that many trustees did not understand the role of kaimahi,⁸⁰ and *some of them* {trustees} *have an unrealistic view of what we should...can and can't provide*' [TH37246/45].

The importance of trustees understanding the role of governance was another frequently held view among research participants. This ranged from a perceived need for trustees to define⁸¹ and clarify their roles.⁸² It was generally felt that by grasping the difference between governance and day-to-day operations⁸³ and being informed about important matters of governance, trustees would come to understand the nature of their role.⁸⁴ Training was seen as a way to up-skill board members to enable them to move from the level of marae committee to dealing comfortably with the business culture and corporate environment.⁸⁵ Strategic planning, communication skills and managing change were seen as important training options for trustees.⁸⁶ Such options formed the basis of wānanga set up by NKII for governance training⁸⁷ and of induction hui initiated by TTOH for the Taiwhenua trustees.⁸⁸ An understanding of the role of trustee was considered the key to separating governance from the functions and operations of management⁸⁹ a matter that has implications for managers too.

When I'm in a...governance role I behave and I view the world from a governance point of view...an example...is that I would never in protocol terms encroach on

⁷⁶ [AR156442/22a]

⁷⁷ [AE/128899/22a]

⁷⁸ [LG7116/33a]

⁷⁹ [ST27097/41a]

⁸⁰ [ST28408/41a]

⁸¹ [AR156442/22a]

⁸² [CH59400/31a]

⁸³ [DE31665/32a]

⁸⁴ [MK123882/39a]

⁸⁵ [AB711663/20a]

⁸⁶ [AE30589/27a] [CH54825/30a][DE49042/32a] [MK112832/37a]

⁸⁷ [SK33042/43a]

⁸⁸ [MA230578/36a]

⁸⁹ [AW49960/17a]

the rights and responsibilities of a manager. If the manager is the one that...acts out the policies of governance I expect the manager will do that, and will...report back [AW51187/18a].

This viewpoint links with a third perception regarding the need to demarcate the boundaries between governance and management. Results from the Harvard Project, a significant body of research on Native American economic development, show that successful business enterprise whether private or tribally owned were typically distinguished by the insulation of their day-to-day affairs of management from political interference of governance (Cornell & Kalt, 1995:30). Cornell and Kalt argue, "...keeping tribal governments focused on strategic issues and out of the day-to-day affairs or reservation businesses is one of the keys to sustainable development"(Cornell & Kalt, 1995:30).

In terms of iwi owned enterprises this is not always easy to achieve. The potential for tension exists where Māori customary values still underpin kinship ties, such as reciprocity and contributing skills, labour or goods to the social pool. Traditionally the whānau and hapū were regarded as an organism rather than an organisation simply because a corporate life was shared by the group and each individual was an integral member of that group or organism performing a specific function and role (Marsden, 2003:41). As one participant stated,

...from a marae level everyone used to do everything. You'd get our uncles and aunties sitting on the paepae then you'd see them round the back peeling the spuds and we inherited that...that's what you have to do in survival mode. That's a community development ethos. As you evolve you suddenly find that you can't do both. As you get more sophisticated, and to be more effective you have to ...bifurcate those roles. But there are still a lot of crossovers...in Māori organisations than there are in non-Māori ones cause that's their kawa, governance and management [NT62906/30a].

Within a contemporary environment *erecting the firewalls [MA74253/34a]* by separating the politics of governance from the day-to-day management of business affairs was considered necessary⁹⁰ if the integrity of the organisation was to be upheld and not compromised.⁹¹ One example, which illustrates this point, is the

⁹⁰ [AWR156442/22a] [AE128899/28a][DE31665/32a]

⁹¹ [AR52846/26a]

case of a Board contracting a staff member without input from the management, which inevitably led to the appointee not receiving direct supervision. The result was many contractual aims were not achieved and relationships between the funder and the appointee broke down irrevocably. The organisation was left with an employee they now did not want and an employment contract that they could not easily break, and so were forced to let the employment contract run its course.⁹²

Recently NKII has moved to separate political and corporate affairs by shifting the focus to research and planning, and leaving the delivery of services to the *taiwhenua* (NKII, 2002b). Furthermore, the firewalls between governance and management are more securely in place with, for example, the adoption of a constitutional rule that makes it impossible for an individual to simultaneously hold positions as chair of the Rūnanga and a *taiwhenua*. The Rūnanga Whaiti and its constitution also formally insulate the management of TROR from tribal politics. An example is requiring employees who are tribal members, or individuals who are trustees, to resign their positions if they accept a place on governance or as an employee of TROR thereby eliminating the potential for a conflict of interest.⁹³

Roopu whakahaere: management

From a 'western' perspective the operational mode of TROR, NKII and TTOH may be described in conventional terms as hierarchical systems of decentralised or centralised authority (Handy, 1985; Hatch, 1997). Classifications such as Chief Executive Officer (CEO), General Manager and manager assume that there is a chain of command that defines, among others, levels of supervision and authority. A decentralised hierarchy refers to how widely the authority is distributed through the organisation, whereas within a centralised system the authority is held by a few individuals at the top (Gilbert et al., 1992:141).

For example, using a pyramid chart, a large organisation like TROR (Table 3) could be described as decentralised because the authority is distributed from the CEO through to functional managers and supervisory personnel. In the case of NKII (Table 4) with a small operations base the authority is centralised, held with

⁹² [MR52846/26a]

⁹³ [MK1189/91a]

the General Manager who is responsible for each functional unit.

Gilbert et al distinguish three types of authority: line, staff and functional authority. Line authority is described as a series of steps on the hierarchy from the manager to a subordinate and from each subordinate in turn to their subordinates. Departments or individuals who have responsibilities that are outside the normal chain of command and who have an advisory function are described as having ‘staff authority.’

Table 3: TROR

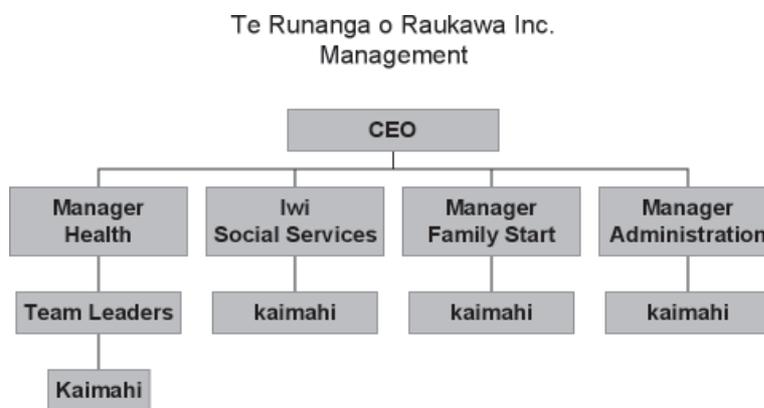
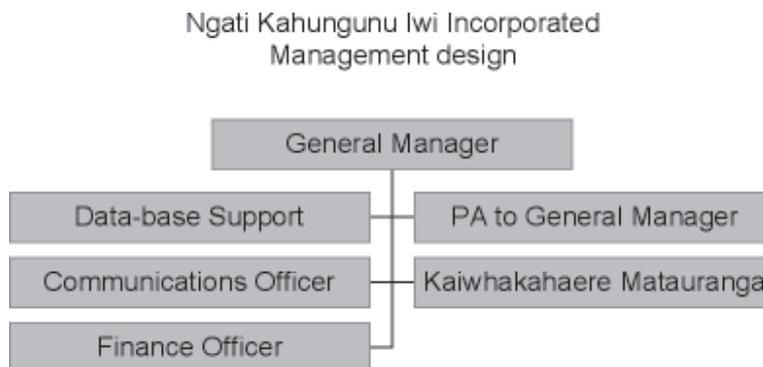


Table 4: NKII



Authority that is assigned to an individual or department to control specific aspects of a job or process is referred to as ‘functional authority’ (Gilbert et al., 1992:138). How authority is distributed is conceptualised as ‘delegation’ if it is distributed downwards, or as ‘decentralisation’ if it is distributed across departments or units (Gilbert et al., 1992:139).

The line authority in TTOH may be traced from the General Manager to Divisional Managers to Unit Supervisors. The divisional manager of hauora (health) for example is delegated overall responsibility for the staffing, resources and services or programmes developed and delivered within specific units such as primary health, community hauora and hinengaro (mental health) that are located within the hauora division. In turn, the divisional manager is responsible for directing Unit Supervisors. As TTOH has a number of divisional managers the operational authority may be described as decentralised because it is distributed across each division.

While this linear single dimensional framework may satisfy western conceptions and offer a reasonably ‘neat fit’, it does not go far enough to capture the complex nature of tribal approaches to management. Of course this is notwithstanding the number of variables that influence the effectiveness of an organisation described by Handy (Handy, 1985:15).⁹⁴

The complexity in tribal organisations exists on a number of concrete levels (such as territorial authority, tribal aspirations and cultural imperatives), and symbolic dimensions of time and space. For instance TROR is a large organisation, which coordinates activities out of several offices over a large geographical area in the Ngāti Raukawa rohe (tribal region) that in turn spans local government territories of Manawatu, Horowhenua and Wanganui. Core business like health and social services align with tribal aspirations (eg. the health and wellbeing of its constituents) and long-term investments (such as the principle that tribal members constitute the tribes wealth and asset base). Implicit in a collective consciousness based on mana tangata (people), are assumptions about continuity manifest in time past (tipuna / ancestors), present (rangatahi-youth/whānau-family) and future (mokopuna/grandchildren).

At another level, managers are very often responsible not only for employed staff but advisory committees or runanga whose members are either volunteers or stakeholder representatives. Tribal imperatives (eg. the relationship between generations and the tikanga and kawa) very often influence how managers manage. This has implications for a CEO who may be younger than others at a lower

⁹⁴ Handy lists over sixty different variables that affect organisation effectiveness.

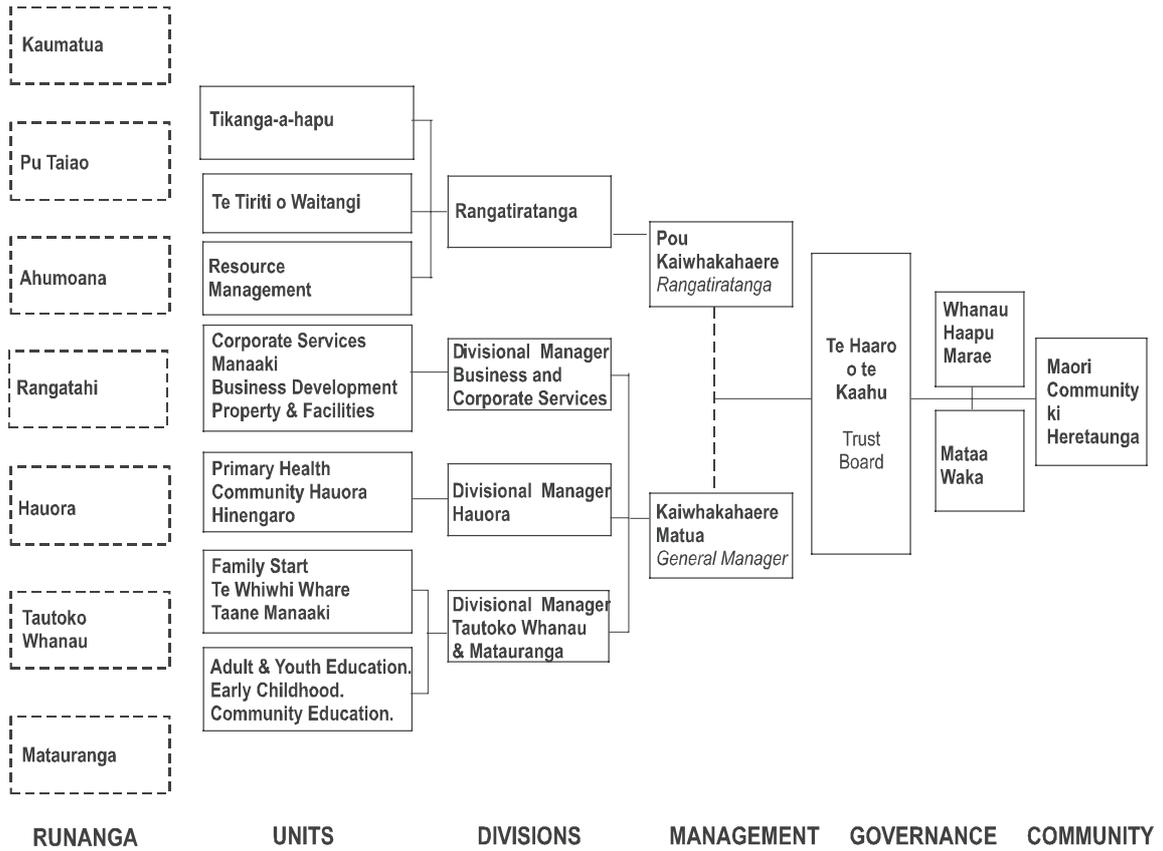
management hierarchical level. Symbolically, the status of a person as elder remains extant regardless of a tuakana/teina relationship position within an organisation. Customary hierarchies such as tuakana (senior) /teina (junior), pakeke (elder) / rangatahi (younger) can sometimes moderate organisational hierarchies. Many organisations have adopted Māori terms to denote a specific role, which may serve to neutralise tension between hierarchies. The General Manager of TTOH is Te Kaiwhakahaere Mātua. This is not a transliteration of the western term, but as a concept provides a clear understanding of the status and role of the individual without undermining either customary or organisational hierarchies.

The complex nature of tribal management systems requires a fluid organic interactive model that is also able to incorporate conventional perspectives. Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga (Table 5) provides one such example that can be demonstrated from a concrete and conceptual perspective. In order to take account of tribal priorities and incorporate both service delivery and mana whenua related business, TTOH is managed by two key roles, Te Pou Kaiwhakahaere and Te Kaiwhakahaere Mātua. The role of Te Pou Kaiwhakahaere is responsible for managing the 'Rangatiratanga Division', which focuses on mana whenua (land) issues, working directly with the marae and hapū of Heretaunga. The principal role centres on Treaty of Waitangi and Resource Management issues and developments. As a single person within the division, the role has the flexibility, and indeed the potential, to be responsive to hapū concerns reasonably unimpeded by bureaucracy. Particularly since wānanga are the principle means, by which these issues are developed, communicated and debated. Te Kaiwhakahaere Mātua is responsible for the corporate side by managing the 'service delivery' arm including the personnel, resources and facilities of the organisation.

The management of TTOH is defined metaphorically by the organisation as a distinct element of Te Arero, the head of the taiaha, invoking notions of energy, skill, power and dynamic progression. Management is conceived as a component of an organisation that is 'lead by our community as it drives forward.' The organisation itself is not regarded as the centre of tribal development. It is the community at the apex of Te Arero that is the focus thus providing a rationale for the organisation as a whole.

Table 5: Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga Organisational Chart

Te Arero Organisational Structure: 'Te Arero', the head of the taiaha, describes an organisational structure that is lead by our community as it drives us forward.



Chapter Five

Ideological Discourses of the State

“When the Europeans came... we had no idea that they had come because a king across the sea had scratched on a piece of paper saying that he ‘gave’ our lands to his cousin Prince Rupert.”
(Mathew Coon Come, National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations of Canada 2003¹)

A recurring focus in this study centres on the interface between iwi organisations and the state. While it has been a site for innovation and exploration, there have also been tensions about the distribution of state power and authority, the wider political and ideological dimensions that underpin them, and the imposition of external mechanisms to regulate and control Māori affairs. Taken together these factors were often seen as undermining the central task of iwi organisations to realise the goals and aspirations of Māori generally, and their constituents in particular. Despite a dependency on government contracts, participants perceive the state as detached and outside Māori frameworks, and feel excluded from its processes. References to the state or government by participants in the study were frequently prefaced with specifically identifiable terminology: ‘the crown,’ ‘western,’ ‘Pākehā,’ ‘European,’ ‘mainstream.’ These terms were used interchangeably as descriptors to qualify constitutional language and as analytical categories for ‘Pākehā laws,’ ‘European systems,’ ‘mainstream society,’ ‘western judiciary’ or simply ‘the Crown.’

Concomitant with this language of disassociation is a persistent discourse that depicts the state as a self-fulfilling edifice uncommitted to Māori development, practicing a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach to Māori affairs by imposing ‘western/pākehā/European/mainstream/crown’ structures and regulatory controls with little opportunity for negotiation. Consequently Māori must wear dual ‘cultural hats’ (Māori and pākehā) in order to comply with and adapt culturally inappropriate structures and processes to meet the needs and aspirations of Māori people. Although overly generalised this storyline summarises a perception articulated in the historical experience of indigenous peoples colonised during the imperial age². In order to

¹ (Coon-Come, M. 2004:154)

² See for example (Battiste, 2000; Blaser, Feit, & McRae, 2004; Churchill, 1994, 1996; Trask, 1993)

better comprehend the impulses that lie behind such perceptions it is necessary to consider them within a longer historical and social context.

The aim of this chapter is to understand the origins of European assumptions of the state that underpin Māori discontent as a context for discussing the concrete experiences of Māori state relations in Chapter Six. The intention here is not to discount the gains that Māori have made as a consequence of state programmes, constitutional provisions (parliamentary representation and statutes) or treaty based arrangements. The purpose is to present a discursive approach to analysing the historical and contemporary complexities associated with Māori and the state, and the constitutional environment within which the Māori organisations in this study must operate.

There are three parts to this chapter. The constitutional relationship between Māori and the state has its roots in the colonising processes of British imperialism. Therefore, part one begins with a historical purview of the traditions of imperialism generally and the processes and underlying ideologies through which the British government sought to construct Māori nation-hood in particular. Specific historical events prior to the 1840 annexation of New Zealand by Britain are detailed in order to demonstrate British assumptions of authority, humanitarian ideals and subsequent interventions by state functionaries in the affairs of New Zealand from offshore. It is argued that these assumptions not only formed the basis upon which New Zealand's nationhood was premised but also the foundation upon which the Crown's relationship with Māori was largely determined. This has important implications for contemporary understanding of relations between Māori and the state.

This discussion provides a context for part two, which outlines the 'nature of the state' and the basis for Eurocentric bias in modern constitutionalism as expressed in the writings of contractarian theorists Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean-Jacque Rousseau and Emmanuel Kant. In particular the concepts of the state that constructed the non-European as irrational 'natives' or 'savages' who remain in a perpetual 'state of nature.' It is this 'rationality' for example that justified colonial policies of amalgamation and assimilation. Drawing on James Tully's analysis of the philosophical work of modern constitutional theorists, some of the features of modern constitutionalism that demonstrate exclusionary and assimilatory devices

are applied to Māori historical and contemporary experience to demonstrate the way in which such ideas continue to be perpetuated.

The final section discusses the notion of citizenship in relation to Ngata's idea of the 'cult of equality' and the emerging politics of indigeneity. It is argued that while the concept of equality is a liberal democratic ideal centred on the individual, it is in fact a principle that is difficult to implement in practice. What is required is to transform the liberal democratic paradigm of the state and redefine citizenship to reconcile dual obligations of fairness to all citizens while endorsing indigeneity. Indigenous peoples exercise their rights as indigenous people to pursue the collective goal of self-determination as a solution to their experience of occupying an exclusionary status of citizenship and as a resistance measure to the paternalistic mechanisms of the welfare state.

Imperialism in a global context

The relationship between Māori and the state has a complex history that has its roots in the colonising processes and traditions of imperialism, which continue to be experienced by indigenous peoples globally. The imaginary line drawn in 1493 by a Papal Bull to delineate between 'west' and 'east' re-inscribed the world into political divisions creating competing struggles between Western states for what Said has termed 'positional superiority'³(Said, 1978:7-9; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:59-60). According to Tuhiwai Smith, Said's notion of positional superiority is useful in conceptualising the traditions of imperialism as encompassing not only the appropriation of raw materials and the use of military strength, but also the mining, extracting and distribution of knowledge and culture through, among other things, systematic colonisation (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:58). In the process of colonisation and traditions of imperialism, indigenous peoples were

"...classified alongside the flora and fauna: hierarchical typologies of humanity and systems of representation were fuelled by new discoveries; and cultural maps were charted and territories claimed and contested by major European powers. Hence some indigenous peoples were ranked above others in terms of such things as a belief that they were 'nearly human', 'almost human' or 'sub-human'..."(Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:60).

³ Refer to Tuhiwai Smith (1999:58-77) and her application of Said's concept of 'positional superiority' in an analysis of the process of colonizing indigenous knowledge.

Viewed as a system, imperialism underpinned the development of the philosophy of liberalism, the disciplines of the sciences and public education by appropriating knowledge and resources and also distributing materials and ideas outwards (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:58). Such systems were institutionalised and maintained through colonial projects manifest in the establishment of hegemonic organs and functions of the state (e.g. economy, law, judiciary, legislature, parliament, police, military) and of society (e.g. religion, education, health, welfare, labour).

With the process of discovery a total discourse was forged that Sophie Bessis argues (Bessis, 2003:13) gave meaning to the expulsion and taking of possession, constructing a history that remains the basis of Western thought. A history invented “...at the moment when Europe lay claim to Reason that it developed its own founding myths” each based upon a rejection. For example influences from the East were systematically erased⁴, disregarded⁵, obscured⁶ and passed over in silence⁷(Bessis, 2003:13).

Contemporary imperialistic traditions have taken shape in the monopolistic activities of multinational conglomerates. Imperialism, according to Ngugi Wa Thiong’o, is the rule of consolidated finance capital that continues to affect the lives of indigenous peoples in the remotest corners of the world. In relation to the indigenous peoples of Africa, Thiong’o maintains,

“...imperialism is not a slogan. It is real, it is palpable in content and form and in its methods and effects...Imperialism is total: it has economic, political, military, cultural and psychological consequences for the people of the world today”(Ngugi-wa-Thiong’o, 1986:2)

Colonial relations- Māori and the Crown

The relationship between Māori and the state has its origins in colonial relations between Māori tribes and the British Crown from about the turn of the 19th century. This episode in the political history of New Zealand is well documented (Cox,

⁴ For example, North African (Egypt) and Indian influences on Greece.

⁵ For example, the prestige afforded Egypt within the Greek world, whose commentators recognised Egyptian contributions to the sciences and religion (Bessis, 2003:13).

⁶ Such as the hybrid of Hellenism and the East (Bessis, 2003:13).

⁷ Cultural pluralism where the ‘barbarians’ were northern people and not along the African (southern) shores of the mediterranean (Bessis, 2003:13).

1993; Oliver & B.R.Williams, 1981; Orange, 1987; Walker, 1990; Ward, 1974). However, for the purpose of this thesis, a brief discussion of several key events in the lead up to Britain's annexation of New Zealand offers a useful insight into the nature of the burgeoning relationship between Māori and British authorities, which formed the basis upon which an embryonic New Zealand 'nation' state was constructed.

Prior to 1840 the relationship was characterised by an economic (eg trade, sealing and whaling industries), social (eg missionary activity) and political (eg petitions to the King of England) interaction between various tribes and their leaders, and a growing European presence, interactions that were based largely on Māori terms. By enlisting Pākehā expertise Māori became highly capable and competitive entrepreneurs of large-scale commercial enterprises (King, 2003:127). Iwi who were trading with Europeans were not only acquiring new livestock, produce, technology and religion, but also the musket. This was a capability that altered the balance of power and was considered a threat by European colonists and traders intent on protecting the lucrative profits made in the New Zealand market (Cox, 1993:40).

For the most part however, these early social and political relationships were influenced to some degree by 19th century liberal sensibilities that had gained considerable currency in Europe and among the British secular and religious establishment by the time Britain sought colonial expansion in the southern Pacific. This was largely expressed as paternalistic, humanitarian and evangelist concerns for the care, the protection, the welfare and the salvation of the poor, the indigent and in the colonies, native people. In the colonies the principal concern with natives lay in the pursuit of a civilising and assimilatory mission (Adams, 1977). The source of such concerns in respect of Māori, lay with state officials who included successive Governors of New South Wales in Australia, and in London, officials of the Colonial Office,⁸ church leaders from the Anglican and Wesleyan mission societies, and members of the Aborigines Protection Society (King, 2003:151-2; Orange, 1987:2).

⁸The decision to annex NZ and the instructions drawn up for the first Governor were deeply influenced by the evangelical religious beliefs of Colonial Office officials such as James Stephen and Lord Glenelg, who were part of the movement that brought about the abolition of slavery in the British Empire. They were genuinely concerned for the welfare of Māori (King, 2003:157).

The appointment of James Busby as the first British Resident in New Zealand in 1832 was initiated by the British Government in response to a formal request for protection by a missionary inspired petition, drafted on behalf of thirteen northern Chiefs, to the King of England regarding an imagined threat (at least in the minds of the missionaries) posed by the arrival of a French warship in the Bay of Islands. Ostensibly commissioned to offer security from other foreign intervention, to safeguard New Zealand export trade with the Australian colonies, and to provide protection for British subjects in New Zealand, Busby in fact had no means and therefore little power to enforce law and order. Furthermore his position was frugally administered by the British Government from New South Wales (Cox, 1993:40; King, 2003:152; Walker, 1990:88).

But his presence served at least three purposes. It signalled the beginning of a constitutional relationship with Britain, it symbolised British authority and diplomatic interests in the country and, armed with instructions from Governor Bourke in New South Wales specifying, among others, Busby's official duty to encourage Māori towards a settled form of government (King, 2003:153), his presence was also recognition of Māori autonomy.

As British Resident, Busby's official attempts to encourage the formation of a Māori nation involved at least two symbolic acts associated with the concept of nation-hood. One was his instigating the adoption of a national flag by twenty-five northern chiefs at a meeting he convened in front of his official residence at Waitangi in 1834. This was a response to the impounding in Sydney of a New Zealand built vessel for failing to fly an ensign, and thereby forcing the ships master to fly a Māori mat from the masthead before permission was granted to sail. In order to freely enter other ports ships required proper registration ratified by the adoption of a flag and a request to the British monarch for it to be respected. Busby proposed an administrative model whereby as Resident he would certify ships' registers provided by the chiefs (Cox, 1993:41). In reality, ships that subsequently flew under the flag, in lieu of the chiefs' registers, carried instead a certification of registration from Busby (Orange, 1987:20). The ceremonial acts of raising the new flag alongside the Union Jack and a twenty-one gun salute fired from the British frigate *Alligator* moored in the Bay of Islands, signified an internationally recognised symbol of

Māori sovereignty over New Zealand (Walker, 1990:88)⁹.

But the event, more than anything, set New Zealand apart as an independent State. It also provided an opportunity for Busby to reinforce his own importance and British assumptions of authority through, among others, the enactment of European nationalistic rituals and cultural traditions (flag raising, twenty-one cannon salute¹⁰) and the presence of concrete symbols of colonial state power (British naval officers, warship). A national flag as a symbol of statehood was an integral part of the imperial machinery designed to engender a sense of loyalty (Billig, 1995:39; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:33). However, assumptions of authority most often expressed the values and thoughts of superiority and discrimination that underpinned the transmission of European culture witnessed at this and other events.¹¹

For example in 1833 when Busby landed in the Bay of Islands to take up his Residency the local chiefs were understandably alarmed. They were not consulted or their authorisation sought so they were uninformed of his impending presence and therefore had no idea why he was there (Ward, 1974:25). A year later the ceremony to select a national flag was far from a dignified and constitutionally correct event as reported by Busby in his despatches. According to an independent eyewitness account the ceremony was little short of a farce (King, 2003:153). The invited chiefs who assembled were not briefed sufficiently about why they were there or the nature of the event. Some were excluded by Busby because he considered their rank too inferior (Orange, 1987:20). Those chiefs who were selected to vote for one of three flags on offer proceeded to vote for all three thus requiring the intervention of a kinsman to compel each chief to opt for a single flag. The chosen ensign, which became known as the 'Flag of the Independent Tribes of New Zealand,' was then "...left flying and the alternatives hauled down. A naval officer called for a 'triple hurrah' while the frigate Alligator fired off a 21-gun salute"(King,

⁹ According to Anne Salmon, earlier on Māori came to associate flags with Christianity regarding them as a way of communicating with the European atua or god. Later flagpoles were erected on some hilltop pa and flags were flown as a sign of mana (Salmond, 1997:412 & 511).

¹⁰The tradition of rendering a salute by cannon originated in the 14th century, and the multiple of three probably chosen because of the significance of the numbers three and seven in astrological and biblical narratives; seven planets, phases of the moon changed every seven days. Shore batteries having a greater supply of gunpowder were able to fire three guns of seven shots. When the quality of gunpowder improved, ships at sea adopted the salute of 21 guns, which became the highest honour a nation rendered.

¹¹ Edward Said points out that the entire history of nineteenth-century European thought is filled with discrimination and the cultural-national designation of European culture as the privileged norm (Said, 1984:14).

2003:154). Finally, and despite his inaugural speech a year earlier which had stressed Māori equality (Orange, 1987:20), Busby "...slighted them all by inviting only the officers of HMS Alligator...to dinner in the Residency, leaving the chiefs to divide a meagre meal outside"(Ward, 1974:25).¹²

The British insistence upon treating indigenous leaders as if they headed sovereign states (Billig, 1995:62; Hinsley, 1986) was apparent in Busby's second attempt to sow the seeds of a 'Māori nationhood'. Politically, Busby interpreted the willingness of Chiefs to assemble when invited as a sign that they could be organised into a rudimentary government (Ward, 1974:25). Thus, at a second contrived assembly of thirty-four northern chiefs¹³ on the lawns of the Residency at Waitangi in 1835, Busby persuaded them to form a 'Confederation of United Tribes' and to sign 'A Declaration of Independence', a document into which Māori had had no input. The Declaration was a specific response to a perceived threat by the Frenchman Charles de Thierry who planned to establish an independent state in the Hokianga (King, 2003:154). But it was also in line with Governor Bourke's instructions to Busby as British Resident to form a collective Māori body politic (Cox, 1993:42). Designated as 'The United Tribes of New Zealand' the signatories petitioned King William IV to be a 'parent of their infant state' and provide protection of their independent nation (Orange, 1987:21). There are a number of reasons why the exploration of a centralized Māori government was significant.

First, from the British point of view such an arrangement would be administratively simpler. European merchants were keen to maintain their lucrative commercial business and, with the introduction of musket power, it was difficult to stave off inter-tribal warfare, which threatened to destabilise their business interests. Busby considered a national Māori government as the major means to the cessation of inter-tribal warfare. Constitutionally the declaration had no status and in reality there was no 'sovereign' power structure in New Zealand at that time and tribal authority was 'akin to a collection of nations'(King, 2003:155). At a political level, Māori operated and functioned as independent and autonomous hapū, a factor that served to impede the development of a national body politic among Māori (Cox,

¹² The assembled chiefs were obliged to share a cauldron of cold porridge and to eat with their fingers (King, 2003:154).

¹³ Subsequently, eighteen chiefs mainly from the north but including two southern rangatira, Te Hapuku of Ngāti Te Whatuiapiti and Te Wherowhero of the Waikato, formed the Confederation of Tribes referred to in the Treaty of Waitangi.

1993:42). Furthermore, as Busby and other officials discovered, the dispersal of authority among chiefs and elders also proved to work against the enforcement of British law (Ward, 1974:25). A constitutional arrangement for Māori was possible, whereby traditional leaders operated in concert according to customs to construct and implement decisions for the welfare and advancement of their people. However, it would require the leaders to be bound by collective decisions to carry out resolute actions, to adopt a degree of uniformity in their activities and to abide by and implement the will of the coalition. It would also involve diplomacy and patience to sustain a long-term affiliation to a superior authority (Cox, 1993:43).

Second, if an appearance of negotiating between sovereign states was given then unequal treaties and other instruments could be presented with an outward display of legality and morality (Billig, 1995:63). The Declaration contained a bureaucratic blueprint for operating a legislative assembly of chiefs to meet annually "...to enact laws, dispense justice and regulate trade"(Cox, 1993:42). The acceptance by mainly northern chiefs to use political instruments such as petitions for example encouraged official optimism about Māori willingness to accept European administration (Ward, 1974:24). In fact there was some interest among Māori in judicial interventions of British officials, providing of course the European methods corresponded with a Māori sense of justice. Often kinship loyalties prohibited Māori from an organized civil and judicial administration. As Cox maintains a nascent national government would provide a mechanism for Māori to adapt to British practice to their own ends (Cox, 1993:42). However, Busby's efforts to establish a single body politic as the sole source of law was also a mechanism to undermine the activities of fellow countryman Thomas McDonnell who was appointed Additional British Resident in August of 1835. McDonnell had assumed and exercised authoritative powers he did not have and secured the sanction of local chiefs for a regulation to prohibit the landing of liquor (Ross, 1980 in Cox, 1993:43; Ward, 1974:25).

Third, a new identity such as belonging to the United Tribes of New Zealand were imposed structures devised and promoted by an external European authority oftentimes from within these shores. As Cox observes "(t) he first attempt to unite iwi to control Māori affairs at a supra-tribal level was imposed from without: a

recurrent theme in Māori –State relations”(Cox, 1993:42). By 1838, and as a consequence of increasing inter-tribal hostilities and pressure of settlement, both the British authorities and the missionaries in New Zealand were committed to the use of coercive power in the pursuit of their ‘civilising mission.’ Invoking an emphatically secular response in lieu of ‘moral suasion’ Reverend Henry Williams and others recommended a scheme whereby the country as a whole would be subject to laws enacted by a congress of chiefs under the ‘fostering power’ of a British official - a governor, whose authority to uphold the law would be supported by a military (British) force. That is “a show of strength was considered essential to secure the rule of law”(Ward, 1974:28).

Humanitarian ideals and the amalgamation of Māori

From this time on efforts to assemble a centralised Māori government increasingly gave way to the imperialistic policy of the amalgamation of Māori and bureaucratic authority over the entire country. In their endeavours to annex New Zealand¹⁴ the activities of British authorities, when scrutinized, serve to highlight prevailing ideological discourses that underscored the proposed administration process. Among them was a belief in liberal politics and the contradiction of upholding humanitarian ideals that embraced notions of equality while deliberately pursuing a policy of amalgamation of indigenous populations based on the conviction of the superiority of European institutions and culture.

Some officials of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in London, for example, opposed the exercise of coercive authority for regulating Māori society proposed by Rev. Williams, but accepted the assumption of British sovereignty over British subjects. The perception was that the benefits for Māori of a British sovereignty were not only as a benevolent protector against recalcitrant British subjects, the exploitation by dishonest land dealers and to prevent settlement from swamping Māori, but also to safeguard Māori from each other as armed intertribal hostilities escalated. Predicting settler oppression, the Aborigine Protection Society (APS) extended these humanitarian concerns by advocating for Māori and the settlers to

¹⁴British authorities oscillated in their decisions between full or partial annexation of only those areas with high settler populations or of the entire country.

share state power, an idea supported by Colonel Robert Torrens, a founder of the New Zealand Company.¹⁵ Torrens proposed a colonisation company with a joint Māori/European governing council, shared administration of provinces by an ariki and a European High Sheriff, and mixed police, military, juries and a judiciary including two Māori judges (Ward, 1974:35).

However, the standards against which humanitarian concerns were measured were assimilationist in nature and entirely based on European cultural norms. Widely prevalent was the view that Māori would be led to being equipped to equal Europeans. Sharing of state power and other privileges¹⁶ was intended "...to secure actual equality for Māori and settler in the machinery of state until education, economic interaction and intermarriage would have obliterated the distinction of race"(Ward, 1974:35). Moreover the missions whose theology was heavily influenced by Calvinism opposed the protection of Māori institutions, which they considered pagan and debased (Ward, 1974:34). The benevolent role of Britain as protector had been repeatedly appealed to and reinforced by the missions in petitions to the King, composed by the missionaries but presented by Māori leaders to lend a semblance of local authority.

Role of State Functionaries

The role of state functionaries in embedding liberal, humanitarian and assimilationary discourses within the framework of official activities associated with policy design and the construction of colonial ordinances affecting indigenous people, is informative. The development of Captain William Hobson's instructions for annexation of New Zealand is a case in point. Hobson was to be commissioned as Consul and Lieutenant-Governor of the newly formed British colony of New Zealand.

Drafting the instructions was largely the responsibility of James Stephen, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office. He held strong humanitarian views influenced in part by the knowledge that imperialism was flawed, which

¹⁵ The NZ Company had attempted to set up a colony in 1825-6.

¹⁶ For example, among the specific provisions for Māori advocated by the APS were immediately extending to include Māori property laws and commerce, Māori paying taxes in return for the granting of privileges such as participation in the machinery of state (recruitment into the constabulary, access to courts and education).

influenced his 1839 instructions for partial annexation. He supported the argument¹⁷ that unequal parties such as between the settlers and Maori, where one is considered “unsophisticated in Western forms of civilisation, the only consequence of establishing same rights and the same obligations for both will be to destroy the weak under a show of justice”(Wakefield & Ward, 1837in Ward,1972:34).

In line with this view Stephen included a direction to ensure that purchases of land did not immediately displace Māori and, until they had achieved ‘civilised life through education,’ they were to be allowed to observe their own customs. The instructions were later ammended to account for the pressures of colonisation companies and the rapid growth in settler population, which had precipitated the decision for full annexation. The directive was now for all customs deemed abhorrent to Englishmen to be prohibited, while others less objectionable should be discouraged (Ward, 1974:36).

The important role performed by state functionaries in upholding eurocentric beliefs and values that underpin colonial discourse is evidenced by the critical alterations to Stephen’s draft made by Lord John Russell, the Secretary of State for Colonies. Russell substantially diluted Stephen’s intent on a matter relating to the rule of law. Rather than providing explicit legal sanctioning of Māori custom as Stephen intended, Russell altered the reference to that of ‘tolerating native custom.’ Any Māori aggrieved by such sanctions could simply appeal to British law. Thus, the respect for Māori custom was weakened in favour of the constraints and obligations of British law (Ward, 1974:38). The corollary was that failure to accept the terms of colonization, such as the acceptance of British law over customary lore, would be the fault of Māori themselves.

Although Stephen became increasingly concerned about the possibility of settler oppression and insecure about the ability of government to protect Māori against the effects of colonisation, he accepted the need to circumscribe native policy as a necessary condition to appease settler prejudices. As Ward maintains

“(t)his lack of confidence was constantly to inhibit officials from granting the Māori a substantial share of state power for fear of settler hostility. And it was this lack in confidence, rather than a decline in concern among officials in the Colonial

¹⁷ This view is attributed by Ward to Rev. Montagu Hawtrey (Ward, 1974:34).

Office, that gave the appearance of an abandonment of humanitarian ideals...”(Ward, 1974:37).

Stephen continued to modify the direction of Hobson’s instructions that included adjusting the protectionist position of his Māori policy in favour of the speedy amalgamation of Māori considered necessary for an inevitable settler-dominated polity. Among reasons for this was his steadfast belief in the inability of Māori to share state power. Māori simply lacked the intellect, without the need for tuition, to exercise co-equally with Europeans British-style governmental and legal institutions. His draft therefore suggested Māori occupy menial roles, rather than offering Māori leadership formal places in the executive, legislative and judiciary. Employment on government projects was a means to demonstrate ‘a sense of utility’ of their services and show that they could be capable workers. Furthermore, while Māori should be entitled to the rights and privileges of British citizens, this did not extend to include sharing any office of power (Ward, 1974:37).

However, these thoughts and practices were not only eurocentric expressions of superiority presupposed in the exercise of administrative authority, they also formed an integral part of the wider strategy for colonization involving a systematic undermining of the legitimacy of indigenous leaders (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:91). Of course Māori held a reverse perception of Europeans who were generally regarded as unequal and not fit to govern tribes. Chiefs were only compliant with Pākehā concepts of law and order if it suited their purposes (Walker, 1990:89).

Colonial discourses discussed thus far helped define not only the nature of the constitutional relationship between Māori and the British Crown but also the basis upon which the development of a New Zealand ‘nation-state’ was premised. It is argued, therefore, that the power and persistence of such discourses as a contemporary legacy remain. They constitute a form of imperialism that Linda Smith argues confronts indigenous peoples today, which emerged from that period of European history referred to as the Enlightenment period (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:58). And as Tully asserts “...What we need to understand today is the extent to which the solutions advanced by Hobbes and the other modern theorists of constitutionalism are now part of the problem”(Tully, 1995:14).

The Nature of the State

Contractarian theories and founding philosophies of 'the native'

Historically the European nation-state was constructed through subordinating various fields of rule to a central authority and by investing the duty of exercising that authority to historical, permanent institutions and personnel. The transition from feudalism to the modern state saw the emergence of a sphere of human activity concerned with the production and distribution of materials, and a new formation of society linked to economics that became known as civil society. The merchant class paid taxes and loans to the government on the expectation that the state would facilitate trade and commerce. Among such expectations were the standardization and regulation of currency, weights and measures, improving transport facilities, to protect long distance trade and commerce, and the enforcement of law and order¹⁸ (Gamble, 1981. In Knuttila et al, 2000:17).

The essential feature of the state in emerging capitalist societies such as England and France from the 17th and 18th centuries was its undemocratic nature predicated on 'absolutism' whereby strong monarchs or royal courts worked in conjunction with the merchant classes ultimately producing the mercantilist state. This was a state that was active, interventionist, expansive and expensive, specifically structured to serve the interests of the monarch and the merchants (Knuttila & Kubik, 2000:18). Merchants found it much easier to deal with a centralised government than with the monarch and innumerable semi-autonomous princes. However, once a centralised government was established, capitalists found that they were not always able to secure the legislation they wanted or escape paying heavy taxes to support an opulent court. They therefore waged a campaign for obtaining political power (Clough & Cole, 1967; Knuttila & Kubik, 2000:19).

Since the emergence of the struggles for political power between capitalists and the monarchs, understanding the nature of the state in European capitalist society has occupied the efforts of enlightenment philosophers. Among leading figures Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), John Locke (1632-1704), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and Emmanuel Kant (1724-1804) are credited as laying the foundations

¹⁸ For an indepth discussion refer to Gamble (1981: 347-75).

of a western liberal concept of the state and giving theoretical expression to modern constitutionalism.

There is every likelihood that the thoughts of these and other European philosophers influenced the early British architects of the central government established in New Zealand in the 19th century. In the process they invested in the eurocentric traditions, values and assumptions underpinning both notions of the state and upholding the widely accepted belief that non-Europeans would benefit from assimilation to the more advanced European state. In this they were no different to most other colonial government administrators who imagined themselves and their societies to be distinctive agents in a progressive history (Blaser, 2004:27).

In arguing the case for absolutism, Thomas Hobbes maintained that the state is necessary for the very existence of human society. In his best known work 'The Leviathan' (Hobbes, 1968), Hobbes suggests a series of basic laws of nature premised on the notion that humans have the capacity to reason and therefore the facility to seek solutions that offer ways out of an undesirable condition which is in accordance with the laws of nature.

The solution that is developed is the 'social contract' whereby individuals give up certain rights of 'self-government', rights that are transferred to a single 'sovereign' authority who, as the holder of these rights with sole legitimate power over them is therefore authorized to act on behalf of the 'subject'. This sovereign according to Hobbes can be either an individual monarch or a body such as an assembly. Among the various forms a sovereign state can take is as a single ruler monarchy or as 'an assembly of all' as democracy. Thus for Hobbes the power of the sovereign state is absolute, it's existence representing an essential precondition for the existence of civilized human society. At the core of human existence is the state and the constitution, the basis of all social structures (Knuttila & Kubik, 2000:22).

Accordingly, "...the state does not simply record or reflect socio-economic reality, it enters into its very construction by establishing its form and codifying its forces"(Knuttila & Kubik, 2000:23). While Hobbes singles out Native Americans as a real life example of people in a 'bestial state of nature' where life is 'nasty

brutish and short,' he also suggests that without a sovereign, even Europeans¹⁹ could descend to a 'state of nature' and that an absolutist government appropriate for Europeans is also appropriate for non-Europeans, a proposition considered highly controversial at the time (Mills, 1997:66-7).

An investor in the Atlantic slave trade²⁰ John Locke's contractarian concept of the state is central to liberal democratic theory'(Mills, 1998:199). Challenging absolutism and based on principles of human nature Locke argues for the existence of a pre-socio-political condition 'the state of nature' within which free, autonomous 'men' reside against a normative background of natural law and reason. Society and the state are brought into existence through a voluntary decision (Mills, 1998:129). Locke presents human activity in a moralised 'state of nature', which produces private property through appropriating a portion of nature to meet their basic needs. Everyone is equal and independent and no one should harm another's life, health, possessions or liberty (Knuttila & Kubik, 2000:24-5). The polity is grounded on the consent of free and equal human beings.

As an almost civil 'state of nature,' hypothetically Europeans can be in this state (albeit briefly) alongside non-Europeans (who remain permanently) without calling into question the innate qualities of Europeans as industrious and rational.²¹ Such qualities were indicated by labour in terms of 'rational and industrious settlers' toiling in new colonies where one found 'wild woods and uncultivated waste' left to nature by (innately) 'wild' and 'idle natives.' The idea being that non-European economies did not improve the land and therefore could be justifiably overlooked or disregarded. In this sense Locke's thesis forms the basis of expropriation and a principal philosophical argument supporting European expansionism and conquest of America, Africa and the Pacific (Mills, 1997:67).²²

Since non-Europeans remain permanently in a 'state of nature' as 'savages',

¹⁹ This aspect of Hobbes thesis was highly contentious when it was published (Mills, 1997:67).

²⁰ See also Mills (1997:68).

²¹ Mills draws attention to Locke's argument that God gave the world to the use of the industrious and the rational (Mills, 1997:67).

²² The work of contemporary philosophers Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze and Charles Mills make explicit theories about non-Europeans found in the writings of enlightenment philosophers such as Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau and Kant. Such theories have routinely received either dismissive assessments or silence by contemporary thinkers like Heidegger, Foucault, Arendt and Klinka who have studied the philosophical anthropology of these early European political philosophers.

they are not qualified to reach a decision to bring a polity into being or to institute a governmental and legal system and therefore they remain permanently non-political. The realm of the political is reserved for rational, ‘industrious’ Europeans fully capable of recognising a normative moral background, who must intervene on behalf of the ‘savage’ if they enter the polity and who must speak for them ‘via the sovereign ruling over them’(Mills, 1998:129).

Credited with the notion of the ‘noble savage’ Jean-Jacques Rousseau also envisaged everyone as having been in a state of nature (and therefore at one time ‘savage’), but the only natural savages cited in his contractarian theory are non-European. Even if some of his ‘savages’ were noble, Rousseau argued that technological developments such as the inventions of metallurgy and agriculture are what led Europe to civilisation, inventions that apparently “...were unknown to the savages of America, who have always therefore remained savages...” despite the evidence encountered by Europeans with the Aztec and Inca empires two hundred years prior to Rousseau writing his thesis (Mills, 1997:68; Rousseau, 1984).

Widely regarded as the ‘father of modern moral theory’(Mills, 1997:69-71) Emmanuel Kant devoted much of his career to researching in, and teaching of, anthropology and cultural geography. His version of the social contract rationalised the work of other European enlightenment thinkers who consistently described and theorized about inhabitants of areas outside of Europe considered to be non-European, as rationally inferior and savage. For example Kant’s 1775 essay ‘The Different Races of Mankind’ outlined the theoretical basis of the moral character of the abstract person demarcated as such by their rationality and ‘innate talent’ as a causative basis for hierarchies of humanity – Europeans, Asians, Africans, and Native Americans²³ (Mills, 1997:69-71). A year later in his work ‘Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime’ Kant observed, “This fellow was quite black...a clear proof that what he said was stupid”(Kant, 1764.In Eze, 1997:49).

Echoing the ‘common sense’ claims of European thought which linked reason and

²³ Kant theorised that European’s have the necessary talents to be self-educating, Asians have some talents but lack the ability to develop abstract concepts. Africans were innately idle but could be educated as servants and slaves providing they were beaten efficiently and Native Americans could not be educated at all (Kant, 1764. In Eze, 1997:4-64; Mills, 1997:71). These beliefs underpinned the differentiated education of Māori children in the 19th and 20th centuries whereby Māori boys were provided with a curriculum to prepare them for manual labour and Māori girls as domestic servants of European missionaries, settler families or as wives of Māori men. Residue of such thinking is still apparent in the low expectations non-Māori teachers have of the abilities of Māori children.

truth with Christianity and civilised life, and savagery with ignorance and superstition, John Liddiard Nicholas²⁴ wrote the following about Māori people in 1815;

“Though the savage does possess all the passions of Nature, pure and unadulterated, and though he may in many instances feel stronger and more acutely than the man of civilized habits: still is he inferior to him in every other respect: the former is a slave to the impulse of his will, the latter has learned to restrain his desires; the former stands enveloped in the dark clouds of ignorance, the latter goes forth in the bright sunshine of knowledge; the former views the works of his Creator through the medium of a blind superstition, the latter through the light of reason and of truth; the one beholds Nature and is bewildered, the other clearly ‘Looks through Nature up to Nature’s God’” (Nicholas in Salmond, 1997:451).

Writing during the period of European expansionism Hobbes and Locke established the basis of a liberal democratic concept of the state whereby the state is guarantor of order, safety, stability and progress in civil society. According to Locke, government must govern according to laws designed for the ‘good of the people’ and the legislature requires the consent of the population to rule. The function of government is to provide for the ‘public good’ based on knowledge derived from society at large regarding what constitutes the public good. A liberal-democratic state

“...ensures the conditions necessary for individuals to pursue their interests without political interference, to participate freely in the economy to exchange labour and goods on the market and to appropriate resources privately”(Knuttila & Kubik, 2000:26-9).

Smith summarises liberalism as a system of ideas that focuses on the individual who has the capacity to reason, on a society that promotes individual autonomy and self-interest and on a state which has a rational rule of law which regulates a public sphere of life but which allows individuals to pursue their economic interest (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:63).

The orthodox views briefly outlined here support the experience of many non-European people who, as Mills and Eze argue, are not perceived as being *in* the civil society as theorised in the language of science and philosophy of the

²⁴ John Liddiard Nicholas was a settler who travelled as Marsden’s companion on the journey from England to the Bay of Islands arriving there on the vessel Earl Spencer on the 28th November 1814 (Salmond, 1997:447).

contractarian theorists (Eze, 2000; Mills, 1997). James Tully maintains the reason for this is because the language of modern constitutionalism has become the received view, the customary way of thinking, reflecting and visualising about a just constitutional order “designed to exclude or assimilate cultural diversity and justify uniformity”(Tully, 1995:58). Tully’s survey of the philosophical and ideological debates by modern constitutional theorists, such as Locke, is informative here in explicating in more detail some of the features of modern constitutionalism²⁵ that exclude or assimilate cultural diversity (such as the culture and traditions of indigenous people) in the polity.

Some exclusionary and assimilatory features of modern constitutionalism

Tully argues that one feature of modern constitutionalism²⁶ that demonstrates exclusionary devices are the concepts of sovereignty whereby people are considered sovereign and culturally homogenous. Culture is not only irrelevant, but also uniform and able to be transcended. Agreement on a form of constitutional association is reached by processes of hypothetical or historical deliberation in one of three ways.

First, the people are considered to be “...a society of equal individuals in a state of nature, behind a veil of ignorance...prior to the constitution, and with the aim of constituting one uniform political association”(Tully, 1995:63).

Second, the people are acknowledged as a society of equal individuals existing at a ‘modern’ level of historical development and “...recognise as authoritative a set of threshold, European institutions, manners and traditions of interpretation within which they deliberate and reach agreement on a constitution”(Tully, 1995:63).

Third, the people are viewed as a community bound together by an implicit and substantive common good and a shared set of authoritative European institutions, manners and traditions of interpretation. The common good is interpreted and articulated through public reflection and given expression in a constitution within the bounds of European institutions and culture (Tully, 1995:63). This resembles

²⁵ Tully advances seven features that exclude or assimilate cultural diversity.

²⁶ The term ‘constitutional law’ is from the Greek word, *nomos*, which means what is customary and agreed to by the people (Tully, 1995:60).

the type of constitutional association agreed upon among British authorities and white settlers in New Zealand, which led to the passage of the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852 in England. The Act established a sovereign government in New Zealand consisting of European settlers (mainly British), a community bound by common self-interest and whose singular priority was the acquisition of Māori land.

Britain had struggled to protect the interests and the common good of both Māori and the settlers. The problem was that Māori considered themselves autonomous tribes with jurisdiction over their territories, unwilling to cede interests in all their land guaranteed under Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi. Justification was therefore necessary to take land and establish European sovereignty without consultation or consent. A settler run government was a legitimate means to institute European laws (e.g. Native Land Act 1862)²⁷ to ensure the appropriation of land through state apparatus such as the Native Land Court or by confiscation.²⁸ The protective aspects of the Treaty of Waitangi conflicted with settler interests until in 1877 Judge Prendergast dismissed the Treaty as a ‘legal nullity’ an edict that relegated the Treaty to judicial obscurity for eighty or so years’ (Durie, 1992:24; Kawharu, 1989; Orange, 1987).

A second feature of modern constitutionalism proposed by Tully that exposes exclusionary devices relates to its definition that contrasts historically earlier constitutions of pre-modern European and earlier ‘lower’ non-European societies, their stage of development (‘earlier’ and ‘lower’) and their irregularity. This aspect of constitutionalism according to Tully rests on a ‘stages view’ of human history whereby,

“...all cultures and peoples are mapped hierarchically in accordance with their location on a historical process of progressive development. European constitutional nation states, with their distinctive institutions and cultures of manners and civility, are to the highest and most developed or improved state. Modern constitutions

²⁷ This Act abolished the Crown right of pre-emption and made provision for a Native Land Court to decide the ownership of Māori lands. The aim was to transform communally owned land into individual title. For an in-depth discussion see Ranginui Walker (Walker, 1990:139-142).

²⁸ An unjustified war was instigated against the tribes (eg in Waikato and Taranaki) by the Imperial army using as an excuse the necessity for peace and security as a justification for mass confiscation of tribal lands for European settlement (Walker, 1990:120-133).

only come into being as a result of this development, ‘amongst’ as Locke puts it, ‘those who are counted the Civiliz’d part of Mankind’. As the processes of colonisation and modernisation spread around the world from Europe, the colonies and lower peoples will become objects of the causal process of improvement. Gradually shedding their primitive customs and ways appropriate to their lower level of development. They will be assimilated into modern nations within a European imperial structure or into independent modern constitutional nation states, as European states have done, or they will be pushed to the wayside by the march of progress...humans reason within the bounds of the culture of which they are members, from the primitive ‘child-like’ Aboriginal to the universal European” (Tully, 1995:64-5).

This feature of constitutionalism contains the concept of culture implicated in, for example, the bureaucratic labour of James Stephen, Lord John Russell and others of the Colonial office, in their exercise of administrative authority directing Hobson’s instructions for the annexation of New Zealand by Britain discussed earlier. Instructions were for Māori not to be displaced from their land until they had achieved a civilised status through European education. Even then, as ‘natives’ Māori lacked the intelligence (following Hobbes logic by remaining permanently ‘child-like’ in a ‘state of nature’) to share state power which required reason and intellect (innate qualities possessed by Europeans) to exercise British governmental and legal institutions. Their ‘utility’ lay with carrying out menial tasks.

Notwithstanding the missionary projects of Bishop Henry Williams and others, it is also the concept of culture supporting state policies of amalgamation and assimilation that accompanied the constitutional process of colonising New Zealand. These policies commenced with James Busby’s appointment as British Resident in 1834, his proposed Declaration of Independence of 1835 whereby the King of England was invited to be the ‘parent of an infant state.’ It included the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 that set the formal constitutional basis for British Government, and the passage of the New Zealand Constitution Act, 1852 by the British Parliament, which established a constitutional government of British settlers in New Zealand.

By the middle of the 20th century colonial policies of amalgamation and assimilation were replaced by a policy of integration. Of similar intent and sentiments this policy was given its fullest expression in the 1962 Hunn Report. By the dawn

of the 21st century the policy of integration had been replaced by ‘mainstreaming,’ a policy viewed by many Māori (Parata, 1994:43) as embracing the same colonising spirit as the earlier policies of amalgamation (19th century), assimilation (early 20th century) and integration.

The successful transmission of this concept of culture, and its continual process of reinforcement has not been lost on indigenous people apparent for example in a 1934 letter to the Minister of Native Affairs Sir Apirana Ngata from Sir Peter Buck. Frustrated by the extent to which state bureaucracy and red-tape threatened to undermine the Minister’s work in Māori affairs Buck claimed,

“...Western culture has accepted as an axiom that any member of their race or races is superior by that very fact to any member of a Native race no matter how gifted that Native may be in his own culture...The Native is a fine fellow so long as he accepts an inferior position...he is constitutionally lazy, he has no business capacity, he is dishonest with money, he is shocking in his morals”(Sorrenson, 1988:163).

The reason for Buck’s frustration (the uniform nature of European bureaucracy) is associated with another feature proposed by Tully that identifies modern constitutions with a specific set of European institutions. With the convergence of social and economic conditions of European societies modern constitutions establish a uniform type of legal and political institution to represent the sovereignty of the people. It is, according to Tully, these institutional forms that shape the context within which people delegate political power to governments. Definitive of a modern constitution are “...institutions of representative government, separation of powers, the rule of law, individual liberty, standing armies and a public sphere...”(Tully, 1995:68). This single formula is representative of the Westminster system transplanted by Britain to New Zealand in the exercise of liberal democracy since the 19th century, embodied in the English Laws Act 1854. As Durie points out this Act established New Zealand’s first race-based policy (Durie, 2004b).

Taken together, these institutions comprise a modern sovereign state that possesses an identity as a nation, a community to which all nationals belong as ‘equal’ citizens. By means of naming the constitutional association, giving it a historical narrative and public symbols, a nation engenders an individual identity, a sense of belonging and allegiance that is taken on by all those who become members

or citizens. The nation and its citizens possess, Tully argues, a corporate identity necessary to the unity of a modern constitutional association (Tully, 1995:68).

The Notion of Citizenship
Citizenship and the 'cult of equality'

In a nation whose corporate identity has consistently reaffirmed a western European view of itself in historical narratives (e.g. the 'discovery' of New Zealand by Europeans - James Cook or Abel Tasman, Britain as 'mother-country') and public symbols (e.g. flagpoles, the union-jack, parliament, colonial museums), how then should equality and citizenship be understood? The problem with what Sir Apirana Ngata referred to as the 'cult of equality,' is that as a principle equality is difficult to uphold in practice. In 1936 Ngata observed of the newly elected Labour Party

“..so far as Māori policy is concerned the new Native Minister is preaching equality of the races. He does not appreciate the differentiation, which has grown up in experience. The Pākehā has not been slow to test his own interpretation of equality by bringing up the old rating question²⁹”(Sorrenson, 1988:217).

Four years later Ngata noted that the best jobs with a degree of permanence were held 'as before' by Pākehā, government pensions were 1/5th less for Māori, and Māori received differential treatment on relief works, development schemes and in regard to housing and pensions (Sorrenson, 1988:246). Differential treatment is a familiar and recurring pattern in Māori experience manifest as disparities in outcomes for Māori in health, education, social welfare and justice officially recorded in government sponsored reports (Hunn, 1961; TPK, 1998) and encoded in a 'negative' vocabulary of categorical status as 'disadvantaged', 'problem', 'needy,' 'dependent,' 'deprived' or 'high risk.'

Two concepts of equality Tully argues that are contained by the constitutional nation relates to equality between nation states and between citizens. Constitutional nations hold equal authority to each other and the “inequality of imperialism is seen as an intolerable indignity”(Tully, 1995:68). Natural law provided the European

²⁹ Under the Crown and Native Lands Rating Act 1882, Māori lands within five miles of a highway became liable for rates. The Property Tax Department valued Māori land for rating purposes at up to three times its market value which placed an intolerable burden on Māori owners who, unable to afford payments, were forced to sell to Pākehā farmers. The Rating Act 1967 was even more unjust and inequitable. Unoccupied Māori land in rural areas not producing income was subject to rates. Section 81 of the Act enabled local bodies to lease or sell land subject to accumulated unpaid rates as compensation. Māori who were unable to afford to pay rates their land was inevitably sold to Pākehā farmers.

moral code with a system to distinguish ‘civilised’ systems based on European political associations considered modern constitutional nation states and to assess patterns of political and social organisation of ‘backward’ people, such as in the colonies, as not yet meeting the criteria of nationhood (Iorns-Magallanes, 1999:236; Tully, 1995:69).

According to Ward Churchill nations involved in global imperialism never intended to honour the commitments they were making to indigenous nations. Churchill offers a compelling argument reinforcing the view that far from displaying any real concern with indigenous rights the colonising powers were preoccupied with anchoring relationships between each other as nation states. The process of perfecting a desired legal structure in newly colonised lands was based on the assumption that natives would become extinct and therefore the land would revert to the coloniser (Churchill, 1994:307). Treaties often provided the necessary instrument to lay claims to indigenous lands against the threat of invasion by other imperial nations, as witnessed in the events leading up to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The concept of equality of citizens holds that under the law citizens are formally equal, “...thus the differential treatment of the ancient constitution is experienced as an intolerable indignity”(Tully, 1995:68). In the stages view of history ‘primitive’ people are considered lower down the development ladder in a ‘state of nature’ and therefore without a constitution. This level of logic provided the justification for imposing European laws and values, while prohibiting indigenous cultural institutions and methodologies. A view that was evident for example in the prohibition of Māori customs (deemed abhorrent to englishmen) covertly inserted by Lord Russell in the official instructions for Hobson. Among justifications for the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act outlawing the ‘intolerable indignity’ practiced by traditional guardians of customary knowledge, was the recognition of western models of health promotion as the only legitimate standard against the ‘demoralising

³⁰ This law stood for 50 years before it was repealed. Dr Maui Pomare, MP for Western Māori and a Native health officer, was a strong advocate of this statute. According to Ranginui Walker, Pomare “...took on Anglophile values to such an extent that occasionally in the prosecution of his work as a Native health officer and member of Parliament he alienated himself from his people” (1990:180). According to Webster however, reference in the Tohunga Suppression Act to ‘foretelling of future events’ provided the authorities with an excuse to have the Māori prophet Rua Kenana arrested in an attempt to silence his prophecy about a Māori millennium, which included the expulsion of the Pākehā from New Zealand (Durie, 1998c:45; Webster, 1979:221-4).

practice of witchcraft' (Walker, 1990:181).³⁰

Recent events have demonstrated that it is still possible to detect the same discourse of universal standards as moral justification. For example, the response by opponents of a decision by Transit New Zealand to alter a section of an expressway project in order to preserve a site on environmental, cultural and spiritual grounds³¹ demonstrate an intolerance toward spiritual beliefs unless they conform to a supposedly normative system such as judeo-christianity. The public furore surrounding the notion of a taniwha disrupting road works may have been quite a different matter if a new motorway threatened to destroy significant religious sites associated with christianity.

Although humanitarian ideals were altruistic in cases where equality was imagined (such as the sharing of state power advocated by the Aborigine Protection Society and Colonel Torrens of the New Zealand Land Company), a common humanity was recognised with the 'primitive' native only in terms of the 'developed' European, either out of necessity or self-interest where indigenous people were allies or "...out of adopting a self-serving tutelage" (Blaser, 2004:28).

The problem with the notion of a constitution of equal citizens is, as Tully suggests, one in which citizens are treated identically (the one size fits all approach) rather than equitably (Tully, 1995:66). Continuing on in the colonising spirit, this idea forms a central tenet of the concept of unitary citizenship that advocates an assimilatory 'we are one people' approach to a single unitary state. For example, under this philosophy the aim is to see all New Zealanders become as one and goals to build a society that abides by the wishes of the majority thereby excluding references to ethno-politics except as a function of the voting power of individuals (Durie, 2003b:257). Subsumed within this view is an 'intolerable indignity' and justification for forced assimilation including, as Durie argues, an "intolerance of difference and a unidimensional view of citizenship that champions individuals as the only legitimate signposts on the road to democracy" (Durie, 2003b:257).

Paradoxically attempts by the State to level the playing field and increase Māori participation in New Zealand society through, among others, the inclusion of a

³¹ In 2002 Transit NZ were forced to stop work on a section of a motorway by a local hapū, Ngāti Naho, who were concerned about the effect the works would have on a taniwha in that immediate area. Within a week the iwi had negotiated a solution and work started again.

Treaty perspective in statutes, the development of Māori centred provision of services and Māori focussed affirmative action programmes have led to claims of Māori ‘privilege’ or ‘preferential treatment.’ The stages of history view is apparent when ‘preference’ and ‘privilege’ are terms that, when attached to Māori, are associated with the notion of ‘lowering standards.’

For example, allegations of lowering standards are frequently levelled by opponents against special admission schemes for tertiary courses, such as the quota system for Māori and Pacific entrants to medical school. Defenders of inequality overlook the fact that the prerequisite for graduation is on passing course-work designed for *all* students, thereby missing the point. Increasing the numbers of Māori is not only desirable in a profession where they are severely under-represented and the demand for more Māori doctors has increased, but it is also equitable. The notion that preferential entry schemes encourages educational institutions to make a substantial contribution to society as Durie has argued (Durie, 2004b:10) is rationally incomprehensible to these antagonists. While it may be a paradox as some people think whereby it is impossible to produce a policy that is concomitantly egalitarian and equitable unless people’s needs are equal (Jones, Brown, & Bradshaw, 1978:8), depends in part on how citizenship is understood.

The concept of citizenship in the liberal tradition is understood in terms of the individual as part of a society, and the collective well-being of the nation state depends upon individuals having certain entitlements (individual equality, individual freedom and so on). An indigenous perspective considers citizenship in terms of the collective, and the well-being of the nation state dependant upon the collective having certain entitlements (needs and rights of the whānau, hapū, iwi).

Indigeneity and the concept of citizenship

Global attempts by indigenous people to transform the liberal democratic paradigm of the state, to redefine citizenship and rewrite the social contract in domestic and political arenas occurs within the politics of indigenous rights or what Havemann and Fleras refer to as ‘the ethno-politics of indigeneity’ (Fleras, 1999; Havemann, 1999).

The notion of indigeneity as discourse and practice centres on the politicisation of indigenous peoples as ‘First Nations’ (Fleras, 1999) or ‘tangata whenua’ people

of the land. As a principle and political process indigeneity determines what counts as moral, political and legal in the assertion of indigenous rights to land, identity and sovereignty. It is counter-hegemonic to the universalising discourses and foundational myths that constitute the liberal paradigm of state sovereignty that has been discussed this far. As Havemann points out if politics is about power, wealth, and status, the politics of indigeneity translates “...power into self-determination, wealth into land, and status into recognition of a distinct, rights-bearing collective identity- a form of differentiated citizenship”(Havemann, 1999:183).

In Canada the concept of differentiated citizenship is an attempt to shift the universal paradigm to one of differentiation. Differentiated citizenship explores the idea of self-governing aboriginal societies whose communities are the primary locus of their political identities while remaining citizens of Canada. Proponents argue that this form of citizenship requires thinking about citizenship and aboriginal self-governance in terms of multiple loci of authority and identification (Carens, 2000)³².

By contrast while self-determination and self-management remain priorities for Māori the dilemma for the State rests on whether the dimension of citizenship as it exists extends not only to the rights of individuals but also to the collective rights of groups. In discussing the political dimension³³ of citizenship Durie demonstrates the New Zealand case for redefining the orthodox view by referencing existing instances of state recognition of the collective in three interconnecting domains – constitutional instruments (statutes, policies, programmes, outcome measures), indigeneity and the Treaty of Waitangi (Durie, 2000, 2003b).

Historically the state has long adopted policies of recognising indigeneity. In particular the 1835 Declaration of Independence, which recognised both indigenous (collective) rights and indigenous sovereignty (Durie, 2000; 2003b:257). The Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 was not only the recognition of rights emerging from the doctrine of aboriginal title but also a prescription for a relationship between Māori and the

³² See Carens for an indepth discussion (2000).

³³ In answer to questions regarding how membership of a political community may be understood Carens considers three dimensions of citizenship; legal (formal rights and duties that one has as a member of a political community); psychological (refers to a members sense of identity and belonging); political (representational legitimacy and authority) (2000:161-176).

Crown. The recognition of indigeneity was clearly expressed through the 1867 Māori Representation Act that guaranteed four Māori seats in the House of Representatives. Since the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 statutory recognition of indigenous rights has increased and is encoded in a number of legislation (Durie, 2000; 2003b:258).

The principal challenge for the state, according to Durie, lies in finding an answer to the problem of how to reconcile dual obligations of fairness to all citizens while endorsing indigeneity. He suggests the solution rests with understanding citizenship as more than simply fostering individual liberties over societal participation. The problem that exists is a conceptual confusion between individual rights and the rights of groups. While individuals live as individuals they also live as members of a society, thus the state's obligation is to enable active participation of its citizens in society. It follows that the state's obligation is to value indigeneity, which in turn enables Māori to participate as Māori in Māori society. Furthermore "...far from conferring special rights on Māori individuals the task is to ensure that the right to participate in whatever society is appropriate applies to both Māori and to other New Zealanders"(Durie, 2000; 2003b:263-4).

A further dimension to the problem of reconciling dual obligations is that indigenous politics in New Zealand have tended to centre on the application of the Treaty of Waitangi in furthering the interests of Māori. The Treaty is purported to be about a relationship between Māori and the Crown based on principles of partnership, mutual benefits and mutual respect.³⁴ Therefore, as Durie maintains, the emphasis of a Treaty relationship should be future orientated rather than simply dwelling on past wrongs and about developing a dual understanding where indigeneity is valued alongside other democratic principles.

While the Treaty is a useful instrument for promoting Māori interests it does not account for the full extent of rights indigenous peoples can reasonably expect. Recourse to international fora like the United Nations and instruments such as the Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples provide further opportunities

³⁴ The Treaty is considered by the Court of Appeal (NZ Māori Council State Owned Enterprises case 1987) and the Royal Commission on Social Policy, as a basis for partnership between Māori and the Crown.

to advance indigenous collective rights (Durie, 2003:265). In this regard Durie insists that,

“As a modern democracy, New Zealand must make sure that its obligation to all citizens takes account of emerging world trends in relation to indigenous peoples, and the justice of their claims to a distinctive place in their homelands without ignoring the nation’s own historical foundations”(Durie, 2003b:267).

Chapter Six

Tribal Interface with the State

“Challenging mainstream society to question its own structure, its acquisitive individualistic value system, and the false premises of colonialism is essential if we are to move beyond the problems plaguing our societies, Native and white, and rebuild relations between our peoples” (Dr. Taiaiake Alfred, Director Indigenous Governance Programme, University of Victoria, Canada).¹

It was argued in Chapter Five that historically Māori/State relations were largely founded on Enlightenment liberalism. The ideology of the superiority of European culture and society and the inferiority of indigenous societies served to justify ‘rational’ colonial policies such as amalgamation, assimilation and integration, which remain extant. The State procedure of ‘mainstreaming’ Māori social and economic policy since the 1990’s, for example, may be seen as comparable to 19th and 20th century colonial inspired policies dressed in a contemporary guise, if it is not accompanied by a ‘responsive’ state sector.² Following Tully, it was also argued that political devices that exclude and assimilate the culture and traditions of indigenous people are firmly embedded within the universal and dominant language of modern constitutionalism (Tully, 1995).

Chapter Six focuses primarily on the concrete experiences of members of the three iwi organisations in this study working at the interface with the state to provide health and social services in their respective regions (Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga). The aim is not only to demonstrate the power and persistence of colonial discourse and how the practices involved in the ‘art of government’ shapes, mobilizes and works through the choices, aspirations and needs of Māori people that are central to iwi organisations. The goal is also to expose some of the processes and systems of what is referred to as ‘internal colonisation’ (Alfred, 1999; Tully, 2000:36-59) or ‘internal colonialism’ (Churchill, 1996:150-155) imposed and perpetuated by the state that has given rise to the ‘art of resistance’ by Māori working at the interface.

¹ (Alfred, 1999:21).

² According to Parata, mainstreaming was the policy instrument of the 1993 National administration who were assimilationist driven and whose Māori policy reverted to central government control thereby continuing Māori dependence on the state rather than encouraging self-reliance’ (Parata, 1994).

The notion of ‘internal colonisation’ refers in part to the historical processes by which structures of political power and control have been constructed and imposed on and over indigenous peoples. Recognising of course that there are complex social, economic and political interests and relations involved in the processes, (Loomis, 2000:8), internal colonisation also refers to the relevant institutions that constitute structures of political power and control, and the corresponding techniques of government, which ‘incorporate’ or ‘domesticate’³ minority indigenous societies (Alfred, 1999; Churchill, 1996; Tully, 2000).

There are three themes that emerged as significant from the research. The first relates to participants’ perceptions of the state, in particular state policies and the impact of state instruments on the ability of the organisations to affect change. This theme is contextualised within a discourse of the welfare state as it relates to Māori and the political theories and shared thought of Māori, indigenous and other commentators.

The second theme considers some of the tensions at the intersection of Māori Pākehā relations. For example participants stressed the necessity for cultural compliance and an expectation that they operate in dual ontological paradigms – Māori and Pākehā. The basic paradigms or mindsets (Trosper, 1992) that underpin the thoughts of Māori and non-Māori differ in a number of ways. As Metis academic Paula Gunn Allen contends of the Native American experience, “these paradigmatic differences lead to endless misunderstandings of the Native world by outsiders (Gunn-Allan, 2003:305).⁴”

The differences that are accentuated in this chapter in respect of Pākehā are made by drawing on American educator Gary Howard’s theoretical work that “...examines how white people think about race”(Howard, 1999). Within the context of this thesis this approach serves to highlight the assumptions and constructed knowledge held by Pākehā about Māori that underpin institutional racism (Puao-te-ata-tu, 1986), mainstream models and exclusionary practices.

³ Within Canadian law indigenous peoples are considered ‘domestic dependent nations’(Alfred, 1999:72).

⁴ Professor Allen makes the point that as Indigenous or First Nations people of the United States Native Americans are not only different to non-Native peoples and popular misconceptions generated from films, histories and the media, but Native Americans cannot be seen or understood in the same way that African Americans or other minorities define and describe themselves (Gunn-Allan, 2003:305).

The third theme investigates the ‘art of resistance’ and the strategies for working in dual systems exploited by the participants in this study. The art of resistance by indigenous peoples at the interface with the state and at the interpersonal level is manifest in multiple strategies. These strategies include forms, spaces, sites, acts, cultures and communities of resistance to systems that reproduce and preserve ideologies of dominance.

Drawing on the analytical tools inherent in Foucault’s concept of ‘governmentality’ as a useful framework for placing the state under the microscope, this chapter presents an analysis, which draws from the historical discussion presented in Chapter Five and relevant qualitative data around the three themes outlined above concerning the interface between iwi organisations and the state.

Analytics of government

The concept of governmentality is applied in this chapter as a means to understand the way in which government is exercised through a variety of different sites and agents and through what is termed an ‘analytics of government.’ This is a distinct approach to questions of power and authority from those methods that are typically classified as ‘theories of state.’ As a framework for interrogation, this perspective relies on the work of Mitchell Dean (Dean, 1999) whose analyses of Foucault and other western thinkers in contemporary social theory has extended and developed original ways of thinking about the study of power and authority.

An analytics⁵ of government, according to Deans, makes at least three assumptions. The first is that far from a means of legitimation, discourses on government are an integral part of the activities of government (Dean, 1999:25). For example in Chapter Five it was shown that an official policy of ‘civilising’ indigenous people apparent in the activities of the British Government in relation to New Zealand at the turn of the 19th century was based on the notion that the welfare of Māori people was dependant upon British ‘foster power’ that extended to “...assimilating as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the Māori to those of the European population”(Ward, 1974:38). Amalgamation of indigenous

⁵ The term ‘analytics’ is defined by Dean as ‘a type of study concerned with an analysis of the specific conditions under which particular entities emerge, exist and change’ (p20).

peoples (or ‘elimination’ as some indigenous theorists argue⁶ (Churchill, 1996:7)) was an integral part of the activity of colonial governments in their international policies of imperialism.

More recently the apparent dichotomy between Māori as disadvantaged (or subjugated) and the image of the state as benefactor (or liberator) committed to, for example, ‘Working with Māori’⁷ obfuscates the excessive value in political thought placed on the state to achieve social justice and equality. The state, according to Foucault neither contains the level of unity or functionality necessary to achieve social justice and equity because as an entity the state is a ‘composite reality’ and a ‘mythicized abstraction’ (Dean, 1999:26). Loomis, in making claims to indigenous agency, makes a similar point in regard to state policies. He maintains it is powerful interests that shape and determine state policies and actions in an ad hoc fashion and not, as is commonly assumed, a cohesive government process (Loomis, 2000:6).

This relates to a second assumption, that government is achieved through multiple actors and agencies by way of ‘regimes of practices’ (i.e. institutional routines and rituals), and not necessarily through a centralized set of state apparatuses. Regimes of practices may be addressed along at least four interrelated but autonomous dimensions. These are concerned with the visual and spatial dimensions of government, the technical aspect, the knowledge that informs the activity of government and the formation of individual and collective identities such as for example the status of those who exercise power (managers, bureaucrats, politicians) and those who are to be governed (workers, consumers, Māori, iwi, job seeker, whānau, good citizens) (Deleuze, 1991 in Dean, 1999). It is the latter two dimensions that are incorporated here.

A third assumption is that the distribution and divisions of power and authority need to be analysed as assemblages from multiple and heterogeneous elements. Such elements include bureaucratic and administrative routines; the technologies of recording, presenting and information transfer; programmes and knowledge that

⁶ Ward Churchill has estimated that over 100 million native people were ‘eliminated’ in the course of Europe’s ongoing ‘civilization’ of the Western hemisphere (Churchill, 1996).

⁷ The Labour Government’s information newsletter (Winter, 2004) uses the catchphrase ‘Working with Māori’ as a way to promulgate its policies regarding Māori people. This issue outlines how ‘Māori are better off under the government’s Budget 2004’. See also the Tertiary Education Commission strategy entitled “Te Rautaki mo te Amorangi Matauranga Mātua: Working with Māori 2004-07” (TEC, 2004)

create a field to be governed and then invested with purposes and objectives; assumptions embedded in practices of government; and the different agencies that the practices of government require (Dean, 1999:26). Alongside the theoretical work of indigenous commentators on the nature of contemporary state relations,⁸ an analytics of government provides additional tools with which to understand the external environment of the state within which tribal organisations are located.

Internal colonisation and the welfare state

A central part of the process of state formation "... is the recognition by the state that the health, happiness, wealth and welfare of its population were among the key objectives of its rule"(Dean, 1999:24). A popular view is that the state is presumed to be a "unified set of institutions that are the source of political power and through which political authority is exercised within a particular territory"(Dean, 1999:23).

An emerging trend is the practice of indigenous peoples exercising their freedom by appealing to the notion of 'inherent' rights as indigenous peoples, to pursue the collective goal of self-determination as a solution to their experience of occupying a level of citizenship, which has both exclusionary and alienating dimensions. Exclusionary in the sense that indigenous peoples are well represented in various subgroups perceived as undermining the welfare and life of the population at large (e.g. the criminal, the addicted, the mentally ill). And exclusionary in the sense that indigenous people are also well represented in various subgroups that fall into the pastoral domain (i.e. social services, health services) of the welfare state aimed at ensuring the life and well-being of the population.

These subgroups tend to be described in a language of social categories (e.g. uneducated, unhealthy, unemployed, underprivileged), associated with risk (e.g. alcohol abuse, gambling, injury, domestic violence) and related to economic lifestyles (e.g. disadvantaged family, substandard housing, low socio-economic households, unskilled labour). Such subgroups become synonymous with indigeneity.⁹ Knowledge of Māori deprivation for example is documented by the

⁸ See for example (Alfred, 1999; Battiste, 2000; Churchill, 1996; Coon-Come, 2004; Deloria JR, 1988; Durie, 1992, 1994, 1998a, 1998b, 2000, 2004; Kawharu, 1989; Kawharu, 1996).

⁹ In Australia, 'indigenous' is categorised in state documents as 'disadvantaged'(Gale, 1998).

state in statistical fields of income distribution figures, unemployment data, morbidity statistics, rates of imprisonment, educational attainment and home ownership levels (Ministerial Planning Group, 1991). Although these fields of data provide the basis for social policy formation, Māori also utilise official knowledge such as this as justification for a greater say in the welfare of Māori people and to promote greater participation in the delivery of social services. In fact Māori have, in more recent times, participated in the research, production and provision of fields of data and other important knowledge as the basis for official policy on Māori.¹⁰

In many respects indigenous goals of self-determination are a resistance to internal-colonisation manifest in the paternalistic mechanisms of the welfare state. Since most public policy and welfare provision is monocultural (Cheyne, O'Brien, & Belgrave, 1997) these mechanisms are evident in alienating systems of social control, an over reliance on a uniform provision of services that is bureaucratic, hierarchical and unresponsive to the needs and aspirations of indigenous peoples. This is carried out by 'techniques of government' that modify strategies for guiding the conduct of government directly or indirectly and responding to the resistance of indigenous peoples (Tully, 2000:38).

One such example is the technique of accounting through, according to Dean Neu and Richard Therrien, 'economic political rationalisation' (Neu & Therrien, 2003). They argue that historically accounting has played an important role in manipulating indigenous peoples through government policies that encourage institutional assimilation. Such examples include the establishment of municipal governments, taxation policies and funding regimes. Cultural survival for indigenous people, they maintain, is an economic battle fought in the communities, in government bureaucracies and the boardrooms of multinational and transnationals. Accounting as a means of indirect governance is the backbone of the rationalisation used to defend the exploitation of indigenous communities, a central organism in the culture of bureaucracy and a means of maintaining the imbalance of power (Neu & Therrien, 2003:4-31).

In this sense indigenous peoples are, as Tully asserts in the case of indigenous

¹⁰ See for example reports by Te Hoe Nuku Roa and Te Pumanawa Hauora (Te Hoe Nuku Roa, 1996; Te Pumanawa Hauora, 1997).

peoples of Canada, ‘incorporated’ (i.e. through strategies of assimilation or accommodation as multicultural or multinational societies) or ‘domesticated’ within the dominant society as minorities with historical roots in four dimensions of internal colonisation of indigenous peoples (Tully, 2000:37-41).

Briefly, these dimensions include the reduction of population through introduced diseases, wars and policies; the usurpation of customary forms of government through various forms of assimilation and governments of dominant societies;¹¹ the building of western societies on appropriated territories and vacated spaces through the displacement of decreasing indigenous populations and increasing immigrant population and capitalism for trade or resource extraction; the modification of the processes of internal colonisation through treaty-making thereby creating ‘relations of cooperation’ (Tully, 2000:39).

The long-term effects of these four dimensions on the indigenous peoples of Canada parallel the experiences of Māori in New Zealand and include inter-generational welfare dependency, substandard housing, high levels of unemployment, low life expectancy, high levels of substance abuse, incarceration and suicide (Tully, 2000:39). In New Zealand a disproportionately large percentage of the ‘negative’ social welfare spending (such as prisons, unemployment benefits, psychiatric care, hospital treatment for accidents, illness/ disease etc) goes toward Māori (Cheyne et al., 1997:120).

Currently much of the states obligations to Māori are configured within the context of the welfare state a matter that had given Sir Apirana Ngata grave cause for concern and disillusionment in 1940. This was during the era of the first Labour government and the rapid growth of a welfare state established in the 1930’s. Ngata considered the combined effects of a reliance on the welfare state, increased social benefits and higher wages for less work would undermine and eventually erode Māori social systems (Sorrenson, 1988:245). Ngata’s attack against a dependency by Māori on the welfare state was not so much out of a concern for the responsibility of the individual for providing for and maintaining the well-being of oneself and

¹¹ Writing as a non-indigenous person of the indigenous experience of colonisation as a way of understanding theories of dominance Gary Howard describes seven elements of what he terms ‘the methodology of western dominance’ – disease, warfare, land theft, religion, missionaries and bureaucrats, education, alienation and alcohol (Howard, 1999:36).

one's family in the neo-liberal tradition of the 'active citizen.'¹² His concern was with the needs and rights of the whānau and hapū and an individual's responsibility for, and obligation to, the well-being of the collective within the bounds of Māori cultural values and economic traditions.

As far as Ngata was concerned state intervention through welfare and social benefits would inevitably lead to a social system influenced by the European education and economic system on family relations, and cooperation by hapū and tribal leaders in communal work "...giving way to new groupings and new alliances"(Sorrenson, 1988:245-6) outside of customary frameworks. Ngata's subsistence policies of small-scale farming were inevitably overtaken by new technologies and the need for economies of scale.

A consistent historical pattern is one where Māori cooperation with the state has tended to focus on the pursuit of Māori economic and social goals and not those necessarily imposed by the state. The role of providing for the necessary social policy environment for Māori well-being was seen by Ngata as the responsibility of Māori themselves to manage their affairs by using their own structures of social and political management, a priority that still remains an objective well past the dawn of the 21st century. Modification of this sort by indigenous peoples according to Tully is the only way to overcome systems of internal colonisation (Tully, 2000:58-9).

Keynesianism and neoliberal traditions

The severe impact of the economic depression of the late 1920's and early 1930's, widespread unemployment and poverty, significantly influenced the labour government's interventionist role. The state assumed responsibility for providing the environment for the wellbeing of the population through the introduction of wide-ranging and radical social policy reforms.¹³ Underpinning this view of the state is the liberal democratic tradition to protect individual liberty, and the application of economic management principles of British economist John Maynard

¹² According to Cheyne et al. for Neo-liberals 'active citizenship' is associated with responsibility, undertaking civic duties, providing for oneself and one's family and serving one's country. This view contrasts with the notion of 'passive citizenship,' which is about dependency on the welfare state (Cheyne et al., 1997:90).

¹³ Among the significant social policies of the 1930's and 1940's include income support for the needy, free health care, free education and universal family benefit (Cheyne et al., 1997:36).

Keynes (1883-1946).¹⁴

In response to the widespread unemployment and poverty resulting from the Depression, Keynes argued that the state should play an active role in managing the economy as protection against the recurrence of further depressions. Thus Keynes provided the justification for the welfare state with its emphasis on the state managing the economy and the funding and provision of social services such as education, health, social security and housing. Accordingly, because capitalism is considered the most effective form of economic organisation, the welfare state is said to act as the human face of capitalism (Cheyne et al., 1997:75). State intervention therefore is necessary not only to regulate the market place in order for it to function effectively but also because the government assumes the authority to manage the economy in the public interest. This includes the state regulating competition. It is this Keynesian thought that became the norm in public administration for several decades (Gelinas, 2003:108).¹⁵

Two right wing ultraliberal intellectuals, Milton Friedman (1912-) and Friedrich von Hayek were responsible for leading the fight against Keynesian ideas. Friedman's main work published in 1962 entitled 'Capitalism and Freedom' is considered the manifesto of neoliberalism (Friedman, 1962). His essay summarizes the essence of his belief in the liberating power and superiority of the free market. Among the tenets of his orthodox liberal ideology are a belief in the only fundamental right which is to limitless property, tax reductions for the rich (since they are the ones who save, invest and create jobs), the necessity of joblessness as a natural rate of unemployment law and the creation of increased profits as the social responsibility of business (Gelinas, 2003:109).

Ultraliberalism has superseded Keynesianism as the orthodox currency in all facets of global economics from business schools and universities, to think tanks and the media. As Gelinas points out the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank

¹⁴ Keynes, considered the 'champion of liberalism with a human face', in his 1936 work entitled 'The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money' proposed a controlled capitalism, which would be improved by government interventionist policies when necessary (Gelinas, 2003:107; Keynes, 1936 [1991]).

¹⁵ Proponents of orthodox liberal ideology were associated with the London School of Economics in England and the Chicago School of Economics in the United States.

and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) have all adopted its theses to justify the globalising economy. Furthermore, it is a school of thought that is backed by the prestigious Nobel Foundation by lending its name to an economics prize created by bankers¹⁶ (Gelinas, 2003:110).

In line with ultra-liberal ideals, the public sector reform in New Zealand during the 1980's and 1990's has influenced social policy. The transformation of the public sector, for example under the Public Finance Act 1989 (Grimes, Jones, Procter, & Scobie, 2001; Palmer, 1992), emphasised the 'marketisation' of policy and operations whereby the framework for social action is the market, and actioned through an emphasis on efficiency, separating policy and operations and applying commercial principles to the activities of the public sector (Cheyne et al., 1997:127). As was shown in Chapter Four, despite the occasional synergies between Māori quests for self-determination and the theme of privatisation manifest for example in reforms incorporating free-market economic policies, the effect was deeply contradictory. On the one hand the devastation of whole communities of Māori people rendered unemployed in the name of economic efficiency (Keefe-Ormsby & al, 2001). On the other hand such a climate provided opportunities for tribes and other Māori groups to move towards greater economic self-sufficiency supported by government policies and resources. The synergy between Māori efforts towards self-determination and the economic philosophy of the 'free market' offered Māori an environment that supported greater autonomy and reduced state dependency.

Māori Perceptions of State Policies

A concern expressed by participants in this study was a perception that the delivery of services to Māori is frequently undermined by 'marketisation' policies and practices that underpin state initiated programmes and bureaucratic operations. Participant perceptions of state policies and practices that relate to Māori, fall into several categories; narrowly fixed and restrictive, regimes of practice that are rhetorical and tokenistic, and policies that are exclusionary.

¹⁶ According to Friedman, a recipient of the Nobel Prize in Economics, ones chances for receiving the prize is highest if one is a US citizen, male, and has taught or studied at sometime in one's career at the University of Chicago. Jacques Gelinas is understandably critical of the Nobel Foundation for lending its reputation and fame to enhance the prestige of the Economics Prize that has nothing to do with the Foundation or its objective - to 'reward persons that have rendered the greatest services to humanity.' Economics is not included in the list of five fields indicated in Alfred Nobel's will (Gelinas, 2003:111).

Narrowly fixed and restrictive policies

Participants described having to balance state policies with the aspirations of Māori. This often required a broader interpretation of ‘narrowly fixed’ and ‘restrictive’ policies primarily designed to meet the needs of the majority population.¹⁷ Within the health sector for example, the Whānau Ora programme was originally designed specifically to provide for the health needs of infants from 0 to 5 years. But when the programme was expanded by the funder, the change was interpreted by Te Rūnanga o Raukawa (TROR) to include not only the concerns of the individual child but also the needs of the whole whānau, including the parents and grandparents. As it happened, the state had not intended the broader interpretation despite what the title of the programme ‘Whānau Tamariki Ora’ suggests. As one manager explained,

...a baby's health is going to be balanced as long as the mums health is well...we don't really have policies as such like that...but we have a verbal understanding within the organisation that that's what we will do...we were originally known as Whānau Ora and that just meant babies 0 to 5 and then they changed it a couple of years ago to Whānau Tamariki Ora...we have interpreted that to mean that we can do from 0 to whatever and meet the needs of all of them [AE104377/51b].

Pragmatic interpretations of state policies by managers and staff were seen as a way to modify and self-consciously manipulate ‘hard and fast mainstream policies’ in order to ‘fit Māori needs’ and thereby lead to beneficial outcomes.

I have found that you can interpret them (government policies) to fit what you want to do. In some ways just the fact you're Māori you can interpret them a whole heap differently to how they are written, to benefit Māori people...that's how we started doing immunisation...we are the vaccinators so we started jabbing...they (health authorities) had nothing there that they could stop us because we were certified vaccinators...we knew what we were doing...for a Māori service you have to take the initiative...with mainstream policies they're usually a bit more hard and fast...In our Māori organisation...policies get changed when kaimahi usually determine that the policy doesn't work for them [AE109227-110476/52b].

An important consideration was the necessity of Māori identifying Māori needs and providing appropriate services thus avoiding any potential for Māori disadvantage within a ‘mainstream’ service provider environment.

¹⁷ [VM107758/58b]

For us on the ground we identify a need. We take it to a funding agent and find that that funding goes towards...what is already set up and...not always appropriate...we need to identify the needs of our people and we as Māori...service them. We can utilise mainstream but be there for our people cause we know that once they're there in mainstream service, there's always a problem and we're always helping our people to get them out...having to pick up the pieces at the end of it basically [AR105232/51b].

These thoughts confirm Ngata's contention outlined earlier in this chapter, that the responsibility of providing the necessary social policy environment for the well-being of Māori rests with Māori themselves (Sorrenson, 1988:245-6). And as one manager argued in relation to state initiated objectives,

That's the problem. Until we go to government with what we want for our people to meet the needs that we identify then we're always going to be contracting...with their purposes not ours [MR60464/51b].

A recent government stance of distancing itself from the normal 'top down' government-initiated approaches that typify state policy formation, in favour of so-called 'subscriber driven' methods was considered more in line with Māori service provision strategies carried out by Māori providers as a general rule of practice.

From being... 'top down'...they're (government) looking at more of a continuum based care and they call it 'subscriber driven'...it's basically what we do as a Māori Service in that we go in with a broad view...and we usually meet the needs as determined by the people that we're working with, and that to me that's subscriber driven [AE105486/51b].

A Māori service might interpret and define the notion of 'subscriber driven' in light of their own iwi driven practices thus implying strategies that are grounded in community aspirations and therefore serve the people. But in reality the term simply masks the states self-serving 'top down' approach in another guise because 'to subscribe' to anything indicates consent, support or an agreement to receive or pay for a product (or policy), which in the case of the state has already been determined.

Regimes of practice

A perceived disjuncture between state policies, Māori identified need and appropriate service provision was associated with at least three institutional regimes

of practice. The first is the procedure of operationalising some, rather than all, of the stated purposes and objectives related to Māori in policy documents thereby reducing such intentions to little more than government rhetoric,

... basically not putting into practice what they're (government) saying... if we're talking... te tiriti (the Treaty of Waitangi) and it's in all their policies, they're not actually practicing.... [AR104595/51-2b].

Vocabularies of intention such as 'working in partnership,' 'working with Māori' or 'consulting with iwi' implanted among stated purposes and objectives of government policy by administrators in official documents¹⁸ (TEC, 2004) may well fall into the category of rhetoric if such aims are not applied in practice or linked to specific outcome or output measures thereby diminishing Māori expectations (Tomlins Jahnke, 2002b). What is required is understanding such 'vocabularies of intention' from both sides of the state/Māori divide by raising questions about what it means in practice for example, to 'work in partnership' or 'to consult.'

The politics of illusion

A second regime of practice is located within mechanisms that contribute to maintaining state authority through a contradictory 'politics of illusion.' For example, this is demonstrated on the one hand by the deliberate undermining of Māori policy while on the other, appearing to genuinely provide for Māori needs. Among examples is the Government's response to the high rate of Māori morbidity statistics in regard to asthma, lung disease, heart disease and diabetes. The state initiated a Māori workforce development scheme¹⁹ while simultaneously under-resourcing programmes set up to assist in the very areas of critical health need identified in official fields of data (TPK, 1998). The appointment of a single Māori health professional to manage the healthcare of large populations of people²⁰ presenting with the full range of these illnesses was summed up by one participant currently

¹⁸ See for example the Government policy for Tertiary education entitled 'Strategy for the Tertiary Education Commission: Working with Māori 2004-07'. Among the stated goals are '...working in partnership with the tertiary education sector and its stakeholders to develop system and organisational capabilities that will contribute to Māori achieving their development aspirations' (p13).

¹⁹ See for example Te Rau Matatini (Durie & Maxwell-Crawford, 2003).

²⁰ Since government contracts for health provision utilises public funds, not all health clients of Māori providers are necessarily Māori [TH12241/56b] and many Māori access services provided by non-Māori.

managing such a position, as little more than a token gesture despite good intentions on the part of the government.

We've got the highest statistics for all of those things...so they're trying to put more Māori into address these problems with Māori ...But I think...it was a token gesture. If you look at the extent of all those illnesses and they're huge and the (Māori) statistics ...alongside each one of those illnesses...they put one person in to do a huge area...It's a good positive step towards trying to address some of those problems but...you know 43 nurses to cover the whole of New Zealand to look at those disease states with Māori...The government feels they have to address this problem of poor Māori health but they still don't give the resources to do that... [TH11357-12241-86952/56b]

At another level illusionary practices are implemented as a 'trojan-horse effect,' where state policies aimed at the majority culture are repackaged and labelled under the rubric of Māori frameworks, such as 'kaupapa Māori' thus implying a Māori focussed orientation. This practice provides an outward appearance of the state fulfilling its obligations to Māori in a culturally appropriate way while simultaneously undermining the process by specifying requirements aimed at the majority culture.

...when they tender the contract out to you that this service is kaupapa Māori but at the end of it, it isn't...you can provide this service under a kaupapa Māori perspective...but they (government) still specify what it is...at the end of the reporting requirements there's nothing there to indicate that it's Māori. It's like we're all together and we're all New Zealanders with the same problems...I don't think that's appropriate...[AR127591/77b].

Exclusionary tactics

A third regime of practice is the exclusion of Māori from participating in the decision-making processes related to policy development through, among others, a lack of consultation or consultation processes that occur 'after the fact.' This refers to the government making decisions on policy and then consulting with Māori most often to *bridge any gaps* [AE101568/80b], or 'sell' the policy to respective organisations and stakeholders on behalf of the state. Such tactics inevitably lead to the development of policies that are inappropriate or assimilatory in nature because the design subscribes to a uniform 'one size fits all' approach aimed at the majority.

We looked at the consultation (process) for the writing of the policies for Māori

but generally not by Māori...Māori are consulted...at the very end...almost at service delivery...It seems that Māori have...been (consulted) last minute...as an after thought...there's nothing much that we can say can change the process because it's already there and gonna happen...the policy's already set...this seems to fall across the board in many of the associations that we have with government policies...there is no consultation with policy [VM102533/57b].

A lot of decisions are made ahead without even consulting Māori...we actually took something to government but decisions were already made...you know we really had no say...I can see just from working in my areas...there's not been much input from Māori at all [LG42006/54b].

...With this new MMR campaign policy out - measles, mumps, rubella- they're (Ministry of Health) expecting an epidemic outbreak...so ...they're trying to ..provide another immunisation for people and like they're not even consulting Māori or Pacific Island groups. They're just saying that public health will go out and do it for everyone...So this means that they've got the kura kaupapa out there and they just think that they can walk in and do them...I know that a lot of our people...that's not what they'd want. So...it's all about being culturally sensitive and probably...approaching those who would be appropriate to go into places like that (kura kaupapa) [LG73482/61b].

In one sense matters of consultation are very often related to the nature of liberal democracy, which relies on parliamentary representatives to speak and act on behalf of the people. This is in contrast to customary political strategies of Māori and other indigenous peoples. Commenting on customary processes involved in determining social and political goals, Māori Marsden maintains this was a people process. Policy meetings were an open forum held on the marae at the levels of whānau, hapū and iwi where free speech prevailed, including the freedom to agree or disagree at any level. Dissent was respected, but once a consensus was reached, and this might take time, then a commitment was made to organise and carry out the policy (Marsden, 2003c:35). This process concurs with other indigenous traditions as the Kanien'kehaka' scholar Taiaiake Alfred maintains,

“(t)he indigenous tradition sees government as the collective power of the individual members of the nation; there is no separation between society and state...by contrast, in the European tradition power is surrendered to the representatives of the majority, whose decisions on what they think is the collective good are then imposed on all citizens”(Alfred, 1999:25).

According to Marsden, under the modern terms of ‘one person one vote’

democracy is not ‘rule by the people’ but refers instead to the means by which the electoral process is carried out (Marsden, 2003c:35). In the development of government policies, unless Māori parliamentarians are involved, then often there is no Māori voice or representation. Furthermore, as there are disproportionately fewer of them in parliament, Māori politicians are easily over-ruled by the sheer weight of numbers or by the ‘tyranny of the majority.’ This may present a problem for Māori wanting to participate in the process to ensure policies are relevant. And it is the politicians representing Māori constituents who are held accountable to Māori as this participant points out.

We thought Parekura²¹ and Tariana²²...all our policies dealing with Māori and iwi needed to go through them and then they consulted with appropriate Maoridom...in health, justice, education, social welfare, housing...That’s where it needed to happen, up at the ministerial level before policy was made...those two (Parekura and Tariana) are the ones that we actually vote into their positions. No one else... We don’t have a say about anybody else who gets put into positions that affect Māori [VM102533/58b].

At issue is the imposition of electoral politics where Māori politicians representing Māori seats are constrained by the imperative to deliver policies that are compatible with the broad direction of the policies of the political party to which they belong. Furthermore the political climate in New Zealand has become increasingly sensitive to government responses to Māori. Particularly if such responses are perceived as ‘race-based’ rather than a ‘needs-based’ approach promoted by populist right winged politicians and which, according to earlier polls found favour among a significant proportion of the population obviously uninformed about Māori concerns (Slack, 2004).

Impact of technologies of government

Among ways participants claimed the iwi organisations are constrained in providing services to Māori and iwi are by technologies of government manifest in

²¹ Parekura Horomia, Minister of Māori Affairs in the Fifth Labour Government.

²² Tariana Turia, Associate Minister of Māori Affairs in the Fifth Labour Government. In 2004 she resigned from the Labour Party only to be voted back into parliament as the member for the newly formed Māori Party in a by-election held some months later.

²³ NZQA is the New Zealand Qualifications Authority, a government authority charged with ensuring educational institutions (University’s come under the MOE) are qualified to provide education services leading to formal qualifications.

regulatory practices, imposed structures and bureaucracy, and legislative instruments of the state.

Regulatory practices requiring the organisations to conform to highly expensive State ‘checks and balances’ encoded in excessive administrative outputs and bureaucracy were seen to impair the ability of the organisation to focus on providing adequate services in terms of time, energy and expense.

You need to qualify for certain services...I think the difficulty for us is getting accreditation and having to...renew it every year as opposed to maybe every three to five years...you know that takes a toll on us cause we're so busy...maintaining our current practicing certificates that we don't have time to actually just focus on the work [AW157711/47b].

We have to go through an annual accreditation process with NZQA²³ and it's costly...NZQA come in with a panel and you've gotta pay for them and their travels and their accommodation and all the paperwork revolved around that. We have to do that every twelve months...they (Government) require it from us as a Māori training provider. It can be quite crippling because the contracts are so infinitesimal compared to other sectors of education [AW158420/47b].

The imposition of state regulations on rūnanga was seen to conflict with cultural values and Māori institutional imperatives. This is evident for example in the Employment Contract Act that determines, among others, special leave entitlements for all employees with significant implications for Māori employees requiring leave for ‘tangihanga.’²⁴

I see a lot of mainstream or Pākehā orientated methods used within here (rūnanga) but I've got no qualms about that because they work and they're good...but they (the organisation) kinda justify to us...the employment relations act in terms of...tangihanga leave as we're only allowed 3 days off...we're governed by the Employment Contracts Act...so I'm thinking...that's not Māori, but that's the way they've (rūnanga) done it and that's the contract that they've currently got for kaimahi' (staff)...It's that tug of war between us as Māori and cultural values [PR29258-87461/64b].

Paradoxically, legislation was also seen to weaken so called ‘iwi/state partnerships’ by ensuring that statutory functions remain under the control of the state and not devolved to iwi. In transferring iwi social services to Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated for example, legislation prevented the Department of Child Youth

²⁴ Tangihanga is the institution of mourning a deceased person over a period of three days until burial.

and Family Service (CYFS) from relinquishing control of its statutory functions thereby securing Māori children as wards of the State with sole responsibility for their placement. Such arrangements are considered in conflict with Māori cultural values where Māori children who come under the jurisdiction of CYFS are doubly alienated by their categorisation as ‘state wards’ and therefore ‘state dependants’ and by the practice of placing them outside their whānau networks.²⁵

Taking on contracts at the early intervention end of social services was considered by Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga (TTOH) as a way to intervene in state policies that have a detrimental affect on Māori families, such as seizing children and dividing families under the CYPF Act. This includes advocating on behalf of families despite the limitations imposed by state regulations that often render Māori social service staff impotent.

Policies that affect...families like seizing children and dividing families...our staff come in contact with that and advocate with Child Youth and Family...keeping the police out of...young peoples’ lives...staff have got a full understanding of what those regulations are and are becoming good at advocating and trying to divert. But bottom line is sometimes...they (TTOH staff) don’t have any power’ [AW170182/47].

Most participants were able to work around the level of state intervention imposed through regulatory and legislative instruments. However, describing her past experiences as a mental health professional in a public institution one participant felt constrained and disillusioned by a highly regulated environment, where most facets of her work were tightly controlled by legislation (e.g. Mental Health Act, Nurses Act, Medicines Act).²⁶ The outcome was a work environment characterised by increased bureaucracy and administration,²⁷ high workload and associated stress levels, the pressures of persistent scrutiny by the organisation and the community at large, and constantly justifying her professional practice as set out under statutory functions²⁸ with little support from the institution.²⁹ Moreover the impact of such an environment negatively affected the nature of her role, which had evolved from

²⁵ [MW20454/16b]

²⁶ [TH2475/101b]

²⁷ [TH3860/102b]

²⁸ [TH7254/102b]

²⁹ [TH7995/102b]

casework to ‘crisis work.’³⁰ Flexibility had been traded for compliance.

A major influence underpinning this level of state intervention affecting job performance in all institutions, especially those in the public domain, is a technology of accounting embodied in the Public Finance Act 1989.³¹ As a neo-liberal instrument the emphasis is on definitions of cost accounting such as efficiency in the use of resources and decision-making linked to income, outcome and output measures, greater accountability and financial management.³² Under this regime, a technology of accounting consists of forms that record fields of data as Crown Financial Statements.³³ These include a statement of objectives, a statement of service performance, a statement of cash flows, a statement of financial position and so on (Cheyne et al., 1997:128-9; Palmer, 1992). As one manager remarked about rūnanga operating in this environment,

if you wanted to stay in the game you learnt how to count the money, you learnt how to measure your outcomes, you learnt how to write reports [AB134788/50b].

Of the increased administrative bureaucracy associated with the technologies of accounting, economist Peter Gorringer who worked for the New Zealand Treasury maintained that “(t)he huge amount of information produced...and other reporting that is done, may also have buried the decision-makers and monitors under a mountain of paper”(Grimes et al., 2001:163).

Mixed Paradigms

It was highlighted in Chapter Four that among the conclusions of their research on American Indian economic development and the institutions they studied, Cornell and Kalt determined that culture counts. Legitimate institutions were considered to be those where there was a fit between the culture of the community and the structure and power of the institutions to regulate and organise the development process

³⁰ [TH3860/102b]

³¹ Two underlying principles of this Act are the devolution of the management of government departments to chief executives and away from central agencies, and a system of accountability for the goods and services core government agencies produce (Grimes, Jones et al. 2001:162). See also (I.R.I, 2002; Kelsey, 1995; Palmer, 1992:126)

³² [AB133167/50b]

³³ Under this statute, government departments are required to produce Crown Financial Statements accountable to the Minister through the chief executive of the Department.

(Cornell & Kalt, 1995:9-10). This outcome resonates with Māori organisations whose goals include the development of iwi and Māori communities and the delivery of relevant services.

Out of necessity and as a condition of survival Māori involved in iwi politics have become politically savvy in their relations with the state.³⁴ Most are cognisant of the imposition of colonial structures that preserve state power by perpetuating restrictive policies buttressed by coercive regimes of practice and regulatory devices. As shown in Chapter Five these structures and the institutions that they serve were designed within the framework of a very different belief system and with different objectives in mind. Furthermore, they are systems that remain firmly in place albeit in new forms as mechanisms of internal colonisation. It is accepted, however, that Māori/state relations are far more complex than simply dichotomous relations of oppositionality, but a site of complicated layers. The challenge is to find space for the goal of positive coexistence by reducing the tensions created by mixed paradigms at the interface of Māori and non-Māori relations.

The following section considers some of the dilemmas generated by such tensions that were emphasized by the participants, and which are categorized around three broad themes; the appropriation of western structures and frameworks, the politics of compromise and the exposition of strategies of difference.

Consequences of appropriated frameworks

Although the appropriation by rūnanga of hierarchical frameworks (e.g. the workers-and-bosses management structure), or *Pākehā mainframe* as one participant described it, and instituting it within the internal operations of the organisation was considered an imposition, it is a structure about which participants felt reasonably knowledgeable. They know how to adapt and negotiate in order to work resourcefully within its borders.³⁵ Of greater concern were the barriers generated by such structures, which were found to be similar to obstacles encountered by them while working in public 'mainstream' institutions. For example the adoption of hierarchical systems

³⁴ For example, Ritchie points out the combined effects of political engagement with the state during the 1980's and 1990's through such events as Treaty claims, policies of devolution, challenges against the State Owned Enterprise Act and the Fiscal Envelope, the tribes developed considerable sophistication in political operations (Ritchie, 1990:34).

³⁵ [RR51239/65b][PR29258/64b]

and practices based on western imperatives was considered an impediment to how services to Māori should be appropriately delivered.

You start coming up against your blocks again in terms of the hierarchy in terms of how things are done...[RR52862/65b] [like] in mainstream...I'm finding that lately because in the past...we have been able to do what things we need to do particularly for our people, but now we get...directives down saying you must do it like this! [RR53699/65b]

Pressure to meet the contractual requirements of the state, such as output measures, meant that some important cultural factors and skill sets were being ignored or overlooked. By implication this was seen to potentially diminish the ability of rūnanga to work effectively within Māori communities.

If you're working with Māori you need to understand basic tikanga, basic respect...the basics of everyday life of being Māori and if you don't have that or if you're unsure of that or if it will get in the way of you doing your job then you need development in that area...but it is not acknowledged as a skill within the rūnanga and if you don't have that it's not seen as a problem because you're getting your 15 or 30 people that you need to get...from the stats the HFA³⁶ are wanting you to capture... [RR64962/65b].

The focus of course could be on output/outcome measures that fail to recognise culture. In other words, having to comply may not be the problem, but having to comply with faulty measures might well be.

In terms of training that focuses on a Māori centred approach there are fewer choices available for Māori providers, and western Eurocentric models were not always seen to be appropriate. On a comparative basis, the state invests considerable capital and resources in Eurocentric models such as those offered in mainstream institutions.³⁷ As a result, these courses tend to produce graduates insufficiently trained to work effectively or appropriately with Māori.³⁸ Where Māori expertise has been coopted from iwi/Māori organisations to provide a Māori perspective (usually as a token, one-off add-on session) for a predominantly non-Māori student

³⁶ Health Funding Authority is a state agency.

³⁷ This situation is not unique to New Zealand. Reflecting on 20 years working with educators in the United States and Australia, Gary Howard queries how it is possible with the amount of research and information available about cultural issues that non-indigenous pre-service teacher trainees for example can complete their entire teacher education and certification programme without gaining an insight into social reality other than their own (Howard, 1999:26).

³⁸ [AB21618/72]

majority, the dilemma is whether or not to incorporate training models that are relevant to working within Māori communities.³⁹ As the following manager insists,

We've been asked to do a presentation to level 300 nurses through UCOL⁴⁰...about our services...if it's Māori and Pākehā, then I think it would be more beneficial to us as the Rūnanga to incorporate our service delivery using Te Whare Tapa Whā,⁴¹ only because Te Whare Tapa Whā is part of our mission statement and the philosophy of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa... [AE143290/81].

By presenting a Māori perspective as a one off add-on to Eurocentric training and in-service courses Māori providers are conscious they risk facing non-Māori opposition. This hostility stems in part from paranoia such as that fuelled by media hype surrounding Pākehā resistance to compulsory courses on 'cultural safety' as part of the core curriculum for clinical nursing training (Wepa, 2001).⁴²

The politics of compromise

Some indigenous elders have recognised the danger of thinking of governance in terms of the value system and institutional structure imposed on indigenous communities by the state (Alfred, 1999:24). Tribal rūnanga who choose to identify as an entity such as an Incorporated Society, are vulnerable to state directives that extend to questions of identity and iwi membership including the requirement to comply with state structures and processes. This is aptly demonstrated by the requirement that members of iwi rūnanga must be registered, as is the case with NKII.

As an iwi organisation we're representing all of Kahungunu whether the people are members or not...you can't be an organisation unless that person has signed that form to say they're a member...it's cultural conflict isn't it?' [SK44135/66b].

Why do we have to get people who can whakapapa to our tipuna to fill out a piece of paper to say they are a member of our organisation when by birth they are who they are? The answer to that is quite simple. It's to meet the requirements of Pākehā systems... [SK59260/66b].

³⁹ [KL52123/85b]

⁴⁰ Universal College of Learning, a regional polytechnic.

⁴¹ Literally meaning 'four walls of a house' this is a metaphor for an indigenous model of Maori health by Mason Durie.

⁴² According to Dianne Wepa, the notion of cultural safety was depicted by the media and other opponents as "...politically inspired while the curriculum of clinical nursing practice was apolitical and neutral. One of the ironies...has been the suggestion that in an attempt to have cultural considerations examined it became portrayed as an attempt to undermine critical and open debate" and Pākehā were seen as victims of political correctness and appeared to be disadvantaged in some way (Wepa, 2001:23). See also (Ramsden, 2002).

As a compliance mechanism the paradox of registering as a member of the Rūnanga is that as an Incorporated society, the onus is on the organisation to identify its members whose names are also held by the State in fields of census data that under the Privacy Act prevents the State from divulging. Members may choose to register with the rūnanga in order to receive entitlements as beneficiaries.

A perceived need to be *astute players in the game...of jumping from one culture to another* [SK21591/65b] and *trying to take my Pākehā hat off and put my Māori one on* [RR52862/65b] raises important questions about whether or not a Māori organisation should be focussed on operating under a western/Pākehā system or should it focus on functioning under a strictly Māori construct? Could a compromise be reached between the two systems?⁴³

Participants in this study indicated compromise is possible but with the recognition that compromise often comes at a cost. Disregarding customary decision-making processes based on consensus in favour of hierarchical models⁴⁴ or the diminishing of cultural integrity⁴⁵ are examples.

Sometimes as iwi Māori and an organisation...we are trying to compromise our beliefs...and sometimes it's quite difficult to maintain that...so that ...we don't give that away in terms of what our people believe in...Sometimes if I can detect that there might well be a small smidgen of goodwill perhaps smudged by their philosophy, their thinking, I'll pull them to the side and say if you want us to make progress I suggest you think about this before we go back in [DE63791/81].

In this regard there is an acknowledgement by some commentators of Māori economic development that many Māori organisations must pursue multiple objectives where in some cases “...there is a genuine trade-off between cultural values and economic performance; in other cases, the two are complementary”(NZIER, 2003:3).

In recognising *smidgens of goodwill*, compromise also requires knowledge of the coercive nature of the state *smudged by their philosophy* that works persistently to ensure that unequal power relations are maintained. And as Gelinas points out, alliances with the state are seldom equal since they are not based on shared values

⁴³ [SK21591/65b]

⁴⁴ [RR64962/65b]

⁴⁵ [RR52862/65b] [RR53699/65b] [RR64962/65b]

and objectives. The power of the state is such that it inevitably and subtly tries to take advantage in order to impose its own views (Gelinas, 2003:207).

The compromise situation is unequal, inequitable. Because of the nature of the dominant society the dominant rules...So compromise is never even, never equal (there is) no equality in it, there's dominance [SK21591/65-6b].

Discussions that centred around relationships of countering *mainstream thinking* and Pākehā dominance, experienced by iwi in the course of working with non-Māori organisations, were often expressed in terms of ‘vocabularies of conflict and resistance’ - *standing up for the rights of Māori* or *fighting for more services for Māori* [KL5362/85b][MW82906/91b]. In the case of one rūnanga contracted to deliver the Social Workers in Schools (SWS) programme, Pākehā principals objected to rūnanga workers returning to the rūnanga office one day a week instead of remaining out in schools under the principals’ jurisdiction. The principals were described by the rūnanga CEO as being *quite bullish with us* which *meant us standing up to them* [DE102491/82b] and the rūnanga *going head to head with the principals* to ensure the schools were not guilty of *dumping on workers* [DE103759/83b].

Resistance measures were considered necessary in order to protect and ensure that rūnanga staff delivering the SWS programme in state schools were otherwise free from isolation.⁴⁶ In a broader sense the consequences of state processes of isolating indigenous peoples are fraught with inherent risks, not only to the well-being of the individuals but also in terms of them becoming complicit (albeit unwittingly) in the ongoing internal colonisation of their own communities. As Taiaiake Alfred explains,

“...(i)n the war against indigenous nations, the state first alienates individuals from their communities and cultures and then capitalizes on their alienation by turning them into agents who will work to further the state’s interest within those communities”(Alfred, 1999:32).

In other contexts where Māori interface with Pākehā organisations, it was acknowledged that compromise was a two way process but by implication, and from the perspective of a ‘reverse rationality,’ as far as compromise by Pākehā is

⁴⁶ [DE102491/82b]

concerned these contexts tend to be instances involving Māori cultural rituals or ceremony.

This is...the interface of two cultures and you know if you reverse that...Pākehā coming onto a marae we would expect them to follow our processes on the marae. They couldn't come in with their own...so interfacing with us they need to do some things that we require them to do and the reverse is true. So if we want to interface with Pākehā organisations to a certain extent we have to follow their processes [SK59260/66b].

Being able to *blend* or *balance* in order to work the two systems together was considered necessary in order to achieve beneficial gains for Māori people. Developing and maintaining positive relationships between the iwi organisations and the state could achieve a balance between the two systems.⁴⁷

It's about enduring relationships. It's about a relationship that's on going but that will stand the test of time...(the relationship) has got to be meaningful and beneficial to the iwi [DE133737/60].

Such sentiments raised further questions about how on-going relationships are formed and sustained and what this means in practice? What are the processes and strategies involved in the practice of maintaining positive relationships at the interface that are both meaningful and beneficial to iwi?

Exposing Strategies of Difference

According to one manager the metaphor of 'peeling an onion' best encapsulates what it means to work on a personal level at the interface with non-Māori.

I described it...like an onion...rather than spend time...peeling off all the outer layers to help them (non-Māori) understand that you're an onion, it's nice to have a relationship where you don't have to explain...The layers are all evident and you can just get on with the mahi instead...Māori working with Māori is that...we don't have to get through all the...protocols of salutations and...mind games, that we get down to the core of the matter...onions look after onions and...we can get on more effectively [AW125407/69b].

While not assuming a utopian view that 'onions' are always in harmony and accord, or by implication that 'onions' are 'all the same,' nevertheless, this metaphor

⁴⁷ [DE31421/60b]

suggests at least three underlying discourses of tension at the interface between Māori and non-Māori relations - the politics of justification *having to explain*, questions of political will *getting to the core of the matter* and barriers to effective progress *getting on more effectively*.

Politics of justification

It is argued that within the political contours of indigeneity, the politics of justification refers to the complex ways in which indigenous peoples are forced to explain, validate, rationalise and defend their cultural ideas, values, habits, patterns and world-views against western ignorance⁴⁸ on the one hand, and social and historical hierarchies of dominance and subordination on the other (Howard, 1999:29; Rosaldo, 1989).

At least two features of the politics of justification are relevant to this study. The first is the concept of positionality, which concerns an individual's location or situation to another place or person, or their condition of advantage or social position in business or society. How the world is viewed, how reality is constructed, how meaning and value is ascribed to an individual's life are, according to Gary Howard, "intimately connected to our position within social and historical hierarchies of dominance and subordination" (Howard, 1999:29). This is demonstrated by Māori having to justify their positionality as leaders, tribal members, and experts qualified in their particular field.

With mainstream you're always trying to ...justify who you are and they're always questioning about ...what qualifications do you have? [AR90956/75b]...they don't exactly come straight out with do you have qualifications? They go around about like...what do you see your role as? How do you define your role? Where do you fit in the picture? ...I can put a contract in front of them and they'll still say 'so where do you see yourself sitting?' ...We're always having to say who we are. Presenting, presenting, presenting to all the agencies. Drives me nuts! [AR91494/75b]

A common occurrence experienced by participants was having to justify matters

⁴⁸ For example Molefi Kete Asante refers to 'the tragedy of ignorance' as a condition of eurocentric education where "the African American child has suffered disproportionately, but European children are the victims of monoculturally diseased curricula" (Asante, 1995). Charles Mills refers to the notion of an 'epistemology of ignorance' related to the racial contract, whereby 'one has to see the world wrongly, but with the assurance that his set of mistaken perceptions will be validated by white epistemic authority, whether religious or secular' (Mills, 1997:18).

that were Māori specific such as the development of initiatives (programmes) or procedures (strategies) relevant to Māori people based on Māori cultural values.

I worked for WINZ⁴⁹...you just had to justify things all the time like in terms of the importance of karakia (prayer)⁵⁰ or the importance of you know just everyday things [RR6285/96b].

If you're wanting to put initiatives forward from a kaupapa Māori perspective ...if it was mainstream you'd have to prove and justify your point and they may not get...what you're initiatives may be, that it would be of benefit to the Māori people... but within a Māori organisation it's not a problem [RR6285/96b].

A major challenge was not only negotiating the process of having Māori centred initiatives accepted by a higher authority, but also somehow ensuring the initiative survived a trial period and Eurocentric monitoring systems ill equipped to measure Māori centred perspectives.

In mainstream you're questioned and justified. They allow you to implement things on a trial basis first to see if activities work or to see if it's having any impact on the tangata whaiora (mental health clients) in terms of their well being [RR34663/96b].

...working through a mainstream system, having to fight for what you know would be good for the people firstly and then getting it monitored all the way down the track...by the mainstream organisation as to its success or failure rate [RR10107/96b].

The politics of justifying the positionality of Māori as legitimate agents of service provision (e.g. qualifications, culture, expertise, role) can also be interpreted as claims against the credibility of Māori organisations and the kaimahi (staff) that work there. Such claims invariably influence and shape the way Māori respond, for example by repeatedly presenting credentials as individuals or as an organisation - *always having to say who we are [AR91494/75b]*, by undergoing training to prove acceptable levels of proficiency or by publishing proof of relevant qualifications.

Māori seem to have to go to a lot of training to prove themselves I think, so that they have more credibility or they seem credible in the eyes of the HHS's⁵¹ ...that's why I've designed my pamphlet and put my qualifications on the front because I've

⁴⁹ Department of Work and Income New Zealand, a government agency.

⁵⁰ The application of the word 'karakia' to public worship is a modern interpretation (Williams, 1971[1844]).

⁵¹ Hospital and Health Services operated between 1997-2001

been asked that many times about 'well what's your qualifications?' ...to see whether I have credibility basically... [TH100443/103b]

Some Government agencies have expressed their surprise at the professionalism of Māori providers, thereby extinguishing unsubstantiated doubts and lack of confidence in Māori capabilities to deliver programmes that they previously held (TPK, 2000d:17).

A second feature of the politics of justification is associated with Pākehā insecurity, anxiety and outrage. This stems from a perception of Māori providers as 'illegitimate' competitors for state funding and the distribution of goods and services long conceived as the sole preserve of non-Māori providers as *our money/our jobs* [LG27640/86b].

...for years they (mainstream providers) have been feeling threatened by Māori providers...it's all to do with their funding being cut as well for them to provide services... the talk was 'they're taking our money that's why our jobs are being cut' and that kind of thing [AR92263/75b].

...some (mainstream providers) have felt threatened by other...providers being out there and you know 'that's our job' sort of thing...they haven't liked the iwi providers being out there...[TH55197/103b].

Pākehā perceptions of Māori providers as illegitimate competitors of service provision is linked in part to a much broader issue and to what Charles Mills refers to as an 'epistemology of ignorance' (Mills, 1997). This concept is related to race and refers to the total constellation of ways of conceiving of the world as western, European, white etc, that prevents self-transparency and genuine understanding of social realities. In other words, it is "...a particular pattern of localized and global cognitive dysfunctions (which are psychologically and socially functional), producing the ironic outcome that whites will in general be unable to understand the world they themselves have made" (Mills, 1997:18).

A question of political will

Pākehā knowledge of Māori people their values, customs and life-ways is generally limited through a lack of historical knowledge, miseducation⁵² (Woodson, 1933) and faithful adherence to stereotype, myth and misinformation. Limitations observed by participants were demonstrated by Pākehā attitudes to Māori and by

regimes of practice based on an ‘epistemology of ignorance.’ This lack of knowledge of Māori cultural values, the historical legacy of colonialism and its devastating impact on indigenous lives has had profound consequences for the way Pākehā are able to relate to Māori people.

This is due in part to Pākehā isolation or ‘cultural encapsulation’⁵³ from Māori experience and interaction. Participants found that in the course of their work delivering social services in Māori communities, Pākehā are not always able to comprehend in any deep and meaningful way the complexities and cultural nuances that they are exposed to. Commenting on the attitudes of some of his Pākehā social work colleagues during visits to homes of Māori people one social worker revealed,

...Our colleagues will go in and go ‘oh the worst pig sty I’ve ever been into’ and start running them down. I mean don’t blame the people. I think poverty’s got more to do with it than anything else and you know that’s as good as it gets for a lot of people and we (Māori) accept it [AR28564/70].

Educationalist Gary Howard reflecting on his own experience as a White American explains that,

“...members of the dominant group in any society do not necessarily have to know anything about those people who are not like them. For our survival and carrying on of the day-to-day activities of our lives, most White Americans do not have to engage in any meaningful personal connection with people who are different. This is not a luxury available to people who live outside of dominance...the luxury of ignorance reinforces and perpetuates White isolation”(Howard, 1999:12).

Such isolation is manifest, for example in the way that cultural values are understood and traditions interpreted.

...To see a whole lot of mattresses on the living room floor it’s strange to Pākehā’s...they frown on that. ‘What do they want to do? Oh sleep? Oh Yuk.’...you know their mind thinks oh maybe sexual connotations or indecencies occur and I think oh get away with you [AR28564/70] [MW40916/90].

⁵² This concept is borrowed from Carter Woodson who in his book entitled ‘The Mis -Education of the Negro’ argues, in the case of African Americans, that for an education that is substantive and meaningful to the context of American society it must address the African’s historical experiences, both in Africa and America. In the context of New Zealand the education system has favoured a largely Eurocentric curriculum, which has resulted in a significant proportion of the New Zealand population generally ignorant about Māori historical experiences that have not been otherwise distorted by an equally uninformed media. For further discussion see for example (Slack, 2004).

⁵³ Gary Howard uses this concept to refer to the way in which many White Americans remain isolated and ‘culturally encapsulated’ from interacting with anyone other than White folk (Howard, 1999:17).

In these situations Māori response is often reduced to an ‘informalized’ education of Pākehā people, where Māori feel compelled to explain (and justify) cultural values, practices, customs and habits in the context of the workplace.⁵⁴

I’m saying well you know when the whānau come I do it myself, out come the mattresses down they go and it’s where everyone sleeps. Well where are they gonna sleep? Nowhere else you know. They could go and pay money for a motel and waste money going to sleep like you guys. I say no way! They’re us, they’re part of us so we all sleep together. We don’t think nothing of it’ [AR28564/70b].

...it’s trying to tell them hey we are different we do things differently and just be aware of it and so that they know...we’re forever explaining to people at work why we do things, how we do them...and there’s always a story behind it...We’re always telling people a lot of the stories why, how things came to be and a lot of them are actually quite grateful [AR28564/70b].

What is problematic about an ‘informalized’ education of Pākehā in the workplace is that it can increase the workloads of Māori and places the burden of upskilling Pākehā about Maori values and cultural perspectives on Māori people as if it were their sole responsibility.

We do go and do cultural awareness within groups like...people that are looking after elderly. We go in and talk to them about the cultural safety parts for Māori when they are... going to be handling ...some of our Māori clients [HG12571/84].

I think myself that Pakeha’s fear of the unknown is his worst enemy. I think because he doesn’t really know, the people take the time to explain why we do things in a certain manner [AL28564b]

By depending on Māori colleagues to provide informalized education on cultural matters in a sustained way (*we’re forever explaining to people at work why we do things*) is to abdicate responsibility for self-improvement. A persistent reliance on Māori goodwill, however appreciative, without a genuine commitment or the initiative to take responsibility for self-improvement, is exploitative. As participants argue earlier in this chapter, it is certainly an expectation that Māori have acceptable levels of proficiency and relevant qualifications to work with all clients including

⁵⁴ [AB38033/72b]

non-Māori. The dilemma of indigenous peoples upskilling non-indigenous people is not particular to the New Zealand context.

Speaking about similar instances experienced by Aborigine in Australia Howard insists,

“...Aborigine people should not have to be continually responsible for re-educating Whites. White educators and leaders in the White community should take on the responsibility of undoing White ignorance, rather than relying on people from other racial groups to carry this burden”(Howard, 1999:77).

Māori goodwill in all of this stems primarily from a concern for the wider implications of uninformed people working *insensitively* with Māori clients. Most often if Māori clients are perceived to be at risk then Māori staff feel obligated to carry the consequences of inappropriate regimes of practice imposed by the incompetency of Pākehā when it comes to dealing appropriately with Māori whānau. Many Pākehā will also use their lack of knowledge as an excuse to abdicate responsibility of Māori clients. The consequences for Māori health professionals and social workers include increased workloads and associated pressures, disproportionate to that of their Pākehā colleagues.

Our (Māori manager) tries as hard as she can to save us in terms of the work that's out there. But it's like they (Pākehā colleagues) say 'oh it's a Māori case we think that you should have it'. Four of us can't take on all the Māori kids that come into care [TS37346/104].

...case-loads were getting heavier and...a lot more intense... they were putting me on cases...like the hard-bin cases...the ugly ones from (hapū) or for our region [MK60321/88b].

Sometimes because the nurses don't know...culturally sensitive things with Māori people...they can't communicate properly with our Māori clients and because of their insensitivity as far as Māori are concerned we are finding we have to double back and double track and go back with our people each time...I just feel...why should we have to keep going back to make sure that they're getting it right with our people and that becomes a bit of a hassle especially when you've got three hundred clients to look after and having to double track back two and three times...to get it right...I find that a bit frustrating. But it's part of the job no doubt... [HG4861/84b].

The contradiction for Māori staff is that, while the frustration of witnessing and experiencing repeated patterns of inappropriate practice (e.g. *can't communicate*

properly with Māori clients /insensitivity as far as Māori are concerned) results in increased workloads, the repetitive nature of such practice eventually leads to acquiescence and an acceptance (or sense of powerlessness) that such practices are the norm and therefore *part of the job no doubt*.

Exposing barriers to effective relationships

The colonial mindset that perpetuates such practices at both the macro level (i.e. the state and its institutions) and the micro level (the individual – manager, administrator, nurse, social worker etc.) is embedded in assumptions that serve to reinforce unequal power relations that create barriers to effective progress in terms of Māori/Pākehā relations. From a Māori perspective the concept of positionality has been applied to explain the politics of justification imposed as a way of countering social and political hierarchies of dominance and epistemologies of ignorance. From a Pākehā point of view the historical legacy of colonisation, is a positionality based on a particular account of social reality constructed through hegemonic institutions such as schools, the church and government policy in a way that justifies and perpetuates positions of power, authority, control and dominance (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

The extent to which such positions continue to be influenced by colonial attitudes and values has been demonstrated at the institutional/macro level (structural, policy, regulation etc.). At the interpersonal/micro level Pākehā health professionals and social workers were observed to marginalise and impose barriers to Māori participation through various forms of actions and attitudes. These included: gate-keeping tactics that prevented some Māori clients access to specialist care,⁵⁵ the mistreatment of Māori patients,⁵⁶ unfair workloads carried by Māori nurses and social workers which were greater than that of their Pākehā counterparts⁵⁷ and the use of derogatory language in reference to Māori clients.⁵⁸

Participants perceived philosophical differences in the values and ethical traditions between Pākehā approaches to delivering services in the field and those

⁵⁵ [LG24858/86b][RR87244/97]

⁵⁶ [ST19774/99-100b]

⁵⁷ [TS37346/104b] [HG4861/84b]

⁵⁸ [ST20947/100b] [TS36558/104b]

of Māori. In many instances it is these differences that are at the center of Māori anxiety and lack of confidence in the political will of Pākehā to provide services that are appropriate and relevant.

...if we're in a room of Pākehā and we're talking about health contracts, you know at the very forefront of our mind is what's going to be their direct impact with services back down on our people?' ...if it's not going to fit, if it's not going to impact directly back on our people then we'll debate and argue... [MA198813/87b]

Three broad principles underscore the differences between Māori and Pākehā workers 'at the interface' that were identified by the participants: the principle of whanaungatanga (collegial support), the principle of whānau (maintaining families) and the principle of whakapapa (geneological knowledge). For example, in line with liberal thinking Pākehā social workers may operate as individuals in specialised teams often isolated and with little support. Māori preference is to work under the principle of whanaungatanga, that is as a roopu or group providing generic services. At an individual level the value of a whanaungatanga approach is the supportive environment that is engendered by working collectively as emphasised by this participant.

In the Roopu team we've been able to do generic social work so we haven't specialised like the mainstream have. They've got a group that do intake and investigation work, they've got a long-term care team. In Napier they've got the same, special long term care team and investigation...all the old and experienced hands end up in the nice cushy care team looking after long term care...all the new chums get thrown in doing all that investigation, all that foot slogging hard intake work and assessing...so as a result they don't last more than a couple of years and they...get burn out...I think that us being Māori...we're able to awahi (support) each other [AR44677/70b].

The principle of whānau refers to the goal of maintaining a collective approach, of working together and of resolving issues consistent with Māori values and traditions. The pragmatic interpretation and modification of state policies by Te Rūnanga o Raukawa such as the Whānau Ora programme to correspond with the needs and concerns of the whole whānau outlined earlier in this chapter, is consistent with the principle of whānau. Many Pākehā social workers do not understand the value of maintaining the whānau unit, preferring instead to operate strictly within

the state policy of fragmenting and dividing families as advocated by CYFS.⁵⁹

If a notification comes in you should begin looking for whānau, hapū and iwi...our colleagues they were coming in and straight away they were taking out these temporary agreements as opposed to us trying...straight away to find a whānau and hapū and iwi...we wanted to work with family to keep them with family... [MW7582/89b].

There is also the criticism that CYFS is ‘blinded’ by family/whānau assurances and fail to take the child out of a risk-laden environment. For example, they are not always aware of the Māori risk factors and therefore tend to over-react. They have difficulty recognising subtle signals thereby either overreacting by taking every child out of the whānau context or under-reacting and leaving the children in dangerous situations.

Another difference between how Māori and Pākehā conceive work in the delivery of services is linked to the principle of whakapapa. For Māori whakapapa is a complex matrix of connections, relations, associations, linkages, bonds and relationships that permeate entire regions and geographies of place which is why as a tool it is so valuable. Few Pākehā have access to the advantages whakapapa provides. Even when they work among Māori communities Pākehā fail to recognise their exclusion from whakapapa frameworks as a significant limitation. Within the rūnanga it is a tool that is used to good effect by kaimahi. Whakapapa plays an important role in the ability to network effectively or plan alternative strategies for maintaining the principle of whānau.

A long-term care team in mainstream...came to a meeting...and they talked about this family and straight away I recognised the name. I said ‘that sounds like a Wairoa⁶⁰ name’ and they said, ‘it is. How do you know?’ [MW10852/89b].

We know our community so intimately and having looked at all the names that keep coming up on the social welfare book...we know all those whānau...I says let’s just take some of our money and go and work with them...their parents need jobs, the kids need schooling...He (government politician) said ‘look we’re in the business of fishing people out’ ve the gutter not running up the street to see who’s chucking them in’. And that’s where they’re (politicians) at. Dead end street. We would go upstream, look at the whānau, look at the whakapapa and start working there. And those are two fundamental differences in the approaches of the contracts that we buy into and how we’d do things [NT108668/91b].

⁵⁹ [MW20454/16b] [AW170182/47]

Art of Resistance

The art of resistance, as it is applied in the context of this study, refers to the multiple strategies by which an individual or group oppose, counter, contest or reject those structures (e.g. social, political, economic) that serve to reproduce and preserve ideologies of dominance. Power relations, as Foucault has argued, can assist in resistance

“...because they are capable of being utilised in strategies; ...there are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised; resistance to power does not have to come from elsewhere to be real...it exists all the more by being in the same place as power; hence, like power, resistance is multiple and can be integrated in global strategies (Foucault, 1980:142).”

The art of resistance by indigenous peoples at the interface with the state and at the interpersonal level through a localised exercise of state power is manifest in multiple strategies - forms, spaces, sites, acts, cultures or communities of resistance. For instance, indigenous accounts of history are counter-narratives to western histories told through the lens of the colonised. The imperative to tell stories and counter-narratives to western accounts are examples of powerful forms of resistance (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:2 & 35). Spaces of marginalisation (school, workplace etc.) are simultaneously spaces of resistance (Jahnke, 1996; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:4). The media (television, radio, film, newspapers) (Money, 1997:363-388), art galleries and museums (Coody-Cooper, 1997:403-410; Jahnke, 1991; Martine, 2003:257-263) are among critical sites of resistance. In many respects the art of resistance is contingent upon what Freire has emphasised, in relation to educators, which is a prevailing relationship between political lucidity in a reading of the world and the various levels of engagement in the process of mobilisation and organisation for the defense of rights, or for laying claim to justice for example (Freire, 1995:40).

It is possible therefore to highlight some examples of strategies of resistance, or processes of mobilisation or assumptions of agency, described by participants in this study to particular rationalities of the state. Rationalities embodied in policies (such as ‘narrowly fixed’) or the actions of individuals that undermine or place at

⁶⁰ The name of a small rural town that has a large Māori population. It is in another district from the one in which this participant is located.

risk the aspirations of the rūnanga. These strategies can be classified into several broadly defined categories: knowing the enemy; knowledge of ‘the inside’; tuning into politics.

Knowing the enemy

Knowledge of the system and knowledge of ‘living experience’ has generated among the participants a political lucidity and discernment when choosing the best tactics to use in encounters with the state or its agents. As one manager asserts in terms of negotiating with state agencies,’

It’s knowing the enemy. This is...the background that I got taught...that you get in the managers head and you sit on his side...find out what they’re thinking for what your response (will be). It’s always wise to have a fall back position because in negotiations there’s never such a thing as a total win. Never! [DE133737/60b]

The metaphor of ‘war’ and the language of warfare applied to define the nature of power relations between indigenous peoples and the state- e.g. enemy, tactic, surveillance, defence and so on, underpin a discourse of resistance. For instance, according to Alfred ‘know thine enemy’ (*getting into the managers head*) is still good advice when preparing oneself for battles against debilitating systems and structures of power (Alfred, 1999:33). Paulo Freire argued that to counteract and change systems of power, control and authority that create barriers, restrictions, constraints and limitations requires knowledge of the system (Freire, 1994:31).

“We need to know who we can count on in the total space and who we cannot count on. We must know where our enemies within the institution are? Who are those people who are watching us to catch us in any mistake? We need to know exactly who we can count on to join forces and produce more and be better”(Freire, 1994:53).

Freire’s counsel confirms the concerns of this participant who, speaking out about working with state agencies, insisted...

⁶¹ Foucault has used the concept of surveillance in relation to the ‘institutional gaze’ and innovations in architecture since the 17th century. For example the ‘medical gaze’ in the observation of individuals in hospital. In the penal system, the panopticon invented by architect Jeremy Bentham in the 18th century, was a technology of power designed to solve problems of the ‘overseers gaze’(Foucault, 1980:146-165)

We have to work twice as hard in here you know for Māori...because you know they're (non-Māori) always watching. Māori make a mistake, hey it gets all over the paper. Our tauwiwi (non-Māori) make a mistake it gets hidden, nothing gets talked about...we have to continue to be stronger and work harder than our tauwiwi colleagues...[MW82906/91b].

The notion of 'watching,' however, need not work in opposition to Māori interests. Acquiring knowledge of the 'enemy' for instance, can involve a particular form of resistance, a process of surveillance⁶¹ involving covert observation, close watching, scrutiny and reconnaissance as a basis for deliberate action as the following excerpt illustrates.

...You can tell...whom ever your dealing with (that) they've (government agents) gone and asked some questions about you before they've come in...Who are we dealing with? Who are the key players? What makes them tick?...Immediately you'll see whether they're uncomfortable their body language starts giving it off...I don't mind...testing them just putting them on the spot...it means a lot to me...Usually in the negotiations...I'll actually set part of my time where we...meet before hand. We determine the tactics that we're going to use...including...what signals that I'm using. Its about what's the next move for me and who's job is it to do what...your job is to watch him or her and you watch their movements, watch their eyes, watch their hands... watch their body language. So...we're watching all the time...your job is to scribe this, take it down. They don't have a scribe but we have, we want a scribe...something that I've learnt that you never go in there under prepared, and you always have a fall back position...when it's in the heat of the negotiations and the temperature may have been raised...I'll call an adjournment [DE65689/82b].

While the notion of 'watching' and reading non-verbal language are tactics aimed at engagement with the state, they are also utilized as barriers against the state such as preventing government agencies gaining access to Māori homes.

I always found with the Health Department they wanted to know how to get into our homes, how do we do things? And of course Aunty was very clear, 'you are not telling them how you do it. I think it was because our Māori people are the ones who are to go into our homes...they'll let you in cause they know who you are by your whakapapa. But you are not to abuse it by stepping in there and then carrying in offerings from the Health Department'...I'd see Aunty because...we learnt a lot of body language. I learnt a lot with Aunty. She wouldn't have to say a word, but I could tell by her ahua (body language)...[MK10472/87b].

Knowledge of the inside

A synthesis of knowledge of the system, gained for example through surveillance

and reconnaissance, is made all the more possible by the benefits accrued through experiencing what it is like to work 'inside' state institutions and outside Māori frameworks.

I personally found that extremely beneficial that I have knowledge of a hospital environment, of working in one with regard to being able to inform people in the community as to how to access what's needed...or what to expect when you meet with a hospital service...that benefits our...Māori in the community [AE69919/78b].

The information shared by participants with Māori communities about institutional processes (e.g. access) and structures (e.g. hospital services) they have experienced, is in consonance with the strategic objectives of Māori communities including tribal rūnanga. Knowing the processes of how state institutions work ultimately benefits the people. For instance, many Māori, particularly the elderly, are reticent about accessing GP's, while others are distrustful. Among strategies to increase Māori participation and access to health services engaged by participants in this study, include developing working relationships with health professionals through, for example, joining professional associations.

...having a good working relationship with the GP's...through the Independent Practitioners Association (MIPA)...The rūnanga...has proven their credibility. Individuals within our organisation have proven their credibility to GP's and others in the hospital to the point where it's no longer having to go there with a pamphlet and explain who you are...they know you through your communications with them...Knowing the processes of how organisations work is beneficial to the people in the community [AE70571/78b].

The importance of gaining access to a professional association like the MIPA is because such organisations are involved with the practical affairs of the profession they represent and offer opportunities to make connections that active membership provides. Associations that are monocultural and self-serving however, and which offer few benefits to Māori professionals become sites of resistance simply because they are in and of themselves a tactical means to an end.

...organisations like MIPA they have the GP's, they coordinate...they have the immunisation coordinators...they run update sessions for Independent Vaccinators which we are... they're actually looking after themselves. The information or the services that they give to the Rūnanga are basically tokenism...we attend them cause we have to in order to stay certified...everything they are delivering is of no

benefit to us but we still attend it and get our little paper that says we attended...[AE96608/80b].

Tuning into politics

Indigenous encounters with the state are of necessity political acts because such encounters have a form and context that relate to power in society. The nature of ‘being political’ requires among other things, observing with judgement, a critical contact with reality, a critical analysis of the condition of indigenous lives, and a dialogue about society that reveals, exposes and unveils reasons for being like it is. In other words, “(a)s conscious human beings, we can discover how we are conditioned by the dominant ideology...we can learn how to become free through a political struggle in society”(Shor & Freire, 1987:13).

Therefore, ‘being political’ or ‘tuning into politics’ is a condition of what it means to work for tribal organisations such as rūnanga, in the framework of the state. As this manager discovered, being political does not come about by choice.

I don't think of myself as being political but I find that you have to be. You have to become more tuned into that...I don't like that kind of mahi. But in order to look at the benefit to our organization we have to be [AE94170/80b].

The same manager described ‘tuning into politics’ as being *mind games* [AE94955/80b], the kind of ‘mind games’ associated with ‘knowing the enemy’, with the cut and thrust of *getting in the managers head* and with processes of surveillance. The practice of ‘being political’ includes securing the visibility of the rūnanga in the broader societal sphere through, for example, attending relevant meetings and ‘watching out’ for the iwi’s best interest,⁶² sitting on committees and boards, and attending courses.⁶³ Concomitant with a concern for visibility is maintaining a voice for the rūnanga⁶⁴ through informed representatives who know what they are talking about.⁶⁵ Overtime, the practice of securing visibility and maintaining an informed voice for the rūnanga in the wider societal context results in the development of a culture of resistance.

⁶² [AE94170/80b]

⁶³ [TH15060/102b]

⁶⁴ [AE94955/80b]

⁶⁵ [AE95466/80b]

Chapter Seven

Characteristics of Tribal Organisations

“...at stormy times, when the wind blows, if the kahikatea tree should grow on its own, then it will fall over because of the shallowness of the roots. However, as they stand together, the roots have become interwoven with one another. When the wind blows and a tree should lean over, then it is held in place by the roots of another tree” (Marsden, 2003:79).

Generally, when reference is made to Māori or iwi organisations public perceptions tend to align with Bourdieu’s notion of ‘phantasms’ as opposed to actual realities. In other words, figments of the mind fed and stimulated by “...uncontrolled words and images, such as those conveyed in the tabloids and by political propaganda or rumour”(Bourdieu, 1999:123). Apart from reports and broadcasts carried out by the Māori media¹ (Mackay, 2000; TuMai, 2000a:18-20; 2000b:22-23), Māori and iwi service provider organisations rarely feature positively in any substantial way in the national media consciousness.² Phantasms about Māori organisations and initiatives largely generated by media frenzy, talkback hype and political opportunism,³ prompted Tariana Turia to usher a warning during her time as Associate Minister of Māori affairs, that Māori service providers be prepared for

“...an onslaught of public attacks, and relentless nitpicking criticism of everything they do. There is a growing mood of indignant anger against any Māori initiative at the moment. Māori service providers will always be vulnerable to mud-slinging. That is because the goals of whānau development are not widely understood, and their work is judged against inappropriate criteria...those who judge, especially self-appointed guardians of mainstream values in the media do not seem to care how much they hurt people who put their heart and soul into uplifting our people...The story they tell of our people ripping off the system, is very rarely the full picture”(Robb, 2003).

This chapter not only challenges misinformed discourse and stereotypical mindsets inscribed in substantialist thought, but it also offers valuable insights into the realities of participants work-day lives, by exploring the nature of iwi provider

¹ Including Iwi Radio broadcasts, Māori Television service, Mana News.

² See for example, (Carter, 21/02/03; “Chairman of social services agency quits after one week,” 12/9/02; “Maori health trust now to face police,” 10/10/02; “Northland Maori health agency placed into liquidation,” 9/4/03).

³ See for example, (“MP wanting heads to roll.,” 25/2/03).

organisations. In particular, those distinctive characteristics, special features and symbolic markers identified by the participants that distinguish an iwi organisation from other providers delivering the same service.

Four interconnecting themes emerged from this study relating to the distinguishing characteristics, which provide a systematic basis for exploration. Chapter Seven deals with two of the themes. The first theme ‘ngā mahi a ngā tāngata’ examines some of the distinctive features pertinent to Māori agency involving the role of iwi service providers. That is, the way that the organisation advocates for Māori, their responsiveness to Māori needs and strategies for providing relevant services identified as unique to Māori. The implication for tangata whenua employees, or members of the local tribe within which the organisation is located, is also considered.

This discussion provides the context for a second interrelated theme that emerges as a distinctive feature of iwi organisations, ‘ngā mahi mā te iwi’. This theme considers how links to the Māori communities are constituted relative to whānau, hapū and marae, and the realities of how such links are understood and maintained in practise.

While Chapter Six examined the inter-relationships between Māori and the state and between Māori and Pākehā within the context of service provision, Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight are essentially about relationships between Māori that are lived and experienced ‘on the ground’ within the organisations and between Māori communities. The theoretical context is therefore grounded within the Māori philosophical traditions explored in Chapter Two, and applied throughout these chapters and contextualised against relevant frameworks in international literature. A review of the extant research on Māori or iwi service provider organisations highlights the need for a more expansive critique of Māori organisations in line with the four themes outlined in this chapter and Chapter Eight in order to expand the otherwise narrowly defined parameters of current investigative studies.

The parameters of enquiry

There is a dearth of studies that explore Māori service providers generally and their distinguishing characteristics in particular. While most of the studies are state

sponsored there are some independent investigations that relate to Māori organisations. For example, Rachel Wolfgramm's study of contemporary Māori organisations highlights the important role of cultural values and customs in the development of organisational cultures. The study found that organisations with a strong identity, clear mission and purpose were more likely to exhibit cultural harmony as opposed to cultural dissonance. Despite this, Wolfgramm argues that external forces of informal and formal institutionalism, a dominant economic ideology and path dependency may play a role in determining the culture, form, function and strategic orientation of contemporary Māori organisations (Wolfgramm, 2002).

In her study of the 'Well Child' health programme provided by a Māori urban provider organisation, Sue Crengle found that the operational characteristics appeared to facilitate the accessibility and acceptability of the programme among its Māori clients. She argues that these factors are due in large part to the provision of services by a Māori provider, with predominantly Māori staff whose practices are based on Māori customs, values and beliefs. She concluded that the programme not only offers a range of services that address the needs of the whānau collectively than solely the individual child, the service also addresses the social, training and employment needs of the workers which fall outside those services narrowly conceived as strictly health specific (Crengle, 1998).

John Waldon's study focussed specifically on the development of iwi organisations in Te Tai Tokerau, through the introduction of a mechanism described as 'budget holding'- a process of purchasing public health services for various sectors of the population. Successful application of the mechanism was considered to be dependant on addressing management issues, ensuring effective communication between providers and negotiating directly with the funder in order to maximise capacity development. The success of 'budget holding' in Te Tai Tokerau was found to be reliant on the skill of the budget holder to identify not only relevant health provider organisations but also to identify health priorities and solutions to meet health needs. Waldon concluded that as a mechanism for Māori provider development, 'budget holding' offers a possible solution for identifying and growing Māori health providers (Waldon, 1998).

Organisational approaches utilised by Māori to achieve their developmental goals and aspirations within the context of Māori cultural, social and economic development, was the focus of Brendan Puketapu's study. Drawing on a number of disciplines including Māori history, ecology, environmental and development studies, three themes were explored: the theme of development, the theme of organisation and the dynamic relationships between Māori themselves and with others.

Among the conclusions reached by Puketapu is that despite the research findings casting some doubt on current organisational capacities, Māori development requires an organisational infrastructure capable of operationalising aspirations and plans. He argues that unless a Māori organisation accords with the values and beliefs of modern Māori society as the underlying philosophy of the organisation then a Māori identity is likely to be compromised. However, organisations should be treated as vehicles to advance Māori aspirations without on the one hand, compromising the values and practices that are fundamental to 'being Māori', while on the other hand not being blinded by such practices and values either (Puketapu, 2000).

The importance of the nature and value of relationships rather than organisational structures offers greater potential for forming helpful alliances, cooperative enterprises and sharing scarce resources. This requires Māori organisations to function within a legal context whilst maintaining shared values and principles, such as the common bonds and alliances that underpin whanaungatanga (Puketapu, 2000:314).

Of particular significance however, is Puketapu's argument that Māori organisations need to reflect and respond to a Māori identity within a modern day context, rather than necessarily isolated within the collective tribal identity or the individual Māori identity. He points out the complexities of a Māori identity is central to Māori development goals and objectives particularly when interacting beyond tribal boundaries. Being both tribal and non-tribal represents a duality that is the reality of all Māori and that while whakapapa is a prerequisite for tribal inclusion it is not necessary for participation in the wider society. "As Māori development is predicated on the assumption that Māori people are principally involved then the diverse nature of the Māori identity in contemporary circumstances

is inextricably connected to all the dimensions that encapsulate what being Māori means”(Puketapu, 2000:315). A key indicator of positive Māori development in the future will be the quality of relationship between Māori and Māori.

From an international indigenous perspective Josee Lavoie concentrated on the contractual environment experienced by indigenous providers of primary health care services in four country’s including New Zealand. Among her conclusions she identified that indigenous primary health care services appear to serve both indigenous aspirations for self-determination and government’s commitment to controlling health expenditure. However, Lavoie warned that such a process places the onus of responsibility for indigenous health inequalities with Indigenous health providers. She suggests that services operating within a competitive environment, such as in New Zealand, were more likely to access funding through a multiplicity of fragmented contracts. The study recommended, among others, that iwi providers develop an approach to health services based on single contracts and which reflect Māori concepts of public health (Lavoie, 2003).

A number of state funded studies relevant to Māori service provision offer further insights into Māori provider organisations. For example, among key features of Māori Primary Care Services outlined by Crengle in her report to the National Health Committee were that when services are governed and operated by Māori organisations or groups, the fundamental principles that guide the philosophy and development of the services are Māori, and that cultural values, beliefs and practices (tikanga Māori) inform the development and delivery of services (Crengle, 1999). In Māori mental health services for example, Wi Keelan has identified six key characteristics that demonstrate a Māori perspective: management by Māori for Māori; the incorporation of Māori custom or tikanga; the involvement of whānau, hapū and iwi; the use of traditional Māori healing practices, and the provision for cultural assessment, cultural practices and whakawhanaungatanga or family-like relationship building (Keelan, 1997. In Durie, 2001a:227).

The report by Te Puni Kōkiri: Ministry of Māori Development (TPK) identified some of the characteristics of Māori provider organisations identified by the providers themselves. These include an overwhelming commitment to the enhancement and wellbeing of Māori people; a distinct delivery model based on

Māori philosophy and values; and a recognition of whānau as the primary unit for social change (TPK, 2000c:15). Other relevant government reports centre on Māori provider views of state agencies, the performance of state agencies in service delivery to Māori (TPK, 2000a, 2001), the evaluation of state funding of Māori providers (TPK, 2000c) and government policy concerning the provision of social services to Māori (Benton, Scrimgeour, Westbrook, Barclay-kerr, & Wahanui, 2000).

One significant state-sponsored study that has relevance for this thesis, is concerned with iwi and Māori provider success (I.R.I, 2002).⁴ The research sought views on provider success from a range of Māori providers and several government agencies. The study argues that the successful delivery of services and programmes by iwi providers is the key to building Māori community capacity and to addressing disparities between Māori and non-Māori. Among the facilitators of success identified by providers include, the necessity for providers to determine their own futures; the freedom to operationalise Māori values and practices; and the ability to develop and maintain positive and collaborative interactions and relationships (I.R.I, 2002: ii). Some of the findings from the research reports and studies reviewed are reflected in this study, and these will be highlighted. An important distinction however is the emphasis here on what constitutes an iwi organisation that is distinct from other providers within the wider New Zealand societal context, who deliver similar services.

Ngā mahi a ngā tangata

Role of Māori service provider

It is useful to examine the role of Māori service provider organisations within the context of state and provider definitions of what constitutes a Māori or iwi provider. According to Te Puni Kokiri, there is no single government agency definition. Some definitions are prescriptive, and focus on the nature of the services provided, while others rely on self-identification or prioritise ownership and governance. These are either explicit statements or general accounts. What is

⁴ The project was sponsored by the Ministry of Research, Science and Technology and Te Puni Kokiri and was carried out by a team of researchers from the International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education (IRI) located at the University of Auckland.

problematic about such variations in definition is that there appears to be no clear understanding across agencies thereby resulting in ambiguity and contradiction where providers are considered Māori providers in one instance and mainstream providers in another (TPK, 2000c:13).

Neither is there a single definition held among Māori providers regarding what constitutes a Māori provider. The debate centres largely on the degree of power (in terms of governance) and control, a provider possesses. For instance, can a provider who is part of a mainstream organisation but delivering Māori centred services ('for Māori by Māori' principle) be considered a Māori provider? Or should those organisations controlled and governed by Māori only, be defined as Māori providers? (TPK, 2000b; 2000c:13).

According to one study, the general consensus on the definition is a provider of services or goods for iwi and Māori by iwi and Māori. An important factor is having control over what providers do (I.R.I, 2002:50). Moreover, in some areas such as Taitokerau, at least three distinctive groupings of providers were identified: iwi providers, Māori providers and kaupapa Māori service providers. Iwi providers are those who deliver services under the auspices of their rūnanga, trust board, hapū or other collaborative iwi arrangement. By contrast Māori providers are independent of iwi structures but maintain the kinship ties or family-like relationships of whanaungatanga. Within the wider community, kaupapa Māori service providers are accountable to the iwi organisations, to Māori within the community and to the institutions (I.R.I, 2002:51).

However, one question remains regarding the distinction between iwi-based providers and other Māori service providers who may be whānau, hapū or community based, and their relationship with the Crown (Durie, 2002:7). The Waitangi Tribunal, in a report on a community based urban Māori organisation, established that Māori as a whole benefit from the Treaty not only iwi (WAI414, 1998). The implication being that treaty relationships should be broader than one that is situated exclusively between the Crown and iwi based providers (TPK, 2000c:14). Concomitant with this is the view that tribal approaches are not sufficient by themselves to adequately address the totality of Māori aspirations. What also needs to be taken into account is the fact that contemporary Māori society is

organised along a range of local and national bodies that promote varied choices along lines that are either cultural, tribal, sectoral, religious or sporting codes (Durie, 2002:7).

In recognition of these views, and within the context of the Governments Māori provider and workforce development strategy, Te Puni Kōkiri has presented a definition that attempts to encompass a broad range of Māori providers with specific attention given to the locus of control. Briefly,

“...Māori providers have been defined as whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations who provide...services to...Māori individuals, whānau, hapū, iwi or Māori communities; are owned or governed by whānau, hapū, iwi or Māori organisations; have identifiable and clear accountabilities to whānau, or hapū or iwi or Māori communities; and are dedicated to meeting the needs of Māori clients”(TPK, 2000c:14).

This definition, and the Taitokerau definition of an iwi provider closely align with definitions that iwi organisations in this study endorse as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. It is within the terms of their organisations’ definitions that participants in this study considered their ‘role as providers’ a determining characteristic of a Māori/iwi provider. At least three factors emerged from participants’ perceptions of their role centering principally on agency: advocacy, responsiveness and relevant provision.

Advocacy

The notion of advocacy - of advising, assisting or motivating Māori clients and their whānau, or speaking and acting on their behalf, is aimed at ensuring access to individual and/or collective rights, entitlements and participation in public spheres such as health, justice, education or social service provision. The concept of advocacy as a theoretical approach is linked to, among other disciplines, development and global studies (Waisbord, 2001), health promotion and business management research (McMurray & Pace, 2000), community development (Howard, 1999; Rasey, nd) and human rights (Torczyner, 2001). For the most part, the literature associates advocacy with disadvantaged, disempowered or subordinated individuals or communities who require intervention of some kind to facilitate change.

For example, social advocacy "...promotes social rather than individual and behavioural changes to health issues. It approaches health not as a personal issue but as a matter of social justice"(Waisbord, 2001:25). Rather than seeking to change the habit of the individual smoker, resources and groups are politically mobilized in support of changing public opinion and targeting tobacco companies. Social conditions are the target of intervention rather than persuading individuals about the benefits of certain lifestyles (Waisbord, 2001:25).

On the other hand, 'counter attitudinal advocacy' aims to influence change at the level of the individual through active participation and collaboration in learning processes that involve identifying, creating and presenting rebuttals in advance in order 'to attack their current beliefs'. From this perspective smokers are encouraged to present arguments against smoking by advocating in public forums. The assumption is that such action "...inoculates the person against accepting future arguments to engage in smoking"(McMurray & Pace, 2000). Commenting on 'undoing white ignorance' in education, Gary Howard argues that the work of advocacy by white people involves re-educating white peers about political, social and economic issues regarding indigenous peoples and non-white communities, both at the individual level (working alongside white colleagues) and collectively (white educators and leaders in the white community working together) (Howard, 1999:76-77).

However, it maybe within the context of human rights that the notion of advocacy espoused by participants in this study offers relevant fields of convergence. Māori continue to be active in supporting the Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Mead, 1994), and in presenting iwi objections to breaches of human rights by the New Zealand government at the United Nations (Farquhar, 2004; Keene, 2004)⁵. There is also a burgeoning discourse on indigenous rights (Battiste, 2000; Blaser, Feit, & McRae, 2004; Gale, 1998; Havemann, 1999) that when combined, serve to inform an indigenous rights based position.

Although couched within liberal rhetoric, human rights advocacy is premised

⁵ Ngai Tahu delivered interventions at four sessions of the permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. The Governments Foreshore and Seabed Bill was the basis of Ngai Tahu's claim that rights were being breached by the Government by; extinguishing Māori property rights to the foreshore and seabed, overriding the rule of law and denying Māori the right to commercial benefits from foreshore and seabed (Keene, 2004).

on three principles. The principle of universality assumes that “...fundamental entitlements must be universally guaranteed, comprehensive, accessible and judicable.” It refers to rights, including social and economic, which are applied to all and rendered in a way that is accessible to all people (Torczyner, 2001:87). The principle of reciprocity recognises that “...individuals and groups interact with each other with the expectation that they have equal opportunity to influence each other.” The principle of inclusion acknowledges the rights of individuals to participate (Torczyner, 2001:87).

Human rights advocacy arises in part as a response to persons or communities who, through a process of what Torczyner refers to as ‘disentitlement,’ lose the ability to access rights and influence relationships (Torczyner, 2001:87-88)⁶. According to Torczyner, disentitlement occurs on at least four interrelated levels – personal, communal, institutional and political, that are structured by dimensions of law, relationships and social processes (Torczyner, 2001:89). These four levels involve advocacy as a tool to realise benefits for individuals or groups (Torczyner, 2001:88), thereby offering a useful framework for discussing the advocacy roles described by participants in this study.

Personal disentitlement “...is expressed when people believe, act or feel that they do not deserve equal treatment, that benefits and rights do not apply to them, and that they lack the resources or capacity to stand up for them...”(Torczyner, 2001:88). Participants maintained that offering appropriate assistance, such as transport for medical attention or seeking appropriate specialist care or ensuring relevant support systems are in place for a whānau under duress, is only possible if Māori providers intercept and advocate on behalf of their clients.⁷ This was especially so for *Māori in the community who are a bit whakamā about accessing hospital services* [AE69825/23c], which required the advocate *putting them* [the client] *in contact with the right person* [KL75067/25c]. As one participant argued, *our role is to advocate on behalf of our people. It’s the only way they get help if we advocate for them* [AR16398/21c].

⁶ The conceptualisation of human rights advocacy theory is informed by Project Genesis a programme inspired and initiated by McGill University in Montreal and Israel. For an indepth discussion refer to (Torczyner, 2001).

⁷ [AR94378/22c]

Two important points are worth explanation. First is the notion of ‘whakamā’ which covers a range of meanings including shyness, shame, embarrassment, feelings of inferiority, inadequacy, self-doubt and, (in some instances but not necessarily) guilt. It is a phenomena that when manifest in relation to institutions and bureaucracy’s perceived by Māori as Eurocentric, (e.g. schools, hospitals, medical centres, courtrooms etc.) including interaction with Pākehā professionals (e.g. teachers, nurses, doctors, specialists, lawyers etc.), in these circumstances ‘whakamā’ is most often the manifestation of a sense of inferiority or inadequacy’(Metge, 1976:66).

The second point is that although non-Māori are also capable and many do advocate empathetically on behalf of Māori, in respect of the participants in this study it is Māori who are advocating for Māori clients. The importance of Māori advocacy is demonstrated by the example of recognising behavioural traits such as expressions of whakamā. Such characteristics are often misread by non-Māori (Metge, 1976) and are more likely to be recognised by other Māori who are then able to respond appropriately.

Communal disempowerment occurs “...when the majority of persons constituting the same reference group do not receive sufficient resources or are excluded from influencing decisions that affect their collective welfare...”(Torczyner, 2001:88). Participants did not only consider advocacy in terms of the interests of individual clients. They also considered it their role to advocate on behalf of a collective, such as lobbying either government agencies or the Health Funding Authority (HFA) for sufficient levels of funding for all Māori providers to deliver adequate services to their communities;⁸ or advocating with District Health Boards (DHB) for Māori service providers to be the first point of contact for primary health care.⁹ While participation is a primary aim, for example in influencing decisions regarding funding, it is the terms of participation that are at issue. As Durie argues, “...Participation is not simply gaining comparable levels of participation with other New Zealanders, but being able to participate in the wider society while retaining a

⁸ [AE42687/23c]

⁹ [AR96904/22]

Māori identity”(Durie, 2002:8). A concern aptly reinforced by the following participant in this study;

...[AR said to the HFA] *you send all our Māori people to us, we will refer them to the appropriate agencies. The difficulty with that is, mainstream is saying ‘but not all Māori want to go to Māori’ [providers]. Well that’s okay. Let them’ [Māori clients] come to us. We don’t decide for them. We give them options from our perspective and then they can go [to] wherever [other providers]...*[AR96904/22].

At the communal level, advocacy within the context of the organisations in this study, tends to be adhoc and fragmented as opposed to a specifically organised coalition or cooperative initiated between providers.

Institutional disempowerment concerns “...issues of access and bureaucratic discretion as forms of rationing, which limit the availability of resources despite legal provisions to the contrary...”(Torczyner, 2001:88). State policies that have limited the availability of resources generally, have significantly impacted on low income populations. For Māori this is manifest in issues of access to services such as transport for medical attention or seeking appropriate specialist care or ensuring relevant support systems are in place for whānau under stress. As a strategy, advocacy may be seen as a counter mechanism in redressing the factors that institutionalised the economic and social disadvantage of Māori (Pratt, 1999) in the context of systems of power. The language and culture of bureaucracy often create psychological barriers to access (Chapman, McCaskill, & Newhouse, 1991:335), especially where there is a dearth of Māori in specialised fields of authority - doctors, lawyers, medical specialists, as well as the institutions they inhabit. When used positively, Māori knowledge and experience of institutional systems can be a significant factor in affecting access.

I personally found that extremely beneficial that I have knowledge of a hospital environment, of working in one, with regard to being able to inform people in the community as to how to access what’s needed in the hospital or what to expect when you meet with a hospital service...[AE69825/23c].

Political disempowerment occurs when laws and regulations are discriminatory, include arbitrary restrictions and confer privilege on one group over another (Torczyner, 2001:88-89). In New Zealand, the efficiency with which historical processes of colonisation (for example through discriminatory laws, state

bureaucracies and land confiscations) have shaped the lives of Māori people since 1840 and rendered a sizeable proportion of contemporary Māori society in unequal power relations, is substantial. Especially when Māori absence from privileged spaces (such as positions of power, full employment or high economic status) is considered within New Zealand society as a whole. And particularly in a society, which, as argued in Chapter Five, still preserves the telltale signs of a colonial society moulded concretely and historically of Eurocentric values, behaviours, hierarchies, and misconceptions.

A raft of discriminatory laws and regulations have been the trigger for political activism and resentment over the unremitting alienation and control of Māori land by state laws passed without consultation with Māori (Walker, 1990:213).¹⁰ Whilst the impact of political disenfranchisement on Māori society since the late 19th century has been one of dispossession, disintegration- economically, socially, culturally and psychologically, Māori agency has remained complex and vibrant. A case in point was the recent decision by Ngai Tahu to take the issue of the Crown's controversial Foreshore and Seabed Bill to the United Nations. The claim by Ngai Tahu is that the rights of Māori are being breached by the New Zealand Government extinguishing Māori property rights to the foreshore and seabed, overriding the rule of law and denying Māori the right to commercial benefits from the foreshore and seabed (Keene, 2004). As Keene said,

“...it was a move with a high embarrassment factor for a Government which has taken a lead role on human rights at the UN and enhanced New Zealand's international ‘good citizen’ reputation, by its actions overseas”(Keene, 2004).

However, apart from the proliferation of kura kaupapa Māori (Māori language immersion schools), te kohanga reo (early childhood centres) and te whare wānanga (tertiary institutions) initiated by Māori, the efficacy of Māori agency is no where more evident than in the substantial gains achieved in Māori economic development in recent times. Although still at an emergent stage, the Māori economy is poised to

¹⁰ Such laws include, the Rating Act 1967; the Town and Country Planning Act which prevented Māori from building houses on their own land due to zoning restrictions (Walker, 1990:213). The Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967 which gave the state, under the Māori trustee, compulsory power to purchase ‘uneconomic’ interests in Māori land of under £50. Furthermore, the Act held that Māori land with fewer than four owners lost its designation as Māori land and had to be registered as the same status as European land (Walker, 1990:138-139).

be strong and robust (NZIER, 2003).

The point is contemporary Māori society cannot be isolated from the colonial experience and systems which over time have continued to systematically strip away control by Māori over their lives. While it is acknowledged that considerable gains have been made, the reality is that Māori remain in ‘catch up’ mode in terms of building capacity. An issue very much to the forefront of iwi social, economic and political consciousness as the treaty claims process attests. The primary focus of the Iwi organisations in this study is tribal development at all levels including social and economic, and the provision of services is a tribal response to the ‘catch up’ mode. Participants considered advocacy an important factor in their role as providers, an aspect inextricably linked to being responsive not only to client needs but also to the aspirations of whānau, hapū and iwi.

Responsiveness

Despite obligations that delineate the parameters of government contracts, providers are not averse to stepping outside contractual boundaries to avoid compromising client or community needs. As these senior managers acknowledged,

We’ve got certain obligations...within our contracts...but...we quite often go out of those boundaries and do other things that we’re not even contracted for...like picking them [clients] up and taking them into the doctors...that’s not our role to do that. But quite often transport’s a big issue around here where we have to pick people up and take them down to specialists appointments’ [AR18676/21c].

Cause what’s happening is we’re getting them [clients] there at the bottom...when they go home, they’ve got no kai [food], they got no transport to go to the doctor...so we’re running around like flies looking for what support systems are in place, but usually at the last minute...[AR94378/22c].

What we do as a Māori service is that we go in with a broad view...and we usually meet the needs as determined by the people that we’re working with [AE105486/23c].

From this *broad view* participants described their iwi provider role operating at several levels of responsiveness to their communities. At one level is the need to respond to individual clients across a number of workplace environments-organisational/ bureaucratic/ administrative/ corporate/ domestic (e.g. office, clinic, surgery, private home). The need for advocacy or other concrete means of regular

assistance for the client community where ‘transport is an issue’ and keeping ‘specialist appointments’ a concern, suggests a low income status coupled with high unemployment and low educational achievement (TPK, 1998) are the norm. Institutional disempowerment issues compound these socio economic factors where inaccessibility is manifest in fragmented services as a result of centralisation and specialisation of state services (e.g. a single regional hospital) and their location outside the communities that need them. Fiscal cutbacks by the state contributes to scarce resources (Torczyner, 2001:88).

Another level of iwi provider responsiveness targeting individual clients is located outside conventional spaces within the marae context where cultural institutions such as tangihanga take place.

I see a lot of my kaumatua [elderly clients]...at tangi...it's quite good even though we're there for one specific 'take' [reason]...I can usually find time to ask after their health and how they are. And then...I write that all down in my diary; who I've seen on that day...that saves the phone calling or going to see them...[HG38068/24c].

The cultural context, considered in more depth later in Chapter Eight also straddles a further level of responsiveness that takes place organically, at the ‘grassroots’ within the broad parameters of the collective whānau, hapū and iwi polity.

In terms of hapū and iwi we work together but that puts an obligation on us as the rūnanga to operate actively...we have to be responsive to the needs of our people and sometimes it might not be what we think.... But if that's the desire of the people...we've got to take cognisance of that...[DE78173/23c].

In some instances response to community needs includes those of other state or private institutions where the service provided falls outside a providers contractual jurisdiction. For several years now one provider, although not funded to do so, has utilised the skills and expertise of qualified staff to hold hui or seminars on sexual health education for Māori students of a private girls school. The decision to continue supporting the school by delivering the programme is based on the positive response received from the school and the participating pupils; the programme delivery corresponds with the philosophy of the school and the evaluations from pupils

indicate that the programme is popular and relevant.¹¹ Being responsive to hapū, iwi and community needs, and operating within cultural contexts including tangi, hui and wānanga is linked to providing services that are relevant.

Relevant provision

The ‘relevance factor’ concerns, among others, incorporating Māori viewpoints, values and perspectives as a ‘normal’ condition of service provision. These factors are taken for granted, they serve the interests of Māori and require little, if any, justification or explaining by the iwi providers. For example, providing services to individuals may include having to extend a particular service to extended whānau as well, a situation that is accepted as ‘normal’ by the organisations in this study. Kaimahi feel reasonably ‘free’ to exercise such requirements if it is considered necessary and/or beneficial to the clients concerned. The following excerpt is typical of comments by participants about similar situations they experienced while providing relevant services in health or iwi social services.

“I’ve been quite a few times to some of my kaumatua [elderly clients], and then they talk about somebody else in the whānau...mokopuna [grandchild], daughter, son. It’s the whole extended family...I say well...invite these others [extended family] to come along [to participant’s clinic]...I just feel it’s a good thing that we are an organisation that can do those things [provide for whānau] [HG31772/24c].

This perspective of service provision, that is dealing with clients and encouraging the inclusion of whānau, is consistent with Māori social systems and values, where it is standard practice that an individual (patient, prisoner, student, single parent, child) is considered within the total familial sphere and not in isolation or separate. As mentioned earlier, Wi Keelan identified the involvement of whānau as a key characteristic of a Māori health service (Keelan, 1997. In Durie, 2001a:227). The following participant explains:

There’s little input of Māori solutions to what Māori perceive are their needs and what Pākehā perceive as problems. We don’t perceive them as problems in the same way...we see them as needs. A person can be chronically ill but their well-being can still be intact...if everything else around that person is balanced, like whānau and finances, environments it can still mean that the person in the middle

¹¹ [AE45101/12c]

could be dying...but still have that inner peace...I kind of feel that we're [the organisation] not so much focused on illness as focussed on well-being [AE148975/23c].

Incorporating Māori perspectives, such as taking account of the individual within the context of the whānau, is an underlying assumption that is relevant because the benefits, such as whānau wellbeing (Ruwhiu, 1999), are consistent with the aspirations of Māori communities. Somewhat paradoxically however, participants also raised concerns about the limits they are prepared to go to offer relevant services without compromising the independence of individuals and/or their whānau by encouraging dependency on the iwi provider or the state.

...to a certain degree...we make them [clients] dependent upon us. But once we're in there we hope to encourage them to make them independent...empower them...build up a rapport with them and then slowly ...get in there and help them and ...slowly motivate them to becoming independent because if you just get in there and...leave them to it, nothing happens [LG50698/26c].

...I see our role...as not making them [clients] so dependent on those systems that are in place and really looking at them being independent as individuals in the community...I think that's what we're aiming for in terms of what we're trying to [do]...[PR56288/27c]

Cindy Kiro's claim that Māori have come to believe in the rhetoric of Māori dependency reflected in the same punitive values inherent in new right policies may have some currency here (Kiro, 1998:296). The quandary for iwi is recognising claims of 'dependency' associated with an unwillingness to work, and a level of 'dependency' that has its roots in 150 years of colonial exploitation on the one hand (Puao-te-ata-tu, 1986:57) and market orientated government policies on the other (Kiro, 1998:296).

So far, the first part of the theme 'Ngā mahi a ngā tangata,' which deals with aspects identified by participants as unique to an iwi service provider, has examined some of the distinctive features centred on Māori agency. In particular, the roles iwi service providers adopt advocating for Māori, being responsive to Māori needs and aspirations, and emphasising services that are relevant to their constituent community. The second part of the theme explores the realities for participants who are tangata whenua (members of the local tribe), in whose area the organisation is located.

Working as a tribal member

The freedom to be Māori

It was established in Chapter Three that the basis of tribal membership in Māori society is descent from a common ancestor reinforced in the concepts of ‘whānau’, ‘hapū’ and ‘iwi.’ These terms express the values of common ancestry, close kinship ties and collective unity for mutual benefits. Significantly, all but one participant in this study can claim whakapapa or geneological links to the local iwi within which their organisation is located. The special status of local iwi is conveyed in the term tangata whenua (people of the land). Participants identified a number of advantages and some disadvantages for being tangata whenua (local iwi) and working for the iwi organisation. The benefits fall into at least three loosely defined categories.

The first is the advantage of social relations based on kinship ties. The benefit of kinship ties lies in its value as a source of access to tribal networks based on whakapapa, or genealogies of kin. Whakapapa-based networks are an extensive ‘kinship universe’ (Metge, 1976:121) and, depending on the level of kin (whānau, hapū or iwi), have the potential to offer iwi providers’ access to extensive linkages.

At its most basic, links between kin are achieved through the identification of relatives either by name or as offspring of named relatives and tracing kinship outward. How people are related and how kin are expected to behave towards one another are important considerations.¹² Anyone who can demonstrate a relationship through whakapapa is accepted as kin and all that entails (Metge, 1976:121). The strength of whakapapa is also commensurable with, among others, links to marae.

[The] *beauty about my...whakapapa is that I've probably got no boundaries cause I can whakapapa quite strongly into a number of marae and that's a strength* [MA142219/148c].

Knowledge of kinship relationships, however distant, can enable iwi providers to break down barriers,¹³ build rapport with their communities,¹⁴ access local knowledge and resources,¹⁵ strengthen their identity as tribal members,¹⁶ and gain

¹² [KE13875/144c]

¹³ [AR46944/140c]

¹⁴ [KE13875/144c]

¹⁵ [RR72281/154c]

¹⁶ [CH19350/142c]

support and operate successfully in tribal areas that are geographically large, such as Ngāti Kahungunu.¹⁷

The reason we were successful was that we used what had been planted by Kahungunu and all his progenitors¹⁸...as being accessible, approachable...wise and temperate and considerate in their decision-making...in terms of their support to me...it was worth a staff of twenty and yet there was only one [AW44236/140c].

Working for a tribal organisation as tangata whenua offers kaimahi (employees) opportunities to re-establish tribal links and rekindle kinship relationships that may have weakened through absence either from the rohe (tribal district),¹⁹ or from working among kin within an iwi organisation.²⁰

...one good thing about my job is that I've been able to go back as part of my job and re-establish links that I left behind when I was twelve...I still feel a little bit whakamā [shy] but I'm getting over it...that's the thing about going away from home and then having to go back...[AB100229/142c].

Ngāti Kahungunu was my iwi but I never knew...the name of my hapū...I never really worried about it until I came into the Taiwhenua and could see the whānau links... [CH19350/142].

Some participants saw difficulties in working for an iwi organisation other than their own, not only because, as one participant claimed, *Māori are really funny; they can relate to their own [tribal kin]...it's amazing what whakapapa can do. They like their own, they're really suspicious of other people [KE13875: 14834/144c].* In order to maximise the benefits of working within a tribal environment, iwi organisations require of its workers an 'iwi sensibility,' perhaps being *an ear* for tribal elders [DE147634/144c] but certainly 'in tune' with the local community. This participant explains;

...it really is about understanding where your people are at...observing the nature of your people...you gotta have good senses to understand...what's really going on in the thinking of the people...you can't detach yourself too far away from that...if you detach yourself then you're really gonna add a distance with your

¹⁷ [AW44236/140c]

¹⁸ Kahungunu is the eponymous ancestor of the Ngāti Kahungunu tribe. For background discussion, refer to Chapter Three.

¹⁹ [AB100229/142c]

²⁰ [CH19350/142c]

own...people [MA63349/147-8c].

By contrast some felt it was not necessary for kaimahi to belong to the local iwi, *but they need to have an understanding of how Māori people work* [RR59470/20c].

Understanding ‘the nature’ of iwi relates to the second category- ‘reciprocal knowledge perspectives,’ where what counts is ‘lived knowledge’ or experience where *being born and bred* within one’s tribal community is an advantage. In most cases this includes membership of a whānau with ‘deep’ kinship connections that are well known.²¹ Where whānau of kaimahi are known, sometimes across several hapū, access is generally, but not always, easier.

...when I go to Wairarapa, I happen to be from there so that makes it easier. My whakapapa is pretty firmly established in the Wairarapa area so people are less inclined to dismiss me as an outsider ...[AB92000/141c]

One advantage of maintaining and strengthening whakapapa connections in terms of providing services to iwi or Māori, is as a basis for networking. In general networking including connections through whakapapa is an important skill that has the potential to transform contacts with people into meaningful relationships that offer long-term support.

Networking is also a powerful means of assembling experts or organising alliances or coalitions to deal with common problems and issues that emerge locally from the communities that are served or at a national level (Ruwhiu, 1999:417). Having the right people to network was seen as vital for an organisation to realise its full potential as a service provider for Māori.

...the potential that the rūnanga has to provide for its people is immense but you have to have the right people to be able to network within their own rohe [RR59470/20c].

In his study on Māori social policy development Leland Ruwhiu found that community-networking processes offered credibility for Māori/iwi services wanting to increase their patronage.

²¹ [AR46944/140c]

“By word of mouth, whānau speaking to whānau demands for Māori controlled services increased especially when they realised that the service brought together health expertise and tikanga Māori in a comprehensive culturally meaningful manner...”(Ruwhiu, 1999:418).

The third category raised by participants concerns the entitlements that accrue from being a tribal member and what that means in practice. If granted by the tribal community access to whānau, hapū or iwi specific entitlements, such as the right to speak²² on iwi issues or express an opinion in an open forum on hapū matters or to be involved in tribal decision-making processes,²³ is an acknowledgement and affirmation of an identity as whānau, hapū or iwi. The following participant explains;

I have enough relationships down there for people to say ‘stand up with me, stand along side me or stand in front of me’ to acknowledge that I have entitlements to that area and that I have a right to stand and speak on issues...[AB92000/141c].

...the two most southern taiwhenua, there’s an acknowledgement in both of them, of my right through hapu to express an opinion on my own behalf...what’s not being challenged is my right to have an opinion...Whereas...when I go to Wairoa I wouldn’t presume to try and tell the Wairoa people how to do what they want to do...[AB93471/141c].

Underpinning this discourse is a general acceptance common throughout Maoridom that the right to exercise one’s entitlement, to *speak on issues* and *express an opinion* or *participate in decision-making processes* [AW118203/10c] from the perspective of a particular hapū or iwi, does not necessarily extend outside one’s own hapū or iwi (Rangihau, 1975:174). However, it was argued,

...When you’re getting into that high profile position, you should be from the rohe [area] that you are representing, cause how can you represent the Kahungunutanga²⁴ if you’re not Kahungunu... [CH19350/142c].

Affirmation of a tribal identity as a condition of working for an iwi organisation is considered an advantage.

²² This does not necessarily refer to formal occasions within the context of rituals of encounter.

²³ [KA27995/147c]

²⁴ The concept of Kahungunutanga is similar in meaning to what John Rangihau of Tuhoe has described as his ‘Tuhoetanga’. According to Rangihau, “My being Maori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoe person...Tuhoetanga means that I do the things that are meaningful to Tuhoe”(Rangihau, 1975:174).

...one of the rewards about working for this organisation is the affirmation you get for being Kahungunu. It's a good thing that comes out of just working here. Being able to stand up and say well I know that Kahungunu will say this on this issue and that's one of the real pluses. Knowing that you're not thinking about what will my employer say. I know what my employer says. I'm saying it on their behalf [AB171134/142c].

Furthermore, the priority given by the iwi providers in this study to affirm a Māori/iwi identity and concomitant values such as whanaungatanga (kinship) is critical in generating positive levels of well-being among kaimahi, where the freedom to 'be Māori' is taken for granted.

[Working] in the Taiwhenua it's about whānau. You're comfortable enough to be able to say exactly what you think. You're not having to play games...You can be yourself and that's a really good thing...I'm comfortable enough to be able to be myself in the work environment...so what you see at work is what you see at home...the way in which the people treat you is very similar to how you were brought up...[CH65892/143c].

The benefits of working for an iwi organisation as tangata whenua were seen to include the ability of kaimahi to access the tribal world through the interconnectedness of whakapapa or kinship links gained by way of reciprocal knowledge perspectives. Access to tribal specific entitlements, such as offering an opinion on tribal matters, speaking on behalf of the hapū in open fora and participating in tribal decisions, was seen to affirm a tribal identity. Of particular significance was the freedom to participate as Māori (*to be able to be myself in the work environment*) including the flexibility to work with the community in a creative, responsible and satisfying way.²⁵

Lasting the distance

By contrast working for one's own iwi was also seen to have its disadvantages. These drawbacks were cast in terms of the complex and ambiguous nature of iwi organisations, the sometimes harsh realities of iwi politics, and the unrealistic expectations iwi members' and Māori place on organisations, including the services that they provide. One senior manager described it this way,

²⁵ [DE72551/161c]

Anybody coming to work for this organisation I just say fasten your seatbelt, put on your helmet and we'll see if you last the distance. It's a very hard world to deliver in'[NT79577/153c].

This is due in part to the functions of the iwi organisations in this study that tend not to focus solely on service delivery. Although kept quite separate from the business of delivering services, the organisations are also involved in a wide range of political activities on behalf of the tribes. These include Waitangi claims processes, fisheries allocations, local and central government consultations, drafting parliamentary select committee submissions, research and development, strategic planning, marae development, investment programmes and so on (NKII, 2001, 2002b; Taiwhenua, 2003-2004; Walsh-Tapiata, 1997).²⁶

Many of the kaimahi (staff) are involved in these activities some of which are high profile and therefore likely to be reported in the media. As a result some of the participants, especially those in leadership roles, are vulnerable to the vagaries of both tribal and public opinion.

Pākehā and media give Māori leadership...the hard grilling all the time. Māori leaders are always shown in a negative light unless they espouse pakeha ideals...we'll always be negative in Māori terms. If we say we're Māori and we push Māori ideals, our people will say we're too Māori, we're living in the past...that's the sort of hot blasts that any Māori leader will get and we get it worse from our own...[NT79781/153c].

Knowing and understanding the history of the iwi organisation was considered a useful strategy for contextualising tribal scepticism, criticisms or open hostilities aimed at the organisation thus avoiding the possibility of personalising such encounters [AB90065/140c].

I understand the history of [the rūnanga], some of the farcical things that have gone on...people have been quite badly hurt by some of the things that have happened in the name of iwi development...it's taken us nearly three years to get over a lot of that scepticism [AB90065/140c].

At a personal level, a strong and secure sense of identity is considered necessary in order to cope with the *hard world* of iwi [AE14590/159c] and its complex politics.²⁷

²⁶ [MA142219/148], Project Tu Rangatira: Hapū Coordinators (2001), TROR.

²⁷ [AB94652/141c]

...Coming to work for any organisation, particularly Māori, they have to know who they are...have that strength so that when people do knock you, you can say 'I know who I am' [AE14590/159c].

...just because I've got hapū links that doesn't necessarily mean that my hapū think my involvement with the iwi [NKII] is a good thing...I've got the Rangitane/Kahungunu challenge²⁸ because on both sides of my hapū there are whakapapa links to Rangitane. Strong ones. Most of my experience has been with Kahungunu and a fair degree of wanting to make my own mind up and not wanting to be told...[AB94652/141c].

As an immutably fallible aspect of the human condition, character traits such as distrust, petty jealousy, personality clashes and power struggles are still the stuff of legends (Reed, 1963), hapū and iwi histories (Mitchell, 1972) and sometimes contemporary discourse (Tu Mai, 2000; Tuteao, 2001). Some vestiges of this remain a part of the iwi rūnanga landscape but, more often than not, as an unnecessary distraction from the business at hand. Unsubstantial and proven claims of misappropriation of funds and corruption charges add to the perception, unjustifiably so, that working in Māori development is high risk activity (Ruwhiu, 1999:408). Of course in reality the risk is incommensurate with large scale ruptures that have led the New Zealand Government (and taxpayers) to bail out the Bank of New Zealand (Kelsey, 1999:152), the national airline (Scott, 2001) and rail systems (Steeman, 2004). Unfortunately in a society where Māori are the minority it is not uncommon for Maoridom as a whole to be judged by society on the transgressions of a few.

Nor are Māori averse to passing judgement on the activities and actions of Māori/tribal organisations. A commonly held view among participants is that Māori are their worst critics, are generally hard on their own²⁹ and tend to be very judgemental.³⁰ Gaining employment in an iwi organisation is apparently seen by

²⁸ There is territorial dispute between certain factions of the two tribes Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitane in the central Hawkes Bay district.

²⁹ [DE138472/161c]

³⁰ [TH56177/168c]

some whānau of kaimahi as a retrograde step in career choice.³¹ One reason is that most Māori expect a high quality service.³²

Our own people they're your harshest critics and so even though you might go in their home, and Māori people are very welcoming and...very laid back, but they still expect a high quality service...[and]... a high professional service [AE54538/159c].

According to participants many Māori have low expectations of Māori/iwi providers based on negative experiences of unprofessionalism such as kaimahi (employees) who are consistently late for appointments and/or fail to keep prior arrangements³³ thereby reflecting negatively on the organisation as a whole.

Working for an iwi organisation is considered a 'high intensity' business, especially for those who are involved in both service delivery, and in hapū and iwi affairs. At this level of involvement it is a *hard world to deliver in* not least because the work is constant and requires a degree of self-discipline and commitment in order to *last the distance*.

The mahi's [work] unrelenting. But you've also gotta develop something inside yourself that's also unrelenting and keep on. Part of that is you have...a great appreciation of your own external environment...[MA144589/149c].

At a localised level, among factors considered the 'downside' of working alongside close kin within a community of tribal kin, included matters related to confidentiality, perceptions of nepotism, conflict of interest and the dynamics of tuakana/ teina status.

Issues of confidentiality often occur between kin working for the organisation, kin who are providers and clients, and between kin and the wider Māori / hapū community. This can be problematic where the communal orientation of Māori society promotes the well being of the individual as the responsibility of the family.

Perceptions of nepotism are common among the wider community unfamiliar with tribal systems or, among kin who hold genuine concern or resentment, particularly when a number of close kin are employed by the organisation or hold senior management positions. Often the processes of recruitment and selection

³¹ [TH987/168c]

³² [DE138472/161c][TH56177/168c]

follow both tribal (via tribal networks) and mainstream methods (public advertising and interview). Receiving public funds by way of government contracts means tribal authorities must be accountable to the state and maintain a high level of transparency.

Matters of conflict of interest are also problematic especially when tribal members are both employees of the organisation and a marae representative for the governing body. As outlined in Chapter Four, NKII and TTOH were forced to erect firewalls to protect their organisations and employees from the conflict of interest incurred when the managers of the organisations were also the board of governors.

The cultural imperatives attached to the status of tuakana (senior) and teina (junior) can also be awkward in situations where members of management are teina to employees. It is not uncommon for a manager to be ‘scolded’ and reminded by a tuakana employee of the manager’s obligations to the tribe. Kin holding positions of responsibility should provide clear parameters about work boundaries for family employees to avoid the possibility for exploitation by family members taking advantage of kinship ties to suit selfish ends. There is also the problem with familiarity where working with close kin who have intimate knowledge of the family history can exert pressure on an individual to work hard to prove him or herself around whānau.

Ngā Mahi mā te Iwi

Whakapapa links with community

While the first interrelated theme ‘Ngā mahi a ngā tangata’ examined some of the distinctive features pertinent to Māori agency within the organisations themselves, the second theme ‘ngā mahi mā te iwi’ concerns how links to Māori communities are constituted relative to whānau, hapū and marae, and how such links are understood and maintained in practise. Each organisation in this study places considerable value on positive interactions with the Māori community beyond that of simply delivering services. This was a factor acknowledged by Te Puni Kōkiri in interviews conducted with Māori providers (TPK, 2000c:15). Thus for

³³ [AE74444/160c][AR87039/11c]

many of the staff, work and personal life merge. The work of the organisation is not confined to the ‘organisation sphere’ (e.g. business hours, work related spaces, business associates, clients) but can extend beyond and into the time and spatial sphere of the whānau (e.g. home-life, leisure time, friends) and the hapū sphere of the marae (e.g. committee meetings, fundraising, celebrations, hui, tangi).

The relationships an organisation has with its constituent community are reliant on the people who work there and the sets of interrelationships that they hold can be complex. For example an individual worker can relate to the community on a number of levels; as kaimahi (employee), as a whānau, hapū and iwi member. Furthermore these relationships, particularly if kinship based, may carry varying sets of obligations that also take into account gender, age, or position in the whānau (Metge, 1976:124; 1995).

It is perhaps not surprising given the strong kinship links between most of the kaimahi and their local communities identified earlier, that the primary focus of community relationships are aimed at the whānau,³⁴ hapū,³⁵ iwi³⁶ or local marae through whakapapa links,³⁷ or through cultural interactions such as at tangihanga and hui.³⁸ According to Walker these factors form “...(t)he bastions of cultural conservatism for the Māori...within the tribal polity, the marae and the institution of the tangi”(Walker, 1990:187).

Outside a kinship-based framework, relationships with the Māori community occur through, among others, community confidence in the provider³⁹ and establishing professional (e.g. Māori and non-Māori provider groups, Māori women’s welfare league)⁴⁰ and other networks (e.g. church or sporting groups). A healthy relationship with the Māori community is considered to occur where whānau are direct users of services or the iwi provider has regular representation at local hui or, since not all Māori participate in hui or at marae, at other gatherings that capture Māori patronage. Without these factors the relationship is likely to be weak and tenuous.⁴¹ However, where community relationships were strong, it was

³⁴ [AR74896/11c]

³⁵ [AW115557/10c]

³⁶ [AB19419/11c]

³⁷ [AR49550/12c][AE68880/12c][DE58755/12c]

³⁸ [AW115557/10c]

³⁹ [AR74896/11c]

⁴⁰ [AE62042/12c][DE70086/13c] [MW38435/14c]

considered important to ensure that the organisation did not create extra work with networks of people who were already heavily committed.⁴²

Marae as a focus of communal interaction

Among relationships with the community that emerged as significant were those premised on the principle of marae as a central focus of community interaction. A significant characteristic of the Māori community linked to the iwi organisations in this study is the community locations in predominantly small urban areas (e.g. Levin, Feilding, Foxton, Dannevirke, Wairoa) or in cities (e.g. Hastings, Napier, Palmerston North). And although most local marae are situated in rural areas they tend to be within easy reach of their local urban centres such as Houngarea marae near Hastings and Aorangi marae near Feilding.

Participants emphasised the focus of marae as an important consideration in the affairs and/ or work of the organisations. This factor perhaps accounts for a reasonably consistent level of work-related marae experience encountered by kaimahi. Although the marae is an important element in service provision or related activities, it is not the only element. Research has shown that for most Māori the culture of marae is outside their everyday experience and therefore marae are not perceived as significantly relevant. The study of Māori households, *Te Hoe Nuku Roa*, found that about one fifth of the participants did not visit marae and only one third regularly did so (Durie, 2001a:72; THNR, 1998). This may be true for some of the participants in this study, that if it were not for work-related reasons they might well be alienated from marae, although this point remains largely unexplored in this thesis.

However, for those who subscribe in some measure to a marae world view⁴³, the marae as an institution is a vital symbol that helps shape and define a Māori identity, strengthens and unites a Māori community including socially and emotionally, and contributes to a distinctive psychology in terms of a Māori way of thinking, behaving and regarding the world (Durie, 2001a:70). Ranginui Walker

⁴¹ [AW137012/10c]

⁴² [AB53190/11c]

⁴³ Durie makes the point that while some Māori are not involved with marae, they may not be entirely alienated from marae where other members of the wider whānau are actively involved (Durie, 2001:72).

aptly conveys the emotional and psychological bond experienced by personal attachment to a marae.

“...As a New Zealander who is bicultural I have an emotional attachment to a marae in my tribal territory. To me, that marae is home. It is intimately connected with the ceremonial experienced in life crisis such as birth, death and marriage. To return to the marae from the brashness of urban life is to return to a simpler time, to a place of enduring human values”(Walker, 1977:30).

As Buck once pointed out, having survived centuries of change and the effects of colonisation, marae continue to discharge the functions for which it was created (Sorrenson, 1986:220).

Walker identifies four social functions of marae: as a focal point for community sentiment, as a basis for identity as Māori, as a forum for the democratic processes of discussion and debate, and as an opportunity to unite Māori and non-Māori within an inclusive Māori centred space (Walker, 1977). Underpinning these functions, Durie focuses on the importance of marae encounters as a basis to identify distinctive psychological and behavioural attributes and values. Among the domains and conceptual zones within which such encounters can be linked include the domains of space (marae ātea), time (ngā tikanga), mind and earth (tangata whenua), metaphorical domains (whaikorero/waiata), and values of authority and generosity (mana, manaakitanga) (Durie, 2001a).

It is also important to distinguish between three types of marae identified by Durie: Marae-a-rohe or urban centred, marae tupuna (whānau/ hapū centred) and marae tautoko kaupapa (marae located in state institutions). Although marae-a-rohe remains under the authority of Māori, local tribes may not necessarily control them. This has implications for developing relationships with local hapū or iwi to ensure the integrity of tribal marae, or marae tupuna, are not undermined.

The development of ‘marae tautoko kaupapa’ has occurred in the state’s response to reflecting the nations dual heritage and an attempt to create a user-friendly facility in “...otherwise alienating environments”(Durie, 1998b:222). State controlled institutional marae are the property of the institution within which they are located, and not Māori and therefore come under the governance of the host institution. What remains problematic about this arrangement is the appropriation of cultural

imperatives to suit the demands of the institution, the lack of necessary expertise to provide such functions and the appropriation of marae to support the state (Durie, 1998b:222).

Essentially marae are ceremonial centres. Marae tupuna are owned by the whānau or hapū, dedicated to communal gatherings and to the practice of rituals and traditions such as tangihanga in line with local customs (Salmond, 1975:31).⁴⁴ Traditionally marae were described as an open plaza for assembly on social occasions. But overtime, and within a modern context, marae have become permanently associated with a whare tupuna or meeting-house (Durie, 2001a:73).

A carved ancestral meeting-house named after a founding ancestor complement most modern day marae, and auxiliary buildings, such as a dining room and ablutions, comprise the marae complex. Some complexes include a church and urupa (graveyard), kaumātua (elders) flats and kohanga reo facilities.⁴⁵

The transition of marae to modernity⁴⁶ began in earnest at the turn of the 20th century especially under the Māori Councils Act of 1900. The Act established Māori tribal committees as health committees aimed at improving the hygienic conditions of Māori villages. Meeting houses built subsequently were required to meet state building codes, specifications and health regulations, and in the process modern technology and materials were utilised in preference to traditional materials (Walker, 1977:24).⁴⁷

Sir Apirana Ngata considered the maintenance of marae a priority especially during the years following WW1 and the Great Depression when personnel, resources and funds necessary for the upkeep of marae, varied (Sorrenson, 1987:79). His fostering and promotion of building projects in Māori communities included the revival of the art of carving of meeting houses and their internal refurbishment utilising customary art forms.⁴⁸ With Ngata's support many fine meeting houses were built through out New Zealand including the addition of the purpose built

⁴⁴ For further discussion on marae refer to (Durie, 1998b:221-223; 2001:69-91; Metge, 1976; Rangihau, 1975; Salmond, 1975).

⁴⁵ Māori language immersion early childhood centre

⁴⁶ Until the early 19th century temporary houses were built to accommodate visitors. Marae as we know it today is a recent development (Simmons, 1997).

⁴⁷ For example, windows were inserted to provide ventilation and wooden floors replaced earthen ones. Timber walls and corrugated iron roofs displaced traditional building materials (Walker, 1977:24).

⁴⁸ Tukutuku (latticed weaving), kowhaiwhai (paintings) and whakairo (carvings).

dining and recreation facilities that constitute the modern complex. Such facilities provide for a greater range of activities to occur besides the traditional uses such as tangihanga and hui. These include club activities, church meetings, educational meetings, card evenings, fundraising, political meetings, cultural activities, birthdays, welcomes and farewells (Walker, 1977:25).

Following WWII and as a result of the urban migration, some tribes built marae-a-rohe or urban marae (often outside their own tribal territory) in order to maintain social and cultural continuity for their members (Simmons, 1997:13),⁴⁹ or cultural enforcement for Māori urban dwellers (Durie, 1998b:223). Urban marae also offered Māori alternative space for tangihanga thereby avoiding the problems that arise when a suburban house and garage are temporarily converted into a ‘little marae’ until such time as the deceased can be returned to the home marae⁵⁰ (Walker, 1977).

The rapid growth of kohanga reo during this same period resulted in a flurry of marae development in those hapū who opted for marae-based provision of early childhood services⁵¹. Depending on sufficient enrolment numbers, marae were eligible for state funding through the Te Kohanga Reo Trust, either to upgrade existing facilities or to invest in a purpose made building. In recent years as the demand for marae based kohanga has waned, marae committees have exploited other ways to increase the resources of the marae through hosting government initiated hui. Improved resources allow marae to increase the capacity of hapū members in tribal history, customs and the dialect and idiom of Māori language of local tribes, through tertiary or community sponsored wānanga held on marae.⁵²

Not all hapū and tribes have separate marae. In some areas a modern marae complex is shared by several related hapū or tribes (Simmons, 1997:13). While some do better than others the upkeep and maintenance of marae remain a struggle in terms of personnel and communal resources just as Ngata expressed to Buck in 1930 (Sorenson, 1987:79), and reiterated some seventy years later by this manager;

We can look at our marae and we can...see the state that it's in...you know the struggles that are going on with the whānau...knowing that just to mow the lawns,

⁴⁹ For example, Te Tira Hou marae in Panmure, Auckland built by Tuhoe and Te Puea marae at Mangere, Auckland built by Tainui. The Hone Waititi marae in western districts of Auckland is multi-tribal.

⁵⁰ Such problems include overcrowding which raises health issues and, in deference to the neighbours, the ‘toning down’ of traditional rituals and customs such as karanga (call) and tangi (wail). For indepth discussion see (Walker, 1977:26).

to pay the insurers, to cook the kai, to keep the place and its utilities running, huge job! [MA155760/13c].

Active support of local marae as an integral part of business is considered a distinguishing characteristic of an iwi organisation. But how do iwi organisations foster and promote their local marae? What are the benefits that accrue from the support of the organisations in this study?

The organisations support and promote local tupuna marae in at least three ways: by increasing the work-skills and capabilities of its members, by promoting marae as venues for hui and as a base for service delivery in education, health, social services and justice. Managers spoke about making conscious efforts to ensure that as much as possible, and where appropriate, marae benefit from the activities of the organisation and that these benefits are distributed equitably between marae.

Whenever there's hui to organise we try to spread those hui around the marae so that...they all have an opportunity to benefit from taking a hui there [MR49550/12c].

Marae are seen as places where Māori congregate sometimes in large numbers, a feature that iwi providers utilise by sometimes offering a full range of services during such events.

You can have different things going on at the same time. You can have your asthma, diabetes and your heart [checks]...your hearing and vision and...your 'well-child' [programme]...all at the same time at the one function. It's amazing the amount of people that would come through. The statistics would just be immense [RR59470/20c].

The advantage of marae-based services is that both the marae community and the provider benefit. For example, the TROR mobile health service was increasingly requested for weekend hui at marae for health screening.⁵³ Large groups of people were targeted, many of whom would not otherwise present for screening either with their GP or other health professionals;⁵⁴ perhaps for reasons discussed in relation to personal disempowerment. Furthermore, because the service was mobile many marae

⁵¹ For example, Taharora Marae at Waipiro Bay, Whakaki Marae near Wairoa and Mihiroa Marae near Hastings. Although the kohanga no longer operate out of these marae, the facilities remain valuable hapu assets.

⁵² ("Te Wananga o Nga Hapu - Mangaroa Marae," 2003)

⁵³ [TH17460/20c]

were visited and programmes tailored to the needs of the marae community. For example,

[Speaking to] *the main cooks of all the different marae and educating them about what food they should be putting on tables...so the message is actually getting out there...*[TH92097-92384/20c].

In some cases such as in Māori mental health or justice, marae are considered an appropriate venue to deliver specific programmes based on Māori values and culture.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the value of kaumātua involvement can then be given maximum expression.⁵⁶

There was some doubt about the capacity of marae to provide services on a large scale citing the need for expertise and a strong infrastructure before such services could be realistically introduced.

I think...if our health service went to a marae, I don't think things would run to the way they are now because they have no foundations in place to offer things...I think the objectives the rūnanga have got are something that's long term...that depends on what marae are training people up for...it's all in the pipeline [KO31037/16c].

Such concerns are not unfounded. During the decade of Māori development, many employment schemes located on marae became less accepted as they began to take precedence over marae priorities, where "...all too often marae were being regarded as if the prime purpose was to provide a venue for government programmes"(Durie, 1998b:222). The governments Māori ACCESS courses were offered on marae without the expert personnel or infrastructure to support the inevitable bureaucracy the state required. While in theory the opportunity offered new life to marae communities, in practice the burden of operationalising government policy, national qualifications frameworks, registering as private training establishments and managing quality management policies and procedures took its toll and many marae courses simply folded.⁵⁷ Also, tangihanga take precedence over any marae activity so the programme comes to a halt. Despite resistance from

⁵⁴ [TH48474/20c]

⁵⁵ [AR132877/16c]. For an indepth discussion on the psychological benefits of marae encounters for the health and well-being of Māori see (Durie, 2001a:69-93).

⁵⁶ [DE72824/16c]

⁵⁷ [MA78563/17c]

marae providers, NKII's response during this period was to centralise the management of each contract with the Taiwhenua in an attempt to avert potential disaster and what the manager predicted would be the *measure of our demise*' [MA79849/17c].

For the iwi organisations in this study, involving marae in some of the decision-making processes that affect the local community and employing staff who belong to local iwi, was viewed as a long-term solution to increasing the capacity of marae while ensuring the organisations long-term goals were in line with tribal aspirations.

...involving marae in decision-making, employing Ngāti Raukawa staff...they take the skills back to their marae. It all makes a difference. It will make a difference to the objectives being met [KO31037/16c]

Not all programmes, however, are seen by the community to be appropriate for marae-based delivery. For instance, there is resistance among some women elders to cervical screening programmes on marae, if undertaken within the whareniui or meeting-house. The matter is essentially a conflict of cultural values.

I was going to trial cervical smears on the marae but I've had feedback that some of the old kuia don't see it as being appropriate for some of them...especially in the whare. But I would never do it in the whare (I know that other smear takers have done it in the whare) because of... like you know how all the photos are up on the back wall and that's what one of the kuia told me. But if I were going to do something like that on the marae I'd probably take it to another little room away from the actual whare. [LG65300/17c]

At a practical level, the meeting-house is a large communal space and therefore hardly conducive to individual privacy. But more importantly it is also the symbolic representation of both male and female ancestors whose images are replicated in the carvings, and photographs of deceased relatives line interior walls. Metaphorically the meeting-house is never empty but always 'full of ancestors' and is referred to as the whare tipuna or ancestral house.

As the symbol of the tribe and its ancestors, the whare tipuna is highly tapu (sacred) and therefore stands apart from all other buildings.⁵⁸ The disposition of

marae buildings and associated facilities follows a dichotomous relationship between the sacred and the profane.⁵⁹ Food, as the antithesis to tapu, is usually prohibited within the precincts of the meeting-house. The area for cooking and preparing food is noa and well separated from the meeting-house. The ablutions and latrines are tapu in the ‘hygienic’ sense and are also separated from the meeting-house and cooking areas (Walker, 1977:24). It is likely that it is in this latter sense, and the inappropriateness of functions associated with private ablutions, that kuia (women elders) object to cervical screening within the whare. This demonstrates the importance and value of kaumātua involvement⁶⁰ in providing wise counsel to the less informed on cultural affairs.

Marae based kaumātua hui

The value of kaumātua to the iwi organisations is demonstrated in the kaumātua specific hui that the organisations initiate and sponsor. Te Taiwhenua O Heretaunga (TTOH) sponsor monthly marae-based hui for kaumātua hosted in turn by the various marae in the Heretaunga district. The hui are aimed not only at whanaungatanga and bringing kaumātua together for a day out at a social event, but also at keeping them informed on issues of concern to them. Such issues have ranged from the practical (e.g. budgeting, use of EFTPOS machines) to service provision (e.g. hauora, social services), information dissemination (e.g. research projects) and political matters (e.g. local body elections, MMP).

The kaumātua hui initiated by Te Rūnanga O Raukawa (TROR) are also aimed at whanaungatanga and specifically at promoting health messages to kaumātua clients receiving disability support for the elderly.⁶¹ Hui are held in turn at marae around the region as funding permits under the terms of the contract.⁶² The activities vary according to kaumātua interests and needs: these have included physical activities run by Sport Manawatu, marae history sessions and information dissemination on health or hapu matters.⁶³

⁵⁸ Some modern meeting-houses have been built or refurbished with ablutions and/or the kitchen/dining rooms attached by passage-ways such as at Houngarea marae near Hastings and Parewahawaha at Bulls.

⁵⁹ Refer to Chapter Two for indepth discussion on the relationship between tapu and noa.

⁶⁰ [DE72824/16c]

⁶¹ [MK91637/17-18c]

⁶² [MK92753/18c]

Among the merits of organisations supporting and promoting marae is their role as agents of change. For instance, the emphasis at TROR kaumātua hui on ‘disability and the elderly’ has highlighted how few marae in the district are equipped to accommodate the range of disabilities that are represented among hapū constituents. The issues raised have implications for marae kawa (etiquette) and tikanga (rules, methods) and present a possible challenge for some marae. Such issues as the place of guide-dogs raises questions about animals inside the meeting-house, the kitchen/dining room or on the paepae. The matter of sign language has implications for kawa and where persons who are signing are positioned to optimise their visibility during the formalities of mihimihi and whaikorero. Other concerns such as wheelchair access *not having to lift wheel-chair people up and over the pare*⁶⁴ and disability parking are perhaps less problematic and more a case of adequate resourcing.⁶⁵

Overall, the benefit of iwi providers supporting marae based hui for kaumātua is aptly expressed by the following participant,

I think it's fruitful for our kuia and koroua to come to things that are happy...not only seeing them at tangihanga...they're so busy carrying the roles...of being a kuia and koroua or they're the kaimahi at the back [in the kitchen]. I want them to be in the hui sitting there and that others are gonna do that for them...you know give them something [MK92753/18c].

Marae equivalents

Of course the majority of the provider day to day activities are not marae-based but in ‘marae equivalents’ such as the conversion of clinics, houses, office buildings and hotels to perform some of the functions of a marae. At the time this study was conducted, the TROR health clinic was a converted house neighbouring the main offices. TTOH transferred its health and dental clinics from a suburban house to a newly refurbished building, which was originally a hotel. But within all these various types of facilities marae-based values and customs are simply transferred across, manifest in the methods of conduct of the organisation and its staff, the ecology of the workplace and Māori cultural frameworks that are discussed in some detail in

⁶³ [MK93896/18c][TH60900/15c]

⁶⁴ The participant is actually referring to the ‘pae,’ which is a low transverse wall or beam that runs along the front of the veranda of the meeting-house.

⁶⁵[MK101970/19c]

Chapter Eight. Similarly, many urban Māori providers who do not base their activities on a marae incorporate Māori values, beliefs and management styles based on marae practice, in alternative settings such as those described here.

Chapter Eight

Culture Counts

‘Culture alive is its own irreducible counterexample – always on the run...Culture contradicts itself and changes as it moves. There is no such thing as dead culture’¹(Guytri Spivak, 2002)

This thesis has reiterated several times the findings of Cornell and Kalt in their study of Native American economic development, that ‘culture counts’ (Cornell & Kalt, 1995). An overwhelming premise unanimously expressed by the participants is that Māori cultural values and customs are essential elements of Māori organisational arrangements that distinguish Māori or iwi services from others. Following on from Chapter Seven, the importance of values and customs forms the basis of the third interrelated theme ‘ngā mahi a ngā tipuna.’ This theme explores how ‘culture counts’ and the place of Māori culture and traditions in the workplace.

In discussing substantive workspaces and relevant services for Māori, participants frequently referenced or described cultural frameworks that were adopted and practiced, enabling them to work as Māori in a ‘Māori way’ with Māori people. Ngā mahi tuara, constitutes the fourth and final theme on culture in the workplace, and builds on cultural frameworks located within Māori philosophical and customary practices and traditions.

This chapter begins with a brief review of research findings that support the incorporation of Māori culture and values in organisations and service provision. It is argued that the recognition of the importance of culture by the state is the basis for the incorporation of Māori values in New Zealand statute. Yet even then, there remains a disjuncture between the incorporation of Māori values in legislation and the application of these values in practice. This apparent separation in understanding provides the basis for a discussion on the nature of values in Māori and indigenous worldviews and draws on the theoretical works of philosopher and theologian Māori Marsden and Native American scholar Ronald Trosper.

¹ Spivak, G. (2002). In Responses to two new Friends & bits from a paper. p. 3. Unpublished Conference Paper for Indigenous Heritage and Art conference. Palmerston Convention Centre. Palmerston North. 2002. In Jahnke, R.H. (2004). Te Tataitanga Ahua Toi: Stream of alter-native consciousness’ in Māori Visual Culture Keynote address p7.

By Māori, for Māori

The development of dedicated Māori services evolved in part as resistance measures to the consequences of patronising policies such as adding Māori perspectives to conventional services. The consequences included the alienation of Māori clients through experiencing distinctly non-Māori service provision that took no account of whānau involvement or traditional practices that make cultural sense. An emphasis on Māori culture was rejected by non-Māori clients and "...Māori leaders often became concerned about the potential for cultural distortion when Māori culture was practised within a predominantly Western institution" (Durie, 2001a:226). Kaupapa Māori services thus developed within and alongside mainstream services and Māori kaimahi incorporated Māori values, beliefs and management styles within their practice without losing sight of modern methods or professional standards (Durie, 2001a:226).

This latter emphasis accords with a recent study on Māori provider success, which found a frequently held view among providers their desire to deliver services based on Māori values and practices. Working for Māori organisations was seen to offer opportunities to operate in culturally appropriate ways with Māori people. These opportunities were characterised by a high level of staff commitment to culturally relevant practices combined with the ability to incorporate tikanga, Māori models, methods, practices and processes that enhance the delivery of services. An overarching element of provider success was considered to be the operationalisation of Māori values and practices (I.R.I, 2002:39 & 49).

An evaluation of iwi social services by Benton et. al. expressed similar views. Iwi social service providers believe that best outcomes for Māori clients are achieved when social services are provided by Māori for Māori. In its broadest sense the notion of 'by Māori' is understood by iwi as control of the formulation of policy and services and their implementation (Benton, Scrimgeour, Westbrook, Barclay-kerr, & Wahanui, 2000:32). Services that operate on the principle of 'by Māori for Māori' are considered to be a Māori response to needs not met in the dominant society where values tend to be individualistic and deficit based (I.R.I, 2002:12).

Rachel Wolfgramm suggests that traditional culture includes a psychological, social and spiritual contract within the collective. Her study highlights the important

role traditional Māori culture plays in the development of organisational cultures. Cultural dissonance² is not specifically related to congruency between an organisations espoused values and beliefs and those of the traditional culture but a state of tension related to incongruency between individual values and beliefs and those of the organisation. Wolfgramm found that dissonance is evident where the organisations identity is fragmented, and mission and purpose unclear (Wolfgramm, n.d.:9).

Brendan Puketapu also argues that when Māori values and beliefs form the underlying philosophical basis for Māori organisations, Māori identity is reinforced. Organisations should be treated as a means to an end, which is to advance Māori aspirations without compromising the values and practices that are fundamental to ‘being Māori’. According to Puketapu, the nature and value of relationships offers the greatest potential for forming useful alliances, cooperative enterprises and sharing scarce resources. Māori organisations need to demonstrate a capacity to function within a legal context whilst maintaining shared values and principles, such as whanaungatanga and its emphasis on common bonds and alliances (Puketapu, 2000:314).

The views presented here are consistent with the terms outlined within the Ministerial advisory committee report ‘Puao-te-ata-tu’³ written in 1986 (Puao-te-ata-tu, 1986). As chairman of the advisory committee charged with reporting on a Māori perspective of social welfare, John Rangihau approached his task in an essentially ‘Māori way’ by leading his team on a consultative tour of marae throughout the country. The committee findings traced the roots of dependency back to the history of colonisation which, combined with the functions of eurocentric institutional bureaucracies that have served Pākehā culture well, contributed to Māori dependence on the welfare system (Puao-te-ata-tu, 1986:57; Walker, 1990:280-281). The most consistent call heard during the consultative hui was for Māori to be given resources to control their own programmes, despite a historical legacy of thwarted attempts.

² According to the author the concept of ‘cultural dissonance’ refers to the misalignment between the values and belief systems promoted by an organisation and those of its members. ’

³ The report by the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori perspective for the Department of Social Welfare (Puao-te-ata-tu, 1986) was Chaired by John Rangihau.

“Virtually all policies concerning Māori welfare and development have been founded on Pākehā cultural prescriptions of what was best for the Māori. It is equally clear that virtually all Māori attempts to direct and shape the Māori future in ways reflecting Māori values and institutions were resisted militarily, legislatively or by ignoring them”(Puao-te-ata-tu, 1986:58).

Among its advice to government the committee recommended as a policy objective an attack on all forms of racism that subjugate the values and lifestyles of other groups as inferior, especially Māori by “...incorporating the values, cultures and beliefs of the Māori people in all policies developed for the future of New Zealand” (Puao-te-ata-tu, 1986:9). The committee believed that the recommendations would assist and encourage the re-emergence of Māori management systems “...with their special blending of spiritual and pragmatic values” (Puao-te-ata-tu, 1986:80).

State recognition of the importance of Māori custom, values and attitudes is reflected in their inclusion in New Zealand law, particularly since 1984 when a bicultural/Treaty of Waitangi jurisprudence emerged influenced by the work of the Waitangi Tribunal (Law Commission, 2001). Following the findings of the Te Reo Māori Waitangi Tribunal claim, the Māori Language Act 1987 accepted the Māori language to be a ‘taonga’⁴ as stated by the Tribunal and declared it to be an official language of New Zealand. The Treaty of Waitangi (State Enterprises) Act 1988 recognised the importance of returning alienated wāhi tapu or sacred sites to the appropriate tribe rather than transferring title to the state-owned enterprise (Durie, 1998a:30; Manatu Maori, 1991). The Resource Management Act 1991, enacted to promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources, recognised the significance of Māori custom law (cultural attitudes, values and customs) in terms of “...the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, whi tapu and other taonga,” as a matter of national importance (Durie, 1998a:29).

The use of Māori words and phrases as descriptors of Māori custom law in statutes has raised concerns about the level of knowledge necessary to interpret the law when few, including some Māori members of the judiciary, have had adequate

⁴ Property or anything that is highly prized.

educational exposure to Māori customary concepts and practices (Durie, 1998a:31). Terms such as wāhi tapu, kaitiakitanga, tangata whenua, mana whenua, tikanga Māori and their translations into English in order to satisfy legal preciseness, do not always accord with Māori understandings. The problem is that,

“...the meaning behind a term such as mana whenua cannot be fully appreciated without recourse to a wider spiritual context; a two word or three word English translation runs the risk of diminishing the deeper meaning” (Durie, 1998a:31).

This lack of familiarity with Māori terminology, customs and values within the wider society, including among some Māori, was forecast as early as 1850, when whare Wānanga were instituted in some areas⁵ as direct action to preserve local history, tikanga and values that were being displaced by European imposed values. The risks were considered serious enough for the Tai Tokerau Wānanga to take a pragmatic approach to safe-guard their tikanga and culture by becoming trainer oriented, rather than employing the usual conditions as a specialised laboratory of experts only (Marsden, 2003a:xxxiii).

However, as outlined in Chapter Four, by the mid- 20th century as Māori migrated to urban areas the task of averting assimilation and transplanting their culture in the urban environs was maintained through voluntary associations on the one hand, and through occasional visits ‘home’ and to marae for holidays, tangi, or the celebration of festive occasions, on the other.

The basis of voluntary associations, through church groups, culture and sports clubs, Māori committees and councils, and the Māori Womens Welfare League, lay in group membership and a common goal of promoting and perpetuating Māori identity, values and culture. These groups functioned as quasi-kin in fostering cultural values in a multi-tribal context. Culture clubs and national festivals and competitions helped revive and strengthen Māori arts and performance (Walker, 1990:199).

Concomitantly kinship networks built around primary social units of whānau and hapū, albeit in modified form, were also transplanted into the urban situation (Rangihau, 1975:168; Walker, 1990:199). It was common among whānau siblings

⁵ In the 19th century North Auckland elders such as Aperahama Taonui and Hone Ngapua foresaw the disintegration of Māori tikanga with the impact of European culture. The hapū of Tai Tokerau in the North formed a Wānanga with the purpose of preserving their history, tikanga and traditions for posterity (Royal, 2003:xxxix).

scattered across suburbs to regularly congregate at a central place (Stephens, 1998:283). This provided, among others, the intergenerational socialisation between older and younger members in terms of wise council and knowledge transfer (e.g. values and customs), and the mutual support necessary in times of life crises or celebrations (Rangihau, 1975:168; Walker, 1990:200).

However, constant adaptation to changes in the social economic and political context means that the range of variation of such experience is now very wide across Māori society (Metge, 1995:29). Being Māori in the 21st century reflects a heterogeneity that puts pay to notions of a single cultural stereotype but accounts for differing sets of meanings, and understandings held by various groups. The impact of younger generations growing up in predominantly non-Māori contexts, their acquisition of knowledge and skills not possessed by elders has, in many instances, adversely impacted on intergenerational relations. Respect for elders is increasingly difficult when youth are more knowledgeable in a technological world (Metge, 1999:12; Vercoe, 1994:110).

Socio-economic circumstances aside, and following Mason Durie, Māori are as diverse as any other group in attitudes to identity, “(t)he reality is that some Māori...choose to identify with a particular tribe, others might wish to but have lost access, and others still might be content simply as Māori, with no desire to add a tribal identity” (Durie, 1998a:59).

It was pointed out in Chapter Seven that all of the participants in this study identify as members of a tribe and/or hapū, and that for some, a sense of commitment to a tribal identity has come about through the affirmation of a tribal identity where cultural practices based on ‘tikanga Māori’ are a condition of working for the tribal organisation.⁶ However, a sense of commitment to an identity as Māori does not necessarily equate with a ‘deep’ understanding of the language and customs as reflected among the participants in this study.

The place of culture and the importance of tikanga Māori in the context of the workplace may be better understood by a broad discussion on Māori values per se drawing parallels with an indigenous framework related to the concept of values orientation.

Understanding Māori values

Māori Marsden maintains that, “the customs and traditions of previous generations based on their beliefs and attitudes regarding the nature of ultimate reality, of the universe, and of man are the foundation stones upon which the mores, standards and values of the culture are founded” (Marsden, 2003c).

Values are understood to be those social principles, goals or standards held by a society to be desirable or useful. Marsden suggests that those ‘ends’ that are desired for their own sake are denoted values, and ‘states of mind’, which are ‘good’ in themselves, are those that consist in the pursuit, apprehension or enjoyment of values. According to Marsden there is no specific term in Māori for the word ‘value,’ the closest in approximation is the word ‘taonga’ – an object of good or value that in a holistic sense may be tangible, intangible, material or spiritual (Marsden, 2003c:38). However Williams refers to the word ‘uara’ as meaning to desire or to value (Williams, 1971[1844]:465).

Following Marsden, the Māori language as ‘taonga’ is an intangible example. A tangible example illustrates a further perspective of the holistic nature of the term ‘taonga’; an heirloom such as a kahu huruhuru (feather cloak) may hold significant value on a number of levels – utilitarian (a garment), cultural (a symbol of a significant event), social (associated with status or a historical event or people), spiritual (to denote the ‘mana’ of ancestors) or aesthetic. The corpus of knowledge or cultural heritage bequeathed by ancestors to their descendants as taonga (eg. kahu huruhuru or the Māori language) is symbolized in the classifications ‘taonga tuku iho’⁷ or ‘ngā taonga a ngā tupuna,’⁸ the object of ‘good’ or value being the reinforcement of one’s identity and psychological security (Marsden, 2003c:38).

Metge refers to values as ‘whakaaro nui’ - wisdom incorporated in thoughts and actions which “...whānau members ideally use to govern their relations with each other and with outsiders” (Metge, 1995:79). This emphasis on interrelationships, although narrower in definition than that of Marsden’s, nevertheless highlights not only values as ethics of doing - how one ought to act or actions governed perhaps by rules of conduct- but also as ‘ethics of being’ or what Patterson describes as

⁶ [CH19350/142c]

⁷ Ancestral treasures

⁸ Treasures bequeathed.

‘virtue ethics’(Patterson, 1992:100-103). Virtue ethics stresses what sort of person one ‘ideally’ should try to be, on what it is to live well rather than a matter of following a set of rules such as in the Judaeo-Christian tradition of the ‘Ten Commandments.’ Patterson points out that Māori values are not centred on explicit rules of action, an orientation that has led several commentators to view traditional Māori culture as lacking certain moral concepts (Patterson, 1992:100-101)⁹.

Such disjunctions in perception could be considered a matter of worldview as outlined in Chapter One and, with reference to the place of values, supported by Marsden; “...the worldview is the central systematisation of conceptions of reality to which members of its culture assent and from which stems their value system” (Marsden, 2003b:56). Echoing Marsden’s perspective Native American elder Alfonso Ortiz expands on the definition;

“The notion of ‘world view’ denotes a distinctive vision of reality which not only interprets and orders the places and events in the experience of a people, but lends form, direction, and continuity to life as well. World View provides people with a distinctive set of values, an identity, a feeling of rootedness, of belonging to a time and a place and a felt sense of continuity with a tradition which transcends the experience of a single lifetime, a tradition which may be said to transcend even time” (Beck, Walters, & Francisco, 1996:5).

Values orientations

Native American academic Ronald Trosper argues that the way people conduct action (in his case action for tribal economic development) and the role of cultural values depends on mindsets (Trosper, 1992) or what Marsden and Ortiz refer to as worldview. Trosper draws on Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck’s concept of ‘value orientations’(Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961) and the notion of ‘cognitive structures¹⁰’ in order to illuminate those issues encountered as Indian tribes struggle to adapt institutions from the dominant society to the specific aspirations of the tribe’s members. In doing so, Trosper demonstrates how mindsets can be classified

⁹ Best maintained, “With the Māori there was no division of people into good and bad...No Māori really thought of another person as being wicked...”(Best, 1982:79-80).Johansen claimed, “It may be said that the Māori lacks ideality as his ethics are only one aspect of nature...Nor has the Māori language any word for ‘the good’. Pai rather means ‘the pleasant’, thus is only according to circumstances equal to ‘the good’(Johansen, 1954:176 in Patterson, 1992).

¹⁰ This will not be expanded on here but Trosper argues that value orientations do not account for certain dimensions of mindsets. He proposes two cognitive categories focussed around epistemological and ontological concerns: dimensions (What is truth’s structure? Is knowledge structured around dualism or relativity?), and unity (How unified is knowledge? Is knowledge compartmentalised or holistic?). For further discussion see (Trosper, 1992:306-308).

and measured through comparing the value orientations (the ways of thinking) and the cognitive structures of Native Americans with the dominant society.¹¹

Trosper contends that certain ideas and institutions are consistent with some mind sets and conflict with others and that value orientations and cognitive structures are the ‘deep’ or ‘underlying’ aspects of mindsets’(Trosper, 1992:303-306). The concept of ‘value orientations’ is ordered in four dimensions that seek answers to questions about Man/nature (what is mans relationship to nature?),¹² time (what is the temporal focus of human life?), activity (what is the modality of human activity?) and relational (what is the modality of man’s relationship to others?) (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961:11; Trosper, 1992:304).

There is some convergence between the four dimensions and Marsden’s perspective of values such as those embodied in the term ‘taonga,’ and the values he categorises related to the various levels of the human personality- spiritual values, psychological values and biological (social/material) values (Marsden, 2003c:39-43).

Man/nature orientation

For example, there are three possible answers to the question about man’s relation to nature’– subjugation to nature, harmony with nature or mastery over nature(Trosper, 1992:304). Spiritual values are considered by Marsden to be ‘ultimate and absolute in nature.’ From this perspective Māori regard their relationship with the natural world as guardians or kaitiaki. The creation narrative describing the separation of earth and sky, Ranginui and Papatuanuku, provides the rationale for this relationship. The story is one of sacrifice in order to achieve a synergy of balance and harmony; the primordial parents forced apart in order to ensure the growth and wellbeing of their offspring- the wind, the rain, the forests, birds, fisheries, and waterways. In the process the progeny not only established the connections and interdependencies between various elements of the natural world, but as deities they also became the guardians of the environment and critical

¹¹ The comparative framework Trosper applies resonates with an iwi/Māori perspective, but it is the notion of value orientation that is central to the discussion here.

¹² Trosper retains the use of the word ‘man’ as the collective term for humankind from Kluckhohn’s original work. It is acknowledged that the term reflects the historical time period within which Kluckhohn was writing.

determinants of the wellbeing of humankind (Durie, 1998a:21-22).

The well-being of Papatuanuku (earth mother) corresponds with the well-being of people, the relationship a symbiotic system based on the task of humankind¹³ to create, through the application of mauri or life principle, "...benevolent conditions within the environment to harmonise the processes within earth's ecosystems and aid the regeneration process" (Marsden, 2003c:50). Conservation and awareness of the environment, the application of mauri, of knowing how much is owed to the environment ensures an imbalance is not created (Rangihau, 1975). The emphasis on spirituality has the potential to provide the unifying element necessary to reconcile the disjunction between the secular and the spiritual (Marsden, 2003b, 2003c). Karakia is a principal instrument used to reconcile that disjuncture and to restore harmony and balance.

Temporal focus

In its widest dimension answers to questions of 'time' have three possibilities – past, present and future (Trosper, 1992:310). As indicated above, the notion of 'taonga' as a holistically oriented value implies at all levels, temporal continuity. Cultural elements and inherent values bequeathed from forebears to descendants provide a people's guidelines to life, that in turn devolve to succeeding generations to add their knowledge quota and fresh discoveries to the corpus of cultural heritage (Marsden, 2003c:39). Justice Eddie Durie has made significant contributions to Maoridom and New Zealand society in general as Chair of the Waitangi Tribunal and Chief Judge of the Māori Land Court, and he reflects on the continuity of values between generations;

"[My grandparents] demonstrated that we were locked into a process that one generation after another would have to follow and pursue. They had a strong sense of history even though it was never stated. People had done things in the past, my grandparents were continuing that process, and that struggle would have to continue" (E. Durie, 1993:17).¹⁴

When Māori people or tribes plan for the future they do so with several generations of mokopuna or descendants in mind (Ramsden, 1994). Similarly Native

¹³ Customarily the task would be the responsibility of the tohunga as expert.

¹⁴ Since writing this article Eddie Durie has become a Justice of the High Court of New Zealand.

Americans tend to worry about the opinion of grandchildren regarding decisions made in the present (Trosper, 1992:310). In 1975 the people of Ngāti Raukawa, Te Atiawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira extended their planning horizon through a futures programme, entitled ‘Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000,’ from the usual short term time-frame of one or two years to 25 years and beyond (Winiata, 1979). Recently, NKII presented their 25 year vision to hapū marae throughout Ngāti Kahungunu (NKII, 2002a, 2004). Bishop Vercoe expressed the temporal focus of Māori life when he said, “...Māori can only see the present and the future because of the past. Māori look backwards to see what is in front of them”¹⁵(Vercoe, 1994:115).

Modality of activity

Two possibilities are explored regarding the modality of human activity. The first is the notion of ‘being’ which “...expresses human personality by spontaneous expression of what is innate.” The second is ‘doing’ where human personality is expressed through accomplishments (Trosper, 1992:304). Marsden credits the benefits provided by membership of a society (sense of belonging, sense of safety, source of approval) as dependent on a reciprocal response, manifest in psychological values such as sharing, caring or fulfilling one’s obligations to society’ (Marsden, 2003c:39).

Again, Justice Durie refers to the underlying value of fulfilling one’s obligation to one’s people (whānau/ hapū/iwi/ Māori) that emphasises accomplishment rather than spontaneity.

“What I felt from my grandparents was a very strong sense of purpose, a strong obligation to one’s people, which left a lasting impression on me. Obligation was something you had to bear whether you liked it or not (E. Durie, 1993:17).

As well as obligations, the psychological security provided by membership of a society requires reciprocation in kind by contributing one’s skills, labour or goods to the social pool’ (Marsden, 2003c:41). The degree to which the work ethic was ingrained in Māori society and passed on between generations (M. Durie, 1993b:67), discussed in Chapter three as mahinga tahi, is expressed in the proverb ‘ko mahi,

ko kai: ko noho, ko iri; industry is food, idleness is hunger'(Mead & Grove, 2001:233).

Modality of relationship to others

The modality of relationships to others is focused on three orientations.¹⁶ In the superior orientation where elders or superiors set directions and goals, relations are ordered hierarchically. In a group orientation, the group set the goals and relations are ordered equally. An individualistic orientation is apparent when a person's own desires determine his or her goals for action, and relations have no particular order - hierarchical or equal (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961:17; Trosper, 1992:304). Although there are some variations between Native American tribes, taking an overall 'pan-Indian' synthesis "...the goals of the group have a greater pull on modern American Indian than do his or her own personal goals" (Trosper, 1992:310). The Mohawk of Kahnawake in Canada consider collective rights a higher value than individual rights, although the latter are acknowledged as important (Alfred, 1995:171).

According to Marsden, Māori social values were oriented to group relational modes based on kinship or whakapapa. For this reason, the whānau or hapū group was regarded as an organism rather than an organisation. It was the group, which shared the corporate life and each individual considered an integral member performing a particular function or role. Thus "...to serve others is to serve the corporate self" (Marsden, 2003c:41).¹⁷ As outlined in Chapter Eight, although a collective orientation varies within the modern context, the marae is a focus of the communal emphasis of Māori society where such functions and roles are discernible.

¹⁵ In the Māori language the word 'mua' means in front, 'muri' means behind. Translated the phrase 'i ngā ra o mua' literally means 'the days in front' but in English would mean 'in the days past' or 'in the olden days.' To look to the future, the Māori phrase is 'i ngā ra o muri', in the days 'behind' or yet unseen.

¹⁶ In line with Native American thinking, Trosper has replaced Kluckhohn's original categories of 'collateral' with 'group' and 'lineal' with 'superiors.'

¹⁷ Within the modern context however, not all whakapapa based kin function as a corporate group. Metge distinguishes between whakapapa-based whānau as a category consisting of all the descendants of a particular pair of ancestors regardless of whether they know or interact with each other; and whakapapa based whānau as a group who interact and work together for common purposes. The latter is not a universal feature of Māori life where some whānau members, "operate temporarily or permanently, as egocentric loners or self-contained nuclear families; some give their primary loyalty to groups based on other kaupapa; and some mix and match their group membership" (Metge, 1999:8). A further category proposed by Metge is the 'kaupapa whānau' which refers to groups who are not necessarily based on kinship but are formed either for short-term goals and disband as soon as they are achieved, or those which serve multiple functions and aim to last.

The iwi organisations in this study are primarily whakapapa-based groups, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa ki te tonga, whose corporate lives are founded on the aspirations of the collective hapū and iwi, and underpinned by cultural values and practices based on kaupapa and tikanga Māori.

Tikanga in the workplace

Defining kaupapa and tikanga

The word ‘kaupapa’ is derived from the word ‘kau’ meaning ‘to appear for the first time’ or ‘to come into view,’ and ‘papa’, which means ‘ground or foundation’. Marsden defines ‘kaupapa’ as the ‘ground rules, the first principles or general principles’, which guide iwi debate and resolution on important projects, actions or situations’ (Marsden, 2003c:66). The concept of tikanga is multiform, often used interchangeably with ‘kaupapa,’ and means ‘method, plan, reason, custom or the right way of doing things’ (Marsden, 2003c:66). Derived from the word ‘tika’ which implies ‘right’ or ‘correct’ with the addition of the noun suffix ‘ngā,’ the term encompasses the ‘right way’ or rule or custom embodying certain values. It refers to what is right in the sense of correct and appropriate- morally, spiritually and socially (Metge, 1995:87) or customs that are right for a particular occasion (Pere, 1988:35).

The notion of ‘tikanga Māori’ translates as Māori custom and denotes those customs and traditions passed on through succeeding generations and accepted as both a reliable and appropriate way of achieving certain goals and objectives. As Marsden asserts,

“(s)uch proven methods together with their accompanying protocols are integrated into the general cultural institutions of a society and incorporated into the cultural system of standards, values, attitudes and beliefs” (Marsden, 2003b:66).

An important question in this thesis relates to the ways in which tikanga can be incorporated into contemporary iwi organisations, especially those that deliver social services. How is it manifest in the iwi workplace? What are the ways in which tikanga is recognised as a basis for the values and practices of the organisations?

There are at least three themes related to tikanga in the iwi workplace that were discerned from this study: methods of conduct (by the organisation and its staff),

the ecology of workspace, and the spiritual milieu or dimension in the workplace.

Methodologies of Conduct:

Social conduct in terms of tikanga in the workplace is approached via its own particular set of ethical and political concerns grounded in traditional values and customs. Methodologies of conduct refer to the direction of behaviour and action instituted at the organisational level in the conduct of business, and at the individual level by, for example, the application of tikanga 'in the field.' The central questions considered are: how is behaviour and/or action managed, controlled or directed? What is being conducted and transmitted? How are such actions explained?

Conduct of the organisation

Our delivery, our contact must be anchored in our culture. If they're not we'll always fail [NT161573/66c].

At the organisational level, tikanga is considered to be integral to an iwi-based service in the conduct of business¹⁸ and as a basis of the organisational culture¹⁹. It is what counts and an over-riding factor that defines an iwi organisation from any other²⁰.

Our tikanga Māori values operate within the parameters of a large organisation but they operate with tikanga values[AW144746/34c]. *It's[tikanga] paramount and it's also foundational so it's at the top and it's at the bottom and it's all encompassing...whatever the tikanga has to be - our whakapapa,²¹ the whanaungatanga²² and manaakitanga,²³ whakamana,²⁴ te reo²⁵* [AW174803/35c].

Managers consider it their responsibility to incorporate certain values in the daily business of the organisation²⁶.

I'm in a position...as a manager to carry out the principles or kawa...kawa being rules that have been consensually communicated whether by paper [or] by

¹⁸ [RR77064/73c][RR68820/72c][HG11637/44c]

¹⁹ [AW178183/35c]

²⁰ [VM32146/80c]

²¹ Genealogy.

²² Maintaining kinship ties.

²³ Caring, showing respect, providing hospitality.

²⁴ Empower, enable, authorise.

²⁵ Reference is to the Māori language.

²⁶ [AW76788/34c] [DE89566/43c] [NT161572] [MA45903/52a] [MA10081/52c]

hui...kawa is practices with integrity, practices that have been tried and tested, practices that are there to enhance, protect and elevate people, not pull them down and make them miserable [AW76788 & AW147545/34c].

Affirming the principle of 'kawa' as a framework for the conduct of governance ensures that such values as whakamana - respecting whakapapa and personal integrity, are upheld. In this way the affairs of business and the conduct of governance may be insulated from political, personal or petty interference from possible factions inside or outside the organisation²⁷. This was a problem in Native American business communities identified by Cornell and Kalt who found that successful tribally owned enterprises protected themselves from tribal politics by culture based separation of powers, and limits on self-interested behaviour (Cornell & Kalt, 1995:30-31).

A predominantly Māori presence within the iwi rūnanga affirms the necessity to implement management tikanga²⁸ by incorporating Māori values in the core business. Examples include the utilisation of Māori language, and overt displays of respect and hospitality²⁹ as a 'natural' function of the organisation. But while the organisational culture might be considered pro-Maori or iwi-centric, this is not viewed as necessarily exclusive as the following participant comments:

Maoridom is diverse...we have the good and the bad, the bright and the dull, the foolish, the wise, but the leveller is our culture...all those things that make up prejudice whether its religion, social standing, academic snobbery (laugh) that culture in its fullest can embrace all Māori and leave no-one out [AW176983/35c].

It was acknowledged that culture counts and the organisation must support iwi and marae, but there was also some concern that it should not be at the expense of a business ethic³⁰. *If we're gonna run a business in a business world then lets be businesslike about it [AR89872/40c]*. The concern expressed here was not one that was necessarily opposed to an organisation principled on customary values and culture; rather the issue was primarily levelled at the lack of cultural expertise and capacity as critical mass.

²⁷ [AW77958/34c]

²⁸ [AW150686/35c]

²⁹ [AW176305/35c]

³⁰ [AR89432/40c][AR89115/40c]

This shortage of expertise has real implications for the rūnanga in terms of what is relevant within a business context and what is not. An obligation to implement tikanga in terms of formalities that include rituals of encounter³¹ for visitors to business hui for example, assumes that the necessary knowledge or expertise to fulfil designated roles (such as kaikorero/speaker) is ‘always at hand,’ which is often not the case. Without forward planning to account for the lack of appropriate human resources on such occasions there are possible risks for the organisation. The consequences of a decision to proceed or not with the formalities of a pōwhiri or a mihi whakatau³², could undermine the credibility of the organization and the integrity of the hui if it were an expectation assumed by visiting groups. Sometimes when an organisation is unexpectedly ‘caught out’ and faced with exactly the dilemma described here, this manager concedes:

I dispense with it [tikanga]. I don't even go there. I'll just invite people in without the ritual...I won't try and stumble through it cause that to me is worse than not doing it...I mean people may go away thinking oh you're not very good in there with their tikanga but to try and do something that you're not really versed in and botch it would be to me more unforgivable [AR87613/40c].

As in most institutions and organisations the rūnanga staff tend to be representative of the general Māori population with varying experiences of and access to te ao Māori (the Māori world). Therefore, it cannot be assumed that all who work for iwi organisations are necessarily conversant in the Māori language or familiar with cultural imperatives, such as rituals of encounter, to competently assume the necessary leadership roles. Apart from Māori educational institutions, (kohanga reo/early childhood centres, kura kaupapa Māori/primary schools, whare kura/secondary schools and whare Wānanga/tertiary institutions) there is often a dearth of such expertise working as a critical mass for iwi or Māori organisations. It is recognised that the repositories of tikanga knowledge are predominantly a few remaining elders.

The repositories ...are mainly kaumātua...unfortunately for us we're thin on the ground. This is just my observation in terms of looking about and saying...where

³¹ For an insightful discussion and analysis of the rituals of encounter from the perspective of a Māori psychology refer to (Durie, 2001a:69-94).

³² A brief greeting without the full ceremony of a formal welcome

is that pool of knowledge? As you know the tohungatanga [the expertise], the knowledge base...is very important in contributing to the values of your tikanga...if we're very light in there then ...we're going to be...marginalised...not knowing what the tikanga aspects and aspirations of an organisation should be [MA165788/53c].

Maintaining consistency

Incorporating tikanga in the conduct of rūnanga business is seen as important and requires consistency in application.³³

It can't be tikanga one day and not tikanga the next. I think the Rūnanga is still finding its way there...you're either consistent with it or you make a choice. You use it or you don't! [AE19489/41c].

I think that's another area where I feel that...you use tikanga all the time, use kawa all the time rather than some of the time [AE20877/41c].

Values motivate direction...if you really say you manaaki tangata you gotta walk the talk [MA100814/52c].

Maintaining consistency requires clear steps in terms of protocols, and transparent policy guidelines to make it clear that tikanga (e.g. karakia at the commencement of meetings, pōwhiri for new staff etc.) is an integral and 'normal' part of business practice.³⁴ But in order to achieve this level of normality requires commitment on the part of the organisation to develop an environment conducive to a *tikanga mode* [MA168016/54c] and to increase the capacity and confidence of staff in tikanga Māori³⁵ by utilising local experts in special staff development programmes provided by the organisation.³⁶ Forward planning, specific policy and appropriate application are necessary to avoid inconsistencies and the compromise of cultural values and imperatives that underpin duties such as ceremonies to welcome groups (pōwhiri or mihi whakatau), delivering contractual work or other aspects of rūnanga business. As this manager explains:

We need to blend our tikanga and make it appropriate...to mesh those values that are important to us as an iwi organisation... to what we actually do [DE88350 & DE89566/43c].

³³ [MA45903/52c]

³⁴ [MA168016/53c][ST58552/74c]

³⁵ [MA174191/54c]

³⁶ [MA177953/55c][VM15530/79c]

Reflecting a ‘tikanga face’

An iwi or *Māori organisation* is one that *reflects a tikanga face* by ensuring important values such as observing karakia,³⁷ respecting kaumātua, revitalising te reo Māori or formally welcoming visitors or new staff by carrying out mihimihi, underpin the philosophy and practice of the organisation –in the boardroom, out in the field, interacting with the community or within the rūnanga offices.³⁸

For TROR, NKII and TTOH, promoting tikanga in the workplace requires the organisations to consider the implications of temporal and activity modalities in order to facilitate access to te ao Māori,³⁹ to increase staff knowledge and cultural capacity to apply tikanga in the field,⁴⁰ and to strengthen a sense of Māori or tribal identity.⁴¹ Rūnanga initiated ‘noho marae’ or ‘marae live-in’ for staff training outside of work hours is one example⁴² and pōwhiri (ceremonial welcome) for new staff during work hours is another.⁴³

When anyone starts [new staff] we have a pōwhiri for them. We welcome them in; we have a small morning tea...six workers had started from all over the taiwhenua...we all went onto the marae. They were blown away by it all...we all know that when that's [the pōwhiri] happening we need to block out maybe an hour or so...cause that's all part of the organisation, to welcome people in [KE23650/45c].

The benefits of these types of activities and regular, dedicated time during work hours for learning and reciting of karakia (prayer), mihimihi (greetings), waiata (song), whakatauki (proverbs) and pēpeha⁴⁴ can have positive affects. The character of the organisation is revealed and communicated through such activities. The benefits can reinforce a tribal or Māori identity, enhance the psychological security of staff and assist in developing the skill sets necessary for implementation as a ‘natural’ function of the organization’s modus operandi.⁴⁵

³⁷ [AR137106/37c]

³⁸ [MA103067/52c]

³⁹ [MK274601/61c] [CH123166/42c] [AR134473/37c] [MK160023/56c] [MK165103/57c]

⁴⁰ [CH122767/42c] [MA168016/53c] [RR67717/71c]

⁴¹ [MK114519 & MK 115138/56c] [VM15530/79c] [VM80875/81c]

⁴² [AE19796/41c]

⁴³ [KE23650/45c][PR17019/67c]

⁴⁴ In the context used here pēpeha are specific figures of speech that identifies a persons tribal origins.

⁴⁵ [DE89566/43c][KE20619/45c][KE24561/45c]

The place of tikanga in administration and bureaucracy

The day-to-day administration and bureaucracy of the organisations in this study are largely unaffected by tikanga⁴⁶ because by and large administrative processes are predetermined by state procedures attached to contractual agreements. Proof of adoption of state administration systems by any service provider or organisation is requisite to receiving state funding. However, office procedures relating to the public interface by administration staff promote cultural values such as Māori language (phone contact and/or correspondence), kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face interaction), whakarongo ki te iwi (listening), awhina (assisting) and manaaki tangata (hospitality).⁴⁷ It is also an expectation that all staff, including administration staff, participate in pōwhiri (rituals of encounter), although a mihi whakatau generally requires only those involved in the meeting.

Injecting a 'Māori flavour'

A further example of the application of tikanga in bureaucratic processes is demonstrated by one organization's insistence that a 'Māori flavour' is injected into service contracts to ensure that the service they deliver is appropriate for clients. Whenever possible, contracts are named relevant to tribal or Māori kaupapa (objectives), aspects of the tapa wha model⁴⁸ of health are incorporated and, in the face of state resistance, treaty perspectives that support long-term tribal goals are negotiated for inclusion, albeit with mixed results.

If you take a contract that comes to us, inevitably we try to give it a Māori flavour...name and...imbibe some of our tapa wha model. So it's in the wording. Generally I try to put the Crown agency on their back foot by asking for a specific clause from the Treaty of Waitangi that says both parties acknowledge the Treaty of Waitangi as the founding document upon which iwi Māori can achieve tino rangatiratanga⁴⁹ and iwitanga⁵⁰...I've seen them...asking for their lawyers...[DE92193/44c].

⁴⁶ [VM23620/80c]

⁴⁷ [VM23620/80c]

⁴⁸ This model of health is taken from Mason Durie, who advocates four components necessary for a person's health and well-being. The metaphor of the sides of a house are representative of taha whānau (whānau well-being), taha wairua (spiritual well-being), taha hinengaro (mental well-being), taha tinana (physical well-being) (Durie, 2001a:173).

⁴⁹ Self-determination.

The New Zealand government is sensitive to political rhetoric from tribes especially talk of self-determination.⁵¹ The government is however amenable to ‘soft options’ or what it perceives as less threatening strategies to encompass Māori perspectives acceptable to non-Māori New Zealanders (Slack, 2004). Giving Māori names to state initiated programmes, or allowing tribes to name the programmes themselves, are examples.

Smoking cessation programme...the name that's given from government is 'aukati kaipaipa'...we were given the opportunity to rename it...as a Raukawa kaupapa...My brother...he came up with Whitiora, which I quite like...[MK134858/56c].

Though seemingly superficial, the task of naming the programme is given signification by recourse to a tribal language expert to choose a relevant name. Furthermore, in this case, the expert was a close kin of the woman ultimately responsible for implementing the programme in the tribal area, which strengthened the obligation to ensure that the programme succeeded. Renaming by using a conceptual metaphor rather than a literal translation or a transliteration is, as Linda Smith asserts, an ideological act of controlling meaning and naming realities (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:157).

The states choice of phrase ‘aukati kaipaipa’ uses Māori words to describe western thinking and an inflection in meaning that could be interpreted as apportioning sole responsibility to the individual smoker. As a concept ‘whitiora’ engenders positivity and a collective societal responsibility for the poor health associated with a history of excessive tobacco consumption. The reality is that high levels of smoking among Māori, especially women show a causal relationship between smoking and respiratory diseases, including cancer of the lung and cardiovascular disease, which contribute to the poor health and high death rate of Māori compared to all other groups (Durie, 1994c:133).

⁵⁰ Tribal autonomy.

⁵¹ The Waitangi Tribunal in its ruling on the Taranaki claim declared “...the single thread that most illuminates the historical fabric of Māori and Pākehā contact has been the Māori determination to maintain Māori autonomy and the Government’s desire to destroy it” (WAI413, 1966:6)

Maintaining cultural integrity

At an international level NKII has insisted on maintaining its cultural integrity by instituting formal greetings in meetings with foreign business leaders overseas, a factor they were once advised against by a member of the New Zealand diplomatic corps.

The New Zealand trade ambassador said look these Chinese people are...sticklers for their own protocols so shake hands, don't hongī⁵²...and if there's Chinese women...be even more formal...[we] thought well we didn't come all this way over here and not...introduce ourselves so I got up and mihi to them...I'd learnt a bit of Chinese...I mihi to their mountains in Māori, in English and then in Chinese...then to their rivers and to their tipuna's [ancestors]...we did [sang] Pokarekare, then we left a pounamu [greenstone] on the table...[NT157031/65]

This cultural exchange broke through intercultural barriers securing business with the Chinese, which, until the enactment of Māori protocol in line with tikanga Māori, had not been progressing in NKII's favour under the stewardship of the NZ trade ambassador.⁵³ Protocols that express the unity of core values as respect, spirituality, importance of ancestors, the environment, languages and the symbolism of customs (mihimihi) and tradition (the gift of pounamu), are recognised between peoples. In this case, 'East meets Māori' across the cultural divide uninhibited by cognitive dimensions in the western tradition that, as Māori Marsden claims, fragment and compartmentalise the secular and the spiritual.

Conduct of individuals – in the field

At an individual level participants spoke about *personal tikanga* in terms of how one behaves, conducts oneself and upholds Māori values⁵⁴ that is inherently linked to personal integrity.

The importance of tikanga was not apparent to all participants until they began working for an iwi organisation.⁵⁵ Most participants expressed commitment to incorporating Māori values and culture as an integral part of their practice 'in the field' not only because of the ethicality of such practice, but also community

⁵² Salutation by the ritual of pressing noses.

⁵³ [NT160708/66c]

⁵⁴ [AR83182/39c] [AE21722/41c] [MA45903/52c]

⁵⁵ [AE18525/41c] [KE24561/45c]

assumptions and expectations tend to be biased towards viewing such approaches as ‘normal’ for an iwi organisation. Moreover, and perhaps most important, there was recognition that tikanga would add value to the service and be reflected in better outcomes for clients.

I believe that is the most integral part of an iwi-based service...you need those guiding principles and those boundaries in order to ensure that we’re working with our people in the correct way. Like if you have those in place for yourself...because you’re working with our people...because they’re Māori they’ll also have their own tikanga in place. In a way they expect it of you because you’re from an iwi organisation [RR68820/72c].

Examples of applying tikanga ‘in the field’ that are demonstrated in this study fall into three broad categories. The first is the practice of implementing health and safety measures by regulating behaviour associated with the laws of tapu and noa explained in some detail in Chapter Two. Customarily, parts of the body are considered tapu therefore it is accepted practice to separate articles related to bodily use, such as hair combs, hats, clothes, bedpans, pillows or diapers, from contact with items designated ‘noa’ such as furniture and any implements or tools used for food preparation, storage or eating⁵⁶. Leaving bedpans, diapers, and clothing on tables, bathing baby in the kitchen sink, or sitting on tables are considered unethical behaviours.⁵⁷ Not all Māori clients know about such customs or actively apply them in their daily lives. It is not uncommon for parents to present children for immunisation on the kitchen table so rūnanga staff must be receptive to client preferences.⁵⁸

A second application of tikanga in the field relates to patterns of personal interaction based on the principle of whanaungatanga.⁵⁹ The basis of whanaungatanga is kinship ties premised on how people are related and how kin ought to behave to one another (Metge, 1976:121; Pere, 1988:26) or family-like relationships among non-kin. In practical terms this principle is characterised by rituals of exchange - warm greetings (hongī/kiss/embrace), making whakapapa connections, enquiring after whānau, speaking Māori and sharing food. These are

⁵⁶ [HG13229/44c]

⁵⁷ [KL10404/46c]

⁵⁸ [LG11294/50c]

⁵⁹ [MA45903/53c] [TH27084/77c] [TH69603/77c]

basic patterns of interaction that are assumed by most Māori clients and offer kaimahi (rūnanga staff) a relevant framework to build rapport.⁶⁰

A third application is the practice of incorporating cultural referents as an integral part of the mode of service delivery. These include the use of te reo Māori, cosmological narratives, local marae, local history, rituals (mihimihi, karakia), waiata and customary health practices (mirimiri/massage and rongoa / medicine) in some or all aspects of the programme⁶¹. In supporting mental health clients for example, the overall aim is to make the programme relevant by incorporating a full range of cultural referents, and empowering clients through, among others, strengthening a sense of identity.⁶²

Ecology of the Workspace

The workplace environment provides a symbolic frame that conveys the customs, values, practices and beliefs of the organisation. In its broadest sense “...the symbolic frame seeks to interpret and illuminate basic issues of meaning and belief that make symbols so powerful...Meaning, belief and faith are central to a symbolic perspective” (Bolman & Deal, 1997:216). Within the ecology of the rūnanga workplace three facets of a symbolic frame may be identified that embody the beliefs, values, spirituality and customs projected by the iwi organisations in this study. These are artifacts (concrete symbols), architecture (division and allocation of space) and cultural milieu (abstract symbols).

Among concrete symbols of artifact are the corporate logo’s adopted by TROR, NKII and TTOH. Each logo is designed to project the core values and philosophy of the organisations through tribal motif and accompanying whakatauki (proverb), pepeha (tribal motto) and metaphor discussed in Chapter Five. Besides the placement of the organisations corporate identity on letterheads, buildings, banners or vehicles, the philosophy of the organisation is also communicated through reports and newsletters, and through ritual and ceremony in the narrative of speeches and karanga.⁶³ This provides a means of maintaining solidarity and cohesion within the

⁶⁰ [TH27084/77c] [TH69603/77c]

⁶¹ [PR22218/66c][CH9977/86]

⁶² [PR5362/66c]

⁶³[MK171882/58c]

organisation as well as communicating and mediating conflicts and contradictions.⁶⁴

The posters, artworks and displays featuring Māori themes in imagery and language, are symbolic artifacts selected by the organisations and exhibited in prominent spaces within their office buildings. Regular displays of student artworks from a local Māori visual arts course⁶⁵ line the walls at the NKII offices and in the large foyer at TTOH. And in TROR's southern offices, a large sculptural installation by local artists dominates the entrance.

Architecture of space

An important consideration in the division and allocation of physical space is that it is multifunctional and adaptive to the activities of business as well as large gatherings for pōwhiri and hui. In this latter sense such spaces assume a marae equivalent by conversion to perform some of the functions of a marae discussed in Chapter Seven.

We have a lot of people coming in here. We have meetings almost everyday so I'm in contact with a lot of people. So the most important thing to me is to be able to greet those people and I don't want to greet them from behind the desk. I want to come out from my desk and mihi and offer them a seat and a cup of tea...[SW4621/74c].

Only one of the organisations in this study occupies a building that is purpose-built with a customary orientation where space is free flowing and flexible. The physical constraints of cellular spaces can undermine the cultural practices that are less inhibited in the traditional environment of the marae or a specially designed building.

If we had our organisation based on a marae...that would just enhance and enable us to practice our culture more. I mean there are limits because of the physical environment...but obviously where there are opportunities we try and take those...[SK27328/75c].

Architecture that creates physical barriers between the organisation and visitors entering the premises has the potential to contradict core values of manaaki tangata,

⁶⁴ [NT69955/63c]

⁶⁵ Toi Mairangi is the Māori visual arts course based at the Hastings campus of the Māori tertiary institution, Te Wharewananga o Aotearoa. Ngāti Kahungunu artist, Sandy Adsett directs the programme.

mana tangata, or whanaungatanga as the following participant argues.

They [the community] walk in the door...they see a little hole in the wall and two big doors blocking them...from seeing anybody else. Whereas at the other building they could walk in the door and people were open to be able to be seen...smiling faces looking back at you, makes a difference...I mean this is flash compared to what we were in but the other building had the feeling about it...you felt welcomed when you came in...we're too busy trying to put on the image rather than worry about how we're providing the services' [KO46294/49c].

We've had people come in and say 'gee you...are just like WINZ⁶⁶ now'. But WINZ doesn't have a big door with a lock on it blocking you out, so WINZ is probably that little bit more inviting than us at the moment [KO48751/50c].

Creating a milieu that is consistent with core values is an important consideration if participation by the Māori community in iwi services is to be encouraged. Paradoxically, the challenge is to strike a balance between projecting a corporate NGO identity while *reflecting a tikanga face*. The Māori community is generally unimpressed by outward displays of extravagance, such as new buildings or large company cars, when a significant proportion of its constituent members are low-income families.⁶⁷

A spiritual milieu

One of the most significant institutions of tikanga consistently referred to by the participants was that of karakia. It was pointed out in Chapter Two that customarily the recitation of karakia (an incantation) was necessary to influence the deities, to procure benefits or to avert disaster. There were large numbers of incantations each relatively specific to meet all possible contingencies in human life.

Within a contemporary context, the spiritual dimension is an integral characteristic of the organisations in this study. However, influenced by Māori conversion to Christianity since the early years of the 19th century, most karakia referred to by the participants in the context of the workplace were analogous to Christian prayer, or a synthesis of Christian and customary recitation (e.g. reference to specific deities) in the Māori language. The application of karakia, both within

⁶⁶ Work and Income New Zealand, is a government agency.

⁶⁷ [KO48751/50c]

the rūnanga and by individuals ‘in the field,’ was generally regarded as normal practice because it was applied as a ‘way of life.’⁶⁸ For many of the participants, karakia is practiced regularly at home, at the office, as part of the delivery of programmes⁶⁹ and, when requested by clients, in the field.⁷⁰

References to the importance of karakia is based on premises that are not too different from customary assumptions; karakia provides psychological and spiritual wellbeing, and is evoked to avert disaster so that planned activities will be free of difficulties.⁷¹ It reinforces a spiritual dimension and provides a framework for positive interaction in the workplace.

If you’re inviting that divine presence that spirit into your hui, then you don’t turn around and takahi⁷² on people in the hui or what they have to say...that spirit is there to assist you in working through your problems and not trying to force...your opinion or your wants or needs over anybody else...[AR76527/39c].

Participants described the practice of karakia as having a number of benefits for them and for their clients. These included a sense of well-being in terms of; comfort and happiness,⁷³ personal health and safety,⁷⁴ assisting in the relief of tension and stress,⁷⁵ and as a precaution based on instinct or intuition when things ‘don’t feel right’⁷⁶ thereby giving *peace of mind* [LG15386/51c][PR94595/69c].

If I feel something’s not right...I always have a karakia...if you’re not feeling safe somewhere or if you feel something’s not right just have a small karakia to yourself and it helps a lot’ [HG15470/45c].

Ngā mahi tuara- Alternative Māori Frameworks

A distinguishing characteristic of the organisations in this study is recourse to uniquely Māori frame-works as a philosophical basis for service delivery. In discussing substantive workspaces and relevant services for Māori, participants frequently referenced or described cultural frameworks that were adopted and practiced by them and their organisations. At least four types of frameworks are

⁶⁸[AWR137106/37c]

⁶⁹[MK316196/62c]

⁷⁰ [LG14446/51c]

⁷¹[AR50005/36c][AR76527/39c]

⁷² In this context the word means to belittle a person or people.

⁷³ [KE24561/45c][MW30706/63][ST57552/74c]

⁷⁴ [PR94595/69c][RK21562/69c][RK21850/70c]

discernible and may be categorised within the conceptual themes of mana tangata, taonga tuku iho, hono tātai and ngā kaupapa.

Mana tangata

The concept of mana tangata as it is used here encapsulates people oriented frameworks of whakapapa and whānau that were frequently referenced in various associated contexts. As outlined in Chapters Two and Seven, whakapapa is the geneological matrix for kinship links; among other factors it forms the basis for interrelationships (whanaungatanga) and the essential ingredient necessary for an identity as Māori.⁷⁷ When applied to the business of the organisations, whakapapa has been effective in the exercise of kinship networks for the provision of social services discussed in Chapter Seven, and in the promotion of state programmes supporting Māori economic development. For example, in Ngāti Kahungunu, kinship networks were the major sources that led to the successful distribution of funds under the Mana Scheme by managing populations of kin and *backing winners* through utilising local knowledge [AW44236/107c].

Working as the Mana coordinator... I had to cover from Mahia to Wairarapa⁷⁸ and... administer a three and a half million-dollar portfolio to that population. Now how could I possibly do that? It was done through whakapapa and whanaungatanga... my great grandfather Hemi Morgan... stopped along the way, they had marriages, and they had aunties and cousins all along the track. Those things [relationships] are still there... I used Māori intellectual property, which was whakapapa and whanaungatanga... [AW43122/106c].

Whakapapa is also viewed as a template for the future development of the organisation based on customary practices instituted by ancestors, a factor that Sir Apirana Ngata regarded as significant for investigating the complex nature of Māori society discussed in Chapter Three.

Using whakapapa as the essence to keep ourselves in whakawhanaungatanga mode and whakakotahitanga mode⁷⁹... at the end of the day it's going to be the survival of our mokopuna āpōpō and our tamariki āpōpō⁸⁰ [MA9599/119c].

⁷⁵ [DE89566/43c] [LG14446/51c] [MW29172; 29803/63c] [RK22442/70c] [MK276655/62c]

⁷⁶ [AWR50005/36c]

⁷⁷ [MA27135/120c] [MA29250/120c]

⁷⁸ Approximately 400kms distance between Mahia in the north and Wairarapa in the south.

⁷⁹ Translates as 'building strong unified relationships among kin'.

⁸⁰ Translates as 'the future of our children and grandchildren'.

The work of our tipuna, of our ancestors...if we get insights into...what measures they took in order to...progress or develop encourages me to believe that the answer may be back in some earlier process...what used to be a common practice...our tipuna had in the past, let's not recreate the wheel [MA29250/120c] [MA29777/120c].

As a framework for policy, iwi social service providers advocate whakapapa as the basis for supporting whānau at risk (discussed in some detail in Chapter Seven). It has already been noted that the principle of whānau promotes the placement of all Māori children in welfare as the responsibility of whānau, hapū, iwi or other Māori.⁸¹

We've got a priority placement definition and that is in the first instance with their own whānau, their own blood relatives...If their blood relatives are not able, capable or available then they go to their hapū links. If the hapū are not available...then they go to iwi. But after us then other Māori...[AB44412c]

As a framework, whānau is apparent in various aspects of iwi business. Programmes are centred on whānau rather than individuals, policy promotes whānau well being, whānau are employed to work with whānau and the delivery of services is whānau oriented.⁸² The centrality of whānau in the modern context has its genesis in the customary social order discussed in Chapter Three. An order based on mana motuhake and rangatiratanga; that is the autonomy and self-sufficiency of whānau, which in turn was organised around the principle of whakapapa. At every level of the community from birth to death an integrated system of whānau support existed.

We should go back to the old Māori way of doing things and that is deal with the adult issues and make sure the children stay safe...old Māori society if the adults weren't doing their thing by the kids then they were the ones who were dealt to'[AB139915/110c].

The importance of frameworks that have their origins in the customs and knowledge of the past relates to a second theme, taonga tuku iho.

Taonga Tuku Iho

This theme concerns frameworks referenced by the participants based on customs

⁸¹ [AR10397/107c] [AR19261/107c]

⁸² [CH9977/113c]

and knowledge inherited from the past. The nature of such references is in relation to relevant training systems based on Māori or tribal kaupapa and wānanga, philosophical orientations conceptualised in whakatauki and pēpeha, frameworks based on ngā ritenga or customs and practices, and resources and symbolic representations utilising taonga Māori.

Akoranga

Participants emphasised the importance of developing kaupapa-based services and the necessity to enlist Māori centred training establishments to assist in the development of a workforce with relevant skills.⁸³ In Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Rauru Learning Systems provides relevant training⁸⁴ and Ngāti Raukawa enlists Te Korowai Aroha for staff development.⁸⁵ Māori centred models and conceptual metaphors are the ‘added value’ and integral elements of the training modules offered by these companies. For example in their training package Te Korowai Aroha include whakawātea⁸⁶ (treaty training), whakariterite⁸⁷ (applying the treaty to fieldwork and business) and kōrero tahi⁸⁸ (consensus decision-making processes)⁸⁹ as essential elements. From time to time NKII and TROR produce iwi specific training modules for more explicit purposes such as ‘facilitation skills’ training *which allows our Māori facilitators to use Māori models when facilitating with Māori and we see big benefits in that* [VM61590/138c].

Wānanga framework

At both a practical and theoretical level, staff training through the Wānanga model provides a relevant framework for developing a deeper understanding of core values and concepts⁹⁰ that underpin a Māori /iwi centred approach to service delivery. The following participant explains;

⁸³ [AB41246/108c] [PR3074/131c]

⁸⁴[AB 41246/108c]

⁸⁵[PR3074/131c] [PR54460/132c]

⁸⁶ This word means ‘to make way for’ or ‘to liberate’. In the context it is used in this training package, Treaty of Waitangi training ensures that the treaty is understood in its historical context, as a basis for understanding the present and so that it can be applied to contemporary issues.

⁸⁷ Whakariterite means to put in order, to arrange or to prepare.

⁸⁸ Kōrero tahi means to confer.

⁸⁹ [RR114246/134c]

⁹⁰ [MA6095/119c]

A lot of Māori service providers...have not had much of an opportunity to look in depth at the...values and the concepts that they know, but they don't know what the labels for them are, or life experiences that they know are unique to Māori but they haven't seen them applied in any other ways. Often it's to help people develop their own thinking and to assist them to develop a theoretical base for why Māori do the things they do the way they do them and where individual people fit within that process [AB42607/108c].

At the organisational level, NKII found that applying a Wānanga framework for training social services staff using Māori practice models has a number of advantages. Wānanga creates a neutral ground outside the politics of whānau, hapū or iwi especially for people working among their kin. This environment offers opportunities to strengthen and develop appropriate skills to carry out activities staff are employed to do, and to apply these skills with whānau across the six taiwhenua regions of Kahungunu. Furthermore social workers are able to share relevant information about the whānau they work with, strengthen individual networks, and discuss areas of common interest.⁹¹

As a framework for dealing with hapū issues at a political level, Wānanga can provide a safety valve for building hapū/ iwi relationships by getting issues out in the open in a safe environment⁹² and setting future directions of hapū⁹³ in a forum that relies on collective wisdom.⁹⁴ Wānanga utilises processes based on such principles as kanohi ki te kanohi (personal interaction) and whitiwhiti korero (open discussion).⁹⁵ These processes and principles of Wānanga are often overlooked in favour of the restrictions imposed by a modern concept of hui.

...if you got a take [issue] you take a hui out, potentially you become the dart board...especially if there's a lot of tough issues that need to be dealt with. So what we decided to do was say, hang on let's take a step back and use Wānanga, and use whakapapa as the binding process [MA243283/123c].

We say if you Wānanga it should dissolve a lot of these issues. Unfortunately we've lost the mode of how to Wānanga...we see Wānanga as a hui where...a motion is put and you vote on it. Now that's not Wānanga...we think that a hui can deliver everything, one hui. Where as a Wānanga is sort of never ending... [NT54213/129c].

⁹¹ [AB1044/109c][VM4667/136c]

⁹² [MA245138/124c] [MA243282/123c]

⁹³ [MA247922/124c]

⁹⁴ [MA251516/124c]

⁹⁵ [MA254288/125c]

Pēpehā and whakatauki

The term ‘pēpeha’ may be translated as ‘sayings of the ancestors’, reflective thoughts that also include “...charms, witticisms, figures of speech, boasts, and other sayings” (Mead & Grove, 2001) and metaphor. Similarly, the word ‘whakatauki’ refers to sayings, proverbs or aphorisms (Williams, 1971). The significance of this type of language is that it reflects Māori thinking on all aspects of Māori life-ways featured in formal speeches and other oral or written literature, a historical legacy handed down through generations. Mead provides a useful description:

“...for the modern Māori the pēpeha are not merely historical relics...they constitute a communication with the ancestors. Through the medium of the words it is possible to discover how they thought about life and its problems. Their advice is as valuable today as before” (Mead & Grove, 2001).

In the context of the workplace, participants demonstrated several ways in which pēpeha and whakatauki were referenced: as principles, as philosophy, as a blueprint for action or as metaphor for organisational structure. For example, each organisation developed strategic statements based on whakatauki (explained in Chapter Four) that underpin the strategic development, direction, goals and policy formation of the organisations.⁹⁶ The following participant explains the rationale for the use of such statements by NKII that in the context of this study are possibly applicable to TROR and TTOH.

NKII...came up with a range of strategic statements which they've used quite consistently over the last year...strategic...ball-park statements...based on whakatauki...Iwi social services has followed that policy development by adding four whakatauki of our own that explain where we sit in relation to the rest of the world...As an organisation, the organisation has to be seen to be acting in a Māori way. It has to be seen to be using the Māori language...as part of its everyday life...to hold their meetings in Māori...totally in te reo...there are these four whakatauki that we use in Iwi Social Services that underpin the sorts of things that we want to do [AB80105/109c].

Such statements are central to the strategic thinking of the organisations in their development of goals, policy and philosophic orientation. By way of explanation the five strategic aphorisms used by NKII provide an example. The first statement

⁹⁶ [AB190554/111c]

is ‘*tuhonohono o Kahungunu*,’ which is an instruction to know and understand one’s own tribal history and customs first⁹⁷ and *to strengthen our relationships to each other in terms of the whakapapa that binds and unites us* [MA9075/119c].

The second statement ‘*tuhono o mareikura o Takitimu*’ assumes that a strong knowledge of Kahungunutanga makes it possible to network efficiently and effectively among others who have a relationship with Kahungunu such as tribes who also link to the Takitimu waka/canoe.

The third statement ‘*te whakaputanga o ngā rangatira*’ is recognition that leadership evolves, often identified by the circumstances of their time as well as inherited through whakapapa. It is also a reference to the Declaration of Independence and Te Tiriti o Waitangi as Kahungunu were signatories to both.⁹⁸

The fourth statement, ‘*kanohi ki kanohi, pokohiwi ki pokohiwi*’, is the notion of collaboration and solidarity, translated as *face to face we’ll talk, shoulder-to-shoulder we’ll walk* [AB195213/111c] [NT69955/130c].

The fifth statement, ‘*te reo pare karangaranga i ngā wharetata ki ngā Rimutaka puta noa ki te motu*’ translates as ‘those echoing calls that rebound from the Rimutaka ranges,’ and makes reference to the large geographical area held by Kahungunu so that communication among its constituents is imperative.⁹⁹

Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga has adopted the pēpeha ‘*te haro o te kāhu*’ as a vision statement which means *to see beyond the horizon, to use the hawks vision for things...it’s about working with Māori to enhance Māori capacity...socially, culturally, economically* [CH44468/114c]. The kāhu is a native hawk or harrier considered a kaitiaki or guardian in the Kahungunu region.¹⁰⁰ The metaphor of Te Arero, *the tongue of the taiaha*,¹⁰¹ and the image it evokes describes the governance structure of TTOH in which the Māori community as constituent clients and beneficiaries are positioned at the apex.¹⁰²

Images derived from metaphor give rise to different kinds of rhetoric that are drawn upon for various times and situations. Metaphorical statements are significant

⁹⁷ [AB195213/111c]

⁹⁸ [AB195213/111c]

⁹⁹ [AB195213/111c].

¹⁰⁰ [CH34012/113c]

¹⁰¹ A weapon about 5ft long having one end, the arero, carved in the shape of a tongue and the other end being a flat smooth blade.

¹⁰² [CH46634/114c]. See also Chapter Four for further explanation.

because they are derived from the Māori world; their meanings in a modern context are not always understood in a deep knowing way that made sense to tupuna who conceived them. Nonetheless, whakatauki and pēpeha continue to define and justify identity, and help modify behaviour, attitudes and actions. As one participant asserts;

Our new whakatauki...I karanga them...let's be creative we're in 2001. These things are not there just to be tucked away in a book and just left there. You bring them to life by giving them meaning. You do it in a haka, do it in a karanga, do it in a waiata, do it in a korero at the beginning...these words, they have to be used, they have to be said. Lived! Hear it! Do it! [MK171882/125c].

Taonga Māori

Concrete symbols such as taonga Māori also have signification manifest in the naming of programmes such as Mātua Whāngai (parenting), Tane Atawhai (men's support group) or Wahine Pākere (womens support group);¹⁰³ utilising taonga Māori and natural resources as training aids- kohatu (stones), koauau¹⁰⁴, muka¹⁰⁵, patu¹⁰⁶, harakeke (flax)¹⁰⁷; and as symbolic representations like the gifting of pounamu¹⁰⁸ to mark important events.¹⁰⁹

Ngā ritenga

Ngā ritenga refers to a code of practice or set of rituals and habits that embody a 'Māori way' of doing things which gives structure and meaning to daily life based on Māori language, cultural institutions (e.g. hui, karakia and mihimihi) and values (e.g. manaaki tangata, whanaungatanga, wairuatanga).¹¹⁰ Practices utilised in service provision that incorporate a code of practice or sets of rituals and habits referenced by participants in this study include mirimiri (massage), mau rākau (martial arts), rāranga (weaving), kōrero Māori (communicating in te reo Māori) and kōrero tahi (dispute resolution).¹¹¹

¹⁰³ [DE118740/115c]

¹⁰⁴ A musical instrument played with the nose or as a flute for the mouth.

¹⁰⁵ Prepared flax fibre.

¹⁰⁶ A cleaver-like weapon traditionally made of stone, greenstone, bone or wood, which in the modern era is used in action song or for ceremony.

¹⁰⁷ [MK312941/127c] [MK314967/127c]

¹⁰⁸ Greenstone, a highly valued stone.

¹⁰⁹ [NT157031/65].

¹¹⁰ [MK307734/126] [MK310248/127]

¹¹¹ [MK316196/128c] [MK340819/128c] [RR114246/134c]

Hono Tātai

Whare tapa whā

Although usually associated with the notion of interlinking lines of geneology, hono tātai is used here as a conceptual theme in the sense of ‘interlinking lines of thought’ suggested by metaphor. Besides their rhetorical orientation described above, metaphor are also indirect ways of capturing and compressing complicated issues into understandable images affecting attitudes and actions (Bolman & Deal, 1997:230). An anchoring vision embodied in metaphor is a perspective of health proposed by Mason Durie, constructed as a four-sided house ‘whare tapa whā’ which, because it accords with contemporary Māori thinking, has gained wide acceptance by Māori (Durie, 1998b:69). This is confirmed by the many references to whare tapa whā by participants in this study although not always associated with health.

As a conceptual model Durie conceived an interaction of four dimensions: taha wairua (the spiritual side), taha whānau (family), taha hinengaro (thoughts and feelings) and taha tinana (the physical side). When combined and balanced to ensure strength and symmetry (as is necessary for four walls of a house) these strands constitute the four basic ingredients for good health (Durie, 1998b:69).¹¹²

Participants referred to whare tapa whā in various contexts. For instance, as the mission statement or philosophy of the organisation;¹¹³ as a model of health practice that has national and international applicability;¹¹⁴ as a checklist for evaluating practice in the field in health and social services¹¹⁵ and as a basis for delivering appropriate services to Māori.¹¹⁶

At a basic level applying whare tapa whā as workplace practice means, for example, taking account of the spiritual needs of clients who *want to go and see someone who will give them some spiritual comfort and if they don't know someone we can give them names or take them to see someone* [LG34466/117c]. It also means ensuring that the thoughts and feelings of clients are considered, that they are supported by their extended family in any treatment or action initiated by the

¹¹² For an indepth discussion see Durie, 1998b: 69-73.

¹¹³ [MK307232/126c] [TH32138/135c]

¹¹⁴ [AE40946/112c]

¹¹⁵ [KH14897/117c] [MW67308/129c] [TH71685/135c] [TS87523/136]

¹¹⁶ [AR106221/112c] [AE140382/112c] [TH32138/135c]

¹¹⁷ [LG37538/118c]

organisation,¹¹⁷ and that the importance of healthy bodies are encouraged through, for example, promoting healthy lifestyles and health screening services.¹¹⁸ One participant described her application of whare tapa whā in this way:

We use te whare tapa whā as an assessment tool...it's a holistic view of a person's wellbeing...te taha whānau- we sit down and we talk about how they see their whānau, what's working, what's not... te taha hinengaro is looking at alternative ways of looking after their wellbeing apart from medication...taha tinana is looking after yourself as a person in terms of your diet and exercise...te taha wairua- people seem to get hung up on that quite a bit because they think it's religion and christianity as opposed to a belief [RR14716/132; RR18224/133c; RR18601/133c].

Other frameworks anchored in metaphorical vision that bear similarities to whare tapa whā include 'ngā pou mana' and 'te wheke'. The set of values and beliefs that underpin the four supports that constitute ngā pou mana, are considered pre-requisites for health and wellbeing described by the Royal Commission on Social Policy in 1988 (Henare, 1988). The four supports – whanaungatanga (family), taonga tuku iho (cultural heritage), te ao tākāroa (the physical environment) and turangawaewae (land base) place emphasis on the external environment and the links between social, cultural and economic dimensions (Durie, 1998b:74; Henare, 1988).

The model depicted by Rangimarie Pere - te wheke, illustrates the main features of health from the perspective of a Māori family by comparing health to an octopus. Each of the eight tentacles symbolises a dimension of health, the head and body representing the family unit (Durie, 1998b:74; Pere, 1988) .

Ngā Kaupapa

Table 9.1 brings together the key cultural elements that may distinguish the modus operandi of a Māori/ iwi provider. It is useful to conclude this chapter by drawing together in a brief summation ngā kaupapa, those principles related to tikanga in the workplace that recurred many times in the course of conversations with participants. In line with the wholistic nature of Māori thinking, whereby understanding occurs through synthesis into wider contextual systems (Durie, 1998b:70), most of the principles summarised here have been discussed in this and

¹¹⁸ [LG38337/118c]

other chapters from varying perspectives. Applied within the context of the workplace, they form some of the core values and ideas espoused by the organisations in this study, which helps summarise the distinguishing features and characteristics of a Māori/ iwi provider.

The principle of rangatiratanga is about exercising rights based on Māori values and beliefs¹¹⁹, and protecting whakapapa through developing a suitable vehicle for dealing with the wider societal political environment.¹²⁰ Whakawhanaungatanga, as a value and a principle promotes harmonic relationships.¹²¹ Respect and hospitality is demonstrated by the principle of manaaki ki te tangata.¹²² Interactions with the Māori community at all levels, is best carried out under the principle of kanohi kitea or face-to-face.¹²³ A management role that supports the principle of visibility requires regular attendance at iwi/Māori functions such as hui or tangihanga.¹²⁴

Table 9.1 Ngā mahi tuara – Cultural paradigms for Māori/ iwi providers

Conceptual theme	Frameworks	Application
Mana tangata	Whakapapa	Relationship building Basis of identity Framework for policy
	Whānau	Programmes Policy Employment
Taonga tuku iho	Akoranga	Staff training programme
	Wānanga	Delivery of training Process for open discussion
	Pēpehā and Whakatauki	Guiding principles Philosophy of organisation Blueprint for action Metaphor for organisational structures
	Taonga Māori	Training resources Symbolic representation

¹¹⁹ [MA45903/121c]

¹²⁰ [NT69955/130c]

¹²¹ [MA100173/122c]

¹²² [MA100814/122c][VM23620/138c]

¹²³ [VM23620/138c]

¹²⁴ [MA139795/123c] [VM20777/137c]

Conceptual theme	Frameworks	Application
	Ngā Ritenga(rituals and habits)	Healing practices (mirimiri massage) Martial arts (mau rākau) Performing and visual arts Korero Māori-communicating in te reo Korero tahi–dispute resolution
Hono tātai	Whare tapa wha Te Wheke Ngā Pou Mana	Health, well-being and strategic development
Ngā Kaupapa (Principles)	Rangatiratanga Whakawhanaungatanga Manaaki ki te tangata Kanohi ki te kanohi Koha Korero tahi, rūnanga, wānanga Mana Māori Whakapapa Mahi-a-iwi	Rights based on Māori values and customs Protecting whakapapa Promote harmonic relations Demonstrate respect and hospitality Visibility of management at tribal hui Mechanism for distribution of resources Process for discussion and dispute resolution Basis for ethical practice Affirmation of Māori people, language and culture Claims to tribal membership Active participation in iwi affairs

Resources generated by an organisation should be shared with beneficiaries under the principle of koha.¹²⁵ Korero tahi, rūnanga and Wānanga are principles that foster open discussion and assembly as mechanisms for dispute resolution and processes for dealing with whānau/ hapū/ iwi issues.¹²⁶ The principle of mana Māori is the basis for ethical practice. It also recognises and affirms Māori people, their language and culture and an inherent right to live as Māori *and still do a really good job work-wise* [VM20777/137]. The principle of whakapapa asserts the right of an identity as Māori and therefore the right to claim tribal membership.¹²⁷ Tribal membership is linked to the principle of mahi-a-iwi, of active participation in the

¹²⁵ [MA107962/122c]

¹²⁶[RR114246/134c][MA240069/123c]

¹²⁷ [VM82557/139c] [MK265492/126c]

affairs of the iwi. This in turn allows for a deep understanding of how the tribal organism works and what the people are thinking.¹²⁸

The following excerpt best expresses what it means to work for a Māori/ iwi organisation where culture counts.

I feel safe, safety-wise within my mahi [work] and within who I am which is to be able to recognise and affirm that we have Māori values and things Māori, do things in ways Māori that are really important to us and that we are allowed to have those qualities, have those values and live by them...And once you discover that then there really is no going back [VM16776/137c].

¹²⁸ [MK265492/126c]

Chapter Nine

The Contracting Environment

“Here we have what appears to be the downside of so-called devolution where there is great enthusiasm to devolve responsibility but not control. So what might have been a watershed for a vibrant pluralist society is currently a pathetic meandering trickle polluted with the detritus of failed opportunities” (Brown, 2000:82).

In a report to the Minister of Social Services and Employment (Brown, 2000), Judge Michael Brown berated what he considered an environment of ‘bickering and ideological posturing’ between iwi organisations and the state. In his view any progress towards implementing the goals outlined in the 1986 Rangihau report (Puao-te-ata-tu, 1986) had stagnated, despite many of the recommendations from that report embedded in legislation (Child, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989). Judge Brown placed the blame firmly on the ‘funereal progress’ and protracted contracting negotiations between the state (in this case the Department of Social Welfare) and potential providers. He determined a major stumbling block to be fractionation within Māoridom that suggested flaws of a ‘unitary tribal model.’ But the failure to follow through on the constructive vision of Puao-te-ata-tu he considered a sad indictment on all concerned. Among Judge Brown’s recommendations was a call to ‘stop the maladroit posturing and talking in stereotypical generalisations’ so that a more rational discourse could take place (Brown, 2000:84).

This chapter presents an analysis of the perceptions held by the participants in this study of the contracting environment within which the iwi organisations were located at the time Judge Brown’s report was released. It offers insights into the experiences of those who work ‘in the field’ at ‘flax-roots’ delivering contracted services in health and social services within boundaries set by the state. Purposively confined to an iwi perspective, the broader views of the state and other organisations are thus drawn from relevant literature, various government reports including the Waitangi tribunal report on Te Whānau o Waipareira (WAI414, 1998), and primary sources held in the archival files of NKII. Despite this narrow trajectory, many of the iwi experiences of the contracting environment that are detailed here are confirmed in the literature.

There are four parts to this chapter. Part one begins with a brief contextual overview of the government's 'new right' philosophy that pervaded the contracting environment of the 1990's influenced by the neo liberal reform of the 4th Labour Government during the 1980's. It is argued that the relationship between the state and the community, including iwi/Māori organisations, in the provision of services continues to reflect the contractual environment of the 1990's.

Part two is concerned with the theme of contractual requirements and includes the general terms of the contract and the effect of contracts on iwi/ state relations. In particular the difficulty providers have in linking 'output oriented' contracts designed with the individual in mind, to the actual needs and reality of the Māori community.

Part three provides an analysis of the counter-strategies and tactics employed by the participants in countering the limitations imposed by the terms of state contracts. The aim is to demonstrate Māori agency and responses through a framework of inter-related categories of resistance drawn from the experiences of the participants. What this framework demonstrates is that while contracts are an advance on state delivery systems, they need to be shaped to meet Māori community needs.

Part Four concludes this chapter. It examines an iwi social service (ISS) contract entered into by NKII with the Department of Child Youth and Family. Many of the problems of the contracting environment discussed earlier in this chapter are drawn together to demonstrate how, at the contractual level, iwi/Māori potential, aspirations and autonomy are undermined by neo-liberal regimes of practice. The obstacles encountered in the course of NKII's contract, which contributed to the eventual demise of the iwi social services, raises questions about the political will, commitment and integrity of the state to support iwi/Māori development beyond the bounds of political rhetoric and within contexts germane to Māori families.

Effects of neo-liberalism on the contracting environment

The perceptions of participants' need to be understood in the contracting environment that developed in the early 1990's, fostered by a rationality of government, referred to as neo-liberalism or the 'new right' and manifest in reforms

of the 4th Labour Government during the 1980's. Within social policy for example, the reform was ideologically based on the principle of state limitation and restraint vis a vis pastoral welfare; in other words the withdrawal of the state as a provider for people in need.¹

The basic philosophy is one that promotes the market as the central institution through which free individuals are best able to pursue self-interest by exercising choice in goods and services (Hayek, 1960). Among strengths attributed to market driven approaches is that they foster "...a wider range of choices than alternative economic and social structures because competition among providers increases the choice to consumers..." referred to as 'consumer sovereignty' (Cheyne, O'Brien, & Belgrave, 2005:78).

Interference through state provision of public provided education, health or social welfare, is seen by neo-liberal advocates to hinder individual freedom by removing individual choice thereby undermining self-interest. Neo-liberal emphasis on choice, diversity and the superiority of the market were clearly articulated by the New Zealand Treasury's 1984 post-election briefing papers (Treasury, 1984).

According to some critics however, the political untenability of the global 'free market' approach of the 1980's and 1990's brought with it a flawed economic theory purporting an economy self-regulated by the market place, completely detached from the society within which it operates (Kelsey, 1999:3). The myth of globalisation, a myopic free-market Utopia characterised by self interest and greed, had serious limits, no more powerfully demonstrated than with the demise of multinational corporate Enron through, as it turns out, 'cooking the books' (Campbell, 2002). This episode highlights the inability of large corporations to self regulate thus exposing the necessity for tighter regulation. Federico Mayo, former director general of UNESCO frankly observed,

"...the idea that the new, reputedly unsinkable programmed societies could,

¹ Drawing on Foucault's notion of 'pastoral power' Mitchell Dean provides a useful discussion on the geneology of the idea that the state should care for the welfare of its citizens. The source of care and welfare is found in the development of pastoral techniques of government in Christianity during the Reformation and the close connection between the church, charity and provision for the sick and poor, and the education of the young. According to Dean, the notion of 'welfare' as a secular (liberal) concern has only developed in the last few hundred years (Dean, 1999:73-97).

when fully privatised and with all public services (education, health etc) dismantled, manage without...any form of regulation...has already foundered on the reef of history” (Mayor & Binde, 2001).

Much of the state apparatus including state policies, the private sector, primary industries and services in New Zealand continued to reflect the neo-liberal ideology and structures of the ‘free-market.’ The principles of choice (e.g. the freedom of the consumer to select services they wished), diversity (e.g. large range of services providers offers greater options to consumers) and partnership (e.g. service creation based on individual need) underpinned government reconstruction of state policy.

The social cost of an experiment carried out over a period of fifteen years became unsustainable (Kelsey, 1999:367). Particularly vulnerable were Māori communities dependent on seasonal labour, shift work in factories and mills, many of whom were left devastated by large-scale closures and severe job losses (Keefe-Ormsby & al, 2001; TPK, 1998). During the period 1984 to 1992 the level of Māori unemployment almost tripled (Durie, 1998a:88; TPK, 2000a:11). A 1998 report to the Minister of Māori Affairs established the long term effects of deregulation and government restructuring had increased the social and economic gaps between Māori and non-Māori (TPK, 1998).

Such effects confirm what critics of neo-liberal theory had argued: that unequal outcomes of market transactions, while unintentional, are predictable because inevitably those who are already unskilled, discriminated against, deprived of resources or economic knowledge, are therefore not able to engage freely in market transactions. By contrast, those who are advantaged in terms of skills, education, resources, knowledge and so on, are more likely to gain the most benefits from market forces. Benefits and burdens are simply not distributed randomly in an impersonal market² (Cheyne et al., 2005:79).

However, as noted above Māori dependence on seasonal labour was one side effect of state provision and state subsidisation of some sectors. A major limitation

² Hayek has argued that because the market distribution of burdens and benefits is not deliberately imposed, it is not unjust since it is people who impose injustice. Although he acknowledges that people may well be harmed or suffer by market transactions, this is not a justified claim against the market or for interference by central governments with the market distribution of burdens and benefits. Welfare should be limited to provision through charity and voluntary action and not as a right of social assistance (Hayek, 1973.In Cheyne et al.2004:79).

of the welfare state was Māori dependency on subsidised menial labour as unskilled workers for example, on farms, road works, and meatworks, and as waterside workers on the docks. Throughout the 20th century, Ngata and other leaders consistently regarded the welfare state as a threat to tribal unity and Māori independence. Welfare policies of amalgamation of the 19th century, and assimilation and integration policies from the 1930's to the 1970's had successfully undermined Māori autonomy. By the 1980's any improvements Māori had gained during the early post-war years had stalled, the welfare state further entrenching Māori in a cycle of entrapped dependency.

Paradoxically, the emphasis on free-market approaches and consumer sovereignty, an approach that contributed to high unemployment among Maori, also offered an opportunity for Māori to assert some control over the delivery of services. The 'new right' focus on the centrality of the individual client converged with Māori aspirations for services that were client focussed rather than provider centred. The government policy of contracting out or devolving the provision of services provided space for a variety of Māori groups (the diversity principle) to respond to opportunities created by a contracting environment. Different forms of organisations representing specific Māori needs (the choice principle) - Iwi authorities, pan-Māori urban groups and traditional tribal groups outside their customary areas, secured contracts for service delivery in education, health care and other social services (the partnership principle).

Māori persistence and demands for greater autonomy and control of Māori futures, although finding an uncomfortable space within neo-liberal approaches to negotiate a form of accommodation (Durie, 1998a:11), emphasised a treaty based relationship with the Crown. Māori considered the delivery and provision of services 'by Māori for Māori', not only a Treaty right but also a counter strategy to state failure to meet Māori needs (Jahnke, 2001). The failure of state provision of services of the past was seen by Māori as a major reason for the over representation of Māori in juvenile institutions, prisons and mental hospitals for example (Cheyne et al., 2005:195). State provision of services was opposed by iwi in favour of contractual arrangements because such arrangements offered the potential to provide services that meet the needs of Māori communities.

A bicultural approach³ to meeting the needs of Māori through, among other strategies, a range of Māori service providers (the choice principle) offered advocates of neo-liberalism a useful means of re-presenting and promoting neo-liberal policies and preferences emphasising choices that state provided services did not. As Cheyne et al point out, absent from this approach was an analysis of the impact of macro economic policies⁴ on the economically impoverished position of Māori, or the ways in which differentials in power and resources impact on real and meaningful choice. “Choice is meaningless unless accompanied by opportunities and resources with which to pursue preferred goals. Those opportunities and resources are required for the positive exercise of freedom” (Cheyne et al., 2005:198).

The development of contractual arrangements between the state and service providers and the separation of funder, purchaser and provider are among key outcomes of the neo-liberal reforms. In the 1990’s a significant feature resulting from the separation of funding and the provision of services through the development of so-called ‘quasi-markets,’⁵ was the creation of competition among providers of services. A state controlled process of competitive tendering was promoted and carried out through agencies such as the Health Funding Authority (HFA)⁶ for health care services (Gauld, 2001) and the Community Funding Agency (CFA) for social services (WAI414, 1998). Perhaps misunderstood by Māori providers and not widely promoted by the state, was the philosophical emphasis of these agencies on service development and not community development. It was the agency rather than the community that decided what services were required and the level to which the

³There is no agreement on what biculturalism means (Boston, Martin, Pallot, & Walsh, 1996:143) however Durie provides a useful perspective for understanding the definition of biculturalism as it relates to Māori and Pākehā in the New Zealand context. He notes for example that the goals of biculturalism are varied and implications for policy, largely depends on the context the term is applied. He suggests a framework for understanding a bifocal continuum, one concerned with goals, and the other with organisational structures. Structural arrangements for example range from unmodified mainstream institutions (such as Treasury) at one end to independent and autonomous Māori institutions (the marae) at the other (Durie, 1993a; 1998b:102-3).

⁴ Bourdieu argues that economic theory, when it assesses the costs of a policy, does not take account of social costs. The inclusion of the social costs of economic decisions in economic calculations is a political imperative of governments and policy decision makers (Bourdieu, 1998:39).

⁵ Distinguishing features of quasi-markets relate to the ownership structure, which is often unclear; decisions to purchase services may not be made by the consumer but by agents such as the state as a purchaser of social services or health care. Payment may be by voucher rather than cash and providers in quasi-markets are not necessarily seeking profit (Cheyne et al., 2005:81; Le Grand & Will, 1993).

⁶ The Health Funding Authority operated from 1997-2001 after which the Ministry of Health resumed authority for contracting.

services would be resourced (WAI414, 1998).

When contracting became the major tool in service delivery, contestable funding was considered a means to counter funding uncertainty among providers, the capture of funding by some providers and the development of a funding regime based on proven need and consumer input. Agreement between the chief executive of a Government department and the Minister responsible for that department to purchase or fund the activities of a department was the basic effect of the State Sector Act 1988. State control of provision was maintained through a regime of financial accountabilities under the Public Finance Act 1989, which required Crown entities to organise activities in terms of a series of output classes linked to budgets. Output classes identified activities the state would purchase or provide and since output classes were linked to availability of resources, only those activities located in one of the output classes determined services to be provided or purchased. It was the output class and not consumer-needs that determined whether or not a service was provided. However, output classes were not chosen randomly but as a result of consultation with community stakeholders.

The narrow strictures of single-agency, output oriented frameworks did not always align with social reality. The end result was a contracting environment that "...discouraged cooperation and failed to deliver a coherent and coordinated social sector"(Cheyne et al., 2005:202). At the end of the 1990's attempts by the government to change the organisation and delivery of services by instituting cross-sectoral programmes such as Strengthening Families and Family Start, encompassing the Ministries of health, education and social services, were an acknowledgement of a contracting environment in flux. However, outside government initiated programmes the art of instituting a cross-sectoral emphasis requires high levels of cooperation and integration of systems and processes between the sectors to move beyond a silo mentality to incorporate the holistic approaches favoured by Māori. The difficulties encountered by Māori providers has been the lack of uniformity in the compliance requirements across the different agencies (TPK, 2000b).

Integral to the move by government to cross-sectoral approaches was a shift in focus from outputs to outcomes emphasising results rather than purchased activities, although the extent to which this shift is manifest at a concrete and operational

level remains a moot point (Cheyne et al., 2005:205). This is confirmed by feedback during the course of interviewing all the participants for this study, where it was revealed that the organisations were not required to collect outcome measures under the terms of their contracts. The major accountability measure was on fulfilling outputs, and outcome measures were not collected by any of the organisations at that time. The Government's focus on outputs as opposed to outcomes is a concern expressed by Māori providers generally (TPK, 2000b:40) who consider it more appropriate to focus on Māori-based outcomes such as the four cornerstones of health and well-being, te whare tapa whā (Durie, 1998b:69), and tikanga Māori. The outcome measures preferred by Māori "...are those, which recognise the importance of being able to remain Māori in a cultural and lifestyle sense...Māori are interested in outcome measures which link well-being with cultural identity..."(Durie, 1998a:91).

The emphasis on contracts and their operationalisation created tensions between the state and community sectors including Māori. By the year 2000 the notion of partnership, particularly in reshaping the welfare state, was promulgated by Government as the basis for service delivery generally (Maharey, 2001).

Partnership perspectives- The Treaty and the 'third way'

For Māori the notion of partnership tends to be thought of in the Treaty defined sense as a principle articulated and applied by the Waitangi Tribunal.⁷ In this sense the notion of partnership depicts the Treaty of Waitangi as expressing a working relationship between the Crown and Māori; a partnership founded on mutual respect in regards to status and authority (WAI414, 1998:xxvi), reasonableness, mutual co-operation and trust (Waitangi Tribunal, 1994:15), and requiring the Crown and Māori partners to act toward each other with utmost good faith (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991).

Actions of utmost good faith and reasonableness were also upheld by the Court of Appeal in a 1987 judgement that depicted the Treaty as expressing a partnership between Crown and Māori based on the opinions of the Waitangi Tribunal reports

⁷ See for example, Waitangi Tribunal Te Whānau o Waipareira Report 1998, pxxvi. Ngai Tahu Report (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991:242-243). The Napier Hospital and Health Services Report (Waitangi Tribunal, 2001).

up to that time⁸ (Hayward, 2004:32). According to the Tribunal, the principle of partnership creates the framework for two peoples, Māori and Pākehā, to live together in one country, both cultures existing side by side each enriching and informing the other (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999:xi; 2001).

Māori thinking regarding Treaty based Crown/ Māori partnerships vary. In its activities, the Māori Congress⁹ adopted an attitude that partnership was not to be taken for granted or compromised by a dependency relationship with the Crown. Any partnership would be on the basis of a contract; one of the first being the Crown Congress Joint Working Party (CCJWP) which was established to secure tribal agreement to the sale of surplus Railcorp property.¹⁰ However, Sir Hugh Kawharu is sceptical as to whether contracts or intents, impressive as they were, had any impact on Cabinet agendas.

“It seems to me that the present government is not one that is different from previous governments in the extent to which the Māori people at large can be permitted to determine the shape of policies supposedly designed for their benefit...It is thus apparent that partnership in the sense of a sharing of risks and profits, and a common policy may be no closer to reality than when Captain Hobson said of the Māori people in 1840, ‘We must try to do the best we can for them’” (Kawharu, 1996).

Iwi relationships with the Crown have tended to be based entirely on the Treaty settlement process. Durie argues that a settlement relationship is inappropriate to build a relationship for social policy and progress. The starting point of a settlement relationship is based on injustice and grievance; the goals are aimed at righting a past wrong through compensation. A major function of the Waitangi Tribunal is investigating and making recommendations on claims submitted by Māori for breaches against the principles of the Treaty so invariably within this context the nature of the relationship between iwi/Māori and the Crown is adversarial. By contrast, Durie maintains, the goals underpinning the relationship for social policy development should be aimed at fulfilling Māori aspirations for future socio-economic advancement. The starting point should be one based on the rejection of inequality and a relationship that is mutually respectful and autonomous and oriented

⁸ New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney-General 1987.

⁹ A pan-tribal Māori organisation established in 1990. For further information see (Cox, 1993).

¹⁰ For further discussion on the CCJWP partnership see (Kawharu, 1996).

towards the future (Durie, 2001; 2003:219). The rejection of inequality is in accordance with social democratic ideals, which emphasises state action to reduce inequalities.

The concept of partnership that underpins current social democratic ideas relates to the role of the state in the process of social development and a purported shift from contractualism (Cheyne et al., 2005:204). The development and construction of partnerships is consistent with the so-called 'third way'¹¹ and social democratic thinking that has influenced the Hon Steve Maharey, Minister of Social Development and Employment, regarding the relationship between the state and civil society.

The notion of a 'third way' is claimed to be an alternative economic model to capitalism and socialism that promotes a free-market system whereby all individuals and families are economically empowered through direct and effective ownership of the means of production' (Kurkland, 1998; Kurkland, Greaney, & Brohawn, 1998). Others however argue that the 'third way' is a 'middle way' between capitalism and socialism, market and state, and ideologies of 'old left and new right.' Critics are sceptical of the 'third way' viewing it as the 'averaging of two extremes' and 'warmed over liberalism', its advocates accepting the neo-liberal emphasis on markets and inequality' (Cheyne et al., 2005:74).

What is apparent is that there is no clear definition about what exactly partnership means in practice, as approaches take a variety of forms. These include cross-sectoral partnerships within central government, with community groups including Māori organisations, with industry or with local government. Contracting arrangements established in the 1990's contains a mixed private, community, iwi and public sector. In Britain this lack of clear definition has served to raise questions about the meaning, operation and impact of partnership (Glendinning, Powell, & Rummery, 2002) that may equally be applied to the New Zealand context. Such questions explore who is involved or excluded, the rationale for partnership, the nature and work of partnerships and what the impact and outcome of partnerships has been (Cheyne et al., 2005:205).

¹¹ Proponents argue that a more revitalised form of social democracy has occurred at the end of the 20th century where social democratic values of equality, redistribution and social responsibility are applied in new policy prescriptions (Giddens, 1998. In Cheyne et al. 2004). Advocates of this contemporary form of social democracy include Tony Blair and Bill Clinton who labelled this model 'third way' (Kurkland, 1998).

It is argued here that the relationship between the state and the community including iwi organisations at a concrete and operational level continues to reflect the contractual environment of the 1990's. The government controls the framework that is reflected through the contracting culture, a fiscally driven regime that has remained a necessity. Control resides with the government as the main purchaser of services and enhanced under the guise of accountability. It is the state that determines the range and level of services on offer. Client choice is limited to whatever the state decides to fund unless the non-state sector is able to fund from its own resources. For provider organisations the rhetoric of partnership obfuscates the language of competition (Cheyne et al., 2005:207).

The power differentials and inequality between Government and the community remains palpable. According to the Waitangi Tribunal under the principle of partnership any power imbalance in favour of the Crown must be offset by the Crown's duty to protect Māori self-determination. Furthermore, the principle of partnership should also be a basis for deciding the extent to which the Crown should provide for Māori autonomy in the management of Māori affairs (WAI414, 1998:xxvi).

Contractual Requirements

Within the context of the iwi organisations in this study, a number of themes emerged that reveal the nature of the contracting environment at a concrete and operational level. The themes focus on contractual requirements; these include the terms of the contract, the effects of contracting on the organisations, and relations between the iwi and state agencies that emerged as significant.

Terms of the Contract

The terms of the state contracts were described by participants in this study as over-regulated, specific (output oriented) and short-term. Having become major employers through contracting with government, the iwi organisations were expected in a reasonably short period of time to achieve the same standards and benchmarks as established organisations that had had decades to develop and invest in their infrastructure.¹² Among key problems that have been identified for Māori providers

¹² [AW156716/15d][AW158239/15d]

include developing the experience to manage large-scale contracts and balancing state demands (standards, benchmarks and timeframes) with providing Māori perspectives in health (Durie, 1994c), education and social services (Ruwhiu, 1999). As the following manager explained;

Those short contracts and that short lead rope that they [the state] give us on which to operate...isn't what they give to other organisations. That's tough.

[The state] require it from us as a Māori training provider...it can be quite crippling because the contracts are so infinitesimal compared to other sectors of the education sector...As a private training establishment we're expected to have the same standards and resilience as a university...we're expected to have qualified staff to give a quality service [AW158239/15d] [AW158861/16d].

Negotiating the terms

Depending on the nature of the contract, negotiating the terms varies. For some, such as NKII's contract to provide iwi social services, the terms of the contract were predetermined (as outputs) under the sub-contracting conditions of a state agency (Department of Child Youth and Family) and state controlled funding (Community Funding Authority). In practice this means the terms of the contract are not negotiable¹³ thereby placing the provider in an unequal contractual relationship with the state.¹⁴

...The terms of the contract [iwi social services] are very specific...but because they [government] control the purse strings and the way the contract is written we don't have any comeback at them...[AR54748/21d].

Other providers are able to negotiate the terms of a contract by seeking changes to the wording. According to one manager the ability to change the wording in a contract depends by and large on the reputation of the provider to meet contractual requirements.

I think the Rūnanga has got a really good reputation for being a good deliverer of outputs. We've never had any problems before with changing wording of a contract'[AE118886/24d].

¹³ [AB134788/19d]

¹⁴ [AB119623/19d]

It is sometimes possible to modify the shape of a contract by submitting a proposal *then we can determine what are reasonable volumes, what's reasonable funding...for salaries,for administrations,for equipment* [AE49047/24d]. It is still necessary, however, to ensure that the contract is acceptable to the liberal sensibilities of state agencies, such as specifying the target group as Māori but not excluding others.¹⁵ Politically of course it is an attempt to placate the strident critics of social policy initiatives for Māori, who argue that such policies unfairly transfer special economic and social advantages on the basis of race rather than need (Slack, 2004:144).

In relation to time frames, short-term contracts of one year's duration are seen to provide an unstable and insecure working environment for the organisations and their staff.¹⁶ This is confirmed in a report by TPK (TPK, 2000b) which noted the concerns of Māori providers includes the uncertainty of short term funding for Māori providers and their staff, the high compliance costs generated by yearly contracts, time-consuming administration and pressures of securing funding to continue the service and meet the needs of their communities (TPK, 2000b:34).

Thus a priority for managers is negotiating three year contracts in order to ensure the stability and assurance needed not only for job security, but so that programmes can be properly developed and longer term forecasts planned around confirmed budgets.¹⁷

Occasionally a state funder has approached a rūnanga to contract for a service not being adequately met by another Māori service provider. In one such case both providers concerned were members of kin tribes and tensions arose. Division among Māori providers is accentuated by competition for resources in an environment where such issues are not easily resolved. As Cheyne et al have observed, governments have often been seen as exploiting Māori difference, encouraging dissension in a policy of divide and rule (Cheyne et al., 2005:235). Māori/ iwi organisations faced with such a dilemma must find ways of reducing the tension

¹⁵ [AE78525/24d]

¹⁶ [CH106987/29d] [AW158861/16d]

¹⁷ [DE52723/29d][CH106987/29d][MK322281/31d][MK324413/31d][MK324868/32d][MK325466/32d]

and possible fallout in relations between competing groups in ways that uphold the mana of all concerned and especially harmonious relations between Māori/iwi/kinship groups.

Faced with a similar dilemma, the approach taken by TROR based on a tikanga Māori orientation (e.g. as kaitiaki or guardians) is an example. The consequences that influenced both TROR's decision to take on the contract of another iwi provider (to prevent the possible loss of the service to a non-Māori organisation) and the outcome of these actions is explained by a TROR manager.

...They [other iwi provider] lost their contract to [our rūnanga]...they had a lot of internal raru [problems] and as a consequence they may not have been meeting their outputs...The rūnanga was approached by the HFA to pick up the contract. We didn't tender for it. They [HFA] just approached us and so we went and met with them to let them know that we would be the kaitiaki [guardians] until such time that they [other iwi provider] could come back and reclaim it...They've reclaimed it this year...but it caused a lot of raru [tension] between...us and them because the HFA I don't feel had been honest and upfront with them, that they [HFA] had actually approached us with the contract. I think [the other provider] thought we tendered for it. We didn't. If [our rūnanga] hadn't have picked it up, then it would have gone to a non-Māori service like Plunket...there is still some animosity there... [AE120256/25d].

In the short term, the conscious opting for a tikanga Māori approach as a kaitiaki or guardian of the programme was a strategic decision that prevented the possible loss of the service to a non-Māori organisation while giving time for the original provider to recover and regain the capacity to offer the service in more certain times. An unfortunate outcome is that the iwi organisations are left to restore positive relationships and dispel residual tensions generated by an outwardly indifferent state agency.

Output mentalities

Participants alluded to the mentality of the contractual environment where the emphasis is on specifically purchased outputs of the service provider. On one level, ensuring contractual requirements are satisfied by meeting specified 'outputs' provides a pragmatic 'means to an end.' It is a way for iwi to address community aspirations and needs otherwise precluded by the philosophical emphasis of state funding on service development rather than community development outlined earlier

in this chapter. As this manager explains:

In order to meet a contract it's usually determined by outputs and so we do it to ensure that we keep the contract or maintain the contract, we must at least meet the outputs. If we don't meet the outputs we must have good reasons why. But as for the outcomes, it often means that [the rūnanga] as a Māori service works outside the contract. We meet the outputs but we still meet the needs. We try to meet the needs outside of the outputs if that makes sense [AE103546/24d].

On another level however, synchronised methods of accounting with government operates through the gathering and transporting of information, such as 'Māori statistics,' from the iwi/Māori provider organisation to central government either directly or indirectly. One of the organisations in this study subcontracted by a mainstream service to provide the Māori component was required to supply Māori statistics to the mainstream service. In this way the mainstream service could meet their contractual obligations by providing the necessary 'Māori statistics' to central government albeit indirectly.¹⁸ Te Puni Kōkiri has raised concerns about mainstream providers lacking the expertise or capacity to deliver the Māori perspective of a service to Māori clients, often gaining contracts over Māori providers and then relying on Māori providers to deliver the service for less than it is worth (TPK, 2000b:16).

A recurring theme related to the terms of the contract was the importance of linking contracts to the actual needs and reality of the Māori community¹⁹, a criticism of the narrow strictures of output-oriented frameworks. Cross-sectoral programmes such as Family Start and Strengthening Families have allowed for some flexibility in the contracts and a degree of freedom for workers to meet the expressed needs of their clients.²⁰ However many of the strategies stipulated by state agencies that are linked to compliance mechanisms (e.g. monthly audits) fail to connect with the lived reality of people for whom daily life is a struggle of survival.

We've got what's called a 'Born to Learn' programme... through the Ministry of Education that we have to present to families... a lot of times I'm working with high-risk families who just aren't interested. All they're worrying about is what's happening now... all I'm worrying about is keeping them safe for now... that's a bit of a struggle for me [KE48364/28d].

¹⁸ [KL61428/29d]

¹⁹ [MK92753/30d] [MK121326/30d]

²⁰ [KE52680/28d]

As pointed out earlier in this chapter regarding outputs orientation (Cheyne et al., 2005:202), stipulated outputs do not always align with the reality faced by participants in the field or by rapid growth in the service as the reputation of the provider gains credence in the community²¹. Targeted outputs specifying finite numbers to be funded places the burden on kaimahi (workers) to choose whom they will or will not serve which may well undermine the goals of the organisation. As one participant claimed ...*our mission statement says that we serve the people of the rohe...you can't say yes to some and no to others* [TH43153/38d].

When operationalised in the field, stipulated outputs can also become impractical²².

It [the contract] says I have to do 12 face to face contacts and I don't know where they come up with these numbers because often people need far more input and others will need less...I'm supposed to get to the stage of empowering people so that they can be independent with their own condition...[TH43153/38d].

The social democratic emphasis on the importance of groups in the shaping of well-being underpins current social policy, which advocates the involvement of families in the health and welfare concerns of an individual. The incorporation and inclusion of families throughout the decision-making processes in matters of care and protection of children and young people is fundamental to the CYP&F Act, 1989. Māori health initiatives driven by government policy guidelines in the early 1990's encouraged, among others, the development of culturally appropriate practices for the purchasing and providing of Māori health services (Department of Health, 1992).

However providing appropriate practices such as the inclusion of whānau in the health care of individuals becomes difficult to implement in an environment controlled by an unrealistic emphasis on numbers, targets and projected outputs specified by the state 'accounting from a distance.'²³ In reality contracts are designed with the individual in mind and not necessarily within the context of families. As a

²¹ [AR114796/21d] [MK319692/31d]

²² [AR114796/21d]

²³ (Neu & Therrien, 2003)[TH45322/39d] [TH56652/39d][AR114796/21d]

policy the inclusion of whānau not only sets up unrealistic expectations among clients, the community and other service providers²⁴, but it becomes impossible and fiscally impracticable to apply.

Fragmented services

The funding regime attached to outputs also supports the fragmentation of services frustrating holistic approaches preferred by iwi providers. For example, mental health clients funded under a mental health contract who also present with alcohol or drug dependency, must then seek separate assistance for their dependency problem from providers specifically funded to offer alcohol and drug services.²⁵ Even programmes designed to address multiple levels of intervention needed by whānau, are not exempt. The Well-Child programme takes no account of teenage mothers who have very different needs and may require sexual health services not provided for under the terms of the Well-Child contract.²⁶ Participants maintained that clients prefer to have one person cater for them rather than three or four social workers, which happens because of contractual constraints²⁷. Regulations linked to targeted outputs thus govern macro and micro aspects of behaviour (Neu & Therrien, 2003:69) as this participant working in health provision confirms:

I've got to stick to that contract. I can't provide anything outside that contract...under the legislation...otherwise I haven't got a foot to stand on if I do anything wrong or work outside my contract...The contract is dictated by Government and you can't work outside that [TH56652/39d].

Effects of Contracting with the State

Participants identified several conditions that effect iwi organisations in the context of a contracting environment with the state. First is the effect of a dependency on state contracts. A reliance on state contracts to provide services to Māori communities places the organisation in a vulnerable position. Iwi organisations are especially vulnerable to the vagaries of the state, such as policy changes and priorities 'i.e. moving the goal posts', without consultation.²⁸ In Ngāti Kahungunu, the eventual

²⁴ [TH58906/39d]

²⁵ [AR113389/21d]

²⁶ [ST36133/36d]

²⁷ [ST42650/37d]

²⁸ [AR54748/21d]

collapse of NKII's contract with CYF's to deliver iwi social services occurred, in part, as a result of a dependency on government contracts²⁹ and a change in state policy, including the withdrawal of critical resources, without warning or consultation.³⁰ A key problem identified with the contractual environment is a danger that Māori providers will end up contracting to manage high levels of risk without adequate resources to be effective (Cheyne et al., 2005:222). According to one manager,

Ninety three percent of our activity is funded through government sources; contesting for contracts alongside all other Māori and community groups...it's not viable. We're in a very volatile area in terms of we're reliant on government contracts [AW96004; AW101842/15d].

Such dependency can expose an organisation to exploitation by the state³¹ contributing to the risk levels through inadequate resourcing and expecting organisations to provide the same or increased services each year for less funding.³²

We have taken on contracts purely as a social service that is actually exploiting us, and health did that to us initially, just to get a start...[AW169154/17d].

Referring to the first nations experience in Canada, Neu and Therrien argue that cultural survival for Indigenous peoples is an economic battle fought on the ground in their own communities and that accounting is the backbone of the rationalization used in defending this exploitation (Neu & Therrien, 2003:5).

Contracting for services is something that's...horrible after a year or two. It just seems to be a shrinking lid from my view. And yet we're quite prepared to go down that track [MA192032/30d].

Dependency on government contracts to survive is considered an unhealthy position because it undermines the ability of an iwi organisation to maintain autonomy and to control its own affairs. As this manager explained, compared to other Māori/iwi providers in the district, their own organisation

...might be doing well physically [however] the mauriora³³ is no better than

²⁹ [NT166166/34d]

³⁰ [AB157589/19d]

³¹ [AW160667/16d]

³² [NT112964/33d]

³³ The term refers to 'the life principle'

any of the others...Wairoa have no government contracts and is the healthiest. They can do what they want and be who they are [NT166166/34d].

A paradox remains where on the one hand government policy promotes a devolved ‘for Māori by Māori service’ designed to remove Māori dependency on the state, but on the other hand establishes control mechanisms that result in the very dependency mode the state claims to oppose.

The importance of autonomy and control as a determinant of a ‘healthy’ iwi organisation leads to a second effect of the contracting environment, which is the palpable power differentials and inequality between government and service providers. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the government controls the contracting framework and the funding regime, and determines the range and level of services on offer³⁴.

If you look at the contract... it's run directly by the government and you have little say. You have to meet your target; you've got to meet your statistics and their projected outcomes [TH24331/38d].

A recurring comment was of contracts being state driven offering Māori participation opportunities but under terms set down by the state.³⁵ So from the outset there is an uneven contractual relationship between providers and the government,³⁶ a situation that, as Te Puni Kōkiri reported (TPK, 2000b:21), has implications for building government/community relations.

They [government] dictate...what we should be doing and the volumes that we need to see and that's all our contracts. Drives me nuts [AR114796/21d].

A general lack of trust in government,³⁷ a feeling of disempowerment³⁸ and a sense of being undervalued in their relationship with the state³⁹ are recurring themes in the views expressed by participants throughout this thesis and which are also reflected in a Working Party report commissioned by the Ministry of Social Policy (Ministry of Social Policy, 2001).

³⁴ [TH88344/40d] [TH88738/40d]

³⁵ [TH88344/40d] [TH88738/40d] [VM127532/41d]

³⁶ [AB119623/19d][NT111684/33d] [AR22442/20d][AR114796/21d]

³⁷ [NT103955/32d] [MA73482/29d]

³⁸ [AW170182/17d]

³⁹ [AR54748/21d]

The problem is that those who put up the goal posts seem to be changing those goal posts willy-nilly...I mean that's a natural expectation if you operate and provide contract services, that's the sort of relationship that you can expect with tauiwi...contracting for services is just providing a numbers game output [MA73482/29d].

The government habit of changing the 'goal-posts' at the point Māori initiatives begin to make headway or are experiencing success, is more or less accepted as standard practice and *a natural expectation* in any contractual relationship Māori iwi organisations might have with the state.

Governments are considered to have a *mean spirited attitude* to contracting with Māori and the wider community by operating *double standards*.

...If they [government] stuff up all their outcomes they don't get a cut in funding...the hospital board, they're nine million dollars in debt. If that was a Māori organisation...nine million dollars in debt, they'd get the chop [NT11684/33d].

Compliance measures are a third area that effects the organisation in a contracting environment with the state. These measures are linked to the fiscal reporting regime⁴⁰ that can be inflexible and lead to the fragmentation of services.⁴¹ The government funds, audits and stipulates the conditions of the contract thereby ensuring providers are accountable to the state for use of public funds.⁴²

Accountability mechanisms instituted by the state also determines a particular management style of thinking to ensure compliance with state contracts. For example, any diversion from contractual obligations by kaimahi (workers) usually requires them to make a case to their respective management in order to justify obligations to the state.⁴³ Accountability for the utilisation of public funds is necessary and justifiable. But arguing a case with iwi management can sometimes be an issue for kaimahi who perceive contracts designed for the majority population and realigned with a Māori perspective to suit the Māori community, as tokenistic. They thus conceive the organisation, against whom they must 'argue their case', as endorsing state tokenism.

⁴⁰ [AB119847/19d]

⁴¹ [AB134788/19d]

⁴² [RR124036/35d] [RR133180/35d] [SK76518/37d]

⁴³ [RR133996/35d]

What I feel would be better is if we could work with our own people in our own way without having to have contractual obligations because I feel that we're doing a mainstream job...trying to push a kaupapa Māori perspective [RR133996/35d].

Contractual constraints tend to limit service provision by restricting the ability of kaimahi to respond appropriately to client needs. While some participants prefer to adhere strictly to the terms of the contract for good reason including issues of safety;⁴⁴ as discussed in Chapter Eight many kaimahi work outside contractual obligations, sanctioned by the organisation, in order to offer relevant services⁴⁵ and *work with our people in our own way* [RR133996/35d].

Countering Contractual Constraints

There is no doubt that behind state contracts for Māori services are sound policy objectives. The Labour Alliance Government has continued to fund capacity development, "...giving Maori providers resources to gain expertise in contract management and delivery, and to try to ensure that the special needs of Māori were clearly identified in the policy mix" (Cheyne et al., 2005:54). This is apparent in the development of policies aimed at Māori needs undertaken by government agencies in health, social services, education and justice for example.

But feedback from participants suggests that 'good intentions' are undermined by governmental 'regimes of practice' and bureaucracy that constrain Māori potential and innovation. Māori and iwi organisations must find alternative strategies to work effectively and efficiently around such constraints in the provision of much needed services to their communities.

It is useful therefore, to summarise those strategies applied by the organisations in this study to counter contractual limitations. Drawing the threads of counter strategies is an attempt to make sense of Māori/iwi responses to the limiting factors of the contracting environment. Some of the strategies have already been discussed in the context of the themes raised so far in this and other chapters. The aim however, is to demonstrate Māori agency through a framework of inter-related categories of resistance against state imposed constraints in the contracting environment, drawn

⁴⁴ [TH56652/39d]

⁴⁵ [ST36133/36d]

from the concrete experiences of the participants ‘in the field’ and ‘at the flax-roots.’ It is possible to classify the counter strategies in at least four categories of agency; exteriority, retraction, congruity and building iwi/state relations.

Exteriority

A common strategy described by participants to counter the constraints imposed by the state is to work outside contractual boundaries by carrying out activities that are ‘exterior,’ in a conceptual sense, to the terms set down by the contract. Participants referred to contracts as if they were ‘bounded systems’ of accounting techniques and calculations. They described counter strategies in a language of exteriority *working outside of those boundaries*⁴⁶ or *working around the boundaries*⁴⁷ or *we work outside our contract*.⁴⁸ The notion of exteriority refers to a state of being exteriorized or of attributing to an external form (e.g. needs based activities) the justification (at least in one’s mind) for ‘breaking outside’ official boundaries in an unofficial practice of service provision without the knowledge of the state.

For example, under the terms of a contract, there is little point in arranging much needed specialist appointments for clients if they lack transport or whānau support to reach clinics that are located ‘at a distance’ and outside their immediate neighbourhood. In such cases the provision of transportation for clients to enable them to attend their appointments, becomes a vital necessity and a needs-based response to providing access to primary health care.⁴⁹ The disadvantage of course is that the organisation itself must cover these extra costs. Some costs may be recovered through alternative but related approaches within a strategy of contract congruity.

Congruity

A strategy of exteriority outlined above is related to tactics involved in maximising the congruency between the terms of state contracts and the needs of target communities. Matching contracts with client needs and demands requires negotiating the terms of a contract through strategies such as those described in this

⁴⁶ [AR18676/109d]

⁴⁷ [DE14909/113d]

⁴⁸ [AE45101/111d]

⁴⁹ In Chapter Seven it is pointed out that medical centres are often located at a distance from where clients live.

chapter (e.g. changing the wording of a contract, shaping the contract through the proposal process) so that the resourcing (funding, outputs, capacity) is reasonable, realistic and adequate. The recovery of additional costs incurred through unofficial service provision is possible through tactics of contract congruity. These include incorporating activities into other contracts⁵⁰ and reinterpreting⁵¹ or adapting contracts to suit Māori solutions and Māori needs.⁵²

Retraction

Withdrawing from the contractual environment with the state is a radical strategy to counter contractual constraints because retraction assumes a high level of economic independence. Frustrated with the limitations of the contracting environment, one of the taiwhenua contracted to deliver local services under NKII's iwi social services decided not to renew their contract.

The Wairarapa roopu wrote and said no we're not going to renew our contract. We think that it's not going anywhere. It's not doing anything and it just makes life too hard. So they withdrew...[AB18592/108d].

Retraction from state contracts gave the Wairarapa taiwhenua the freedom to control the provision of social services and to be accountable to their community alone, although the risks involved in creating a viable service by pursuing a sustainable economy, remain high. It was also the strategy the NKII Board decided to take when it too withdrew its Contract to deliver iwi social services, which is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Ultimately, being independent of the state is considered to be the only way to alleviate the constraints and remain autonomous⁵³. But it also depends on alternative funding options that are not state governed such as tribal resources in fisheries, investments or compensation payouts resulting from successful Waitangi Tribunal claims. While the persistent uncertainty of the contracting climate and the high costs of compliance and administration involved in the receipt of funding from mainstream agencies⁵⁴ may not be issues,

⁵⁰ [AE49047/112d]

⁵¹ [AE109227/112d]

⁵² [LG45804/115d]

⁵³ [NT103955/32d] [

⁵⁴ The high compliance costs, time-consuming administration and inconsistent processes in the approvals and applications processes in contracting with state agencies were key issues for Māori providers reported by Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK, 2000b:28-30).

independently funded providers are still subject to the laws and by-laws of central and local governments. In other words, absolute independence is not a likely option.

Credible iwi/state relations

There is a paradox in the notion of iwi continuing to receive financial support through state contracts while striving to remain independent and autonomous. Government perspectives promote a ‘by Māori for Māori’ approach to policy through the ‘devolution’ (contracting out) of social responsibilities in a notion of partnership with iwi arising from neo-liberal rather than Treaty perspectives. Even so, Māori response has seen an unprecedented proliferation of different forms of organisations representing specific Māori needs. A major factor in provider satisfaction with their contract is the nature of their relationship with the funding agencies (TPK, 2000b:21). Building confident, credible and effective iwi/state relations based on cooperation and trust remains a priority.⁵⁵ Aiming to become a preferred provider, maintaining face-to-face contact with funders and negotiating contractual terms are examples of relationship building strategies that iwi organisations have employed.⁵⁶

Fig. 10.1 Countering Contractual Constraints	
Categories of agency	Strategy
Exteriority	Working outside contractual boundaries
Retraction	Withdrawal from the contracting environment
Congruity	Matching community needs
Credible iwi/state relations	Developing effective contractual relationships

Iwi Social Services: A Case Study

The devolution policy of the Fourth Labour Government provided alternative mechanisms for recognising iwi authorities for social service delivery within the bounds of state control. The process of recognition of an iwi lay with state funding organisations largely controlled by non-Māori. The review of the Department of

⁵⁵ [DE5498/113d]

⁵⁶ [DE74457/113d] [DE74895/113d]

Social Welfare (DSW) in 1991 led to restructuring in 1992, whereby the DSW was split into separate business units⁵⁷ in the belief that these changes would result in ‘dramatic efficiency gains.’ One of the units, the Community Funding Authority (CFA), was responsible for allocating resources and support on behalf of the government to community groups and organisations working in the area of social services delivery. Funds for services were allocated by the CFA through contracts with organisations that included approving and monitoring the standards of service providers (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998:81).

NKII’s experience of entering a contract with the state to deliver iwi social services, offers a useful insight into the contracting process. It demonstrates how the contracting environment can be undermined by regimes of practice and technologies of government (regulatory practices, imposed structures and bureaucracy, legislative instruments and technologies of accounting)⁵⁸ that serve to constrain the potential for Māori to work effectively and autonomously. The obstacles encountered in the course of NKII’s Contract⁵⁹, and which contributed to the eventual demise of the service, raise questions about the political will, commitment and integrity of the state that, in the absence of evidence that they advance Māori aspirations, also raise ‘false expectations’ subsumed in political rhetoric.

Working on behalf of the state, Mike Te Hiko⁶⁰ presented the NKII Board⁶¹ with a model of transferring iwi social services (ISS) to iwi organisations; a practice in line with the CFA policy of deciding not only what services are required but who will provide the services (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998:84). The state’s move to invite the establishment of an ISS in Ngāti Kahungunu was the first step in the devolution process foreshadowed over ten years earlier under the CYPFS Act 1989 (Bullock, 1999). The government’s aim was to have at least thirty iwi providers besides Tainui and Ruanui who were operating at that time. In order to attract Government funding, iwi providers were expected to operate a viable business and the transfer of services

⁵⁷ The three operating business units were the New Zealand Child and Young Persons Service (CYPS), the New Zealand Income Support Service (NZISS) and the New Zealand Community Funding Agency (CFA).

⁵⁸ Technologies of government referred to here are discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

⁵⁹ To avoid confusion, the word ‘Contract’ as written with the first letter capitalised refers to the NKII/CYPS Contract.

⁶⁰ Mike Te Hiko, MTA Management Consultants Ltd. Others present at this meeting included Neil Cleever CYPS Area Manager, Pam McCaan CFA Napier and NKII Board Members. Minutes of the NKII Board. 15 August 1997. File 24/6/97-25/9/97.

⁶¹ Minutes of the NKII Board. 15 August 1997. File 24/6/97-25/9/97.

would be at the same cost as that delivered by the Government agency. The cost of social service delivery in the Ngāti Kahungunu area was estimated on unit costs to be about \$2 million dollars although by the time the actual service agreement was signed, it amounted to less than one percent.⁶²

The main focus of the programme was to deliver effective services to the community rather than to establish new providers. In contrast to policies designed for state agencies, CFA would fund a portion but not all of the service nor would it fund the organisation itself as that was considered outside the agencies responsibility. The point of difference between ‘service focussed’ rather than ‘community development’ was very clearly described as follows;

“NZCFA looks to see a service established which will meet a need which has been prioritised by NZCFA...We are advised in that prioritising process by the community. This approach is quite different to a community development model which would see NZCFA in the role of resource provider, that is funding the aspirations presented by the community with little or no element of state control” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998).

CFA has defended its service development role maintaining that community development was the responsibility of the Department of Internal Affairs⁶³, with little indication as to how much, if any, interaction there was between the two departments (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998:85).

There were two stages for the process of developing an iwi social service; the first was to gain CFA formal approval as an iwi provider and the second was to obtain budgets and services from the Child and Young Persons Service (CYPS). NKII was advised by the Department to gain provider status and the mandate of other providers. In view of provider status and mandated authority, NKII’s role would then be to provide management and administrative services, to oversee the provision of services to the people, ensure that services were evenly spread, that all areas were covered and that there were no gaps in the services provided. A grant of \$20,000.00 was made available to assist with the mandating process⁶⁴.

⁶² In its first year of operation NKII received a total of \$23,000.00 to deliver iwi social services [AB9490/17d].

⁶³ Funding of community groups also comes under the Community Organisations Grants Scheme (COGS) and the Lotteries Board, both administered by the Department of Internal Affairs.

⁶⁴ Minutes of the NKII Board Meeting. 15 August 1997. File 24/6/97-25/9/97.

According to Mike Te Hiko the Department maintained direct communication with the Minister, Director General and General Managers of Social Welfare, therefore direct contact with the NKII Board was also necessary in order to link the two together.⁶⁵ The promise of such high level interaction with state officials may have alleviated some of the concerns expressed at the series of consultation hui sponsored by CFA that were held to discuss whether to establish an ISS within Ngāti Kahungunu⁶⁶. These hui were fraught with controversy and argument, some of which were not settled to the satisfaction of all parties (Bullock, 1999). Some Board members had expressed disapproval about entering a contract with the Government to deliver social services to iwi while meeting standards imposed by the state.⁶⁷

It was not surprising then, that in the events leading up to the signing of the Contract in May 1998 a climate of scepticism and dissatisfaction over the terms of the contract was evident among the iwi. But there was also goodwill apparent among key contract negotiators and so the decision to sign was made (Bullock, 1999). Following the mandate of the hui-a-iwi held at Matahiwi marae⁶⁸ near Hastings, the Board recommended that NKII proceed with the formal approval process with DSW to undertake iwi social services. An advisor on social services issues was appointed on a voluntary basis to act as coordinator, and confirmation of contact personnel between DSW⁶⁹ and the Board Chairman was established.⁷⁰

NKII gained approval as a Child and Family Support Service and a Community Service under the CYPF Act 1989.⁷¹ The significance of NKII's confirmation was the special status under section 396 of the act, specific to the foster care of children taken from their family of origin and placed for care and protection purposes with another family. Section 403 confirmed NKII's status as a community service provider.

⁶⁵ Minutes of the NKII Board Meeting, 15 August 1997. File 24/6/97-25/9/97.

⁶⁶ Minutes of the NKII Board Meeting, 20 June 1997.

⁶⁷ Minutes of the NKII Board Meeting, 18 July 1997.

⁶⁸ The hui-a-iwi was held at Matahiwi Marae in Heretaunga on 9/8/97.

⁶⁹ This was Neil Cleever CYPF Area Manager and Pam McCaan, CFA Napier.

⁷⁰ Minutes of the NKII Board Meeting, 15 August 1997. File 24/6/97-25/9/97.

⁷¹ ISS Coordinator Report 18/2/99-18/3/99.

⁷² Draft Discussion Paper, NKII Iwi Social Services, 1/7/99

In May 1998 Ngāti Kahungunu and CYPFS signed the Contract for the provision of social services.⁷² Under the terms of the Contract, 5 output classes were to be delivered in Heretaunga and Masterton⁷³ with the expressed aim of moving the delivery of the service to the local taiwhenua level (Bullock, 1999).

In order to deliver the outputs, the Contract provided for the secondment of CYPFS staff according to allocated portions of their time. For example in Heretaunga, seconded staff allocation was divided equally between CYPFS and iwi social services. In Wairarapa one third of staff time was allocated to carry out the contracted activities. Except for a set fee for overheads and running costs, and the special cost budgets tied to legislation allocated to children on caseloads, the state (CYPFS) retained fiscal control.⁷⁴ The Department provided a one off grant to purchase establishment small capital items including a car fund offer⁷⁵.

The NKII /CYPFS Contract commenced on 11 February 1999 and contract issues quickly surfaced, centred primarily on resourcing in terms of funding and personnel⁷⁶. Although the Wairoa taiwhenua was interested in the delivery of iwi social services from the local level, the CYPFS workers in Wairoa were not interested in being seconded.⁷⁷ They were concerned about their own accountability, supervision, administrative support and management of the service in relation to the Wairoa taiwhenua and CYF's.⁷⁸ This lack of interest in secondment to iwi social services among CYF staff was a concern raised by Jackie Brown, the CEO of CYF's, in a letter to the Chairperson of the NKII Board. She attributed the lack of interest to the part-time nature of the arrangements where staff were seconded for a percentage of their time. Brown argued that full-time secondments were out of the question because the Department needed to retain delivery of investigations and assessments, to cover services to mainstream clients besides Māori and to provide a comprehensive twenty-four hour delivery service.⁷⁹

Area Manager, Neil Cleaver was keen to secure positive relationships between

⁷³ [AB9490/17d]

⁷⁴ [AB10891/18d]

⁷⁵ Minutes of the ISS Focus Group Meeting, 1/4/99.

⁷⁶ Supplement to ISS Coordinator Report 22/3/99.

⁷⁷ Minutes of the ISS Focus Group Meeting, 1/4/99.

⁷⁸ Corresp. Makere Salu, CYF Wairoa Office to Alison Bullock, NKII Coordinator ISS, 27/11/00. File # ISS4-30/3/00.

⁷⁹ Corresp. Jackie Brown CEO, CYF to Ngahiwi Tomoana, Chairperson NKII. 28/8/00. File # ISS4-30/3/00.

NKII and the Department and sought a resolution from the Hastings/ Napier Roopu team that would enable such a relationship to continue.⁸⁰ The Roopu team had been established to encourage Māori social workers in the Hastings/Napier offices of CYPFS to operate as a unit, providing peer support (tautoko) and assistance (manaakitanga) for one another. But they were also coping with a number of issues including staff shortages, racist attitudes among non-Māori colleagues (Bullock, 1999) and a demanding workload that encouraged a reactive rather than proactive response to iwi /whānau needs.⁸¹

Theoretically the notion of seconding staff seemed a practical and effective idea because it called on expertise already located in social services. Secondment of staff avoided replicating the complex, and expensive administration and bureaucratic infrastructure characteristic of state agencies. Of greater importance to NKII, was the fact that under legislation, only CYPFS had the authority to remove children from their families. Thus in practice seconded staff retained this legal function under the auspices of CYPFS while carrying out the activities NKII was contracted to do. However, it soon became apparent that in practice it was not that easy to implement. The difficulty for staff lay in rationalising and demarcating work with Māori children and their whānau into allocations of time working for NKII iwi social services on the one hand and/or CYPFS on the other. As one manager remarked,

...the theory of seconding doesn't necessarily work out in practice because fifty percent of a persons time and energy, how do you tell which bit is which, specially if you're working with Māori and kids [AB10891/18d].

A further concern was the state (CYPFS) assuming responsibility for the recruitment and selection of staff to deliver ISS without consultation with NKII even though, according to the terms of the Contract, ISS were expected to be involved in recruitment. For their part, NKII was keen to enlist staff for ISS who were not only familiar with the principles of Puaoteata-tu but had the skills to implement them in practice. Involvement in the selection process was also one way to assure prospective staff that tenure in an ISS could be a viable career move. The difficulty

⁸⁰ ISS Coordinator Report, 1/4/99-21/5/99.

⁸¹ ISS Coordinator Mtg minutes with the Roopu team and Māori providers, 2pm Orchard Rd, 17/6/99.

for NKII was that CYPFS was also responsible for making the appointments, and the appointees were employees of CYPFS.⁸²

State retention of fiscal control, including the administration and bureaucracy, with no obligation to consult with NKII as the ‘contractor’, meant that the terms of the Contract were essentially controlled by CYPFS; the kind of contract one accepts but where one does not control the terms. Unfortunately it is a scenario all too familiar to Māori organisations. NKII’s contract with WINZ to find placements with community organisations for voluntary workers is another example. Under the terms of the WINZ contract NKII found placements with community organisations but WINZ would not fill the vacancy thereby affecting NKII’s credibility among the community beyond their control.⁸³

Having anticipated contractual issues from the outset, the ISS Coordinator for NKII had proposed a development process as a guide to operationalising the Contract in association with CYPFS and CFA. The proposed process was broadly focussed on consultation, decisions on the level of service delivery, timeframes, location of iwi social service staff, reporting and contractual outcomes, budgetary control formats, evaluation and monitoring.⁸⁴ However, in practice there persisted a seemingly intractable problem whereby the state (DSW, CYPFS, CFA and later CYF) seemed neither committed nor possessed the political will to cease obstructive regimes and engage with the iwi.

A little over a year into the Contract a number of problems were identified by NKII as antagonising iwi priorities in the delivery of an iwi social service (Bullock, 1999). The concerns centred on matters of structure, authority and autonomy, and iwi/state relationships.

Structure

The consequence of restructuring of CYPFS organisation in late 1999 resulted in a loss of continuity at the interface between government and the iwi. Even though the new labour government signalled a move toward the left, there was a

⁸² Corresp. Alison Bullock to Dr Richard Benton, James Henare Research Centre, 22/12/1999.

⁸³ Under the community wage scheme beneficiaries received \$21 per week on top of the Social Security Benefit [AR56072/22d].

⁸⁴ ISS Coordinator Report, 1/4/99-21/5/99.

sense by iwi that social services were part of a new right philosophy based on a market orientation for delivery, a competitive environment and iwi scepticism that the ‘goalposts’ would therefore continue to move without consultation as the restructuring took effect. While NKII accepted the notion that a competitive environment provided for a focussed quality delivery service, they were deeply opposed to any notion that NKII should compete for the right to service Ngāti Kahungunu children.⁸⁵

The lack of experience in contracting with an iwi organisation seemed evident in the vague decision delegations within DSW, the lack of delegated authority of allocated staff to make financial decisions, little coordinated communication between the three levels of DSW, and the need for ongoing negotiation with the Department for infrastructure support (Bullock, 1999). Increasingly, these concerns did little to stem the rising tension that was developing in the relationship between NKII and the agencies. Added to this was the sense that concerns raised with the Department of Social Welfare about the Contract were not being adequately addressed. In question was whether the Department had a genuine commitment to iwi social services and Māori welfare when Māori representation within the Department was negligible. As the NKII Coordinator pointed out,

“...Two years after the signing of our contract...the Department do not have adequate representation of our issues at Executive Management group level...the most senior Māori manager in the Department (Herewini Te Koha, Contracting Group) is on a short term part-time contract.”⁸⁶

Despite the problems identified above, there remained a degree of goodwill, apparent in the commitment of NKII and the people involved in the contractual relationship ‘at flax-roots’ to work together to deliver social services. The Contract was seen as a catalyst for change, and that any challenge would likely arise “...from unrealistic expectations on Iwi made in the guise of contract outputs not being met when the real cause is structural inflexibility” (Bullock, 1999).

⁸⁵ Corresp. Alison Bullock to Dr Richard Benton, James Henare Research Centre, 22/12/1999.

⁸⁶ Corresp. Alison Bullock to Dr Richard Benton, James Henare Research Centre, 22/12/1999

Resourcing problem

Funding issues were a significant problem for NKII from the outset. Funds authorised by Jackie Brown in March 1999 were suddenly withdrawn several months later without consultation or formal notification of this decision.⁸⁷ According to the Department a change of government policy provided the rationale for the withdrawal of the authorised grant.⁸⁸ The problem stemmed in part from the amalgamation of the two businesses (CFA and DSW) in 1999 and the responsibility for ISS transferred from the CFA to the Contracting Group. The government decided to recall the establishment fund at the end of the financial year if it had not been spent by 30 June. In the process the Contracting Group failed to inform iwi of the change in policy and the withdrawal of authorised funds despite receiving instructions to do so from an official who had been responsible for ISS under the now defunct CFA regime.⁸⁹

As a result, NKII budgets based on the approval of the grant were affected causing the organisation to operate in deficit severely compromising their ability to service the contract.⁹⁰ This episode was the catalyst for strained relations between NKII and the agencies. Although Margaret Bazely⁹¹ and Jackie Brown⁹² explained how a misunderstanding in the changes to funding had occurred they failed to offer the resolution NKII sought.⁹³

On the 1st October 1999, the Child, Young Persons and their Families Agency became the Child Youth and Family Services (CYFS), and Jackie Brown was appointed the CEO under Roger Sowry, Minister of Social Welfare. The CFA was also merged back into CYFS as the Contracting Group. Under this new regime, it was thought that a new contract would be negotiated, as the current Contract was now considered insufficient to meet the needs of the iwi.⁹⁴

⁸⁷ ISS Coordinator Report, 9/8/99-10/9/99.

⁸⁸ Corresp. Ngahiwi Tomoana, Chairperson NKII Board to Hon. Steve Maharey, Minister Social Services & Employment. 20/3/00. File #ISS4-30/3/00.

⁸⁹ Corresp. Greg Putland, DSW to Alyson Bullock, 24/2/00.

⁹⁰ Corresp. Ngahiwi Tomoana, Chairperson NKII Board to Hon. Steve Maharey, Minister Social Services & Employment. 20/3/00. File #ISS4-30/3/00.

⁹¹ Director General of Social Welfare

⁹² Acting CEO of the Department of Social Welfare

⁹³ ISS Coordinator Report, 18/10/99-19/12/99. The Department explanation is that a change of policy provided the rationale for the absorption of the authorised monies \$103,000 as part of the funds already received by NKII. Ngahiwi Tomoana to Steve Maharey, 20/3/00. File # ISS4-30/3/00.

⁹⁴ ISS Coordinator Report, 18/10/99-19/12/99

Authority/autonomy

Efforts to be proactive, to keep the momentum going in order to drive the terms of the contract consistent with NKII's long-term strategy as an iwi social service provider, proved largely unsuccessful. Although at the local level the contract deliverables were fairly straight forward, negotiating staffing, funding and other issues with the state, proved otherwise. The issue of relocating the Roopu team is a case in point. NKII was keen to establish ISS within a Māori centred environment by relocating the team to the Heretaunga Taiwhenua, a proposal welcomed by the Roopu team. Ongoing issues of institutional and personal racism experienced by the Māori members of the team provided further impetus for supporting the transfer.

In an effort to assert their autonomy NKII notified CYF's of their intention to relocate the Roopu team outlining what the implications of this move would mean in terms of staffing levels and funding. This included ISS staff increasing their allocated time from fifty percent to working full-time for iwi social services, which would require the reinstatement of the establishment funding approved by Jackie Brown but which had since been withdrawn without notice.⁹⁵

The response from the Area Manager Neil Cleaver was predictably bureaucratic and as far as NKII was concerned, unhelpful. While Cleaver professed to support the relocation in principle believing it would provide a significant step in promoting the ISS team, he insisted that "...much will be dependent on the status of the current CYF lease of Heretaunga House in Hastings and the ability of CYF management to realign its mainstream services." Furthermore, the matter of physically transferring the ISS Roopu team across to the taiwhenua would need to be referred to the National Office Property Department responsible for relocation, and to the Acting Area Manager once that appointment was made.⁹⁶

From NKII's perspective this event could be interpreted as a bureaucratic delay tactic aimed at evading or diverting responsibility away from having to make a decision while ensuring the States best interests are upheld.

On the other hand, the strictures imposed by the state on its agencies by the division of functions between departments illustrate the difficulties arising from

⁹⁵Corresp. Alison Bullock to Neil Cleaver 14/1/00. Memo to Neil Cleaver from Alyson Bullock, 18/1/2000.

⁹⁶ Corresp. Neil Cleaver to Alison Bullock, 17/1/00.

precluding individual departments (e.g. Area Manager and the National Office Property Department) from engaging in joint decision-making processes. A mechanism to uphold the states interest was in reference to a clause contained in the Contract, which allowed the Department to service themselves for occupancy costs and charge it against the Contract. If the seconded staff were relocated to a location of NKII's choice, any cost would have to be met by NKII.⁹⁷

Despite persistent attempts, NKII was not only unsuccessful in their efforts to relocate the Roopu team to the Heretaunga taiwhenua, but also to change the level of staffing and resourcing levels, and ultimately to negotiate a new contract that reflected the iwi's needs. By 2003 the NKII Board had made a decision to withdraw from the Contract to deliver iwi social services.

Iwi/State Relationships

Failure to resolve the problems with the state in terms of the establishment funding, recruitment and selection of ISS staff and budget contract requirements were major factors that disadvantaged the development of ISS at NKII. These factors also contributed to an unsatisfactory relationship between NKII and the state. Part of the reason for this is the perception NKII and the government agencies held of their respective roles and the lack of communication between bureaucratic functionaries.

For their part, NKII sought a contractual relationship with the agencies based on a Treaty partnership perspective with the appropriate funding to resource that partnership effectively.⁹⁸ Within such a relationship NKII insisted the contract be recognised as part of the iwi right to be the preferred provider of social services to Ngāti Kahungunu whānau. Justification for NKII's claims was the unequitable distribution of programmes to Māori providers within Ngāti Kahungunu. These were programmes funded by the Crown that supported a move away from Māori dependency on the state identified in the Puao-te-ata-tu report. Moreover, evidence had emerged that 25% of services being funded, were for non-Māori organisations who were serving Māori children (Bullock, 1999). Most social service providers

⁹⁷ Corresp. Alison Bullock to Dr Richard Benton, James Henare Research Centre, 22/12/1999

⁹⁸ Corresp. Alison Bullock to Dr Richard Benton, James Henare Research Centre, 22/12/1999.

were funded under NDOC's or non-departmental output classes. By contrast NKII was funded as a DOC or Departmental Output Class to deliver iwi social services. Under legislation, the CYFPS Act specifies the nature of the services that the Department is required to deliver and the provision for that delivery is made from within the Departmental budgets.⁹⁹ Therefore it was logical for iwi to interpret the relationship under this status to be about shifting resources from the Department to NKII so that iwi could provide care for their own.

The 'service development' model faithfully adhered to by the CFA, and later the Contracting Group, precluded the agency from entering a Treaty-based contractual relationship. For the Government, the means to an end in contracting out the delivery of social services manifest in neo-liberal regimes of practice are reduced, not to community or iwi development, but to economic ends and state control. In a letter to the NKII Board, Jackie Brown clearly set out the government's position, demonstrating perhaps unwittingly, how illogical the mentalities of state really are in their interactions with iwi and Māori.

"...We are seeking to find improved ways to develop relationships with iwi/ Māori social services that will provide greater autonomy in decision making by iwi providers. The level of autonomy being sought is not available under the current DOC¹⁰⁰ arrangements and unless there are legislative changes this situation will not alter. At the moment there is no indication that the Government is considering legislative changes in this regard."¹⁰¹

The Contract was written as a service contract, a reductive device to ensure the input of funding secures a specified number of outputs in line with government policy and legislation. There was no reference to the Treaty¹⁰² but a stipulation that the relationship was a service contract rather than a partnership or joint venture. The contractual relationship with government was always uneven in that there was no discussion over the terms of the contract and the state retained fiscal control. The position designated to coordinate the services by NKII was voluntary although in the end the coordination amounted to little more than a liaison role.¹⁰³ The

⁹⁹ Corresp. Alison Bullock to Dr Richard Benton, James Henare Research Centre, 22/12/1999.

¹⁰⁰ Departmental Output Classes are funding programmes administered by the CFA.

¹⁰¹ Corresp. Jackie Brown to Ngahiwi Tomoana, 28/8/00. File#ISS4-30/3/00.

¹⁰² [AB29247/19d]

¹⁰³ [AB119623/19d]

persistence and demands by NKII for greater autonomy and control in delivering social services, was a strategy that attempted to counter past failures by the state to meet the welfare needs of Māori people. But the returns from the energy that NKII invested in the service were benefiting the state and not families and the community NKII served.

As a policy, the ‘devolving’ of iwi social services to iwi held much promise and carried with it the expectations of many within Ngāti Kahungunu, including the seconded staff. The Contract was entered into with good will on both sides. But the narrow state controlled parameters of the Contract, that entrenched the power differentials in favour of the state subverted the potential for NKII to make a difference in the delivery of iwi social services to Ngāti Kahungunu. It was a failed opportunity on both sides of the iwi/state divide.

The irony is that the process of NKII’s struggle with the state to deliver iwi social services gave cause for the organisation to momentarily pause and remind itself what the aspirations of the organisation were and what they stood for. It deepened the organisations resolve to put into practice what a senior manager had claimed all along, that *NKII should never get into government contracts*, and focus instead on matters of strategic planning and policy development.

Yet state provision of service delivery was opposed by iwi generally in favour of contractual relationships. While contracts are an advance on state delivery systems this chapter has demonstrated, for example through categories of agency for countering contractual constraints, that such systems need to be shaped to meet iwi/Māori community needs.

Finally, the paradox identified by Jackie Brown in her letter to the Board, is the government claim to be seeking ways to provide greater autonomy for iwi providers but within a government instituted legislative contracting regime that appeared to counteract autonomy, at least in the delivery of social services.

Chapter Ten

Conclusion

He Marama ka roku i te pae¹

This thesis has investigated the nature of tribal service provision from a provider perspective, by exploring the central question: what are the characteristics of an iwi provider service? The proliferation of Māori and iwi providers within a short period during the 1990's as an outcome of the government's devolution policy, while offering a 'by Māori for Māori' service begged the question what distinguishes Māori / iwi providers from other providers? Or indeed whether they should be distinguishable. What sets them apart from mainstream systems? Is there a Māori way of doing things? And if so, how are the distinguishing features of a tribal provider, experienced and understood by the men and women who work there? Given the historical and political contexts within which iwi providers emerged, in what ways do externalities of the state (e.g. agencies, bureaucracy, legislation, contracts, officials) impact on the organisations and what does this mean in practice? Can an iwi/Māori delivery system be justified and on what basis?

From the outset it was important to signal that this study would be centred on Māori viewpoints and perspectives and the approach to the investigation would be grounded in a Māori worldview and within the global indigenous paradigm. Chapter One argued that the strength of this approach was not only the holistic nature of a paradigm favoured by indigenous researchers in which specific cultural and spiritual dimensions are taken for granted, but that alternative mainstream perspectives are not excluded. It was therefore necessary to demonstrate how the thesis located within a Māori field of study, linked with the thoughts and ideas of other indigenous writers and researchers in effecting a paradigm shift from Eurocentrism to indigenous centred approaches.

It was argued that indigenous researchers and their communities constitute a scientific community in terms of the production of knowledge using the tools of indigenous language, culture and methodologies. Concomitant with these tools are

¹ Translates as 'a moon that wanes on the horizon'. In this context, this whakatauki refers to a project, such as this thesis, that is coming to an end (Mead & Grove, 2001:95)

the interrelationships between the physical and metaphysical realms, between people and the natural world both past and present generating holistic ontologies. The compatibility of indigenous worldviews and philosophical orientations, allows for the recognition of the full range of indigenous experience, customs and traditions as distinct rather than universal. The ability among indigenous researchers to recognise and respect the uniqueness of each other's knowledge systems means that they are able to reach deep within their communities thereby adding to the global enquiry about and by indigenous people. In the process they are developing localised systems of inquiry and appropriate methods to investigating the fabric of their communities, as indeed this thesis sought to do.

The importance of the orientation for this study was the emphasis on investigating Māori service providers, but more specifically organisations that are tribe specific - Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and Ngāti Kahungunu. The contradictory terms of the researchers position as an insider (Māori, tribal member, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Toa Rangatira) and outsider (non-tribal member, non-employee) were both strengths and a potential weaknesses; strength in terms of access to the organisations and a perceived legitimacy derived from tribal membership, and weakness in relation to the potential for bias and conflict of interest. However, considered reflexively, the position as insider meant finding a pathway (such as allocating time for the close proximity of 'whānau talk' and for interviewing 'at a distance') to more effective research and therefore more reliable results. The validity and ethicality of the research process, data collection and analysis was enhanced by drawing on the principles of whakapapa, te reo Māori, tikanga (Mead, 1996), mana Māori (Durie, 2002; Durie, 1997) and whakatuia (Durie, 1997). An investigative approach that relies on such principles is dependant on the ontological and epistemological systems that characterise Māori philosophical thought and orientation.

Chapter Two offered a philosophical perspective for the thesis and a theoretical framework based on the cosmological narratives constructed to examine and understand the nature of contemporary social relations within tribal organisations. The justification for this theoretical construct was linked to the significance of cultural symbols and representations reflected in customary practices and beliefs

that are embedded in the cosmologies and remain relevant to contemporary Māori life. The messages that are inherent not only reflect the philosophy, ideals and norms of Māori people who regard them as legitimating charters, but they also offer insights into the nature of contemporary social relations historically embedded in cultural values, attitudes and practices.

Eight principles drawn from the genesis cycle of the cosmology provided the basis for the theoretical framework. The principle of hui indicated the priority Māori assign to consultation, discussion, communal effort and managing the decision making process. The application of the principles of tapu and noa emphasised the regulatory functions in controlling human behaviour, and reinforcing safety measures. The practical value of the customary deities underpinning the principle of tuku iho justified not only the importance of values related to hospitality and human endeavour, but also establishing the relationship between people and their environment in terms of mutual obligations. The synergistic relationship between people and the environment was reinforced by the principle of whakarite oranga. Effective management of the earth's natural resources is dependent on ensuring that a reciprocal balance is maintained between people and the elements in the natural world. Māori attitudes to knowledge, the skills necessary for its acquisition, the research and development necessary for innovation and change, and the importance of accuracy and quality control were emphasised by the principles of wnanga, whakamtautau and whakariterite.

An identity as Māori is conceptualised through the principle of whakapapa, which provides the key to understanding Māori society; how people relate to each other, their environment, the world about them, and confirmed through common bonds, loyalty and varying sets of obligations.

The significance of the principle of whakapapa and its broader function was demonstrated in Chapter Three with the application of Sir Apirana Ngata's geneological method as a framework for presenting a brief summary of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga tribal histories. The application of Ngata's method called for the adaptation of several components as a multi-dimensional basis for developing the historical context for this study. Tribal narratives and historical literature documented the evolutionary development of

the two tribes and their patterns of migration that saw their eventual settlement within the bounds of their present-day territories. Trans-tribal linkages were evident across political, economic and kinship spheres, and geographical boundaries. Historical links between Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa were highlighted which also implied the rationale for the researchers engagement with both tribes in order to undertake this study thereby resolving a methodological concern in line with the principle of whakapapa discussed in Chapter One. Other components of the genealogical method included reference to social customs applied to culture traits such as the historical tradition of intermarriage to secure strong leadership, land or peace. Nomenclature was a significant factor in the naming of individuals and groups, denoting kinship relations between members, for commemorating important events, and identifying the geography of place to establish territorial boundaries. By the time early contact with Europeans had been established regional identities were stronger as a result of settlement, intermarriage and alliances.

The genealogical method highlighted the autonomous but strategic nature of tribal leaders and their communities historically, but which were severely curtailed under the colonising agendas of a new world order. The pattern of tribal efforts to establish iwi rūnanga that served Māori interests and aspirations for autonomy was reflected in the struggle to strike a balance between customary boundaries, autonomous hierarchies based on chiefly status and distinct political processes on the one hand, and the constraints of an imposed system of colonial power and racist patronage on the other. Structures imposed over existing tribal organisations without consultation with or recognition of tribal leaders resulted in minimal success. The Waikato tribes simply abandoned Sir George Grey's rūnanga system during the 19th century in favour of indigenous models of governance. Grey's system lacked universal Māori support because Māori autonomy was limited, and the Government controlled tribal activities under the auspices of state functionaries.

However, when organisations initiated by Māori were left to flourish under Māori control, such as the Māori war effort during the 1940's, the outcomes were generally positive. An analysis of the Māori war effort identified several factors that contributed to developing organisational structures on a national scale but in line with tribal aspirations. These included the importance of Māori political

leadership in developing a model independent of state processes and dependant on tribal input that was more immediately responsive to local needs. The expansion of service provision beyond recruitment for the war effort to include social welfare needs was so beneficial to tribal communities that Māori preference for dealing with the Māori War Effort Organisation (MWEO) significantly undermined the services administered by state officials. State opposition to the MWEO extending its services overlooked the benefits the initiative brought to Māori communities and focussed instead on the concern held by the non-Māori Minister of Native Affairs that his jurisdiction had been seriously encroached. This precipitated a withdrawal of state support for the MWEO reinforced by Treasury who called for its disbandment. The coercive nature of state power wielded by state functionaries and their effect on tribal/ Māori state relations to undermine Māori autonomy demonstrated by these and other events, was a recurring historical pattern highlighted throughout this thesis. State attempts to develop other organisational structures such as district councils and tribal committees were primarily designed to accommodate the government's political and economic policies, further entrenching Māori dependency.

The emphasis on Māori as agents of autonomy was the focus of Chapter Four. The development of NKII and TROR as tribal authorities was both a response by Māori to the 4th Labour Governments policy of decentralisation and an ongoing expression of self-determination. The free-market environment of the 1980's supported Māori ambitions for greater autonomy and recourse to tribal structures with the promise of a degree of self-governance but with limited Māori control within government structures.

An active tribal polity focussed on consolidating tribal aspirations. In Raukawa this was accelerated through the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano Generation 2000 programme, while in Kahungunu a 'united Kahungunu' was promoted as a way forward for the tribe. The Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990, although short-lived, seemed to offer fresh perspectives as well as a new 'Māori order' promising more power to tribal structures and processes. But the direction of the National government's Ka Awatea policies, also doomed to short-term status, promoted less emphasis on tribes as the driving force for Māori and a stronger focus on the notion of equity, with the

state assuming responsibility for reducing disparities between Māori and non-Māori. The assumption was that Māori aspired to equality with non-Māori.

A history of government recapitulation on Māori policy matters, justified the initial distrust many in Ngāti Kahungunu held for government plans to adequately deliver to Māori. They were sceptical of Government policy which they viewed as a transfer of state dependency, cost effective service delivery and the devolvement of functions to tribes to deliver the same state initiated services as state agencies with little tribal autonomy to deliver adequately resourced iwi initiated programmes.

Of more immediate concern however, was whether the tribal authorities themselves had the necessary infrastructure, management and training resources to administer government-devolved programmes. An analysis of the tribal structures developed by Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kahungunu reveal an operating environment constructed to account for the specificities of their constituent hapū on the one hand, and to meet the requirements of Government as recipients of contracted funding on the other.

A two dimensional framework for analysis proposed two main tikanga as underpinning the rūnanga infrastructure; 'tikanga a iwi' driven by whānau, hapū and iwi imperatives, and 'tikanga kawanatanga' concerned with government policy, contractual provisions and legislation. The tensions between tribal, government and legal imperatives are mediated in the control and management of pou rhui (territorial authority), mana tangata (vested authority), kaupapa ture (constitutional arrangements) and tikanga here (bureaucracy). These elements influence the infrastructural arrangements for the roopu rangatiratanga (governance), the roopu whakahaere (management) and the various departments that comprise the ratonga or service provision.

The organisations in this study showed that juxtaposing two, often contradictory tikanga is possible but requires compromise. Reconciling the jurisdictions of Territorial Local Authorities (TLA) that misalign with customary tribal boundaries presents ongoing challenges for providing services to tribal constituents situated outside contracted localities. Requiring tribal members to officially register with their iwi authority as a legal requirement of an Incorporated Society, to which all three organisations in this study have subscribed, contrasts with the principle of

whakapapa as the customary basis for tribal membership.

To some extent, the constitutional models adopted by the tribes offer solutions. In developing tribal structures Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Raukawa have accounted for a complex mix of tribal/pan-tribal membership, representation based on customary and democratic principles, and in Ngāti Kahungunu a double-tiered tribal structure of rūnanga and six taiwhenua operating as independent legal entities. It is at the localised hapū/marae level that representation is achieved. The varying constitutional arrangements demonstrate an ability to effectively exercise tribal autonomy while integrating traditional political processes with democratic principles within the constraints of the rules of a legal entity. Such arrangements allow for a collective tribal identity and a high degree of autonomy in determining representation for governance at the 'grassroots' hapū level.

A common characteristic shared by the iwi rūnanga was the centrality of mana tangata and the emphasis on the collective polity embodied in tribal metaphor, mottos and proverbs adopted by the governing bodies. The potential for tension remains in separating the politics of governance from the day-to-day management of business affairs. Māori customary values still underpin kinship ties, reciprocity and the contribution of skills, labour or goods to the social pool as an organic shared corporate life. Nevertheless, within the contemporary contractual environment the organisations have erected constitutional firewalls between governance and management as a necessary precaution against compromising the integrity of the organisations.

It was argued that the complex nature of tribal management systems exists on a number of concrete levels such as territorial authority, tribal aspirations and cultural imperatives including symbolic dimensions of time and space. Assumptions about continuity manifest in time past, present and future are implicit in a collective consciousness based on mana tangata. The relationship between generations and cultural mores serves to influence the hierarchical structure of the organisation and how managers manage. The development of fluid organic interactive models such as the concept of Te Arero of Te Taiwhenua o Heretaunga enables iwi to incorporate conventional tribal perspectives yet also account for tikanga kawanatanga at both a concrete and conceptual level.

Understanding the origins of European traditions, central to state discourses and constitutional relationships with Māori, was the primary aim of Chapter Five. As an outcome of the colonising processes of British imperialism it was argued that British assumptions of authority, paternalism and humanitarian ideals manifest in the interventions by colonial functionaries in the affairs of New Zealand formed the basis upon which New Zealand nationhood was premised and the Crown's relationship with Māori was largely determined. James Busby's appointment as British Resident in 1832 not only symbolised British authority but his presence initiated a constitutional relationship with Britain and attempted to sow the seeds of Māori nationhood thereby recognising Māori autonomy. The adoption of a national ensign was the first step as an internationally recognised symbol of statehood and Māori sovereignty over New Zealand. The formation of a 'Confederation of United Tribes' and 'Declaration of Independence' was the second step.

However, efforts to establish a single Māori body politic promoted by an external British authority both on and offshore were imposed structures impeded by the political autonomy of independent hapū and the dispersal of authority among chiefs and elders. Judicial interventions of British officials were acceptable to Māori providing the interventions corresponded with a Māori sense of justice.

Intertribal hostilities and the pressure of European settlement increased the resolve of both British authorities and the missionaries to pursue the imperialistic policy of the amalgamation of Māori and bureaucratic authority through annexation. The liberal politics and humanitarian ideals that underscored the proposed administration, embraced notions of equality while promoting a policy of amalgamation based on the assumption of the superiority of European institutions and culture. The standards against which humanitarian concerns were measured were assimilationist and based on European cultural norms.

State functionaries played an important role in embedding liberal, humanitarian and assimilatory discourses within the framework of official activities associated with policy design and the construction of colonial ordinances. Hobson's instructions for the annexation of New Zealand contained a number of modifications that reflected the prevailing Eurocentric beliefs and values. These included the prohibition of customs objectionable to Englishmen and the steadfast belief in the

inferior intellect and ability of Māori to exercise western governmental and legal institutions coequally with Europeans. While Māori would be entitled to the rights and privileges of British citizens and assigned to utility and menial services to demonstrate they were capable workers, this did not extend to include sharing any office of power.

Such colonial discourses it was argued remain a contemporary legacy that constitute a form of imperialism and a western liberal concept of the state founded by enlightenment philosophers, most notably Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and Kant. There is little doubt that the theories of state promoted by these and other European philosophers influenced the British architects of the central government established in New Zealand in the 19th century. In line with colonial administrators elsewhere in the world they simply invested in Eurocentric traditions, values and assumptions that underpin modern constitutionalism while upholding the widely accepted belief that non-Europeans benefited from assimilation to the more advanced European state.

Such beliefs reflect some of the features of modern constitutionalism that exclude or assimilate cultural diversity such as the culture and traditions of indigenous peoples. In particular the 'stages view' of human history (Tully, 1995) containing the concept of cultures as innately superior or inferior implicated in Hobson's instructions for annexation. It was also the central concept that supported state policies of amalgamation and assimilation that accompanied the constitutional process of colonising New Zealand. Transmission of these policies through the 20th century as policies of 'integration' and 'mainstreaming' embraced and reinforced a similar colonising spirit.

Institutional forms of a modern sovereign state embodied in the Westminster system transplanted by Britain to New Zealand, shaped the context within which the people as 'equal' citizens delegate political power to governments. The concept of equal citizens champions the individual, presupposes intolerance to difference and reinforces moral justification for universal standards according to Eurocentric norms. An indigenous view considers citizenship as a collective concern and the well being of the nation state is dependant on the collective having certain entitlements relevant to whānau, hapū and iwi. The challenge for the state is

reconciling dual obligations of fairness to all citizens while endorsing indigeneity.

The interface between the organisations and the state in the provision of services based on the concrete experiences of the iwi workers was the focus for Chapter Six. Three themes emerged as significant from the research. The first theme considered Māori perceptions of state policies and practices that fell into several categories; narrowly fixed and restrictive policies, bureaucratic regimes of practice based on government rhetoric, illusion, and exclusion. Pragmatic interpretations of state policies by managers and staff were necessary to modify restrictive policies designed for the majority, and to align with the needs of Māori communities. A perceived disjuncture between state policies, Māori identified need and appropriate service provision was associated with three regimes of practice. A consistent failure by the state to operationalise stated purposes and objectives related to Māori in policy documents thereby reducing stated intentions to government rhetoric; repackaging mainstream policies under the rubric of a Māori framework; and excluding Māori from participating in decision-making processes related to policy development.

Technologies of government manifest in regulatory practices, imposed structures and bureaucracy, techniques of accounting and legislative instruments of the state were considered to constrain iwi service provision. Negotiating a fit between the culture of the community, and the structure and power of iwi institutions to regulate development within state structures was an ongoing challenge. Tribal workers were cognisant of structures and institutions designed within a Eurocentric framework that support mechanisms of internal colonisation manifest in the paternalistic apparatus of the welfare state. The organisations applied strategies, including the adaption of hierarchical management structures and registration as a state entity, to reduce the tensions created by mixed paradigms at the interface of Māori and non-Māori relations.

The second theme analysed some of the underlying discourses of tension identified at the interface between Maori and Pākehā relations. A significant factor was the politics of justifying the positionality of Māori not only as legitimate agents of service provision but as legitimate competitors for state funding and distribution of goods and services. It was argued that Pākehā isolation or cultural encapsulation

from Māori experience, knowledge and interaction had profound consequences for the way Pākehā related to Māori people. The colonial mindset was evident at both the macro (state/institution) and micro (community) levels embedded in assumptions that not only reinforced unequal power relations but also created barriers to effective progress in terms of Māori /Pākehā relations. At the interpersonal level Pākehā health professionals and social workers were observed to marginalise and impose barriers to Māori participation through various forms of actions and attitudes.

The philosophical differences in the values and ethical traditions between Pākehā and Māori approaches to delivering services in the field were often at the centre of Māori anxiety and lack of confidence in the political will of Pākehā people to provide services that are appropriate and relevant. Three broad principles were considered to underscore the differences between Māori and Pākehā workers at the interface that were identified by the participants. The principle of whanaungatanga provided for collegial support among iwi workers; the principle of whānau supported their collective approach to service delivery; and the principle of whakapapa offered a tool for accessing Māori communities.

The third theme analysed strategies of resistance, such as ‘knowing the enemy’, ‘knowledge of the inside’ and ‘tuning into politics.’ These strategies, combined with mobilising and assuming agency to particular rationalities of the state, were employed as conditions of what it means to work for tribal organisations in the framework of the state.

Four interconnecting themes emerged relating to the distinguishing characteristics of iwi provision. They offered a systematic basis for exploration. Chapter Seven examined two of these themes. The first, ‘ngā mahi a ngā tangata’ involved an exploration of the role of iwi service providers in terms of advocacy, responsiveness and relevancy identified as unique to Māori and iwi. The second theme ‘ngā mahi mā te iwi’, considered how links to the Māori communities are constituted relative to whānau, hapū and marae, and how these links are maintained in practice.

A determining characteristic was a provider role centred principally on agency in terms of advocacy, responsiveness and relevant provision. Advocacy was seen as advising, assisting or motivating clients and their whānau or speaking and acting

on their behalf. The significance of this role was ensuring access to individual and communal entitlements and participation in public spheres such as health or social service provision. At the communal level in particular, advocacy was found to be adhoc and fragmented as opposed to a specifically organised coalition or cooperative initiated between providers. It was argued that advocacy was a counter mechanism to redressing the factors that institutionalised the economic and social disadvantage of Māori in the context of systems of power. Whilst the impact of political disempowerment on Māori society since contact has been one of dispossession and disintegration – economically, socially, culturally and psychologically, Māori agency has remained complex and vibrant. The efficacy of Māori agency is evident in an emergent Māori economy poised to be strong and robust.

The iwi provider role operated at several levels of responsiveness to their communities. One level of response was across a number of workplace environments, oftentimes outside conventional workspaces and within the marae context including cultural institutions such as tangihanga. These were organic, grassroots contexts within the broad parameters of the collective whānau, hapū and iwi polity. This level of responsiveness was linked to the significance placed on providing relevant services.

The relevance factor incorporated Māori viewpoints, values and perspectives as a normal condition of service provision. These factors were not only taken for granted but, because they serve the interests of Māori, required little if any justification. Being responsive to Māori needs and aspirations meant emphasising services relevant to the constituent community.

Working as a tribal member was seen to offer both advantages and disadvantages. Benefits of kinship ties offered iwi providers' access to extensive linkages, the advantages of lived knowledge and local experience of tangata whenua, and the entitlements that accrue from tribal membership. Such entitlements included affirmation of a tribal identity as a condition of working for an iwi organisation and the practice of concomitant values in generating positive levels of well being among the staff. The benefits of working for an iwi organisation as tangata whenua were the ability to access the tribal world through the interconnectedness of whakapapa. Access to tribal specific entitlements was seen to affirm a tribal identity, to give a

sense of freedom to 'be Māori' and to participate in the organisation 'as Māori.'

The drawbacks to working as a tribal member were cast in terms of the complex and ambiguous nature of iwi organisations, the complex dynamics of iwi politics and the unrealistic expectations Māori place on tribal organisations. Issues of maintaining confidentiality, perceptions of nepotism and problems associated with conflicts of interest remain ongoing challenges for tribal organisations.

The theme 'ngā mahi mā te iwi' was concerned with how links to Māori communities were maintained in practice. Each organisation placed considerable value on positive interactions with the Māori community beyond that of simply delivering services. The work of the organisation was not confined to the 'organisation sphere' but extended beyond to include the time and spatial sphere of the whānau, hapū and marae. Marae as the central focus of organisation/community interaction emerged as significant in this study, apparent in the consistent level of work-related marae activities experienced by the participants. The organisations supported and promoted local marae by increasing the work-skills and capabilities of members, by promoting marae as venues for meetings and as a base for service delivery. Marae were also involved in some of the decision-making processes of the organisations that impacted on the local community. Employing tangata whenua was considered a long-term solution to increasing the capacity of marae while ensuring the organisations' long-term goals were in line with tribal aspirations.

The place of Māori culture and traditions in the workplace was the focus of Chapter Eight. It explored the third and fourth of the interrelated themes 'ngā mahi a ngā tipuna,' and 'ngā mahi tuara.' In line with the underlying philosophical basis for the organisations, the integration of cultural values and customs as a 'natural' feature of the workplace were considered essential elements of tribal services and which distinguished them from most other providers delivering the same service. Kaimahi incorporated Māori values, beliefs and management styles within their practice while maintaining modern methods and professional standards. Similar to Puketapu's research (Puketapu, 2000) , this study also found that the organisations' continually struggled with the need to demonstrate the capacity to function within a legal context whilst maintaining shared values and principles, and stressing common bonds and alliances.

Three themes related to tikanga in the iwi workplace emerged from this study; tikanga underpinning methodologies of conduct by the organisation and staff; tikanga related to the ecology of the workspace, and the spiritual dimension associated with the cultural milieu of the workplace.

Tikanga was considered to be integral to an iwi-based service in the conduct of business and as a basis of the organisational culture. It is an over-riding factor that defines one iwi organisation from any other. A predominantly Māori presence affirmed the necessity to implement management tikanga and the incorporation of Māori values in the core business. This had important resource and capacity implications especially at the formal level that included rituals of encounter when there was a dearth of expertise. This presented risks for the organisations at least from the perspective of Māori stakeholders. An important factor in incorporating tikanga in the conduct of tribal business was maintaining consistency in application, ensuring policy guidelines were clear, and a commitment to promoting tikanga as an integral 'normal' part of business practice. Again, forward planning, specific policy and appropriate application were considered necessary to avoid inconsistencies and compromises to cultural values and imperatives underpinning all aspects of rūnanga business.

However, commitment with this level also implied a responsibility by the organisations to consider the implications of temporal and activity modalities in order to facilitate access to te ao Māori, and to increase staff knowledge and cultural capacity in order to apply tikanga in the field. The benefits were seen to reinforce a tribal or Māori identity, enhance the psychological security of staff and assist in developing the skill sets necessary for implementation of tikanga as a 'natural' function of the organisation's modus operandi.

At the individual kaimahi level, there was a clear expression of commitment to incorporating Māori values and culture as an integral part of an ethicality of practice and because community assumptions and expectations were biased towards viewing such approaches as 'normal' for an iwi organisation. Three broad categories of application in the field were demonstrated. Health and safety measures for regulating behaviour were applied in association with the laws of tapu and noa. Patterns of personal interaction based on the principle of whanaungatanga offered rūnanga

staff a relevant framework to build client rapport. Incorporating cultural referents such as Māori language, history, marae and rituals in provider programmes was considered to empower clients and strengthen a sense of identity.

Conduct of the business within the organisation operated in an environment that offered a symbolic frame for conveying the customs, values, practices and beliefs of the organisations. Several facets of a symbolic frame were identified in the organisations in this study. The concrete symbols and artifacts exhibited through tribally centred corporate identities provided a means of projecting solidarity and cohesion within the organisation besides communicating and mediating conflicts and contradictions. The division and allocation of physical space were multifunctional and adaptive to the activities of the business and activities associated with rituals of encounter. There was a clear sense that the architecture should not contradict core values of manaaki tangata, mana tangata or whanaungatanga. Creating a milieu consistent with core values was an important consideration if participation by the Māori community in iwi services was to be encouraged. An integral characteristic of the organisations in this study was the spiritual dimension embodied in the recitation of karakia. References to karakia were premised on its importance to an individual's psychological and spiritual wellbeing.

The final theme, ngā mahi tuara examined cultural paradigms adopted and practiced by the organisations as a philosophical basis for service delivery. Four types of frameworks were identified and categorised within the conceptual themes of mana tangata, taonga tuku iho, hono tātai and ngā kaupapa. Mana tangata highlighted the framework of whakapapa and whānau within various associated contexts of business, programme promotion and as a basis for the delivery of services. Taonga tuku iho emphasised the importance of Māori centred training in workforce development, and wānanga as a framework for developing a deeper understanding of core values and concepts of an iwi approach to service delivery. Hono tātai illustrated the application of Durie's conceptual model of whare tapa whā as a mission statement, as a model of health practice and as a basis for appropriate service delivery. Ngā kaupapa summarised the key cultural elements that distinguish the modus operandi of an iwi provider within principles that express what it means to work for an iwi organisation where culture counts.

It was reiterated several times that Government contracts for Māori service delivery have advantages over state delivery systems, which served to entrench Māori dependency and vulnerability to political impulses. The nature of the contracting environment within which the organisations in this study were located was the central focus of Chapter Nine. The factors that emerged as significant related to the terms of the contracts, and the effects of the contracting environment on the organisations and on iwi/state relations.

Overall, the terms of state contracts were considered over-regulated, output oriented and short-term. The terms varied between contracts that were not negotiable and measured by outputs developed under sub-contracting conditions by a state agency, to a possibility of some modification of the contract to better align with community expectations. Short-term contracts contributed to an unstable and insecure environment that risked job security and the ability of the organisations to forecast long term around confirmed budgets. The narrow strictures of out-put oriented frameworks undermined the importance of linking contracts to the actual needs and reality of Māori communities. The current method of contracting contains no mechanism for translating customary practices associated with tikanga into items that can be quantified and monitored. It was argued that the funding regime attached to outputs supports the fragmentation of services thereby frustrating holistic approaches preferred by iwi providers.

Several conditions effecting iwi organisations within the contracting environment were discerned. First, an over reliance on state contracts as the backbone of business exposes organisations to the vagaries of the state and their vulnerability to policy changes and priorities. As NKII discovered, dependency on state contracts for delivering ISS undermined the ability of the organisation to maintain autonomy and to control its affairs. A robust infrastructure coupled with economic independence offers tribes the freedom to maintain state contracts to deliver services without compromising tribal autonomy.

A second factor was the power differentials and inequality apparent between government and service providers. Government controls the contracting framework and funding regime, and determines the range and level of services on offer. Contracts are state driven offering Māori opportunities to participate but under

terms set down by the state.

Compliance measures were the third factor that effected the organisations in a contracting environment with the state. Fiscal reporting regimes, while acknowledged as a responsibility in the receipt of public funds, were seen to be inflexible and a major contributor to the fragmentation of services.

In their efforts to counter the constraints of state contracts in the provision of services, the organisations applied several strategies associated with categories of agency. The notion of exteriority described the method of working outside contractual boundaries in efforts to maximise the congruency between the terms of state contracts and the needs of the constituent communities. Retraction from the contractual environment as NKII did by withdrawing from the ISS contract, was a radical strategy.

Justification for an iwi delivery system rests in the central belief of the organisations in this study that they are best placed to respond and address the aspirations of the communities to which they belong. Questions of contracting with the state are inevitably ones regarding relationships. Developing effective contractual relationships was seen as an ongoing issue. It was argued that historically in the operationalisation of state policies offering positive outcomes for Māori, state functionaries have consistently played a significant role in both facilitating and undermining Crown/ tribal relationships.

From a tribal perspective there remains uncertainty about whether the contractual relationship is based on a treaty relationship as tribes insist, or a fee for service as the state prefers to claim. The potential offered by the contracting environment is more likely to be realised if tribal organisations feel empowered and valued by their relationship with the state. In the context of an autonomous tribal authority this will allow for the full realisation of Māori potential and innovation in the delivery of services by tribes to Māori communities.

Characteristics of iwi providers

This thesis set out to explore the nature of tribal service provision, in particular the distinguishing characteristics of iwi provider services. Although all provider services share many common features, this research has clearly shown a number of

salient and interconnected characteristics that are distinctive to tribal providers, at least for the three in this study. Table 10.1 provides a summary of the key characteristics that emerged.

Table 10.1 Characteristics of tribal service provision	
<i>Key Characteristics</i>	
Tribal orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasises a collective polity • Supports tribal specific perspectives • Endorses a tribal identity
Values, practices & protocols	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Derives from cultural and tribal traditions
Communication styles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorporates symbolic dimensions of time and space • Amalgamates customary and contemporary practices
Governance and constitutional arrangements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integrates traditional political processes and democratic principles • Separates tribal governance from management of business affairs
Recruitment and human resource policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflects constituent community • Assures access to Māori/tribal community
Structural and operational contexts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extends beyond that of service delivery • Facilitates tribal entitlements • Adapts cultural paradigms
Workplace milieu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Projects tribal philosophy and spiritual orientation • Incorporates tribal iconography, symbols and idiom
Tribal agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Determined by tribal aspirations
Adapting contractual policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensures policies align with community reality
Contractual relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confuses Treaty relationship with ‘fee for service’ • Dependency increases tribal vulnerability

Tribal service provision can be characterised by tribal specific orientations that emphasise the collective polity of the constituent community, and local whānau and hapū. A tribal orientation was seen to permeate all aspects of the organisational culture and modus operandi, endorsing an explicit tribal identity. As a consequence a different set of personal obligations to the organisations, based on tribal or Māori

affiliations, was accepted.

The values, practices and protocols -ngā tikanga - derived from cultural and tribal traditions were integrated as essential elements of tribal management systems alongside standard business practice necessary to function as government contracted service providers. Māori values and tikanga also underpinned workplace practices and management styles while maintaining modern methods and professional standards. The incorporation of Māori values instituted a particular form of cultural integrity recognised and valued by key stakeholders.

Communication styles within tribal provider services amalgamated customary and contemporary perspectives. They also incorporated symbolic dimensions of time and space that influenced the hierarchical structure of the organisation, cultural mores and how managers were seen to manage. Distinct to tribal organisations was an awareness of temporal continuity between generations, articulated in various forms including tribal metaphor and conceptual models constructed to communicate organisational structures.

Governance and constitutional arrangements integrated traditional political processes and democratic principles within the context of legal entities. This allowed for both the exercise of tribal autonomy and representation at 'flax-roots' level and the creation of infrastructural arrangements necessary to observe legal requirements and contractual obligations as state funded provider services. Constitutional firewalls that separate governance and management functions were erected as necessary precautions against compromising the integrity of the organisations.

Recruitment and human resource policies were adopted to better reflect the constituent community and to provide levels of responsiveness in line with tribal aspirations. Recruitment policies not only recognised tribal affiliation as an advantage for service provision to Māori communities but also assured a high degree of access to extensive tribal networks and resources including the benefits that such interaction accrues.

A key characteristic of tribal service providers was found in the structural and operational contexts within which they operated. The work extended beyond that of service delivery to include the broader aims of tribal development. Organisation and community interaction occurred within tribal institutions. This resulted in

beneficial outcomes for the community manifest in increased tribal workforce capacity and skills, and tribally relevant service provision. The strength of the structural contexts lay in the flexibility of the organisations not only to facilitate tribal entitlements that affirm a tribal identity, but also to allow for adapting and incorporating Māori paradigms, such as *whare tapa whā*, as the basis for best practice and service delivery. Service delivery was therefore contextualised within the culture and structural arrangements of the organisation providing the service.

The workplace milieu was constructed to project tribal philosophies by incorporating Māori or tribally specific iconography, symbols and idiom; and to instil a spiritual dimension embodied in customary practices and core values. Considerable importance was placed on the spiritual dimension which was seen to provide psychological benefits for workers and secure processes for mediation.

Adapting contractual policies independent of the funder to ensure an alignment with community realities was sometimes employed by tribal providers to counter the narrow strictures attached to state funding mechanisms and accountability measures. However, in all cases providers tended to favour a modification of contracts with funders to refocus and better reflect Māori community expectations.

Contractual relationships between the provider organisations and the state were complicated by the expectation that a contract with the Crown would reflect a treaty relationship underpinned by the principle of partnership. Instead a 'fee for service' contract was the reality. An over reliance and dependency on state contracts was found to increase the risk of economic instability and to place tribal providers in a position where they were vulnerable to policy changes and priorities. Economic independence however, would act as a buffer by providing the factors necessary for tribal autonomy over the delivery of services including those contracted by the state.

Tribal agency in the provision of services was determined by tribal aspirations and community expectations despite the tensions at the interface with the state. Providers were found to apply a range of strategies to maintain high levels of agency aimed at ensuring positive outcomes for the organisations and ultimately for their constituent communities.

Finally, this thesis has concentrated on the positive contribution of iwi to service delivery and in so doing has focused very little on dysfunction within the organisations in this study. This is not to say that such factors did not exist at the time the research was undertaken. Dysfunction within the organisation was rarely raised by participants even in answers to questions regarding perceived challenges of working for an iwi organisation. Therefore it was not a significant priority to be investigated. Where the study is limited however, is in explorations of leadership in governance and service provision, the contribution of Māori women to iwi service provision and the employment conditions of kaimahi, all of which remain relatively unexplored in this thesis. Such limitations however, offer important areas for further research.

What this thesis found was that tribal provision is characterised by Māori philosophies and values and the existence of dynamic sets of relationships between the provider and whānau; the provider and tribal authorities; and the provider and Government including government agencies. Policy frameworks, the contracting environment, fragmented delivery and iwi dynamics were all found to construct barriers to effective delivery. There are, however, a number of implications in terms of these varying sets of relationships.

First, the implications of this thesis for whānau are that relevant services are whānau centred, positive provision is holistic and appropriate provision incorporates Māori values and customs.

Second, iwi authorities should have realistic expectations of their provider services who must work within the boundaries of their contracts. Separating operations and governance is necessary to avoid interference by iwi authorities in the day to day running of the service. Furthermore, by making a stronger effort and encouraging a commitment to work with other Māori providers, iwi authorities would increase the strengths and benefits for all concerned.

Third, Government and their agencies should recognize the unique characteristics of tribal services. The one-size-fits all approach of treating tribal organisations as if they were the general population, does not work. What is necessary is the development of indicators and measures that not only does justice to iwi providers but also exploits their potential. The development of relevant indicators and measures

also offers important possibilities for future research.

Clearly there are differences between tribal service providers and state funder expectations. To some extent this thesis has shown that government policy prevails over tribal preferences in the delivery of services. Government policy does not always align with tribal aspirations, and the contracting environment constrains Māori delivery that most often leads to fragmented outcomes. Despite this, the devolution of services to iwi authorities has significantly benefited tribal development and, notwithstanding the uncertainties in the contracting environment, the potential for incorporating a mix of tribal and government policy is high. What is needed, however, is greater flexibility within the accountability measures, and contractual arrangements that reflect both government policy and tribal aspirations.

Appendices

Interview Schedule

Key questions to focus the investigation include the following.

1.0 What does the Organisation do?

- 1.1 What is the nature of the service provided?
- 1.2 What was the initiative that led to the formation of this organisation?
- 1.3. What are the functions of the organisation? (What is the programme/organisation set up to do?)
- 1.4. How is the service constituted?
- 1.5. How are Maori aspirations catered for?

2.0 Does Culture count?

- 2.1. What counts in an organisation set up by Maori for Maori?
- 2.2 What distinguishes a Maori service delivery organisation?
- 2.3 What is the place of tikanga -the values and philosophy? What does this mean in practice?
- 2.3 What are the underlying values that characterise the organisation?
- 2.4 How do you apply these to the core business?

3.0 Governance

- 3.1. What are the institutions of governance within the organisation? How are they set up?
- 3.2. Are there governance, operational or production practices that are specific/unique to a Maori approach? Do such practices make a difference and on what basis?
- 3.3 What are the underlying aspirations of the organisation? Are they being met? How is this measured?
- 3.4 How are Maori aspirations within the organisation catered for? What is offered?
- 3.5 Where is the locus of control? Does this make a difference?
- 3.6 How are policies and long-term goals developed?
- 3.7 What strategies are employed to meet organisational goals?
- 3.8 What are the outcomes of those strategies?

4.0 Interface with the community outside organisations, institutions, groups

- 4.1. How significant are inter-relational links (end-users, the community, the state - eg government departments, funding agencies, other providers)?
- 4.2 What correlations can be made between these links and positive/effective outcomes/advancement for Maori?
- 4.3 How does the service link to iwi, hapu, and whanau development?
- 4.4 What are the aspirations of clients and those more generally?
- 4.5 What makes your organisation distinctive/unique and different from a Pākehā organisation that delivers the same service?

5.0 State policies and their impact on the organisation

- 5.1 What specific government legislation and policies affect this organisation?
- 5.2. In what ways do key government policies affect the capacity and scope of Maori organisations to deliver to Maori people?
- 5.3. What do the policies emphasise?
- 5.4. Do the policies reflect Maori solutions?
- 5.5 Where are the gaps?
- 5.6 What are the barriers to success for Maori?
- 5.7 What is the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi?

6.0 Evaluation, assessment, measurements of success

- 6.1. What is the measurement of success of the service? How are successes measured?
- 6.2 What forms of evaluation are used?
- 6.3 How is the organisation accountable for its services? to whom and on what basis?
- 6.4 Does your service measure outcomes for your clients? If so what are the client outcomes?
- 6.5 If you don't measure outcomes then what would be the best way of measuring client outcomes for your service?

Glossary of Māori Terms

āpopo	tomorrow	ngā mahi tuara	alternative frameworks
āriki	god	ngā ritenga	customs, practices, set of rituals
āruhe	fern root	ngā taonga a ngā tipuna	treasures of the ancestors
aukatī kaipaipa	smoke free	ngāhere	forest
āwhina	assist	noa	free from tapu
haka	dance	noho	stay
hāngi	earth oven	ora	alive
hapū	sub tribe	paepae	beam across the front of a meeting house
harakeke	flax	Pākehā	European
hauora	health	pākeke	elder
heke mairaro	to come from below	papa	earth
hongī	salute by pressing noses	papatuanuku	earth mother
hui	meeting	paremata Māori	Māori parliament
iwi	tribe	pātaka	storehouse raised upon posts
ka awatea (report)	the daylight	pepehā	tribal motto
kahu huruhuru	feather cloak	pokarekare	Name of a song
kai	food	pokohiwi ki pokohiwi	shoulder to shoulder
kāinga	village	pōtiki	youngest
kaikōrero	speaker	pou	post/pole
kaimahi	Workers	pounamu	green stone
kaimoana	Sea food	pōwhiri	welcoming ceremony
kaitiaki	guardian	rāhui	a mark of warning used in case of tapu
kaiwhakawā	judge	rangatahi	youth
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face	rangatira	chief
karakia	prayer	rāranga	weaving
kāranga	call	reo Māori	Māori language
kaumātua	elder	rohe	district
kaupapa	plan, scheme, proposal	rongoa	medicine
kaupapa ture	constitution	Rongopai	meeting-house near Gisborne
kawa	etiquette	roopu	team
kawangatanga	government	rūnanga	institution
kete	basket	te haro o te kahu	to see beyond the horizon
kingitanga	kingship	taha hinengaro	thoughts and feelings/ mental sense
koha	gift	taha tinana	physical side
kōhanga	language nest	taha wairua	spiritual side
kōhatu	stones	taha whānau	Family side
komiti whaiti	governing board	taiwhenua	Land/district
kōrero	talk	takahi	trample/stamp
kōrero tahi	dispute resolution	take	issue
kotahitanga	solidarity	take raupatu	right of occupation
kuia	elderly women	takiwā	district
kumara	sweet potato	tamariki	children
kura kaupapa	Māori language	tane atawhai	men's support group
mahinga tahi	Immersion school	tangata	mankind
mākutu	Work together	tangata whaiora	mental health clients
mana	bewitch/spell	tangata whenua	people of the land
mana Māori	authority/power	tangihanga	funeral
manuhake	Maori autonomy	taonga	treasure
mana whenua	self determination	tapu	sacred
manaaki	land	tauīwi	non Maori
manu	Show respect or kindness, entertain	tautoko	support
marae	bird	te arero	the tongue of the taiaha
marae ātea	enclosed space in front of a house	te tiriti	the treaty
mareikura	court yard of the meeting house	te wheke	the octopus
matai	female super natural beings	teina	junior
mātauranga	native New Zealand tree	tika	correct
mau rākau	knowledge	tīkanga	rule/plan
mauri	martial arts	tīkanga here	bureaucracy
mihi whakatau	life principle	tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
mihimihi	Greeting ceremony	tīpuna	ancestor
mirimiri	greeting	tohunga	skilled expert/Skilled person
moko (tā moko)	massage	tohunga ahurewa	high priest
mokopuna	Māori tattoo	tono	bid/command
mua	grandchild	tōtara (rākau)	native New Zealand tree
muka	in front	tu	stand
muri	prepared fibre of flax	tuahine	sister
ngā mahi a ngā tangata	behind	tuakana	senior
ngā mahi a ngā tipuna	the work of the people	tūhonohono	compact
ngā mahi mā te iwi	the work of the ancestors		
	the work of the tribe		

tui (manu)	native New Zealand bird	Ngāti Kahungunu
tuku iho	passed down	Ngāti Maru
tukutuku	ornamental lattice work	Ngāti Mutunga
tungāne	brother	Ngāti Paki
tupuna	ancestor	Ngāti Porou
turangawaewae	birthplace	Ngāti Raukawa
uha	female principle	Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga
ūpoko	head	Ngāti Tama
urupa	cemetery	Ngāti Toa Rangatira
utu	revenge	Ngāti Whātua
wāhi tapu	sacred place	Rakaihikuroa
wahine pakere	women's support group	Rakaipaaka
waiata	song/sing	Rongomaiwahine
wairuatanga	spirituality	Ruahine
waka	boat	Ruanui
wānanga	university	Ruapani
weka (manu)	native New Zealand bird	Tahu-tahu-ahi
whaikōrero	speech	Tai Tokerau
whakaaro nui	thought/idea	Tainui waka
whakakotahitanga	united	Takitimu
whakamā	shy	Te Arawa
whakamana	empower	Te Atiawa
whakamatautau	test	Te Hapua
whakamoe	to go to sleep	
whakanoa	to make free from tapu	
whakapapa	family tree/geneology	
whakapūtanga	to open	
whakarite	to make right	
whakarongo	listen	
whakatauāki	proverb	
whakatuia	to fasten	
whakatupuranga rua mano	Generation 2000	
whakawhanaungatanga	kinship	
whānau	family	
whānau ora	family well-being	
whāngai	foster child	
whare	house	
whare tapa whā	four walls of a house	
whare tipuna	ancestral house	
whare whakairo	carved house	
wharekura	secondary school	
whenua	land	
whitiwhiti korero	open discussion	

Ancestors

Hinemanuhiri
Hinematiaro
Iwipupu
Kahukuranui
Kahungunu
Karaoputa
Koroki
Mahinarangi
Matene te Whiwhi
Porourangi
Tamati Waka Nene
Tamihana
Te Rauparaha
Te Ahukaramu
Te Hapuku
Te Huki
Te Peehi
Te Rauparaha
Te Whatanui
Werawera

Maori Tribal names

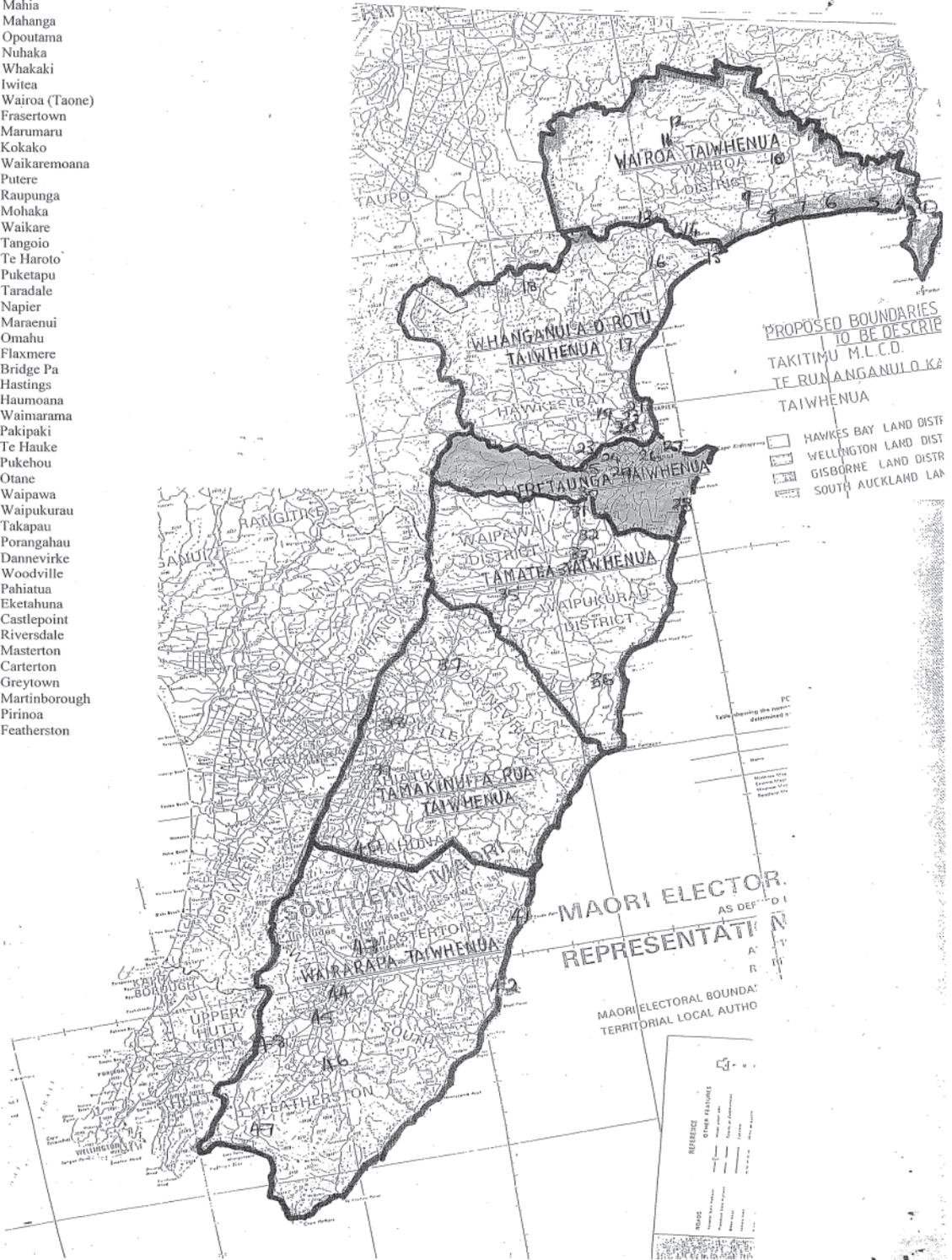
Maniapoto
Muaupoko
Ngā Puhi
Ngāti Apa
Ngāti Taranaki
Ngāti Haua
Ngāti Hine-manu

Maori place names

Aotea
Aotearoa
Hawaiiki
Heretaunga
Hokianga
Horohoro
Horowhenua
Huirau
Ikaroa
Kaitaia
Kāweka
Kāwhia
Kukutauaki
Māhia
Manawatu
Maungatautari
Mohaka
Nuhaka
Otaki
Porirua
Rangitikei
Raukawa
Rangiatea
Rimataka
Taranaki
Taranaki
Taranaki
Tauranga
Te Taitokerau
Te Whanganui-a-Orotu
Turanganui a kiwa
Waiariki
Waikanae
Waikato
Waiorua
Waipounamu
Wairarapa
Wairoa
Waitangi
Waitohi
Waituhi
Wharerata

Settlements of Strong Māori Densities, or important Māori Communities

1. Tuahuru
2. Mahia
3. Mahanga
4. Opoutama
5. Nuhaka
6. Whakaki
7. Iwitea
8. Wairoa (Taone)
9. Frasertown
10. Marumaru
11. Kokako
12. Waikaremoana
13. Putere
14. Raupunga
15. Mohaka
16. Waikare
17. Tangoio
18. Te Haroto
19. Puketapu
20. Taradale
21. Napier
22. Maraenui
23. Omahu
24. Flaxmere
25. Bridge Pa
26. Hastings
27. Haumoana
28. Waimarama
29. Pakipaki
30. Te Hauke
31. Pukehou
32. Otane
33. Waipawa
34. Waipukurau
35. Takapau
36. Porangahau
37. Dannevirke
38. Woodville
39. Pahiatua
40. Eketahuna
41. Castlepoint
42. Riversdale
43. Masterton
44. Carterton
45. Greytown
46. Martinborough
47. Pirinoa
48. Featherston



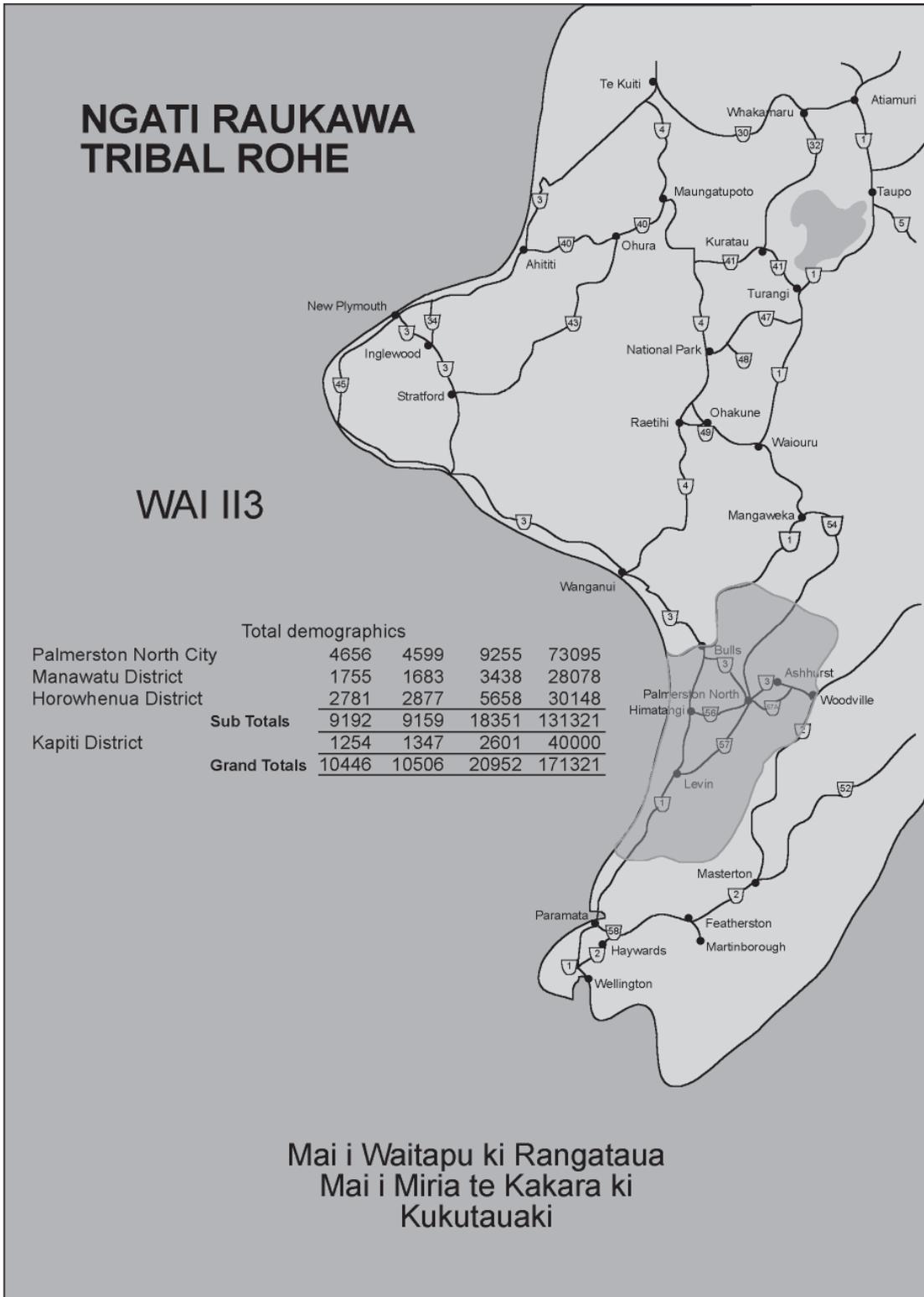
NGATI RAUKAWA TRIBAL ROHE

WAI I13

Total demographics

Palmerston North City	4656	4599	9255	73095
Manawatu District	1755	1683	3438	28078
Horowhenua District	2781	2877	5658	30148
Sub Totals	9192	9159	18351	131321
Kapiti District	1254	1347	2601	40000
Grand Totals	10446	10506	20952	171321

Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua
Mai i Miria te Kakara ki
Kukutauaki



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