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Te Puawaitanga o te ihi me te wehi

*The politics of Maori social policy
development*

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a
Doctorate in Philosophy at Massey University.

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Ruwhiu - Wharepapa - Huriwai - Paringatai - Pere - McIroy - Haeata - Gonzales - Te Rangi

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Abstract

As an area of inquiry Maori social policy gives rise to several critical viewpoints - Social policy directed 'at, to, on or with Maori' in comparison to Maori social policy formulated, developed and implemented 'by Maori for Maori'.

This thesis provides both an in-depth historical and contemporary analysis of the development of Maori social policy in contact times with Pakeha/Tauiwi. At the same time it also investigates the interrelationship between traditional and recent Maori interpretations of Maori wellbeing. Exploration into the politics of Maori social policy development coincides with and is intricately connected to, an analysis of Maori wellbeing. Maori social policy which is centred on Maori conceptual/theoretical knowledge, wisdom, and experience is examined and critiqued. A key feature of this thesis has been its introduction of several theoretical frameworks in order to make sense of Maori wellbeing. These analysis frameworks assist in identifying the key characteristics, underpinning principles and specific goals of Maori social policy.

In addition, issues associated with researching Maori are explored. This includes an overview of general research principles, approaches and methodologies. Identification of key principles, approaches and methodologies underpinning Maori research is then presented.

The thesis concludes with a framework for developing Maori social policy which meets the welfare needs of all Maori. It argues that Maori social policy is about Maori wellbeing, and Maori wellbeing draws strength from the past, present and future - Te Puawaitanga o te ihi me te wehi . . .

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I would like to now pay a special tribute to all who made this dream a reality. I am reminded of a statement made by Vincent Van Gogh who said: I dream my painting and then I paint my dream (Proctor, 1996: 24). This comment has a familiar ring for me, in that there have been many hands participating in the painting of this dream - the one departure point I have from Van Gogh is that I am still relatively sane after the experience.

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Introduction: Maori social policy and Maori wellbeing

A serene native floral backdrop camouflage the struggles of living as morning birds feast on unfortunate miniatures. The whanau paradox; a place to mourn the loss of loved ones, to bicker and squabble, to love and hate, a support or abusive social system. Ground breaking Welfare State legislation and children still go to school without lunches. Enjoyment of the outdoors counter-balanced by dealing with natural disasters. Plurality or singularity of gods versus a belief in no such intercessions from above.

These types of intricately woven intra/inter relationships between a consortium of actors from nature, humanity or of the Gods, stress the dynamic nature of living. Life processes of empowerment, control, balance wellness, subjugation, oppression, struggle, imbalance and illness, are at times manufacture. These often become established ways of doing and thinking, and can be transformed, adapted, even discarded as circumstances and capacity for living changes.

This thesis seeks to increase wisdom and knowledge about one particular interrelated aspect of living for Maori people. Therefore, it has been a research journey of discovery and affirmation. Discovery in the sense that human knowledge and experience provides a boundary to an unexplored frontier. And an affirmation because this quest for new knowledge has recognized the value of current and past lessons about living (Metge, 1995).

In this introduction there are six identifiable sections: the topic of the research is explored, the central research question is identified, a brief introduction of the key concepts is given, the approach - analysis frameworks used in this thesis are identified, the format of the thesis will be outlined, and finally a 'concluding comment' identifies the arena of inquiry and contextualises the place of this thesis in extending the boundaries of knowledge for Maori contemplating studies on Maori social policy and Maori wellbeing..

Topic of the research

This research journey began with a desire to understand more about two inquiry areas: Maori development and social policy. There were four reasons for exploring these two themes.

First, Maori development has always been of personal interest because it involved illustrations of whanau exercising tino rangatiratanga for self-sufficiency. On a wider scale, being able to comprehend patterns of engagement for nationhood development was also an attraction.

Second, although progressive development has not always been the outcome, historical reflections of Maori origins, lifestyle variations, cultural struggles and successes, or failures, adaptation and losses, remind those formulating development strategies that lessons could be learnt from the past.

The third reason is indicated in the following statement by Durie (1995: 4):

Maori development did not of course begin in the decade 1984-1994, nor is it likely that it will conclude in 1994. . . the position of Maori in Aotearoa has been subjected to constant change . . . In that respect Maori culture and society has been neither static nor homogenous . . . phases characterised by exploration, innovation, calamity, triumph or adaptation can be identified . . . the past decade of Maori development has been another phase in the long, never-ending voyage of challenge and discovery.

Maori development is full of exciting and challenging material which when processed, provides insight into future possibilities/outcomes for Maori. Furthermore, while the aim is to advance things for Maoridom, it refutes the view that Maori developmental propositions must be without mistake, non separatist and by nature of a western style (Mahuta, 1988). At the same time Peters (1991) advised that it was in the best interest of all New Zealanders to deal effectively with Maori development concerns:

. . . Maori Development is multifaceted . . . its about giving Maori people choices . . . it requires resourcing and training and incorporates a global approach that needs

support internally in New Zealand, across the philosophical spectrum . . .

Simply put, Maori development means positive political, social, economic and spiritual growth for Maori and all other New Zealanders.

Fourth, the attraction to social policy was stimulated by the view that social policies were in fact manifestations of political, philosophical, ideological and conceptual teeth formulated to guide, manipulate, suggest, determine the types of actions, practices, processes and thinking engendered by policy creators. Social policy as a university subject was underpinned by Western Eurocentric theories of development, but its key proposition centered around promoting human wellbeing. Maori efforts to improve the generations and create healthy race relations between Tangata Whenua and Taiwiwi, made investigating Maori development and social policy appealing.

A reality check provided a sober reminder that the length and breadth of such an undertaking could take many life times. Instead of maintaining a dual theme approach, these inquiry areas combined into one research arena/thesis title: Maori social policy development. 'The politics of' . . . , addition to the beginning of the thesis title emphasized the importance of cross-cultural, inter-race relational dynamics in comprehending the nature and function of Maori social policy responsible for meeting Maori wellbeing needs.

Research questions

In general terms, Maori social policy seemed to be about whanau, hapu and iwi Maori development. It took into account an interrelated view of reality. It advocated for an understanding of the impact of Maori - Pakeha interactions, and attempted to facilitate healthy empowering resolutions for all parties. However, these general images of Maori social policy did not stop Maori suffering. Therefore, the critical research question that kept the 'flames of interest going in this thesis', all gravitated around the central query of 'what is Maori social policy?' Comprehending the State's

role in Maori social policy development, dealing with Maori philosophies, dreams, visions and aspirations about being self sufficient, observing/analysing real life Maori responsiveness to Maori welfare needs, dealing with definitions of Maori wellbeing and projecting possible frameworks to formulate Maori centred social services based on workable Maori social policies, are the major areas of inquiry facilitated by the central research question.

Brief introduction to key concepts

A definition of Maori wellbeing is developed in Chapter Two. There are a range of notions in that definition such as balance, social justice, reciprocity, interconnectedness, respect, generosity, care and love. Social policy is concerned with the welfare and wellbeing of people at all levels of engagement. It involves creating positive outcomes between 'different others' that make up societies. Oliver (1988) contends that social policy while enabling for some, also creates disablement for others. Social policy emphasizes the needs of humanity for basic living conditions and relationship behaviour that strengthens people. Therefore, social policy is about identifying needs and providing ways of meeting them. Throughout the thesis, Maori social policy becomes the centre of attention.

The approach . . . analysis frameworks

The approach taken by this research is described in Chapter One. Summarised, it involves the following: an historical analysis, six case studies, archival material and a personal diary. The challenge inherent in such a process is to be able to link the literature/archival information with the cumulative personal responses of the main actors (see Chapter One) who participated in the developmental process experienced by Maori. This study is more interested in a thematic process that places a priority on the themes arising from the experience. In qualitative research 'legitimation of the stories shared' place a lesser emphasis on seeking the 'one and only' or authentic view. Instead this study is non-essentialist by nature. It hopes to open numerous and diverse doors to further discussion and debate about

this research focus -'Maori wellbeing and Maori social policy development'.

Being Maori, the author also envisages that personal whanau experiences will shape the interpretation of certain issues, and that recognising the position of such phenomena will involve the process of discussing in Hui (support group form). The implications and benefits of the outcomes that arise from policy and how these might facilitate the continued growth and development of appropriate forms of Maori social policy and wellbeing are discussed in hui and within whanau. This process is heavily influenced by the need to continually translate and then draw from the experiences of the phenomena displayed. Finally, the need to spiritually embrace the material arising from this inquiry is advocated. It is argued that the disputes over authenticity, origins of birth, whether these ideas and concepts were post-pakeha influenced, whether the developments will facilitate a sense of positiveness for Maoridom in both deeds and services, can only be settled appropriately when the spiritual dimension is used in the analysis stage. Maori people have consistently argued that all matter (living or not), has a Mauri¹ and therefore part of the process for material gathered will be to ascertain its strength by discerning the mauri present. Chapter Nine is a product of that discernment process.

The initial focus of this research is to establish a historical platform upon which the numerous events in Maori Development can be conceptualised to provide a Maori philosophical baseline,² that can then be used to look at Maori underpinnings, which should exist in the formation of social policies directed at increasing the wellbeing of Maori people. The

¹Tai Black(1990) wrote a paper on 'Mauri', which stressed that its definition was multifaceted and derived from the belief that all things were of common ancestry. In support of this point raised by Black, refer to Table Three - Chapter Two of this thesis, were I also argue that all things were spiritually conceptualised prior to becoming physically established. Each item, living or non living had a mauri. That protocol was organised to successfully negotiate the various elements that in other formations could become quite destructive. For example, the use of rock formations to depict events in history or to teach a people of the underlying philosophies of their ancestors, also paved the way for conservational activity to protect the garments and mokopuna of Papatuanuku (Mother Earth).

²It is hoped that this framework can be used by Maori people to critique past and present social policy affecting them, to establish appropriate trends in future planning/evaluation/and assessment procedures surrounding social policy, and to generally stimulate further debate about the way in which Maori people can redress the inadequacies and/or benefits that can arise as a result of social policy

conceptualisation of a Maori philosophical baseline allows for the creation of a generalist framework. One should keep in mind that, the ultimate goal of this research is to continue the advancement of Maori people in all areas³ of self-determination surrounding Maori social policy. Furthermore, it is the author's contention that a study on Maori development must give due acknowledgement to the esoteric dimension that addresses things Maori (Tikanga Maori) and how that links to the historical trek of this people. Therefore, the central part of this debate/discussion should be on a Maori interpretation of the processes in question. During the literature review the goal in mind has been to actively draw out the main concepts that would lead to identifying the philosophical forces underpinning, the politics of Maori social policy development.

The following analysis frameworks derive from the research completed in the writing and creation of this thesis. Three key life giving principles of 'wairuatanga', 'whakapapa' and 'tikanga me kawa' along with 'mana' explained in Chapter Two and displayed in the 'Ko au' conceptual framework - Figure Two - provide a critical analysis of the variance and quality of Maori responsiveness to Maori development, Maori social policy and Maori social service delivery.

The historical analysis framework developed in this thesis is based on five key patterns of engagement. The prelude to Chapters Three and Four explain these in detail. These are not new, but provide a way of relating the historical data to the politics of Maori social policy development.

Within the prelude for the three analysis chapters (Five, Six and Seven) a 'many rivers analysis' comprising four thematic barriers to, and four thematic supports for positive Maori wellbeing are used to comprehend

implementation.

³The areas of concern for self-determination are listed as follows: Social, Political, Economic, and cultural resources.

the key characteristics, principles and possible goals underpinning the development of Maori social policy.

Format of the thesis

This is an eight chapter thesis which has been ordered into four parts: Te wairua Maori, Ko te ao hurihuri o nga tupuna Maori me nga Tauwiwi, Ki te whai ao ki te ao marama tihei mauri ora and finally, Te Kawa whakamutunga. A brief explanation and outline of the components that make up this thesis is now given.

Part I: Te wairua Maori - Maori conceptualisations

This title was chosen because it puts Maori philosophies, values, beliefs, concepts and theories to the forefront when exploring Maori social research, Maori social policy and Maori wellbeing. Part I includes the following items:

- Te Puawaitanga o te ihi me te wehi - by Pirihi Te Ohaki Ruwhiu displays the bringing together of all those facets about 'being Maori' and how that underpins explorations about Maori wellbeing.
- Whakapiripiri, whakahonohono, whakakotahi - to bring together, to connect, to join as one. This item, an author's comment, highlights the link between my whanau whakapapa and the whakapapa of this thesis.
- Chapter One - The politics of Maori research: places Maori knowledge, wisdom and experience at the vortex of discussion and debate about research in Aotearoa. The research approach taken in this thesis is briefly examined.
- Chapter Two - Ko te ao tawhito o nga tupuna Maori . . . the roots of Maori social policy: contends that there are 'Maori social policy theories', and traditional notions of Maori wellbeing that can make sense of and assist in meeting contemporary Maori welfare concerns.

Part II: Ko te ao hurihuri o nga tupuna Maori me nga Tauwiwi - relational history

In this changing world of contact between Maori and Tauwiwi, the historical interrelationship patterns between Maori/Tangata Whenua and Pakeha/Tauwiwi are studied. Specific reference to Maori social policy development and the corresponding consequences on Maori wellbeing, are also explored. Part II contains three things:

- Prelude to Chapters Three and Four - introduces the five key patterns of engagement analysis framework upon which the historical data is examined.
- Chapter Three - History of the politics of Maori social policy development (First contact - 1899): is based on providing a historical understanding of Maori social policy and responsiveness to Maori wellbeing patterns between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi during the nineteenth century.
- Chapter Four - History of the politics of Maori social policy development (1900 - To present day): continues the historical exploration of cross cultural patterns influencing Maori social policy and Maori wellbeing in the twentieth Century.

Part III: Ki te whai ao ki te ao marama, tihei mauri ora - analytic perceptions

Translated 'from now into the eternities. . . I breathe it is life', was chosen because of the inference to 'look or go beyond' what is seen. This part contains the analysis chapters which are required to do just that - to discover, unravel, make sense of the various forms of data accumulated on the area of inquiry chosen. Included in Part III are the following:

- Prelude to Chapters Five, Six and Seven - explains the frameworks for analysis to be used to understand and comprehend the research data (history/interviews/personal diary).

- Chapter Five - Contemporary State imperatives: uses the five key engagement patterns to sum up State involvement in Maori social policy development and Maori wellbeing.
- Chapter Six - Maori strategies and aspirations regarding the politics of Maori social policy development: links back to the three life giving principles to identify what Maori were wanting to do about Maori social policy and Maori wellbeing.
- Chapter Seven - Challenges and outcomes: uses the 'many rivers analysis' and its eight components to evaluate the nature of contemporary Maori social policy and current social service initiatives.

Part IV: Te kawa whakamutunga - the substance

Rounds off this business of exploring the dynamics of Maori social policy and Maori wellbeing with a contribution and response to the central thesis question - what is Maori social policy? Part IV consists of:

- Chapter Eight - Conclusion . . . an offering of hope: identifies five key characteristics of Maori social policy, five parallel principles of Maori social policy and the five goals that Maori social policy should work towards.
- Haere, hoe atu, whai atu te maramatanga: compiled by whanau kaumatua challenges the author and the reader to keep going, keep rowing, to seek knowledge, to discover the light. In terms of Maori social policy and Maori wellbeing, it is about continued growth.

Concluding comment

The birds have begun their journey for life. The leaving place, once full with sounds of families in play and joy, seems barren, almost inviting winter's presence. Who will translate the process of nature's rhythms adequately? The poet in sombre mood, the starcrossed lover maybe. The

environmentalist who sees beauty in all of nature's garments, or perhaps the historian with an appetite for deeds to fill the void of existence.

In pen, through sound, a song or written verse, the cycles have been coloured. And yet there is still room to discover. As ancients walked the path of life, each step drew a link to understanding the world, with its elements, and those other life forms in it. As well, the place of the world in a complexity of existence advanced the invitation for a holistic view to interpret reality. How did people make sense of the enormity? More importantly, is it possible to draw from the cumulative experiences of people to support the processes that may relieve the various needs to be dealt with. A child may see the breast as saviour, for the lover an instrument of pleasure, while for some elderly a continued reminder of past joy or sorrow. Needless to say, as one ventures along the pathway set out in this thesis, remember that the author expects to touch base with a variety of explanations about the realities under analysis. This will lead to a translation of circumstances that should reflect a particular position in Maori development. Amongst many writings, this one will also draw together common as well as unique threads to add to the field of inquiry and give the following generations another perspective to critique or even advance, so that Maori and New Zealand society may reap the benefits, through a better understanding of the influences essential to promoting wellbeing.

*Part I: Te wairua Maori - Maori
conceptualisations*

Te Puawaitanga o te ihi me te wehi

E nga Atua o te rangi a Tane nui a rangi a Ranginui me to koutou mangai a Io. Tena koutou, tena koutou tena Koutou katoa. E Papatuanuku tena ra koe. I heke mai koe i te rangi ia Ranginui hei nohotanga mo matou o mokopuna, ara, hei atamira mo ratau, kua heke nei ki roto i to poho. Ka tangi tonu, ka tangi tonu mo nga tipuna, nga whanau, kua ngaro ki te po, e maringi ana nga roimata ki runga io tatau mate, o tena o tena io tatau marae. Heoi ano, me huri kanohi i naiane ki nga whakaaro tino hohonu te arohanui-atu, te tangi mokemoke me nga wawata.

E tae ana ahau i naiane ki te whakahonohono kia mohio te katoa te timatatanga o te puawaitanga o nga purapura papai i ono tea i o tatau matua tipuna a i tai noa ki enei ra.

Ko Ngatokimatawhaorua te waka. Ko Puhangatohora te maunga. Ko Ngai Tu Te Aru te hapu. Ko Pukerata te marae. Ko Rau-tawa-i-nui te tupuna whare, Ko Otaua raua ko Mangatawa nga awa. Ko Ruwhiu te tangata. Na Ruwhiu me tona hoa rangatira a Tekaroro, ka puta mai e whitu nga tamariki ko Ngawati Ruwhiu te tama i moe ia Huhana Wharepapa, te tamahine o Te Hau Takiri Wharepapa. Ko Parahaki ki Nukutawhiti ki Mangakahia tenei hekenga. I puta mai e whitu nga tamariki. Ko Hau Ruwhiu te tama tua toru. I runga i nga matautautanga o nga whanau i oua wa, nga mahi moe te tahi ki te tahi aha koa whanau kotahi. Ka ki a Huhana kia Ngawati, 'me neke atu taua me to tatau whanau ki Ngati Porou, kahore e pai te noho i konei.'

Ka moe ia Hau Ruwhiu tenei wahine toa a Tirahaere Huriwai, no te whanau o Hunaara. E whitu nga tamariki i puta mai. Ko Piri Te Ohaki te papa, te tamaiti tua ono i whanau mai i Horoera. Me whakamaumahara i naiane ki te papa kainga a mataharia te korerorero ki a matau nga tamariki, kia kaha te mahi. Nga mahi i runga i te whenua i oua ra, he kutete kau, ono Parareka, kumara, kanga; paukena, merengi, ngaki taru, whai hipi, tope wahia, mahi taiapa, mahi hoiho, mahi kau. Ki te papa

kainga tena ra koe. Takoto ra nga matua tipuna, whanau, i roto i nga oneone o Mataharia.

Ahakoia i mahi ai taku papa mo te kawana i Tikitiki, i karangatia a ia kia haere ki te awahina te whakatu te kura me te temepara mo te Hahi o Ihu Karaiti o nga ra o muri nei, i Tuhikaramea i roto ia Tainui, Tahimanono iwa rau rima tekau ma rua te tau. Mutu ana tona mihana ka hikoi ia ki Heretaunga ki te mahi kuti hipi. Ka moe a ia ki tona hoa rangatira a Waikaraka Emily Pere, tona koka ko Marie Taaringaroa McIlroy. Tona nei whakatipuranga ka hoki ano ki Hikurangi, ki Waiapu, ki Waipiro, ki tona nei marae, te Kiekie. Ko Ngati Pahauwera te hapu, Ko Mohaka te awa, Ko Maunga Haruru te maunga, Ko Hawi Pere te matua rangatira. Moe mai ra korua nga matua. Tino nui te aroha mo o tamariki mokopuna moe mai ra i te taha io koutou whanau i Kohupatiki.

Ka huri te kei o te waka ki te whanau o Piri raua ko Waikaraka. Tekau nga tamariki, e waru nga tama tane e rua nga tamahine. Ko Leland Ariel te matamua o tenei whanau. I roto i nga kitenga me nga whakakitenga o tenei whakatipuranga, ka whakatakototia i ahau enei tahuu kororerero.

E te toka ingoa nui takoto i roto, i runga, nga kirikiri ma, i te one o Paparoa. E Tokorarangi, ko koe tena, e tupou ana koe ki te kopu o Tangaroa, ka haere, ka haere, puta mai he moutere, ko koe tena Whangaokeno. Ka waihotia koutou kia koutou mo i naiane.

Ataahua o te ao te Atua o te ao nei, tukua mai te mahanatanga whiti mai te Ra i te kopu o Te-moana-nui-a-kiwa. Piki mai, kake mai, maranga mai, tiaho, tiaho te mahana o to marama ki Hikurangi te maunga, tuatahi.

Hi aue aue, Hikurangi te Maunga, Ko Waiapu te Awa, Ko Ngati Porou te iwi, anei nga Rangatahi e, anei nga Rangatahi e.

Tangihia nga tupuna kua ngaro ki te po, hi aue aue, Maranga ranga Hikurangi e, e tu, tu mai he karere, aue mihi atu ki nga iwi, nau ano te pohiri, nau ano te pohiri, te pohiri hi aue hi.

A hikohiko atu ki nga maunga ki nga awa ki te whenua katoa o Aotearoa. Tena ra koe e Hikurangi i nga wa pouri e maringi ana o roimata, ki nga

puna wai, ki nga awa, ki te wai Taniwha a Waiapu. E Waiapu he puuruu koe, he puuruu tukituki. Rere atu ra tukitukihia nga puke, nga parai nga whenua o to iwi o Ngati Porou. Kei te tangihia tonu te kainga mo nga tamariki mokopuna kua oti ia koe te mau kia Hine-nui-te-po. Rere atu ra e Waiapu mai i Hikurangi te maunga ki te kopu o te Moana ki a Whangaokeno ki Tokarangangi ko tenei te whakahonohonotanga o nga maunga mai i Hikurangi i Ngapuhi ki te Whetumaterau ki Maungakaka ki te katoa.

Rere ana hoki nga wai o enei maunga o Waipapa, Nohomanga, Te Kokopito, Orotua, Awatere me te Karakatuwhero. Haere koutou, ko koutou hoki nga kaiawhina mo nga kaimoana o Tangaroa.

Ka pupu nga ki Waiapu, Ka timu te tai ki Hokianganga, Ka timu te tai ki Hokianganga, Ka rere nga wai o Waiapu.

E whakaaro ana ahau ki nga wahi mahi kaimoana o toku nei whanau. Haere rukuhia nga paua i Mataikaroa, nga kina i Paparoa, nga koura i Kaitangata, hi hika ngia nga ika i runga nga toka i Tauwhinu.

Kaua e kai horohoro, haere whangaitia te whanau me te iwi.

Ko tenei te wero o te whanau. E tama, ko koe, hei amorangi ki mua, takahia te huarahi, hoe atu te waka o te matauranga, kia matatau, kaua e huri ke, kia kaha ki te mahi, kia kaha ki te whakapono, me te inoi ki to tatau Matua i te rangi. Kaua e wareware kei roto tonu koe i nga ringaringa o o matua tipuna me te whanau. Mai i te waka o Ngatokimatawhaorua ki Horouta ki te Arikinui o Takitimu.

Toitu whenua, whakatu ngarongaro te tangata tu ana nga rarangi maunga.

Tihe mauri ora! Whakarongo, whakarongo, ki te manu e whiowhio nei. Kua tae mai te ra hari, kua eke koe ki tera taumata o te arawhata o te matauranga. Ko tuituituia koe i runga, i raro, i waho kua taea koe te whakaherehere o maunga, o awa a Tangaroa, o hapu, iwi, nga mataawaka o te motu me to whanau. Te honore hoki ki te Atua, nana nei nga mea katoa.

Whiti whiti ora! whiti whiti ora! whiti whiti ora te matamua! I te wa i mutu ai to mihana mo te hahi o Ihu Karaiti o nga ra o muri nei, i haere koe ki Poihakena ki te whai mahi. I reira, ka kite koe i tenei putiputi, he peera whakahirahira nui atu a Nicole Ursula Haeata. Tona nei whanau no te Wairarapa me Manawatu. Te korero ki a ia, kia mau te korowai tawhito hei manaakitanga mo ona matua tipuna o Kahungunu me Tane-nui-arangi tuturu. He wahine pakari, tino toa ki te tiaki o raua tamariki e toko rima. Ki te awhi ano hoki tona nei hoa tane kia tutuki nei nga wawata o te matauranga. Kei te kimiha, kei te whai tonu te matauranga kei te titiro whakamua kia tu mana wahine aia.

I runga i te puawaitanga, kua puta mai te ihi me te wehi, kia wharikitia te mana kia tu tangata, kia tu tangata, kia tu tangata ai koe hei pou mo to whanau, hapu me to iwi mo ake tonu. (Ko Kahu me Mary-Jane Stirling nga Kaitito o tenei waiata, 1995)

Whakarongo ki te tangi, ro reka o te manu, e rekareka ana te reo te karanga, te nanga o te tangi e. Toki mana tunga, Te puawaitanga toki reo toki mana e, puritia pumau nga taonga wahanga e.

Toki korowai e, te korowai i tuku Iho ngakau nuitia e, nga tapuwae e, o nga tipuna whaia takahia e, e piki ki runga, e piki ki te taumata korerotia e, te tuturutanga o te reo me nga tikanga e, te tuturutanga o te reo me nga tikanga e, kororerotia, waiatia e aue, koreroreotia, waiatia e aue, hei ha

Na te matua, Pirihī Te Ohakī Ruwhiū.

Whakapiripiri, whakahonohono, whakakotahi

The link from our whanau whakapapa to the whakapapa of this thesis

Responding to the challenge put forward from my whanau is situated within this thesis about 'the politics of Maori social policy development'. It is a reflective journey which seeks to gather knowledge and wisdom about development and growth patterns that enhance the quality of Maori wellbeing.

At the cutting edge of this thesis is a desire to clearly identify those patterns. Instead of being dependent on Pakeha/Tauwi, we need to continue exploring our own cultural knowledge, wisdom and experience to address our welfare concerns. In other words, it's about stepping up and dealing with those 'hard basket issues'. Maori social policy is one of those issues that needs further exploration. The task at hand is to be involved, committed, passionate and willing to work towards long term workable solutions that advance Maori wellbeing and ultimately benefit all New Zealanders. Shields (1991: xiii) states that:

. . . the best place for meditation is in the tiger's mouth
(Shields, 1991: xiii).

I offer this thesis to all who are currently at the coal face of Maori development - in the tiger's mouth so to speak. The test of it's worth comes with your ability to translate the thematic principles the thesis identifies into actual practice.

Chapter One

The politics of Maori research

'Scientifically founded', 'testable', 'reliable', 'rigorous', 'valid and legitimate', 'academically solid', 'extending and adding to the boundaries of known knowledge', were some of the statements and concepts that made research appear distant, at times unattainable, sterile and formal. All schools of thought within university settings reinforced this traditional Western Eurocentric pattern of new knowledge acquirement as they based their curriculum development for their courses around the progressive introduction of the values and belief systems underpinned by certain core scientific principles. Mead (1996) contended that historically, this approach placed Western Eurocentric knowledge acquisition as the norm and all other methodologies for gathering information as 'unscientific' and therefore less valuable.

Part of my research journey has been about recognising that there are some universal principles and doctrines that have familiarity across all cultural experiences and conversely those same cultural expressions significantly determine uniqueness in contribution to knowledge and wisdom building excursions into the unknown. Furthermore, the title of this chapter 'the politics of Maori research', affirms two directional themes. First, that cross-cultural experiences affected the formation of research approaches taken to document and record Maori contributions to human knowledge and understanding. Consequently, a lot of the material in this chapter explores those 'politics' between Maori and Pakeha about research methodologies. Second, research 'by and for Maori' or 'Maori centred research' continues to be influenced by 'the politics of research'. However, in relation to the 'Many rivers analysis' framework¹ where I argue that Maori cultural development roots did not merely arise from Western Eurocentric

¹For more information on the 'Many rivers analysis', refer to the prelude of Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

development, the position fostered here is that Maori conceptual/theoretical paradigms concerning 'research' do exist, and need to be explored further. This chapter contains my contribution to providing a comparative analysis of Maori research and knowledge.

The first intention of this chapter is to reset the debate around Western knowledges, philosophies and research. Entitled 'Western knowledges, philosophies and research', this first section will contextualise and make sense of Western Eurocentric rational science and research. Next, a section labelled 'indigenous knowledges, philosophies and research', sets the scene on issues surrounding the cross-cultural research politics by previewing indigenous critical discourses. The third section, 'Maori knowledges, philosophies and research', investigates Maori research and knowledge through critical research discourses located in Aotearoa. These discourses, predominantly by Maori researchers on Maori issues, in research concentrate on the belief that Maori ways of gathering information though similar to other cultural experiences of the world, require adherence to specific culture-bound principles based on Maori theories and philosophies. These will be explored using thematical signposts. More importantly these signposts or principles will set the scene for my forays into the topic of inquiry I have chosen. The fourth section 'Qualitative research revisited', explores qualitative research because of its use in this thesis. Section five, 'An integrated approach' identifies who, why, what and how research data was gathered. The sixth section of this chapter is concerned with the lessons learnt while completing a Doctoral study in the School of Social Policy and Social Work on a topic that 'grasped me.'² I have named this section 'A glide to light'. This chapter is brought to an end with a 'Concluding comment'.

² Don Wineholst from the University of Hartford in Cincinnati, introduced this sensation of being grasped or captured by the research question. I was to experience this same sensation in different stages of the research but it was never a continuous one. I had to work hard and smart to get it (refer to Smith, A; Wineholst, D; Acker, D (1994). In a conference on 'Promise and Controversy in qualitative inquiry: Different traditions and standards for rigors').

Western knowledges, philosophies and research

Reflecting on the 'Many rivers analysis' it is not surprising to discover that acquiring knowledge, extending boundaries, dealing with new information, using hindsight and foresight to change outcomes has been inextricably linked to four overriding principles: these being power, control, development and liberation. Stokes (1985) believed that the primary focus of any research should be to advance the 'welfare of the people'. Shirley (1984) also contended that this 'welfare of the people' inferred taking into account, issues surrounding what was deemed, 'in the public interest or good'. Research could then be described as:

. . . the work undertaken to increase the knowledge available for utilisation by society (Stokes, 1985: 1).

In addition, Wagner (1993) locates the value of research as a means of 'reducing ignorance' and 'pursuing truth'. Research, in this light, ultimately creates opportunities for improvements in society. That ability to provide truthful knowledge which has 'utilisation' capabilities, is a major attraction in the promotion of research. For example, technological advancements were outcomes of intensive scientific research. Developing safe and appropriate practice strategies to assist those suffering from certain life threatening psychiatric and 'other' health problems arose from research projects. In some situations, that 'utilisation factor' has been quite detrimental to humanity. Nuclear research has allowed for travel exploration to the depths of our oceans, and galaxy. Yet, the introduction of nuclear weapons has threatened the entire world with extinction. Perhaps the most striking aspect of Western Eurocentric advancements in knowledge acquisition is that it has often led to power and control imbalances within its own societal sectors (Lather, 1991;³ Lechte, 1994)⁴ and

³Lather pinpoints the multidimensional interactive struggles of various groups of women to survive.

⁴ Lechte elucidates the theoretical/philosophical positions of fifty contemporary thinkers commenting on Western Eurocentric cultural development and knowledge transmission. For

more importantly, induced oppression, dependency and subjugation in cross cultural interactions and relationships with 'others' inhabiting the world (Banks, 1993). So knowledge is power and often 'other' cultural interpretations and associated processes that make sense of knowledge maintenance, acquisition and dissemination have been reduced to 'myths' and 'uselessness' (Salmond, 1983; Burger, 1990; Mead, 1996).

The principles of Western research

While the main purpose is to identify six core principles underpinning Western Eurocentric knowledge acquisition it is also important to locate research development within the overall development of Western culture. Two time epochs (Modernity and Postmodernity) will be referred to throughout this section. McLennan (1994) described that the shift from modernity to postmodernity was accompanied by the redundancy of total/universal, essentialist⁵ and postivistic⁶ explanations of cultural realities and development. This was clearly evident with the shift away, from mass production and nationalistic state formations in the 1980s. Lather (1991) contended that in place of those redundant ideologies arose a 'post - ism era' where 'total ideology met an untimely death'.⁷ Poststructuralism, postpositivism, postmodernism, postmarxism reflected an acceptance of the need to deconstruct realities and reconstruct new ways of measuring, discovering and expanding our ontological missions as human beings (refer to Table One at the end of this chapter). These 'New Times', were about moving out of some mind traps, gaining knowledge for further development purposes, and contesting/struggling with the role

example, the works of Bechelard, Althusser, Bourdieu, Daudrillard, Habermas are outlined in Lechte's book.

⁵ Lechte (1994) described that the essentialist position was based on the premise that material objects have an essence distinguishable from their attributes and existence.

⁶ Postivistic explanations emerged through the philosophical works of Auguste Comte. This stressed the importance of positive science over religion and metaphysics. Knowledge was therefore based on perception (See footnote 9).

⁷ "The enlightenment is dead, Marxism is dead, the working class movement is dead . . . and the author does not feel very well either (Smith, cited in Lather 1991: 22)".

and function of 'owning our voices' (Du Plessis, 1993; Walsh-Tapiata, 1997) and dealing with 'otherness' (Giroux, 1983).

With this developmental backdrop in mind, it is time to view those six core principles influencing knowledge acquisition. The first core principle, supports the compartmentalisation of new and old wisdom. Known also as 'Subcategorisation', this principle was reinforced by the formation of the different schools⁸ of thought that were responsible for cataloguing learning opportunities. Durie (1985), also contended that this 'division of things', was unique to Western modes of knowledge accumulation. The expansion of Western boundaries of knowledge was therefore facilitated by the contestation between those various schools of thought on the phenomenon under study (Lechte, 1994). These schools had theoretical and philosophies foundations, which reinforced the promotion of certain types of research methodologies. In turn, these methodologies set in place, checks and balances based on emphasising specific values. Of most importance in the modernity period were such values as validity, rationalism, and testability. The scientific approach was most evident here, especially after reducing the influence of the 'religious/magic atmosphere of the dark and middle ages'. The enlightenment period of Western Eurocentric cultural development had set the foundations for science to flourish over religion (Lechte, 1994). However, in the postmodernity period, the values of localisation, interpretativeness, insight and understanding aligned with the mood swings of the day.

The second core principle reflects a belief that research should be based on the 'scientific paradigm' developed in pure sciences. To clarify this, research examples from the anthropological field adhered to the epistemological assessment of the information gained (Neel, 1977,⁹

⁸ For example, sociology, philosophy, theology, psychology, pure sciences, social sciences, Business studies and so on.

⁹James V. Neel, from the Department of Human Genetics, University of Michigan Medical School, Ann Arbor, Michigan wrote a research paper entitled Health and disease in unacculturated Amerindian populations, which was presented at Ciba Foundation (1977) Health and Disease in Tribal Societies conference in Elsevier, Amsterdam. He drew a lot of

Haimendorf, 1983; Salmond, 1991). During the modernity period these checks and balances were moulded by two interrelated scientific principles in knowledge gathering: these were reductionism¹⁰ and positivism.¹¹ Respectively, the scientific research paradigm of modernity emphasised secular, rational, systematic investigation, leading to metanarratives and all encompassing theoretical explanations of universally abstract situations, structures, physical institutions, and other psycho-social phenomenon (Durie, 1985; Ponter, 1989).¹² However, research in 'Postmodern' times accepted the 'first person' and recognised 'diverse realities': consequently, anti-positivistic research using 'I',¹³ was credible (Lather, 1991). These moves were further supported by Giroux (1993) who re-emphasised the notion of 'identity politics-new race politics', that research needed to account for the concept of 'otherness'. Hewitt (1993), focused on the 'contestation' that still exists between those advocating universalistic/totalitarian exploration paradigms versus those accepting of difference and uniqueness (Giroux & Trend, 1992; Kaye, 1992; Norris, 1992; Sholle, 1992; Smith, 1992; Davis & Stack, 1993; McLaren, 1993).

this data from anthropological studies to debate that it was epidemiological characteristics, rather than just having contact with western culture that caused population fluctuations.

¹⁰ A reductivist position has been described as the move to break down the explanation process into smaller components that can later be joined together to provide generalised metanarratives to explain universally abstract situations and structures, physical institutions, and other psycho-social phenomenon. Often referred to as the evidential approach - $A + B = C$ so if $A = D - E$ and $B = 2 \times F / G$ then one can deduce that C also = $D - E + 2(F)/G$ (Also see footnote 13).

¹¹ The belief in 'One true objective reality', located in the Modernity period of Western Eurocentric cultural development and based on the pure scientific approach.

¹² Brian Ponter's (1989) article referred to here, reinforces the tendency that scientific studies have in breaking down inquiry into smaller more isolated parts, for easier management of the research arena to be covered. At the same time these individual expertise levels can be drawn and woven together to infer major theoretical underpinnings in order to advance knowledge about the research arena being studied.

¹³ In feminist writings 'I' infers 'Positionality'. Banks (1993: 5) clarifies what this means: "Positionality is an important concept that emerged out of feminist scholarship. . . Positionality means that important aspects of our identity, for example, our gender, our race, our class, our age. . . are markers of relational positions rather than essential qualities. . . reveals the importance of identifying the positions and frames of reference from which scholars and writers present their data, interpretations, analyses, and instruction".

The third core principle underpinning social research has been termed its 'discovery based' principle. There is no arguing the fact, that research has been used on many occasions to open up and set new boundaries for 'utilisation' of knowledge and experience. In the modernity period, the extensive amounts of anthropological fieldwork data and material, based on participant observation research, and numerous quantitative studies, have in fact grounded many a theory, a perspective, a developmental spurt, with that so called, 'scientific demand' for factual and evidential support. This 'discovery principle' reinforced the dominance of Western thought in social research design. It was also used as a means to legitimise Western Eurocentric models of research and development. In recent Postmodern times, it has generated support for indigenous interpretation of cultural experiences.

Development is the fourth core principle of research. The pursuit of social scientists has been based on acquiring more knowledge to increase human disposition for improving their lot in life. The rationale supported here, is the belief that by answering questions of the past, we can also influence the direction of our present (Dolgin, Kemnitzer & Schneider, 1977), which eventually results in projected forms of development.

Significantly, this principle has led to many a theory being debunked, but jointly with the third principle of 'discovery' it has been responsible for the genesis of theory and practice, that has over the years accelerated understanding and strengthened a commitment to maintain developmental inquiry skills. Inherent in this principle are the freedom twins: emancipation and liberation. For those in oppressive situations, research can also provide a forum for redress, an opportunity to challenge for change and create new frames of reference to improve relationships across cultures.¹⁴

¹⁴ Research has also been used to maintain oppressive structures (Status Quo/Academic elitism) to preserve inequality in societies, to advance individual wealth and status, and to lock out 'others' from contributing to development.

The fifth core principle in research, centres around having 'A Wide Lens and Narrow Lens vision'. What is meant by 'Wide Lens', is that informative material gathered on a particular culture, might allow the researchers to present comments that could universalise¹⁵ those discoveries. Macro-embracing statements about third world countries based on comparative studies alone, do not necessarily corroborate such an assumption. In many ways this perspective was a dominant factor in the modernity phase of Western Eurocentric cultural development. People were looking for 'pie in the sky' overriding explanations about human behaviour and existence. What emerged were these wide lens analyses such as Marxism, Functionalism, Structuralism, Socialism and many other 'isms'. On the positive side, having that 'wide lens' perspective in research stressed the need to look for general themes, patterns and relationships. A 'Narrow Lens', focus recognised the need for uniqueness and difference within and between individuals, groups, societies and cultures. Postmodernity, was a critical combination of both the wide and narrow methodologies, into a multi-dimensional approach for increasing the 'utilisation trait' of explored experiences. Research was viewed as another avenue for conscientisation, deconstruction, emancipation and eventual reconstruction of healthier human experiences.

The final core principle underpinning Western Eurocentric research takes into account the role of research being a venue for change. This principle emphasises that 'ideology guides research'. Not only does ideology determine the methodology chosen but also the rationale underpinning all research processes,¹⁶ including data analysis. One's ideology also affects the power and control relationships that a researcher has with those being researched. O'Brien (1991) laid out what he considered were the four key

¹⁵ Universalise or generalise involves making the links between the private and public clear. Macro structural analysis perceptions are the outcome when using the 'wide lense' view.

¹⁶ Why certain questions are relevant and why others are not.

principles of ideology. I have added a fifth. Ideology as domination;¹⁷ as a non-deterministic/non reductionism approach;¹⁸ in a positive and negative sense;¹⁹ as an arena of contest and struggle;²⁰ and finally as 'culture bound.'²¹ These combine to provide a conceptual foundation and resource base, to assist efforts to complete and critique one's research. Common throughout both the modernity and postmodernity eras, has been the role and function of social research outcomes in facilitating an environment of critical debate and activism.

These six core principles; 'subcategorisation', 'scientific paradigm', 'discovery based', 'development', 'wide lens/narrow lens vision', and 'ideology guides research'; have been influential in resolving research frameworks utilised to explore the various fields of scientific inquiry. They also raise some interesting dilemmas. For example, the tendency to compartmentalise knowledge fails to account for world views based on

¹⁷ O'Brien (1991) focuses on relations within society, for example those that reinforce domination and subordination. Domination is about power through ideas that are operationalised. Who operationalises them? It raises the issue of inequality. Ideology is refined by Thompson using three sub-components: *Legitimation* (strengthens sets of ideas and beliefs), *Dissimulation* (the ways ideology hide or conceal particular interests served) and *Reification* (Events and interests are divorced from their historical context and are presented as eternal and as natural).

¹⁸ O'Brien (1991) points out that ideology is *non-reductionist* in that it is not simply derived from and determined by economic relations. A *reductionist approach* would make social change difficult. The debate presented here is that consciousness cannot be analysed on its own, and that it has a foundation in *material* reality. That this *material* base refers to the totality of people's lives and of the impact of the social structure on those lives. *Material* is *not synonymous with economic*.

¹⁹ The dual usage of ideology: Positive reflects the exposition of sets of political beliefs, to competing belief systems, thus looking at the nature, role and purpose of the state. Negative reflects the way in which the ideas in a society relate to, and intersect with the social structure and the organisation of interests in society, thus language and programmes are critically explored to look at domination and subordination and reflects inequality and the neutrality of the State (O'Brien, 1991).

²⁰ Reflects the notions of 'ideological contestation'. The notions of domination and power makes a bridge that allows for the organisation and expression of oppositional ideas. It involves transformation by gradual critique and the building of alternative ideology, through material practice (central to replacement) that reshapes commonsense - Taken for granted assumptions about the world and the social relations that exist - into good sense. Ideology is the terrain of struggle and contestation in its own right (O'Brien, 1991).

²¹ Ruwhiu (1993 unpublished Study Guide) For me this reflects the wealth of cultural histories from the 'peoples' of the world, and the inferences to other sources of knowledge that may define ideology using completely different conceptual constructs. Implicit in

holistic principles. In some ways, this wide lens/narrow lens combination attempts to redress that rational myopic intellectual nepotism²² tendency, schools of thought have often been blamed for. The 'value free' notion of the scientific paradigm has in recent times been rejected and traded for 'culture bound' ideology, which purports that solid research identifies clearly the values and beliefs of the researcher.

Indigenous knowledges, philosophies and research

This section embraces indigenous perceptions of knowledge and research, often linked to their experiences with Western Eurocentric societies. Being able to understand indigenous development, seems much like diving for paua in nil-visibility water conditions. For the seasoned diver, it is not a requirement to visibly see the paua, but to 'know that they do exist in set places', is all that matters. Even with this foresight, acquiring that delicacy demands skills and training, a recognition of protocol and appropriate processes, understanding the role of divine intervention, respecting the forces of nature, maintaining a physical sense of competence, exhibiting a flair for experimenting or trying out new methods and being teachable/flexible. The following analysis is about backing up that 'knowingness of the diver' with skills, knowledge, wisdom and experience of those actively engaged in debates across cultures.

Burger (1990; 1987) and Goodland (1985) emphasised that not only were indigenous people survivors who accounted for around four percent of the global population but also that they had contributions of worth regarding some of the global problems the world now faces. Studying the concept of 'indigenous', once again illustrated the 'many rivers' analysis wherein 'other' legitimate ways of looking at the world were advanced. There were positive associations between being indigenous and dealing

several of the other headings is this notion but I wanted it to be explicitly stated and acknowledged.

²² When people believed the world was square, most of the scientists and intellectuals were caught in a cyclic process of legitimating each others support of this misconception. I name this 'rational myopic intellectual nepotism'.

effectively with de-colonisation, between ones indigeno-ethnicity as an original inhabitant with human and land rights.

Marks (1993) explains that there are numerous definitions of indigenous peoples, but not surprisingly, none are yet, universally accepted. She and others²³ have argued that while it has been difficult to reach a consensus on defining indigenous, there seems to be a close connection between indigenous and colonialism, between indigenous and land acquisition, between indigenous and oppression, between indigenous and promotion of civilisation, between indigenous and economic development. Nietsmann (in Bodley, 1988: 44) critically analyses these smoke screens²⁴ and concludes that:

. . . what is called "economic development" is the annexation at gun point of other peoples economies. What is called "nation building" is actually state expansion by nation-destroying. The capture and control of geography, not the extension of policies or economic philosophy is the objective of the Third World invasions.

Indigenous voices were silenced in the modernity period as Western Eurocentric expansionism brought the gospel of capitalism, Christianity and colonisation to all corners of the earth. Subsequently, non-white, non Western/European perspectives were accorded little status, even though historical analyses show that there have been numerous examples of where the 'other', rivers of knowledge had knowledge of life, far in advance of those coming out of the Western Eurocentric quadrant (Bazin, 1987).²⁵

²³*Indigenous people are the power: Angle*, in Chaff Issue 18, Pgs. 12-13 [1993], gave a two page spread to highlight the Year of the Indigenous People.

²⁴ These 'smoke screens' of economic development, providing education, exposing the population to Western World work practices, even the debates about everyone having an 'ethnicity', were about changing power relations to benefit foreign investors and so on. There is a reductionist favour to this argument.

²⁵ But even if Maya children never get to know it, their Olmec ancestors did invent, some 300 years before Christ, all the characteristics of the numerical system which we use today. They had developed the idea of giving a different value to a digit in a number. . . They had also invented the necessary representation of the absence of a digit, the abstract concept of 'zero' (Bazin, 1987: 4).

Although faced with annihilation, the threat of imprisonment and other forms of abuse, indigenous people have been far from silent and submissive victims in the 'contact experience', Indigenous people were 'engaging' with their oppressors who advanced over their territorial frontiers at will. Western Eurocentric ambassadors of civilisation and modernisation used war and law to weaken, subjugate, transform and control these 'others'. 'Humanitarianism and kindness', 'progress and change', 'scientific law and evolution', were stripped back by indigenous people to reveal unpleasant truths²⁶ such as ecocide, ethnocide, genocide, inequitable distribution of wealth, disease, role confusion, objectivity²⁷ and colonisation (Bodley, 1990; Hyndman in Bodley, 1988; Goodland in McNeely & Pitt, 1985; Kruse, Kleinfield & Travis, 1982). There are numerous illustrations where indigenous people, upon discovering new knowledge about these 'white goblins' (Salmond, 1991), resisted²⁸ their 'smoothing of the pillow' tactics.

The Inca armed response to Spaniard invasion, the Indian Nation victory at 'Little Big Horn', against Custer who symbolised White civilisations lust for power and glory, are just some of the 'sword against sword', responses. In Aotearoa, the land wars which were feed by greed for ownership and settlement by European interests, saw the Tangata Whenua in constant threat from armed reprisals for defending their tribal resources. Other strategies have involved negotiating in order to establish treaties [often broken by the dominant party], through the political processes [The young Maori party efforts through the legislature in Aotearoa - see Chapter Four

²⁶ As Burger (1987: 15) recorded: "At an international conference on indigeous peoples in 1981, one delegate commented: We have seen a pattern of destruction repeated around the world by societies that base their way of life on excessive industrialization."

²⁷ Objectivity in this sense reduced people to mere objects to be owned and acted upon (Fanon, 1992).

²⁸ Bodley (1990:) provides illustrations of military conflicts between indigenous people and Western Eurocentric expansionists: The Indian campaign in Southern America between 1870-1885; the Land wars with Tangata Whenua between 1860-1872; the resistance of the Naga in Assam; German extermination campaign against the Herero of Southwest Africa in 1904; the Japanese method of controlling Formosan Aborigines from 1902-1909; Ten British offensive campagins were unsuccessful in bringing the Naga into 'humble submission' between 1832-1851.

of this thesis], through civil disobedience [Dun Mihaka's buttocks flashing protests against the Queen of England], and through mobilisation and conscientisation of the indigenous people [Tino rangatiratanga workshops of the 1980s].

Still, these power modifications and marginalisation of 'other' wisdom's evident in the relationship between the civilised oppressors and 'earth connected' indigenous people, led to unrealistic demands with, often, tragic results. Butchery at the hands of 'outsiders' experienced by the 'Kalkadoons' nation of Queensland and extermination of the 'Dharug people' of New South Wales in Australia was prompted by an unrealistic belief that Aborigines were non-human. And yet historically, these Australians displayed superior linguistic abilities to learn other languages, had an intimate personal working relationship with their natural environment that generated a wealth of knowledge and information, and even developed, through 'Dreaming tracks', a form of telecommunications only now matched by satellite networks in space (Pilger, 1989; Mudrooroo, 1995). Ellwood (1988) observed that these unrealistic demands created and maintained racism, which reinforced the negative invisibility of indigenous people.

Bodley (1990) gave another illustration of how the eco-friendly Baiga Indian swidden agricultural system was attacked by Europeans through legislation,²⁹ who considered it uneconomical and pushed for farming along Western conventional lines. As a consequence, this change in farming increased Baiga propensity to suffer ill health and poverty. By underestimated the value of the traditional 'swidden agricultural approach', over-farming occurred. The land is now designated unusable, unproductive and in need of massive natural re-vegetation.

²⁹ Government influenced by Westerners passed a law that the Baiga had 'no occupancy rights' in the forest and outlawed cultivation in certain zones which effectively stopped the 'swidden system of agriculture'. These laws were enforced as government representatives destroyed Baiga crops, illegalised hunting and fishing, and confiscated Baiga hunting weaponry.

Another illustration of marginalising indigenous people was based around the 'God' and 'King' justification to expand civilised empires. Missionary zealotry to convert unbelievers or idol worshippers to Christianity had a humanitarian origin, but an imperialistic self righteous paradigm generated by the Church and State, overrode good intentions. For example, Stevenson (1992: 27) highlights comments made by Columbus in a letter which aligned the opening up of indigenous worlds with righteous endeavours and religious sanctity, that notably became 'saintly endeavours'. Columbus wrote:

God made me the messenger of the new heaven and the new earth. . . and he showed me the spot where to find it.

Those first contact experiences between Westerners and Indigenous people, were best summarised by Chief Dan George of Vancouver when he said:

In the long hundred years since the white man came, I have seen my freedom disappear like the salmon going mysteriously out to sea. The white man's strange customs which I could not understand, pressed down on me until I could no longer breathe. And when I fought to protect my land and home, I was called a 'savage'. When I neither understood nor welcomed the white man's way of life, I was called lazy. When I tried to lead my people, I was stripped of my authority (Bodley, 1990: 24).

In contrast, the postmodernity period in Western Eurocentric cultural development was supposed to have changed the focus of inter-race relations from one of mono cultural dominance to acceptance of cultural diversity. Kuan-Hsing (in Scannell, Schiesinger & Sparks, 1992) insisted that postmodernity signposted an end to history in a totalitarian singular sense and an ushering in of plural histories with many voices 'breaking their silence vows'.

In these postmodern, postcolonial, post-civil rights, post-decolonization, post-racist times, the knowledge of 'others', became quite significant in decentralising the power and control of decision-making directed at universal problems that all humanity face. Frankenberg and Mani (1993:

294) give some worthwhile clarity, in the use of the attachment word, 'post'.

In doing so it helps to clarify that the 'posts' in both cases do not signal an 'after' but rather mark spaces of ongoing contestation enabled by decolonization struggles both globally and locally.

During this 'Post' era phenomenon, the increased status of 'voices in diversity' appealed to Western Eurocentric left thinkers, engaged in the fight against oppression and colonisation (Giroux, 1993; Hall, 1992, 1992a; McLennan, Held, & Hall, 1984).

In recent times, the conservative wing of Western Eurocentric politics and thinking, using new right philosophies, also came to the party, in terms of negotiating a place for relationships with the 'other voices'. 'New Right' demands for freedom of choice, as well as a 'global and local' coexistence analysis, strengthened the rights of the marginalised to speak, but at the same time, reinforced the freedom of choice.

However, Giroux (1993) pointed out that some 'teleological thinking Western Eurocentric significant others' have been slow to accept the authenticity of 'authoritative voices' from outside the known *west-European* world. De'Ath and Michalenko (1980) emphasised that 'deterministic theories' and knowledge, in Western eyes, often discouraged community participation in decision making. Past rationalism such as 'anti-moralistic, anti-intellectualistic, primitive, and romanticised', have been used to downgrade the contribution possibilities of these other knowledges from third world, first nation, aboriginal/indigenous peoples. This still receives airing from the likes of McDonald (1986).

However, regardless of this recognised move by Western Eurocentric thinkers to be inclusive of difference and 'others', Indigenous people had and still do possess their own theoretical maps leading to light. Indigenous perspectives of the role and function of knowledge legitimisation, theoricism and knowledge acquisition/research also reflected the need to

think, to ponder, to experiment, to conceptualise, to change, to stabilise, to challenge and to enter into dialogue.

As Freire (1972: 97/98) argued:

It is absolutely essential that the oppressed participate in the revolutionary process with an interestingly critical awareness of their role as subjects of the transformation. . . Dialogue with the people is radically necessary to every authentic revolution . Its legitimacy lies in that dialogue.

Developing paradigms and new theoretical knowledge through research has been an acceptable notion in all cultures through the ages. Moreover, life experiences and conceptual symbols adhered to by indigenous people create contestation points for further development. For instance, in debating the issue of black people reclaiming their right to 'name' the world, Sivanandan (1992: 72) took up the challenge and emphasised the dangers facing indigenous people who were lured into the world of the Pakeha. He stated:

. . . where the individual aspiration is only individual, you cease to be black, you are white. We can not have the experience and miss the meaning.

Such a position, would not advance visions of a society based mainly on individualism for personal gain which Robert Jones (in Thomson, 1993) vividly supports and practices. It is important to recognise that both the 'Sivanandan and Jones', positions are located on theoreticism emerging out of the experiences of real people.

In unison, such 'voices' as, Martin Luther King, Mohammad Ali, Sister Rosa, Domitilla Chungara, Steve Biko, Freire, Te Whiti, John Rangihau, Nelson Mandela, and many others have carved places in the history of humanity, as indigenous people who valued their experiential perceptions, acknowledged their roots and concentrated on responding vigorously to oppression, monoculturalism, inequality and racism.

The range of approaches used by indigenous people throughout the world, to reject the oppressiveness of colonialism and colonisation, are varied

and numerous, to say the least. However, there are some key points where agreement has been reached. First, the abuse of indigenous people by Western Eurocentric people will not be tolerated. More significantly, has been the politicising of the various forms of resistance initiated by indigenous peoples of the world. Second, diversity of indigenous thoughts and experiences that conceptualise and make the world real, are indeed valid knowledge bases with potential solutions that may affect the positive development of the world, once they have been accessed. In order for access to occur, dialogue between parties means that these self-designated powers of the world, have to practice the skill of listening and hearing instead of directing and determining the outcomes in dialogue processes with indigenous people. Third, indigenous people were earth-centred. Therefore, their links with land, *papatuanuku*, *whenua*, was an interdependent relational one, not an owner/object one (Donald & Rattansi, 1992). Consequently, the social patterns of behaviour in relation to the land, by indigenous people, consistently viewed the notion of land as a parent (Berger, 1990). The fourth and final point, claims that 'mother tongue' (indigenous language) access/maintenance is essential for survival of indigenous cultures. In Wales, the success of the language units has assisted the Welsh cultural revival and similar trends have occurred in New Zealand. *Kohanga Reo*, *Kura Kaupapa* and *iwi Wanaanga* have turned the tide of 'language and culture loss', so that Maori can befittingly describe the world from our eyes.

In conclusion, indigenous people have contributions to make in the advancement of their own intellectual property and that of the world. An observation one can make is that often indigenous people have been in reactive mode, that is deconstructing to reconstruct their realities affected by colonisation. To work out the worth of indigenous contributions to world knowledge would involve critical interdependent and interactive dialogue between those who inhabit the world. Spivak argues that prescribed cultural boundaries inhibit our development. Like Freire (1972), Spivak (in Harasym, 1990: 60) advocates breaking out of those boundaries:

I am only a bourgeois white male, I can't speak, in that situation - its peculiar, because I am in the position of power and their teacher and on the other hand, I am not a bourgeois white male - I say to them, why not develop a certain degree of rage against the history that has written such an abject script for you that you are silenced. Then you begin to investigate what it is that silences you rather than take this very deterministic position.

This section has been about providing indigenous flavoured critical analyses of knowledge acquisition in the face of colonisation and postmodernity. With this backdrop on 'indigenous people and research' securely in place, the next section looks at Tangata Whenua/Maori issues in social research.

Maori knowledges, philosophies and research

In 1996 I remember setting an exam question for students who were completing a module³⁰ entitled 'Maori issues in research'. This question went as follows:

When one considers the culture of the Maori, it isn't surprising that assessments written by Tauwiwi . . . on the subject have, dissected all aspects of Maori experiences. Conversely, contemporary Maori researchers . . . have tried to tie these things back together in some purposeful manner. (Exam script for 79.202/76.202, 1996)

This whole notion of drawing 'things back together in some purposeful manner', saw Maori people participating in, controlling, even developing research philosophies and practises based on Maori wisdom, knowledge and experiences. These efforts by Maori to de-mystify, deconstruct and reconstruct research in their own terms, to make research approachable, meaningful and workable for the range of Maori engaged in Maori development, will be investigated using the three life-giving principles³¹ of 'wairuatanga', 'whakapapa' and 'tikanga me kawa' as subsection headings. In Chapter Three on pre-1900 history, one point of analysis

³⁰ I taught in a second year conjoint paper - An introduction to social science research, run by my Department and Sociology.

regarding wairuatanga or the spiritual dimension was that it also contained the roots of Maori philosophical/ideological and political development. 'Wairuatanga' has been chosen to head a subsection on Maori philosophies underpinning knowledge acquisition and research. The next subsection of 'whakapapa' is concerned with critically analysing the historical roots of cross cultural research in Aotearoa, while also providing insight into the different approaches used to research Maori culture. The subsection entitled 'Tikanga me kawa', observes various ways of doing Maori research also known as Maori research methodology.

Wairuatanga/Maori ideology and philosophies about research

There are eight general points on Maori philosophies, history and research development to consider. The first one is a general point about social research and the remaining seven highlight the contextual debate surrounding Maori issues in research.

First, O'Brien (1991) plainly argues that ideology parameters conceptualise power relationships within and across cultures. When looking at Maori research, to discard debates about ideology would be paralleled to leaving out the flour when making a cake. In the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, Maori academics were piecing together the conceptual intellectual property of Maori into diagrammatic philosophical matrices.³² By the 1980s through into the 1990s the move from Maori philosophies to Maori theories provided real evidence that 'ideological struggles' between Maori and non-Maori were increasing in tempo and earnest. Greenland (1984), often attacked by other Maori for being too conceptual, rightly identified three key components of the 'ideology of research'. The first component, involved challenging embedded status quo ideological relationships. The next component, was about legitimisation of one's own processes used to comprehend and understand the world. The final component stressed the

³¹ Refer to Chapter Two.

³² Such as John Tapiata in cultural awareness curriculum development at secondary schools and John Rangihau's push for iwitanga in the 1970's.

conscientisation function of dispersing/communicating ideology to others. Te Awekotuku (1991) illustrates these components in her analysis of research for political planning: that as a researcher you were answerable to those you are researching (component one); that research was not value free, that indigenous models and methodology in research were valid (component two); that research created information to assist in resource allocation and had to do with power and equity issues (component three). In an interview³³ with Hopa on her PhD thesis (A study of Urban Maori Sodalities, 1977), she explained how her understanding of 'otherness', 'normality', 'opposition in all things', was summed up using the 'ecological - interdependency interrelationship' ideological framework, to make sense of the research she had embarked on. Research ideology is about this very point, to make sense of, to order an analysis, to stretch the known boundaries of existing knowledge and experience.

Second, Tangata Whenua sources of cultural validation and exploration were based on a world that was spiritually, physically, and socially interconnected (see Chapter Two). Both Maori Marsden³⁴ (in King, 1992) and Durie, E.T (1994 unpublished)³⁵ then postulated that Maori ideology emerged out of culturally appropriate patterns of 'thinking' or 'states of mind', that connected Maori to physical and spiritual dimensions of the world in an interdependent fashion. In contemporary debates there is recognition of Maori influences that determine the form, fashion and action of research directed on behalf of Maori people. This has led to discussions about Maori intellectual properties: its ownership, its accessibility to Maori people and Pakeha and other issues such as copyright and so on (Wyllie, 1993). Third, Maori people have conceptual frameworks

³³ Interview held on the 10.7.92 in her office at Maori Studies, Waikato University.

³⁴ Marsden (in King, 1992: 163) states: "The major task consists not in analysis of outward institutional forms, . . . but in penetrating into the States of mind, for some kind of evaluation and understanding . . . Only an approach which sets out to explore and describe the main features of the consciousness in the experience of the Maori offers any hope of adequate coverage".

that inform, guide and challenge them when in experimentation or learning mode. In the following whakatauki, the inference made, is that Maori sources of knowledge and wisdom are embedded within Maori culture itself.

Hokia ki o maunga kia purea koe e nga hau o
Tawhirimatea³⁶

The challenge to 'return to your mountains', implied that these sources were an inherent part of Maori cultural identities. To be 'cleansed by the winds of Tawhirimatea', suggests that healing elements evident in those sources of knowledge and wisdom could be accessed by using culturally appropriate research processes and protocol.

Fourth, Tangata Whenua perspectives draw legitimacy from a body of knowledge that is not totally drawn from nor determined by Western Eurocentric patterns of knowledge acquisition. Their interpretation of the world has its roots in Maori cultural development pathways not European ones. Keenan's (1994) thesis on iwi history, introduces two pathways of Maori historical development. First, there is the 'relational/contact cultural history' or bicultural pathway of development between Pakeha and Maori that consolidated with the signing of Te Tiriti O Waitangi. He contends that in the last two decades, a 'distinctly Maori historiography' has emerged which has advocated for self determination and representation within race relations histories of Aotearoa. Keenan (1994: 227), in describing the second historical pathway as a Maori Motuhake one:

. . . depicts the continuing centrality of the mana history process as an alternative theoretical approach based on whakapapa as infrastructure and mana as mediating principle.

³⁵ E. T Durie (1994: 6, Unpub.) "Maori mental constructs were based on cycles in preference to lineal progression. . . The nurturing of social cycles was as critical to survival as the maintenance of the cycles of nature".

³⁶ Translated - 'Return to your mountains so you can be cleansed by the winds of Tawhirimatea'.

It is both of these historical pathways from which Tangata Whenua currently draw their conceptual material. Walker (1990) contends that these sources of knowledge were traditionally held in the oral mode for Maori or in other words, displayed in language forms such as waiata, karakia, whaikorero, whakapapa, pakiwaitara and pukorero. Salmond (1983) also points to 'te reo Maori' as the gate way to understanding Maori research ideologies.

This fifth point expands on the previous one by declaring that research is not a new phenomenon to Maori people. The acquisition of knowledge (research) is depicted in our stories, those things that Tauwi/Pakeha have condemned and marginalised as 'myth' or untruths. In fact matauranga Maori emerged from a wealth of experiences generated by well over a thousand years of cultural experimentation and consolidation (Salmond, 1983). Te wehenganui³⁷ o Papa me Rangi (Gilgen, 1991) Tane's journey to the twelfth heaven to gain Matauranga (Smith, 1986; Lyndon, 1983); Maui's search for his parents (Walker, 1990), agricultural pursuits concerning the kumara for Maori on the East Coast, trench and jungle warfare, reading the seasons, winds, currents, are all illustrations of successful research endeavours. Sixth, Smith (1986: 7) explains that:

. . . the different ways in which knowledge is perceived by our two cultures is complicated further by the power relations that exist between us.

These power relationships have been displayed in assimilation policies and paternalistic attitudes which historically rejected those things 'of transferable value', across the cultural divide. In Aotearoa's relational history or as Keenan (1994) put it, contact-history, colonisation of physical resources moved on to 'changing or capturing' people [their minds/souls]. Many early researchers believed it was their god given right to seek knowledge and truth. However, the perception was that Maori had little to

³⁷ The separation of the primeval parents - based on research. Some one conveyed the benefits of light in the world and after checking out their options, they chose to push their parents apart.

offer, other than anthropological descriptions of a dying race for the country's museum.

Seventh, to research Maori without considering their cultural framework, would be naive to say the least. A brief list of concepts is needed here to reiterate the key points. How might any of the following concepts relate to research: wairuatanga, whakapapa, whakawhanaungatanga, pukorero me pakiwaitara, tapu, noa, mana, tohungatanga, whakatohatoa, and the list goes on. In essence, an understanding and living by these concepts will facilitate one's accessibility to various levels of activity within Maori communities. Much like the combinations that open up your bike lock or the pin number that accesses your bank facilities. These need to be well known if 'Maori knowledge' is shared. The eighth and final point contends that Tangata Whenua realities are built on ways of doing things and specific regulations (Tikanga me kawa - refer to Chapter Two). These are dynamic by nature with regional variations between iwi and so on.

There eight points on Maori philosophies, history and research development establish clear guidelines to comprehend the politics of Maori research in Aotearoa.

Whakapapa/research approaches

There are two key reasons for this subsection. Firstly, to provide an overall historical analysis of the politics of Maori research development in Aotearoa; and secondly, to introduce seven approaches that have guided research carried out on Maori.

Historical analysis of the politics of Maori research development

It is a known fact that Maori research historically was largely carried out by non-Maori researchers.³⁸ More importantly, the most significant aspect of that large body of research was its descriptive tendency to paint the

³⁸ Such as Best (1922; 1925), Dale (1936), Dittmer, (1907), Downes (1915), Drummond (1937), Grey (1855) and so on.

obvious (Kupenga, 1992; Te Awe Kotuku, 1991;). Bishop and Glynn (1992) argued that this type of research by non-Maori tended to oversimplify, belittle and disadvantage Maori. Te Ariki, Spoonley and Tomoana (1992) saw research of this nature as a tool used historically by non-Maori to justify their own assimilation policies on Maori and to limit Maori self determination³⁹ efforts. Stokes (1985) and Smith (1986) alleged that these research projects provided little in the way of solutions to deal with those identified ills that befell Maori communities. Therefore, the benefits for those being researched were near non existent. Yet the returns for the researcher involved many personal accolades from their own academic and research circles, in New Zealand and overseas.

Richards (1991) in her masters thesis linked Maori research history to 'underdevelopment/deficit theory', and argued that as Maori, it was self evident that we actively engaged in 'colonising ourselves'. Mead (1996) expanded on this point to argue that research has in the past been guilty of 'colonising indigenous space'. The effects of that type of research reinforced self-fulfilling prophecies that as Maori, we were no good, that our processes were not only primitive but inadequate in advancing knowledge and wisdom in modern times, and that progress meant giving up our ways of thinking and doing for western ones. In critically evaluating Maori research history, we were subjected to the rigors of processes that were culturally inappropriate in finding solutions for our difficulties. For example, Patterson (1992) reasoned that Pakeha/Tauwi researchers while different from Maori, would often use the belief that 'deep down, Maori and Pakeha were very similar'. This belief of being similar gave off the impression that Pakeha naturally could 'understand where Maori were at'. However, this tendency told us more about researcher biases, rather than

³⁹ Deficit thinking in education around the 1960s, though not by any means limited to this time period, supported the belief that Maori children were failing because of inappropriate parenting in their homes. Therefore, strategies to deal with rectifying that situation placed the locus of responsibility on Maori parents having to change, not the school system. The responses were punitive and ineffective but left Maori parents struggling with labels of 'being an inadequate, bad parent'.

inviting interactive communication between those being researched and the researcher (Bishop & Glynn, 1992).

Pre 1970 Maori research history, was contextualised within the parameters of Maori colonisation, assimilation, modernisation, and development. Inter-cultural experiences between Tangata Whenua/Maori and Tauiwī (dominated by Pakeha) were shaped by incongruent cultural expressions, knowledge and experiences. Broken promises, marginalisation, inept research designs, dubious and self serving reasons for doing the research, plus the efforts of Eurocentric diffusionists (Blaut, 1993), fed stereotypes of Maori inadequacies and deficiencies. At the same time their research celebrated Western Eurocentric abilities to provide accurate commentaries of 'dying' races, in this case Tangata Whenua. However, in the 1980s and 1990s changing these research power relationships, where Pakeha/Tauiwī had effectively secured a monopoly on researching Maori, was aided by Tangata Whenua engagement in deconstructing and reconstructing experiences facilitated by education opportunities, whanau hapu and iwi Maori development circumstances and networking processes between Maori. The history of social research development in New Zealand, has diversified as Maori experience processes of enlightenment and conscientisation. Subsequently, appropriate frames of reference on Maori research ideological approaches, methodology, analyses, began to emerge.

Seven approaches to researching Maori

From Tauiwī/Pakeha quarters the research approaches of Grey (1855), Best (1922; 1924a; 1924b; 1925), Drummond (1937), Metge (1967; 1995), King (1975; 1977), Sinclair (1976), Binney (1980), Simon (1982); Salmond (1983), Stokes (1985), and Belich (1996), combined with Tangata Whenua research contributions from Hopa (1977), Rangihau and Marsden (in King, 1978), Te

Awe Kotuku (1981, 1991), Smith/Mead⁴⁰ (1986, 1996), Irwin (1992), Bishop and Glynn (1992), Bishop (1996), Durie, M.H (1983, 1985; 1994a-d; 1995; 1998), Soutar (1991), Keenan (1994), Tomlins-Jahnke (1996), Selby (1996) and Walsh-Tapiata (1997), helped to shape my own critical perceptions of Maori research and ethics, Maori research methodology, Maori research design and Maori data/content analyses.

Of significant importance was the development of a 'typology of Maori research approaches' by Kupenga (1991)⁴¹, Smith, G.H (1992), and Mead (1996). These approaches displayed inherent qualities and affected Maori wellbeing and development in different ways. Before identifying these Maori research approaches there are two considerations to understand. Firstly, both Maori and non-Maori used these approaches to gather and assess research data on Maori society. Secondly, it was a personal choice in identifying key examples for each model. People may beg to differ on the choices made but one consolation is that it was also evident that researchers moved between approaches. These seven Maori research approaches are named as follows: the pirating, restructuring, third-party, mentor, whanau, power sharing - partnership and finally empowering - outcome approaches. Further development of the empowerment outcome approach framework has seen the emergence of Maori centred research and Maori mana motuhake research. Each Maori research approach will now be presented in the following fashion: key characteristics receive attention and proponents are named.

The Pirating Approach - steal, take, own, objectify.

The 'Pirating approach' focused on using indigenous/native informants to gather, synthesise, collate and even write up data. However, their efforts were not acknowledged once the material/results/outcomes were

⁴⁰ Linda Tuhiwai Smith (nee Mead) She uses her whanau name when presenting her Phd thesis.

⁴¹ In 1991 Vapi Kupenga, working as a lecturer for the then Department of Social Work and Social Policy - Massey University Palmerston North, was approached to develop a module

published. Using research for self promotion in academic or public circles superseded the welfare of those researched. A 'take for me, and a greater than thou' mentality was displayed by these researcher, who did not consider it their responsibility to provide benefits for those whose intellectual property they were accessing. One of its key proponents, was Governor George Grey. He failed to acknowledge his sources, and gained acclaim, during his day, as the so called cultural expert on Maori society.

The Restructuring approach - paternalism, make similar, romanticised pictures.

The most central aspect of this approach was that it failed to take into account the effects of the researchers own culture-boundness (limits) when searching for facts and evidence on a phenomenon under study (McFarlane-Nathan, 1992).⁴² Researchers interpreted the world view of those being perceived to fit their own set of values and beliefs and authenticated facts and observations their own perceptions of a particular culture/ethnic group could relate to. Research work of this nature did break new ground in terms of setting up communication pathways to improve cross cultural relationships. Elsdon Best was a prime example of this restructuring approach. Even though his Victorian values inaccurately described gender relationships, he did gather a wealth of knowledge about traditional Maori society.

The Third-Party approach - supervision, support, personal ownership.

Researchers intending to gather information from inside a Maori community would require support from a supervisor who has been mutually chosen by the Maori community (under research) and by the researcher. This approach pushes an 'add to knowledge and/or doing you a favour' mentality (In line with development and modernisation theories - the supposedly trickle down effect). As well, there is a tendency

looking at Maori research. Her efforts resulted in the formulation of a module called 'Maori issues in research'.

⁴² McFarlane-Nathan (1992: 2) writes about the notion of being culture bound and states, ". . . Obviously their peculiar biases and perceptions of reality and of what is right, or at least

to state the obvious without contributing to improving the wellbeing of those researched, though all reference sources are acknowledged. For example, Drummond (1937) received supervisory support while studying Ngati Porou, but the research offered very little help against assimilation policies by the State directed at Maori in the 1930s.

The Mentor/Tiaki approach - care for, challenge, accountable to, key people.

In this approach either a Tangata Whenua or Tauwiwi researcher is appointed by a Maori community to carry out research which benefits that iwi, hapu or whanau. Consequently, that Maori community becomes responsible for looking after the researcher. One point to remember is that research processes and methodology are not necessarily controlled by the community under study. The researcher receives support by being informed about appropriate protocol to access tribal knowledge and wisdom desired. This approach is viewed as a mutually beneficial process. While not required to live in the Maori community, the researcher becomes a 'participant observer' with cultural translation facilities offered by that community. While there is a propensity to give 'lip service to cultural expertise', levels of accountability to whanau are in place. Smith (1992) also, described this as a 'Tiaki or mentoring model', where the researcher was taken under the wing of Maori to complete desired research projects. One of his examples detailed how Kara Puketapu had guided Augie Fleras's work about Maori political development.

The Whanau or Whangai/adoption approach - Tatou tatou, responsibilities, full participation, whakawhanaungatanga.

In this approach the researcher is expected to share in all the responsibilities of the whanau. Furthermore, to obtain access to social data, the researcher becomes a whangai or adopted member of that whanau. Next, researchers are expected to be committed to full participation in whanau development, which also means acquiring a working knowledge

interesting, is a factor in their own research outcomes". Argues that science is culture biased if considered in the light of the ideal of objectivity.

of Maori language. Finally, the most crucial characteristic required of those using this approach is that the purpose of the research is to advance and strengthen the whanau being researched. Metge and Kinloch's (1978) work on cross cultural communication, illustrates a goal of seeking to improve race relations in Aotearoa. Metge's (1995) more recent work about whanau illustrates a firm bond between the researcher and those whom she represented. Salmond (1976; 1980), is another non-Maori who has been contracted on occasion to complete research for Maori People.

The Power sharing/Partnership or bicultural approach - partnership, protection and participation, separate development, sharing of resources, elements of autonomy.

Based on the contractual arrangements espoused in Te Tiriti O Waitangi, this model highlights the triple values of partnership, participation and protection. Combined together, these values emphasised that there should be an equitable distribution of resources. It also promotes a belief that, 'there is something in it for both Maori and non-Maori'. This approach demands both an 'inter-partnership respect', and a belief that there are 'other' culturally valid ways of researching or seeking knowledge. For example, tikanga and kawa Maori would apply when researching in Maori situations. Smith, G.H (1992) also referred to this as the 'bicultural approach', where there was a strong push for Maori to identify areas they wished to be researched. Te Ariki et al (1992) depicts the sharing of energies across cultures. For example, Kahungunu were desirous to know more about local marae and work schemes/unemployment. This became a joint project between Maori and non-Maori. The end result is a 'win - win situation for all'.

The Empowering outcome approach - Tino Rangatiratanga, Te Tiriti O Waitangi, Power, Control.

Advocates of this approach contend that Maori philosophies and knowledge should be the driving force of research 'on and for' Maori. An understanding of Te Tino Rangatiratanga (Maori self determination - sovereignty) prior to European contact with a commitment to developing a working knowledge of the Maori version of Te Tiriti O Waitangi in

research is supported here. It is viewed as the authoritative platform that legitimates autonomy and respect in relationships between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi in Aotearoa. Within this paradigm, Maori groups can contract out work to the researcher(s) who may complete the research independently or in conjunction with that body desiring the research. In this approach, Maori are controllers of their own intellectual property, and they can decide when, whom and what they might share with other cultures or societies. The end results of that research should be to empower and also benefit those being researched. Within the parameters of this macro approach discussions about Maori centred research and Kaupapa Maori research approaches have emerged

The notion of 'Maori centred research', supported by Durie, M.H (1996) promoted that Maori research be done in Maori ways. Subsequently, Maori began to measure the value of research formats, theories, methodologies and processes using Maori philosophies and tikanga Maori. Furthermore, Maori claimed the right to guide any research to be done on whanau, hapu and iwi Maori. This approach placed 'Maori people and their experiences' at the centre of attention (Walsh-Tapiata, 1997). Extending on the point made about working in partnership across cultures, Selby (1996) used Te Tiriti O Waitangi to deal with Maori issues in research. The three components of this Maori centred research approach were: partnership or powersharing; participation or building trust and maintaining the rights of people to choose; and protection pertaining to protocol surrounding the safety aspects for cultural treasures exposed or used in the research. In summary, the distinguishing characteristic of 'Maori centred research' is that Maori philosophies, theories, experiences, values, beliefs, and methods are the 'pivotal vortex of any research inquiry about Maori culture'.

Irwin (in Du Plessis, 1992) provided a timely reminder for Maori feminists to 'write Maori women back into the records' and to become more 'visible' or up front about their realities so that they can 'develop Maori feminist theories' to redress their experienced concerns. In similar vein, this same

challenge guides Maori researchers who have advocated for a Kaupapa Maori research approach. Mead (1996) in Chapter Seven of her thesis, entitled 'Kaupapa Maori research' provides a comparative analysis of Kaupapa Maori research. She argued that it was antipositivistic⁴³ and essentialistic.⁴⁴ Walsh-Tapiata (1997: 136) supports this view by stating that:

. . . specific information for specific people in certain Maori/iwi environments are all valid tools within the research context.

Mead then went on to describe five core principles of Kaupapa Maori research. These principles were identified as: Whakapapa, Te Reo, Tikanga Maori, Rangatiratanga and Whanau. Each of these core principles in unison drew together a map of research thinking and behaviour that was 'for Maori by nature'.

Walsh-Tapiata (1997) in her thesis on iwi social services, listed some of the key characteristics of the above Kaupapa Maori research approach. Its proponents needed to be fully committed to conscientisation of whanau, hapu and iwi; believe in and practice culturally appropriate tikanga; be politically conscious and have a structural analysis of unequal power and hegemonic dynamics inherent in traditions and contemporary activities of New Zealand society. Irwin (in Du Plessis, 1992) made mention of visionary traits that would allow Maori researchers to 'walk up the ladder of abstraction' and to begin to formulate conceptually appropriate research theories and methodology. Tomlins-Jahnke (1996) also stressed the role of the collective in dealing with accountability, acting in a fair manner when distributing any benefits resulting from Maori research and coping with ownership issues regarding that research. Tikanga Maori and tino rangatiratanga are two prerequisites for the Kaupapa Maori research

⁴³ Antipositivist acknowledges that the researcher is providing an account of the research from his/her known eyes. In other words, the cultural makeup of the researcher is identified and the research is carried out within that perception of the world. It is not based on some overriding perspective, that can be generalised to explain all cultural experiences.

approach. In other words, methodology and research theories emerge out of a Maori world understanding and interacting. At the same time Maori control of research is essential - 'by Maori for Maori'. Walker (1994: 1 unpublished) provides insight into this characteristic, by observing that one's approach to research:

... is influenced by the view of the world in to which one has been suckled, nurtured and raised. It is about values, beliefs, customs, philosophies, ideology and culture.

There was some contention that this line of thought reintroduced notions of 'biological determinism', but Bishop and Glynn (1992: 128) argued to the contrary, insisting that demanding that Maori 'only' should do Kaupapa Maori research.⁴⁵

... was not seen as biological essentialism but rather as a safeguard against facile exploitation of Maori material, and as a means of guaranteeing accountability of the researcher to those being researched.

This focus on Maori researchers with inherent traditions and knowledge placed a premium on Maori cultural validity. In regard to this characteristic of 'validity', Smith and Hohepa (1990:) asserted that:

Kaupapa Maori upholds the validity of Maori views of the world and the potential of those world-views to add insight to the lives of Maori people and indeed to the lives of others who are engaged in similar struggles.

Working within this Kaupapa Maori research approach is not easy. In fact, Smith and Hohepa (1990) saw its volatile side which had the potential to be quite damaging⁴⁶. That is why an insider-Maori-centred approach was desirable. The slight differences between Maori centred and Kaupapa Maori approaches tend to be around 'philosophical emphases', yet both

⁴⁴ Essentialism argues that to really understand Maori cultural experiences you need to be of Maori descent.

⁴⁵ Note - it would only be essentialist if Maori argued that there was only one proper Maori view and if it was always considered to be the real/true explanation of reality in research terms.

support the notion of Maori being active in all phases of research development, design, assessment and evaluation, as Maori. In other words, thinking, feeling and behaving as Maori. In conclusion, these seven approaches displayed the politics of Maori social research development in Aotearoa. The next phase is to summarise what I see as the key components of a Maori methodology.

Tikanga me kawa/Maori methodology

Maori methodology incorporates a range of protocols and expected appropriate behaviour when engaging in research processes with Maori whanau. From initial contact to termination, those Maori ways of doing things become strategically important in gaining insight on the phenomenon and obtaining respect from those under study. These are not presented in any priority order nor are these a conclusive list of practices to engage Maori. The key purpose is to illustrate that gathering information or exploring Maori social behaviour requires a working knowledge and respect of Maori ways of doing things.

One of the most significant aspects of Maori methodology emerges out of the whanau unit. The whanau is viewed as a multipurpose venue where not only critical debate occurs so that the voice of the whanau is heard, but it can also be a place where research tasks are distributed, expertise is brought together, and where Maori ways of doing things are maintained. Maori methodology relies heavily on contact between the Maori researchers and those being researched. Therefore, protocol in huihuinga becomes an essential tool in order to research Maori.

Mead (1996) in looking at a research 'encounter', covers some basic Maori research methodologies. For instance, while the research may only require one particular person of a whanau, other members are often present. Personal experiences regarding being a visitor (Manuhiri) and protocol

⁴⁶ If a researcher did not comprehend what makutu was about then that could have a major effect on perceived reasons for common outcomes.

(tikanga/kawa) that introduces one to a whanau, ultimately includes sharing excerpts about one's background. Implications are that once whakapapa connections have been made then relationships do not close off at termination of the official contact. Maori methodologies also require a commitment to report back the outcomes to those who were researched. Wyllie (1993) also explained that in interviewing kaumatua one must remember to have patience because often that was tested before knowledge exchanges occurred. Other elements of Maori methodology include taking into account the ability to be able to host and feed those involved in your research. Furthermore, at times you will be interviewing, counselling, leading, in dialogue with or even receiving support from those who you are researching. The roles of a Maori researcher are numerous which could involve being tutored one minute then enacting a parental figure the next.

Another point that was raised by Lyndon (1983) and Irwin centred around the whole issue of safety and danger. Irwin (in Du Plessis, 1992: 11) stated that:

The search for knowledge in such contexts becomes very problematic, at times openly dangerous to one's physical, cultural, and spiritual health.

Lyndon (1983: 48) explains how this affected her choices about researching in a Kaupapa Maori fashion. At the same time those choices also provided her with access to knowledge that others would not have received.

I decided to limit my investigations to my hapu . . . for two main reasons. Firstly, because of the concern expressed over my personal safety, in involving myself with these issues and the possibility of being makutu'd, by those who may be offended by my request for information from them. Secondly, because I'd be more likely to get 'honest' answers from people who knew me . . . as many informants said they would not have answered my questions if they had not known my family and that we were related.

Te Awe Kotuku (1991) and Mead (1996) have begun to construct for analysis, a range of cultural considerations, that form the basis of a Maori

research ethics framework. This framework comprises of tikanga and kawa Maori. For instance, respecting others and utilising mana enhancing strategies; seeing people face to face; engaging with people in hui a whanau, hapu, and/or iwi; being cautious yet willingly hosting and sharing generously one's knowledge, wisdom and resources; listening, watching, searching for knowledge but not flaunting it. These methodological strategies are about bringing together techniques for engagement that enhance rather than strip Maori people's experiences from their cultural realities or contexts.

To conclude, I argue that Maori methodological frameworks should address the following: include an understanding of the history of colonisation in Aotearoa; have an appreciation of the struggles and changes that our tupuna have experienced; have a passion for working in that particular Maori research terrain under study; have appropriate skills to be able to facilitate hui, advocate for cooperation, and understand the dynamics of whanau; need to be credible, through whakapapa, to those whom you are researching; have an understanding of the diverse realities that Maori people emerge from; and have a 'lived' understanding of tikanga Maori and kawa.

In particular situations one may need to have competency in te reo Maori; be prepared to co opt others and to work as a whanau on projects; in the healing or gathering of information one may need to understand the link between the past, present and future; understand that patience is a virtue - be prepared to wait; understand how to prepare your wairua for the mahi; be aware of and practice the value of transparency - be humble; support the conscientisation processes of whanau, hapu and iwi; know how to deal with one's own stress levels and also the stress levels of whanau under study or those supporting you in your research; be skilled in using technology; and finally display a willingness to learn and be taught.

In essence this section on Maori knowledges, philosophies and research has been about providing an overview of the comparative and relational

development of Maori social research in Aotearoa on the one hand, and the efforts of Maori to establish Maori research methodology on Maori terms without reference to Pakeha/Tauwiwi influences on the other (Keenan, 1994).

Qualitative research revisited

It is important to clarify that qualitative research methodology was an attraction for two reasons: first, I envisaged using an in-depth interview/questionnaire schedule process as my primary research data gathering tool; and second, I had also been influenced by the rise of 'I' in peoples' dissertations. Throughout my own development in the academic environment, that right to speak from a 'first person' perspective was stripped from me and replaced with a 'non-ness', neutral 'third person' style of writing that continually demanded justification for any 'thought/idea' put forward. A reliance on rational Western dominated debate and discussion was assured. Yet I was impressed with 'feminist, black and indigenous' research styles that reclaimed the power of 'selves' in research. In alignment with postmodernism tenets that accepted difference and diversity, the rise of qualitative studies turned the inside of people outward in what was considered a legitimate fashion. This legitimisation of self, was reflected in relationship matrices by all involved in the research. A proliferation of qualitative emancipation type research studies (1980s) flooded academic circles, on top of a second wave of socio-political conscientizations facilitated by the 'feminist, black and indigenous' movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

Qualitative research conceptually and physically responded to the challenge of establishing boundaries to research in postmodern times. Especially, in these 'New Times' where the 'stored quality' of the personal narratives were more important than seeking total universal ontological explanations of human experiences (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). A general analysis of grounding qualitative research in this postmodernity

framework will follow. Reference to a scenario created by Smith (1994) will display what qualitative research is all about.

An analysis of qualitative methodology in research during this postmodernity era was about balancing the ledger between an acceptance of uniqueness and the right to hold and describe a position. Downgraded, was that modernity tendency to seek out those all encompassing explanations or justifications within a set, pure scientific research framework. Postmodernity challenged that 'acultural'⁴⁷ belief social scientists had placed on their models, methodologies and approaches to research. Instead, the right to establish a range of appropriate research typologies that took into account such dimensions as culture, gender, religion, and socioeconomic status, was supported.

May (1993) clearly understood that qualitative social research was 'called for' or needed. May also recognised that qualitative research models, tools, theories and processes were far from uniform. Consequently, in order to legitimise qualitative research methodology, transparency was essential. As May (1993: 47) states:

Social research takes place within a context in which many of its rules or procedures are taken for granted. These 'background assumptions' upon which research decisions and analysis are based, should be open to scrutiny, otherwise social research can so easily reflect the prejudices of society in general, or a research community in particular.

Marshall and Rossman (1995) along with Mason (1996), reinforce the principle that qualitative research involves 'action and participation': for instance, taking into account how a researcher interacts with a chosen

⁴⁷ Acultural has been invented, and parallels the concept 'apolitical'. In essence, 'Acultural', reflects a situation where researchers have advocated that the 'scientific approach' is not bound by cultural tenets. I argue that this is a fallacy, in similar magnitude to the belief that researchers could be 'value free' (May, 1993). Researchers are culture-bound.

research framework,⁴⁸ or the nature of power relationships between researchers and subjects, or understanding the possible effects of a research framework on its subjects. Interestingly, Gubrium (1988: 5) had previously asserted that one of the core skills in qualitative research involved:

. . . reading of the social world or 'text' by interpretation of signs and linking these signs into coherent wholes or structured domains of meaning.

Eisner (1998) identifies six features used by qualitative researchers, to 'read the social world'. For instance, maintaining a 'Field focused/nonmanipulative and naturalistic approach' (Feature One), allows the researcher to 'appraise settings' as they are without too much disruption. Feature two, known as 'The self as an instrument', warns about the role of 'researcher influence' in 'engaging the research situation' and 'making sense' of it. As Eisner (1998: 34) puts it:

We need to remember that our influence is like bearing our own signature in the interview.

The third feature of 'Interpretative character' specifically demands that the researcher actively search for meaning and understanding about the experiences shared by subjects. Features four and five respectively look at the skills of deciphering expressive language conveyed by the narratives of respondents, and recognition about the necessity for being vigilant when gathering solid detail of the context, the event, key actors and their perceptions. The final feature of Eisner's analysis, 'judging their success', reinforces the value of critical analysis as a founding principle in qualitative research methodology. Eisner (1998: 39) summarises this feature by saying that:

⁴⁸ This point about qualitative research involving action and participation by the researcher with the research, indicates that the methodologies, theories, processes are bound to interact with the values and beliefs of the researcher - at times affecting the outcomes of the research and researcher perceptions surrounding that research inquiry arena.

. . . qualitative research becomes believable because of its coherence, insight, and instrumental utility. Not a reductionism perspective based on cause and effect.

Marshall and Rossman (1995: 5/6) sum up the challenges for those seeking to complete a qualitative research project:

The researcher who would conduct qualitative research faces at least three challenges: (1) to develop a conceptual framework that is thorough, concise and elegant; (2) to plan a design that is systematic and manageable yet flexible and (3) to integrate these into a coherent document that convinces the proposal reader - a funding agency or a dissertation committee - that the study should be done, can be done, and will be done.

Another point, in line with postmodernity principles, was that:

. . . despite its claims, modern science is not value free but contains important human interests and normative assumptions that should be identified, discussed, and examined (Banks, 1993: 5).

Value free neutrality patterns of research had become outdated in this postmodernistic search for uniqueness. This has also been supported by a refocus on empowerment and democratic processes that incorporate subjects into the affairs of research question construction, editing responses and dealing with issues about research ethics, ownership and dissemination of new information. Subjects were viewed as active participants, not just to be researched on and left in 'darkness', but to be part of that critical mass, the enlightened many, the intuitive experts, the actual researchers of their own realities.

Decision making about qualitative research design and analysis (interviewing types, triangulation, data collection, transcribing, data and content analysis, interpretation, generalisation, research ethics, even protocol to inform those appropriate people of your findings/results) will be addressed here. The key goal is to illustrate that qualitative research methodology has 'methodological substance'. To address this question, in 1994 Smith coordinated a conference entitled 'Promise and Controversy in qualitative inquiry: Different traditions and standards for rigors'. He

created a hypothetical research situation⁴⁹ that was conveyed to two guest speakers. These guest speakers, Don Wineholst a Professor of Hartford University Cincinnati and Debra Acker an Assistant Professor of North Carolina State University, then took those in attendance through the entire process they would embark on to deal with the requirements and standards of a qualitative research project. I have broken down their processes into five stages named as follows: 'Exploring for worthiness'; 'Doing the basics well', 'Bureau-Auto-Demo', 'Surfing the inner net', and finally, 'closing shop'. These have guided my own construction of the key components of qualitative research methodology.

Exploring for worthiness

Like most initial research endeavours, thinking through the conceptual and ethical quagmire to find or be grasped by the research question was not an easy process nor an automatic forthcoming exercise. Thus the name of this stage, 'Exploring for worthiness', involves connection of the head with the heart. Even when Wineholst and Acker were given a brief to look at the UNC Chapel Hill Medical school and reconfigured the boundaries of that research to fit their perceptions⁵⁰ of relevancy in terms of qualitative research, they still emphasised the need to 'feel connection with and to' the research. Barlow (cited in Marshall and Rossman, 1995) added enlightenment to that process of discovering not only the research question but in many ways the actual 'heart beat' of the research quest through what was coined a 'conceptual funnel'. The most significant hallmark of this funnel-process, was the downward movement from a widespread 'questions exploration focus' (large opening of the funnel), much like a preamble that led to 'the specific focus for that investigation'

⁴⁹ The hypothetical situation was that these two guest speakers were asked to develop a portrait (launch a study) of Chapel Hill Medical School attached to the University of Northern Carolina. The brief was for them to highlight their first actions, beliefs, values, and how they would design the study including the need to revise the study.

⁵⁰ Freire (1972) was aware of this tendency to bind things within a 'known' framework.

(Bogdan & Knapp Biklen, 1992⁵¹). When that specific focus was discovered, these times were momentous for the research and consequently were often described emotively. For instance 'I was grasped by the research' (Wiseholst, in Smith, 1994), or 'I experienced that fire in my belly' (Acker, in Smith, 1994). Another force, inherent in this discovery period was power to decide, accept or reject. This rested on the level and quality of 'developing personal theories of the researcher', albeit unsaid/silent, or active (Marshall and Rossman, 1995; Lather, 1991; Freire, 1972). Eisner (1998: 186) writes:

The importance of these theories or frameworks is not only that they provide a set of lenses through which to interpret what has been described, but also to the extent to which they are a part of the investigator's cognitive map, they steer the course of observation.

In other words, the challenge is to clarify and uncover those explicit or implicit, known or unknown, conceptual and theoretical glasses currently worn by the researcher, knowing that their main function is to reduce ambiguity and explain discrepancies in the inquiry arena. In the initial stages of dealing with social research, researchers are often prompted to understand their own boundaries on such topics as personal motives/hidden agendas, aims of the research, history, personal principles influencing the shape and structure of the inquiry undertaken, and ethical guidelines (Opie, 1995; Sarantakos, 1993; Bogdan and Knapp Biklen, 1992). This 'inside first - then outside' approach was encouraged to legitimate the interpretative skills of the researcher (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). A prime example of researcher influence and effect in research of this nature was highlighted by Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell and Alexander (1995: 194) who wrote about ethics. They laid out two interesting theoretical positions underpinning responses by researchers to ethics.

⁵¹ "Questions developed to guide a qualitative study need to be more open ended and concerned with process and meaning rather than cause and effect [reductionist thinking]" (156).

Ethical absolutist: researchers want to establish specific principles to guide all social research. Often these have been developed in a professional code of ethics. . . [while on the other hand] . . . Situational relativist: no absolute principles, researchers have to come to an ethical decision according to their individual interpretation of the situation at hand. Ethics are up to the individual's conscience.

Understanding those contrasting positions about ethics depicts the multiplicity of aspects that qualitative researchers appear to be faced with in seeking out in 'ethically sanctioned ways', that 'grasped' sensation. Moreover, finding the 'fire in the belly' sensation was a crucial part of energising the researcher to complete the research. Without it, one presents like a 'dud' firecracker. A lot of expectation but no impact. Qualitative research needs that 'heart beat' which pre-empts decisions about methodology. The next stage called 'Doing the basics well', is about checking out the types of methodological patterns one can operate from to design appropriate qualitative research foundations to support that 'pulsating heart'.

Doing the basics well

Choosing or reframing the qualitative research design, maintaining it and carrying out the mechanics to enhance outcomes requires informed decision-making. This stage is about recognising the choices available in formatting a qualitative research structure to deal with the research question. For Wineholst, contextualising strategies invoked for him an obvious role of interviewing across the various spectrums of that reality: students, staff, community, government, other universities, all had a place in his timetable to capture the essence of providing a portrait of Chapel Hill Medical School, as did archival and literature review strategies. Ackers was more intent on hearing the 'voices of the powerless'⁵² after

⁵² She saw those marginalised within the health system. During her Obstetric visits (OB), she met women also preparing for birth who were in less financial situations than she was.

identifying as 'being one of the others'.⁵³ Consequently her design involved in-depth interviews with patients receiving care from this State medical school. As implied in the first stage, both approaches on the same brief reflected the level of researcher connectedness, with the research.

What is important here is that fieldwork conditions weren't exactly the same, but incorporated choices. At one level, Gubrium (1988) saw 'fieldwork' as a place where skills of observation were used to systematically document the actions, thoughts and feelings of humanity. Importantly, at a more significant level fieldwork was also a place that implored:

participating with people in understanding everyday life, not vicariously, but analytically. It requires that we hear the philosophically astute voicing of the things and events of their worlds that simultaneously is heard by them and by us as voices other than their own (74).

Sarantakos (1993: 258) in discussing entry into fieldwork or establishing a field work design, made it clear that this structure involved taking into account:

. . . very basic but also complex and demanding activities; establishing the research environment and building up contacts - referred to as 'going native'. Identification of key persons, manipulating accessibility, choosing methods of contact, and settling into the group.

Often, responding to these concerns was time consuming, required a lot of resources and placed a premium on specific interpersonal communication, correlation and liaison skills needed by the researcher. Maguire (1993) mentions 'networking' as one such skill, while Lincoln (1985) alludes to another, that being trustworthiness. Therefore, methodology is about providing an account of the potential research sites and then obtaining data for analysis from those sites.

⁵³ She was expecting her first pregnancy at 41, and through attending her monthly OB (Obstetric) visits began to relate and affiliate with that patient group. She experienced

To obtain data I was interested in looking at a combination of qualitative research methodologies: interviewing and archival searching. May (1993) describes four types⁵⁴ of 'interviewing' fieldwork methodologies that had the potential to create a lot of data around the daily experiences, opinions, aspirations and feelings of people. The thought of engaging with the creative characteristics of data generated from in-depth interviews⁵⁵ or as May (1993) termed unstructured/focus interviews, intrigued me, but this aspect of 'going with the flow so to speak' also maintained that 'research mysticism'. The semi-structured interview appealed to my tutorage in the social sciences and also to my sense of 'being with' those interviewed.

In terms of the mechanics of social qualitative research, Eisner (1998) pinpointed one of the obvious strengths of interviewing methodology. Interviews can be conducted in the most unlikely, ordinary, unobtrusive, non-threatening places. More importantly, data can then be triangulated by tape/video recordings and researcher notes. So 'validity' is maintained by the presence of authentic data, by the 'secondary check' function of handwritten notes, and by giving insight into how individuals create, make sense of and interpret the phenomenon experienced in their lives. Minicheillo et al (1995) make no bones about the value of the interpretive approach in qualitative research. Positivistic concerns about validation and limiting researcher bias advocated by triangulation was placed in a secondary role, to the interpretive postmodernistic quest for meaning. One of the guiding similarities evident in both Acker and Wineholst's studies was that qualitative research allowed space for them to contribute an interpretation of the inquiry area that was uniquely their own. Both researchers spelt out their methods of collecting data and as Minichiello et

some sense of marginalisation which reinforced her identification as a 'marginalised other'.

⁵⁴ Structure, semi-structured, group, and unstructured/focused interviews are covered in more depth in May (1993).

⁵⁵ Minichiello et al, (1995: 75) contend that: "it is significant that all forms of in-depth interviewing are not predominantly used as hypothesis-testing modes of research but as theory-building ones".

al (1995) suggested used the strategy of sequencing⁵⁶ to minimise the ill effects of researcher bias. The choice of recording facilities for their interviews ranged from note taking, transcribing recorded interviews, developing analytic files on key themes that emerged and maintaining personal diaries of events and related experiences on a daily or regular basis. Glassner and Moreno (1989) stressed that if this was done in an orderly fashion the discovery of 'site specific findings' and even 'findings that could be generalised to other settings', was possible.

The other method of gathering data that seemed plausible to me in my field of inquiry was the document/archival qualitative research approach. Altheide (1996) outlines three key sources of document/archival research: those of a primary,⁵⁷ secondary⁵⁸ and auxiliary⁵⁹ nature. Altheide (1996: 28) goes on to state that:

A key category in most qualitative studies of documents involves meaning and emphasis. Several overlapping concepts that aim to capture the emphasis and meaning are frame, theme, and discourse.

This approach of using main frames (very broad thematic emphases or definitions of a report) enwrapping specific themes (a way of quickly summarising the common intricacies that have emerged) and espousing a range of interactive discourses (where debate and discussion are likely where challenges have surfaced) were all part of interpreting written documents in light of the research inquiry arena.

⁵⁶ Beginning with document analysis, moving to semistructured interviews and finishing off with in-depth ones.

⁵⁷ Objects of study, newspapers, magazines, television, diaries, archaeological artifacts (3).

⁵⁸ Records about primary documents and other objects of research, that is field notes, published reports about primary documents, other accounts at least one step removed from the initial data source by a researcher or some other filter. Diaries may also be included in this category (3).

⁵⁹ . . . a catchall - gathering information from any source conceivable such as garbology, photos and so forth (3).

Bureau-Auto-Demo

Wineholst and Acker (in Smith, 1994) also introduced three qualitative researcher profiles. Those who were 'Bureaucratic, Autocratic or Democratic' by nature.⁶⁰ While Wineholst was prepared to share his findings with those 'significant people' this did not mean that respondents were inclusive in the formation of his questionnaire and managed his research. Wineholst believed that he was an autocratic multidimensionally astute qualitative researcher. Even with patients assisting in the formation of a questionnaire Acker also labelled herself a fairly traditional autocratic qualitative researcher. Emancipation was not translated by these two researchers to mean respondent based and controlled research a point taken up in the sections 'Maori research' and 'A glide to light'.

Surfing the inner net

Understandably, qualitative data is often presented as 'disorderly and unorganised' data because it is usually comprised of words that 'invited a range of interpretations'. Glassner and Moreno (1989) went further to describe the data as 'telling convincing stories'. So with these two points in mind, Sarantakos (1993: 297) in his section on planning data analysis, wrote the following:

A qualitative analysis will involve firstly the assigning of meanings to data and devising concepts that will be analysed, refined and put in categories, followed then by a comparative analysis. Categorisation, development of typologies and formulation of hypotheses. Analysis takes place concurrently with collection of data.

If qualitative research data analysis and collection occur simultaneously, then this means that it is of uttermost importance to prepare oneself to

⁶⁰ Bureaucratic researchers are those who hold on to procedures and maintain clear power relationships within an orchestrated setting. Autocratic researchers, delight in making

interpret, search for, explain, formulate, even generalise the results, trends, patterns, relationships and conceptual themes that are relevant to the research question. This aptly named stage of 'Surfing the inner net', reflects those processes involved in analysing the data. Minichello (1990) makes an interesting distinction between data and content analysis. Data analysis is the overriding decision making process⁶¹ while content analysis reflects the codes decided upon to make sense of the research. The organisational processes of coding if done well, are bound to positively influence the standard of qualitative research carried out. Minichello (1990: 294) explains in more detail the role and function of coding:

Codes label and reorganise the data according to topics which open the inquiry and permit the researcher to make sense of the thousand of lines of words. They are retrieval and organising devices that cluster the relevant segment of the data relating to a particular theme or proposition.

Wineholst and Acker connected their own histories with the data collected and talked of providing 'fresh eyes' to make sense of it. For instance, Wineholst had been away from Northern Carolina for around fourteen years, but he coded 'racism' as one of the indicators to measure his data base on. Acker, used the theme 'hearing from the marginalised' to comprehend the relational factors between the medical school graduates and patients. The key here is that these codes were not just discovered after collecting data. These were in embryonic form on conception of the research question. In this stage of qualitative research methodology, its about drawing out of those codified patterned explanations so that they can be tested and challenged. And while alternative explanations may arise, as Williams and May (1996: 155) suggest, the potential for wider theoretical application is definitely a possibility:

decisions without really being accountable to others. Democratic researchers tend to use flat top management structures that are inclusive of those whom they want to research.

⁶¹ Minichiello (1990: 285) postulates that: "Data analysis can be broken down into a series of decisions: 1: Coding, discovering themes and developing propositions. 2: Refining one's themes and propositions. 3: Reporting the findings".

However, if you are able to demonstrate not only that you developed an explanation of your intellectual puzzle, but that you put it to the test in this way, then the rigour of your analysis, and the potential for saying it has a wider theoretical resonance, are much increased.

With coding in place, data analysis involves searching and arranging interviews, typing up transcripts, keeping fieldnotes, working with and organising the data, seeking patterns, understanding what was learned, writing memos to oneself (Bogdan & Knapp Biklen, 1992), going beyond simple content analysis to seeking out interpretative possibilities (Opie, 1995), using case study comparisons (Glassner & Moreno, 1989) even using technology⁶² to decipher any hidden themes or recurring messages from the study. These methodologies in unison provide the structure for 'discovery' of new knowledge, for explanation of old knowledge, for debunking research propositions, and for establishing the critical edge sought after by researchers.

Closing shop

I entitled this stage, 'Closing shop' because the whole design of qualitative research methodology is about posing questions and seeking interpretative insight. For Wineholst, it meant completing a dissertation under the propositions of being 'free to follow his own interests'"

I can follow my own interests and I'm thankful for that freedom. I've always to a large degree tried to practice that but have some batters and bruises for having done that along the way. But no longer folks. If I do a study now its going to be the way I want to do it and then we'll put it out there. If the world finds it valuable, interesting, good. If not we'll go on and do another one thats interesting to me (In Anderson, 1994: Tape 1, Side 1).

⁶² John Waldon a Colleague at Massey suggested that I look at 'Nudist', a software programme developed by qualitative researchers to deal with managing and categorising qualitative research. I was unable to follow through on this because I had already gathered and begun processing my data and felt that colour coding as a form of organising the data would be sufficient.

On the other hand, Ackers actively sought to make a change, not only at the individual level of engagement but also at the macro-societal level as well. Both perspectives were possible within qualitative research methodology. To explain why this was possible I conclude this analysis of qualitative methodology by quoting from Mason (1996: 158):

Generalization is not easy to achieve in qualitative research - or indeed in any research. It requires that you think carefully, and act strategically, throughout the whole research process, not just at the end when you are 'writing up'. You will need to be aware of what kinds of explanations you are attempting to construct . . . knowing what your explanation is doing (for example, comparing, developing and tracing, and so on), and knowing what is its relationship to the production of theory (for example, at what point theory comes in the analytical process, and also what type of theory - universal laws, underlying mechanisms, interpretive understandings-you are intending to contribute towards).

Connections to this thesis

Much like Fanon (in Donald & Rattansi, 1992), my trek into social research required that I tediously strip away at the big picture, knowing in the end that I would learn much about myself during the research process. I could relate to many of the points raised throughout this analysis on qualitative research. I did not spend large amounts of preparation time making choices about the specific research methodology, or the ethical aspects that I would adhere to, confront or experience in this research project. Though the library critique of qualitative research was completed in hindsight, I had started with a vision that my research methodology would involve an interview sequence. Likewise, in reviewing those Maori research approaches I already felt an affinity with the 'empowerment outcome and Maori centred research approaches'.

An integrated approach

'An integrated approach' identifies three key data sources used in this thesis. This section specifies what data were accessed, when this occurred and who was approached. Ethical considerations looks at how information

was obtained. An articulation of why these data sources were chosen is included in a positional statement of research methodology at the end of this section.

The three key sources were: firstly, six case studies of Maori organisations currently responding to Maori social policy/welfare/wellbeing concerns; secondly, an archival study based on the proceedings of three consultation processes with Maori; and finally, my PhD diary.

The six case studies were: Te Whanau O Waipareira (West Auckland), Manukau Urban Maori Authority (South Auckland), He Kamaka Oranga (Auckland Health Care), Te Puna Hauora (Bay Health, Tauranga), Heretaunga Taiwhenua (Hawkes Bay) and Ngati Koata Health and Social Services (Nelson). The proceedings investigated were those of Hui Taumata (1984), The Royal Commission on Social Policy (1987), and Hui Whakapumau (1994). The PhD diary was kept from June the 6th 1996 to August the 23rd 1996 to coincide with the gathering of interview data from the case studies. It specifically covered ad hoc interviews with Maori social service workers, and outlined key points from hui and several lectures attended.

The case studies

Te Whanau O Waipareira covering West Auckland, has an organisational infrastructure with various business arms, including an urban social service initiative. After initially visiting this organisation in July 1996, I completed four interviews during August 1996. These were with the chief executive officer (C.E.O) - John Tamihere, Connie Hana (Manager of Waipareira Social Services), Taotahi Pihama (Advisor in contract development to the C.E.O) and Hopeha Waru (Community project worker). The key reason for approaching Waipareira, was based on meritorious reports about this organisation's commitment to and efforts for urban Maori development and wellbeing.

The Manukau Urban Maori Authority (MUMA) of South Auckland, provided another urban experience and although it ran no obvious social service programme, it was suggested by my supervisors to make contact. It would provide an opportunity to compare and contrast with Waipareira. In August 1996, I completed a joint interview with June Jackson (Manager for MUMA) and her research officer - Daphine Ropiha.

Contact with 'He Kamaka Oranga' a Maori management unit for Auckland Health Care, was based on a referral by Connie Hana to meet Naida Pou (Manager of He Kamaka Oranga) who was also part of Te Whanau O Waipareira's support network. In September 1996 I interviewed Naida Pou and Glenis Tierney (Information service coordinator). Chris Mac Donald (Manager, Community health services), William Takarei (Leadership and unity service coordinator), Hemi Ruka Broughton (Maori policy analyst) were interviewed as a whanau. In relation to the thesis, this agency provided a prime illustration of Maori involved in policy development for Maori health and welfare at the management level.

Te Puna Hauora in Tauranga was approached as a case study for three important reasons. First, I already had whanau connections with Te Puna Hauora staff who were studying extramurally at Massey. Second, the innovations enacted by Te Puna Hauora had the reputation of being manifestations of tino rangatiratanga in action, and I wanted to explore these further. Third, members of this agency not only displayed strong support for iwi Maori control of Maori health and social services but also held a belief that mainstream non-Maori health services still needed to meet Te Tiriti O Waitangi obligations to Maori users of their service. In August 1996 I held a joint interview with Janice Kuka (Manager of Te Puna Hauora) and Cindy Mokokoko (Coordinator of Maori mental health development) and two whanau sessions which also included other members of Te Puna Hauora - Aroha Beal (Kuia) and Betty Mackay (Non Maori/Policy Analyst). During the second visit in September 1996, I interviewed Ann Stevens (Coordinator of Kaupapa Maori Nursing), Oriwa Poutu (Administrator) and Val Bidois (Maori clinical nurse for

outpatients), Clint Lovett (Maori Policy Coordinator), Wanda Ormsby (Kaupapa Maori nurse) and Cindy Mokokoko in her capacity as coordinator of Mental health services.

I interviewed Ngahiwi Tomoana (Chairperson of the Heretaunga Taiwhenua) in October 1996 and Allayna Watene (Health services Manager for the Taiwhenua) during November 1996 because these people were from the same iwi as my mother. Furthermore, they were aware of my involvement in social service education. These two key actors in Ngati Kahungunu hapu and iwi politics provided a rural iwi Maori perspective of Maori social wellbeing.

Ngati Koata social services became the sixth case study after an opportunity to travel to Nelson for present at a conference for New Zealand Valuation in October of 1996. I interviewed Wayne Taylor (Coordinator) and Allen Hippolite (Ngati Koata member) that same week of the conference. Allen Hippolite was interviewed because he provided a critique of the service delivery as a non residing member of the iwi.

The proceedings

- Hui Taumata (1984) conference proceedings - covering all the talks given during a Maori Economic Development Summit Conference at Parliament House in Wellington from the 29th to the 31st of October 1984.
- The Royal Commission on Social Policy proceedings of a hui held at Waipatu Marae, in Hastings on Thursday the 28th of May, 1987. Tape Nos. 75 to 83.
- All proceedings from Hui Whakapumau - Maori development conference, facilitated by the Department of Maori Studies, Massey University, August 1994.

The personal PhD diary

The diary was used to record research data other than those listed previously.

- Notes taken after attending the Maori Caucus of the New Zealand Council of Social Services hui at Apumoana Marare, Rotorua (6.6.96)
- Maori health providers hui, Flaxmere, Hastings (19.7.96)
- John Bradley's lecture to Master of Social Work students on iwi social services and the State (10.7.96)
- Home visit with Ema Jacobs - Ngati Raukawa Social Services supervisor (23.7.96)
- Number other contact experiences recorded in that three month period from June to August 1996.

Ethical considerations

Obtaining of consent to interview and then use the data acquired, was a threefold process. First, appointment times were made over the telephone. Second, I then posted out an information package to those six case study 'agencies'. This package contained an information sheet outlining the research to potential interviewees (see Appendix One), and a copy of an interview schedule to be used (see Appendix Two). And third, as illustrated in Appendix One, participants then were provided with an opportunity to withdraw when the first face to face (Kanohi ki te Kanohi) contact between researcher and participant occurred. The interview was in an incomplete state until such time as I received their edited interview transcript or they gave permission for me to use the information (oral permission). Herein they were given the opportunity to cut and paste information that they deemed irrelevant or sensitive. The oral confirmation was usually given in the first interview. The issue of

confidentiality was offered though participants were more than happy to be identified in the data. There is still a requirement on my part to revisit those researched, to give feedback on this area of inquiry that they contributed to.

A positional statement of research methodology

My research methodology is qualitative by nature, grounded in the mana of the Maori version of Te Tiriti O Waitangi, contains an in depth historical analysis of Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi relationships in Aotearoa, is reflective of my own positionality struggles between 'I' and 'the author states' - that is, making decisions about situating myself in the text, involved using a range of tikanga and kawa processes and is concerned primarily with the research question of what is Maori social policy development.

The case studies data was accumulated by using an in-depth, semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix Two). The archival data was gathered in two ways: by diary entries in my personal PhD diary, and through a systematic method of note taking (see Appendix Three for illustrations of both methods). All forms of data were colour coded for analysis purposes (see Appendix Four).

A glide to light . . .

It has taken eight years to complete this thesis part time. Those eight years contain invaluable experiences that manifested themselves like tukutuku patterns which intricately wove the research project to me and 'mine'. Even my shortcomings, the research design imperfections and those dead end explorations I engaged in, consolidated my understanding not only of social research and its place in dealing with things Maori but also increased my own awareness of what my responsibilities were as a Maori researcher investigating a social phenomenon affecting Maori. The purpose of this section is to identify and briefly discuss four significant components of my

so called 'learning curve'. These are listed as follows: Kaizen/growth and development, fire in the belly, supervision, family and research.

Kaizen/growth and development

The most important lesson I learnt was that research implied growth and development. Those research processes and skills of unravelling, investigating, postulating and creating were not acquired immediately nor in unison. For me it was a 'Kaizen'⁶³ experience: line upon line, step by step, there a little, here a little.⁶⁴ I too, said nearing the end of this research:

. . . had I known at the start, what I know now, things would have been different in supervision, planning, following up with whanau whom I interviewed, transcribing, writing, and so on.

Fire in the belly

Going through the growth and development cycles of this thesis has meant that I have actually 'felt the research'. To have 'felt the research' supports the view of discovering that 'fire in one's belly' about a topic of inquiry, in my case Maori social policy development. For Wineholst this equated to being 'grasped' by the inquiry terrain, while Acker likened this 'felt' and 'grasped' sensation to having compassion for and identification with those under study (Smith et al, 1994). Like many before me, the task of finding that overriding topic/question did not come easily. The difficulty was trying to reduce the focus from Maori development and Social policy, an area of study housing all potential Maori student Doctoral and Masters theses, to one within the parameters of my part - time life as an academic, and full time life as a father, husband, older brother and so forth. That search for the 'fire in the belly' topic progressed through the birth of our fifth child appropriately named 'Flame-Taaringaroa', and I got

⁶³ Kaizen is a Japanese concept based around the progressive movements of a frog. One jump might not be considered that far but the accumulative jumps will in fact move the frog on to its desired destination. Furthermore, sometimes the jump might be very small while the next one may be a leap of gigantic proportions.

⁶⁴ Doctrine and Covenants section 128 verse 21.

closer after wanting to know more about 'Maori social policy'. In supervision, the crystallisation of the thesis title 'The Politics of Maori Social Policy Development' was the outcome.

Supervision

Finding out what 'good supervision' is all about has been an incredible personal learning experience. As I came to understand the strengths each of my supervisors had to offer, supervision became more effective. I have been amazed at the pearls of wisdom, commitment, steadiness, energy and encouragement and advice given by these supervisors. In the last year, I also discovered the value of having a combination of supervisory talents at my disposal. On the one hand, Professor Mason Durie provided a wealth of knowledge and experience which guided me through the complexities of Maori issues in research and Maori social policy development. While on the other hand, Associate Professor Robyn Munford made every effort to provide editorial comment on my work and provide encouragement and support on a daily basis. That combination has worked wonders for me.

Family and research

Research has a life of its own and that affects the life cycles of a family. Likewise family histories can affect the nature and form of the research. My whanau impacted on that research in many ways, and what I have learnt is that these need not be considered 'limitations' to the research or its processes.

Concluding comment

In conclusion, this chapter of 'The Politics of Maori Research' has been about developing a sense of 'knowing' what, why and how to use social research in beneficial ways that improve the lot of humanity, and in particular the wellbeing of Maori in Aotearoa. This sets the scene to construct a Maori conceptual framework, which is the task of Chapter Two.

Table One: Postpositivist inquiry (Taken from Mead, 1996: 175).

<u>Predict</u>	<u>understand</u>	<u>emancipate</u>	<u>deconstruct</u>
Postivism	interpretive naturalistic constructivist phenomenological hermeneutic	critical neoMarxist feminist praxis-oriented educative Freirian participatory action research	Post structural postmodern post-paradigm diaspora

Chapter Two

Ko te ao tawhito o nga tupuna Maori . . . the roots of Maori social policy

The central research question, of 'what is Maori social policy', is approached in this chapter by addressing three important issues. First, it is important to remember that investigations into the Maori reasoning which supports Maori customary welfare practices should help in identifying Maori conceptual and theoretical paradigms used to advance Maori wellbeing. Second, observing these customary practices of dealing with Maori welfare concerns are manifestations of those identifiable paradigms. One of the tasks of this thesis is to see if these are transferable across time. Third, developing an in-depth understanding of traditional Maori wellbeing provides an opportunity to compare and contrast this phenomenon with its modern day equivalent. Knowledge of these underpinning conceptual/theoretical paradigms, customary practices and definitional perceptions of pre-contact Maori wellbeing, will be used to guide discussion and debate about the development of contemporary Maori social policy in the remaining chapters of this thesis.

This chapter introduces key life giving principles, active in the Tangata Whenua development period, prior to Tauwiwi contact. A critical examination of these life giving principles, and accompanying Maori customary practices and processes, instrumental in safeguarding the social wellbeing of those ancient indigenous forebearers within the contextual fabric of Aotearoa/New Zealand, will be the main focus of interest here. In addition, this study of traditional strategies that influenced the maintenance, promotion and transformation of Tangata Whenua social wellbeing, are deemed to be formulations of a Tangata Whenua interpretation of social policy, within that time frame. It is the aim of this chapter to explore those formulations fully. The intention is to construct a conceptual/theoretical platform by defining those guiding principles of wellbeing. In 'Concluding comment - a summary of the conceptual

platform for this thesis' there is acknowledgement that more work still needs to be done on the frameworks presented, but these carry the label of 'work in progress', and invite debate and discussion to improve their applicability.

Reminders . . .

Most of the research gathering on this topic centred around a review of the literature on pre-contact Maori society and culture. The second source used to decipher more clearly this inquiry terrain, has been the anecdotal and oral evidence imbued in, purakau [legends], pakiwaitara [folk lore/tales], whakatauaki [proverbs], pepeha [local sayings], and waiata [songs]. These have been used as another primary reference point to assist in the analysis of Maori wellbeing for those living prior to contact with non-Maori Western Eurocentric peoples.

Before the exploration begins, it is important to reflect on several dangers in seeking an authoritative overview of life before 'contact history'. Much of the material detailing the lives and experiences of those under study, was in fact written by cultural outsiders, who then claimed 'expertise status' and international fame as the knowledge holders of this designated, primitive culture. At times, they were not so free from their own cultural frameworks in their interpretation of prior contact realities, explained to them by Maori informants. For example, Lambert (1925: 163) implied a connection between ancient Maori social collectiveness and his distaste for communism:

The social life of the ancient Maori was extremely simple in its nature, for communism, though the curse of the present day Maori, was then his salvation.

Another, danger, was the way in which he and writers of his culture and time, continued to use male dominated language¹ to describe the

¹The emphasis here is that not only was the language 'white male dominated', but like most cultures, because language is the vehicle of that culture so too were white male values transferred with that language medium as it attempted to describe accurately the Maori

traditional Maori cultural experience. Yet another danger was the way that some writers tried to provide orderly, static, all encompassing analyses of this essentially dynamic, growing culture. Best (1924), like Firth (1959), was well familiar with using Maori informants. The insights provided by these informants gave legitimacy to the images of traditional Maori tribal life expressed in their research. Salmond (1991) viewed the works of Elsdon Best, Te Rangihiroa [Sir Peter Buck] and Raymond Firth as monumental, in terms of supplying an 'acceptance and accessible', pro - Maori account of Maori culture and society. However, quite rightly Salmond (1991: 13) points out that their research also tended to portray the traditional Maori world as an:

. . . orderly structure, broadly the same from one end of the country to another, and relatively static and unchanging.

Salmond's anthropological observations assert that pre-contact Maori society was more than likely a continuation of the present expressions of living reality: that is, it was a robust, resilient life style based on innovation and change; and that diversity within and between tribal traditions and experience was a notable and realistic norm. A final danger to be aware of was that it seems quite plausible that these Maori informants advanced their own whanau or hapu perspectives but to make sense of the diversity the writers widened the application of that material to include whole iwi and at times all Maoridom. This point was well illustrated by Best (1925) in his epic entitled '*Tuhoe: The children of the mist*' Vol. One and Vol. Two. Although shown as an all inclusive study of the iwi/nation of Tuhoe, certain hapu perspectives were reinforced while others were not.² Ignoring these dangers Tauwiwi explorers and recorders, tediously went about their task of gathering a wide range of cultural, anthropological and ethnographic data on 'nga tupuna Maori o nehera' without considering any cross cultural implications to their information gathering activities. Maori contemporary historical researchers such as

experience.

²I am indebted to Taiarahi Black for this insight.

Soutar (1991) and Keenan (1994) have actively sought to provide a culturally informed, more balanced account of the knowledge and wisdom Tauwiwi had collated and used to describe Maori culture.

The conceptual platform . . . I haere Maori atu i hoki Maori mai³

These life giving principles of wellbeing that emanate from 'Te Ao Tawhito', have been arranged in corresponding patterns to the genealogical stages that produced the kinship relationships between all matter, of that historical space.⁴ It is important to recognise that these principles interlock to some degree, with each other in the set⁵ established in this chapter. A further contention is that the conceptual philosophical platform chosen here, will allow one to gain further understanding about the thinking and practices of the ancients as they responded to their social wellbeing demands. Consequently, the set of guiding principles of wellbeing will be incorporated under the heading, 'Tikitiki o Rangi - Esoteric lore'.⁶

The foundations of pre-contact Maori society drew strength from a 'single cosmic system philosophy' (Metge, 1967), that irrevocably interconnected (Bruce, 1932; Salmond, 1991) all the various dimensions of reality. What's more, within this one cosmic system, the esoteric [Spiritual] dimension (Greenland in Spoonley et al, 1991 Walker, 1990), remained a supreme contributor and; determinator of all aspects of that old world. The following whakatauki bears out this very point:

³Spoken after the first deputation representing King Tawhiao of Tainui, went in 1884, to engage with the Crown of England. In that context, the underlying message was that they had achieved nothing in their visit with the Crown (Hopa, 1988). However, this has been used differently here, to depict the position that the author takes: Maori need to look at Maori social policy development, using Maori cultural understandings as the driving analysis force.

⁴Teaching from Tohunga such as Mohi Ruatapu (Reedy, 1993), eloquently combined and interconnected the esoteric, natural and human elements through use of whakapapa.

⁵Mason Durie (1985) and Brian Ponter (1989) both seem to agree with the fact that Western-Eurocentric views of the world seek to dichotomise and compartmentalise various phenomenon being researched. Conversely, indigenous cultures such as Maori, used a more holistic perspective when critiquing those same phenomenon. Subsequently, understanding appeared to be determined by one's worldview.

. . . Karakia te amorangi ki mua te hapai o ki muri.⁷

A study of that dimension and its relationship to the other components of that 'single cosmic system', will be determined by the following set of life giving principles that underpin that domain. This philosophical platform from the esoteric dimension on wellbeing introduces the principles of 'Wairuatanga', 'Whakapapa' and 'Tikanga - Kawa'.

The life giving principle of Wairuatanga

The life giving principle of wairuatanga, though intrinsically tied to whakapapa, tikanga and kawa, remains clearly the overriding phenomenon looming from 'Tikitiki o rangi'. It seems timely to provide a breakdown of wairuatanga for definitional purposes. A general reference point taken to define wairua has been drawn from Lorraine and Muru Walters (1987: 11) discussion with one of their kaumatua:

Tenei mea te wairua he wai ano te wai he rua ano te rua.
Na reira te wairua nei. I timata ake i te puna o te ngakau te puna o te ora. Na ka haere tonu te wairua nei. Ka pupu ake ki te whatu manawa ka puta ki te whai ao ki te ao marama. Horekau atu he wairua atu i tena. No te ngakau ka puta i mohiotia ai te wairuatanga Maori e korerotia nei e tatou.⁸

Traditionally, there appeared to be general agreement that wairua imposed an entire set of social obligations and rules for 'engaging', which humanity used frequently to dialogue and interact with all the other dimensions of their universe. These sets of social obligations and rules for engaging, were determined on the one hand, by the collective experiences of whanau, hapu and iwi and on the other hand, by 'specialist/elitist' bodies of

⁶Also referred to as 'Te Kauwae runga - The celestial knowledge' (Smith, 1913).

⁷"It is a way of saying that spiritual matters come first, before worldly business: Karakia became the vehicle to establish dialogue with the supernatural" (Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, 1989).

⁸ Translation - "This wairua thing. Wai is water and rua is the number two, so we have two waters or streams. One stream began out of the guts - the source of life. Wairua moved like a stream on its first journey to the heart and was released or liberated as a second stream into day light and enlightenment. There is no other explanation for spirit. The Maori spirituality which is discussed is from the guts. However, for Pakeha spirituality, their explanation must come from themselves".

knowledge concerning the spiritual nature of the traditional Maori ethos. The addition of 'tanga' to wairua, gave that 'collective' sense to Maori spirituality. The translation of wairuatanga thus highlighted a collective spiritualism, which connected whanau, hapu and iwi to all elements of their real world. The application of collective spiritualism is wider than the Western Eurocentric notions of religion or spirituality, but more in line with a world view that revered the matua - tamariki power relationships between the esoteric, natural and humanity dimensions. It was observed that those relational principles and precepts of wairuatanga impinged on the lives of the ancients in many diverse ways. For instance, while Best (1924 b) interpreted that wairuatanga 'usurped the place of civil law', evidence supports the view that wairuatanga was Maori civil law. Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa (1989) further attested to this by declaring that wairuatanga saturated every activity and relationship matrix of the Maori world. Reflected in this observation is a tacit reminder that this 'deep spiritual/world reality', based on a 'one - cosmo'⁹ Maori experience was cemented together by the power of mana atua. These binding powers of mana atua provided civil order and justice.

Earlier recorders of traditional Maori culture and society, appeared to be myopic in their search for spiritual realities, and found it difficult breaking away from their own strongly fixed, puritan impressions flavouring Christian monism. The use of western religious paradigms became the basis of many of their analytic forays into Maori realms of wairuatanga. At times, their resultant summations were indicative of their own levels of ignorance.

The Rev. J. Buller stated that the Maori had no religion, while the Rev. R. Taylor maintained that he [Maori] was a devil worshipper; but neither had any true knowledge of native beliefs. That road was closed to them for two reasons: the white man did not want to learn, the brown man had no desire to teach him (Best, 1924 b: 18/19).

⁹This 'one - cosmos' analysis is developed further in the second principle of whakapapa - under the sub heading of 'Whakapapa and the creation stories'.

An interesting comment by Reverend Taylor shows just how far their own cultural platform took them in analysing Maori spirituality.

. . . that the religion of low races is not immoral but unmoral; a code of morality exists, but it is not connected with religion showing that morality is not necessary to natural religion (Best, 1924 b: 23/24).

Although Best's (1924) pro-Maori bias showed throughout his works, he still believed that the Maori religious concepts were in no way as well defined as theological systems from his own cultural framework. This proposition seems to be supported in that few or no Maori public institutions of that epoch were ever used for overt worship,¹⁰ nor was there any 'active missionary programme' to gain new converts in operation. As well, there appeared to be a considerable amount of variation between the pre-contact tribal nations, due largely to issues of isolation which curbed opportunities for dialogue and communicative intercourse on religious matters.

Marsden (in King, 1992) noted that the Maori cultural milieu was based on the ancients having an 'intimate relationship' with the gods and the other components that made up their universe. In order for this to occur, the physical reality needed to be immersed and integrated with those of a spiritual nature. Henare (1988: 15) vivifies this position and adds:

All these are associated with the belief that supernatural forces govern and influence the way people interact with each other and relate to the environment.

Barlow (1991) and Ruwhiu (1995) extend on this view of 'supernatural forces governing and influencing' the relational terrain by writing that their ancestors understood, comprehended and lived by a central truism. This truism was based on a belief that not only were there clearly defined

¹⁰Beckham (1969: 111) wrote that early Europeans saw few signs of religion amongst the Maori, ". . . they had no public places of worship like the inhabitants of the islands - They acknowledged, however the influence of superior beings and have nearly the same account of the creation of the world and mankind like the islands of the seas."

intersection points between the spiritual, physical and natural terrains but moreover, all things had a spiritual identity as well.

E peenei ana te whakaaro o te Maori, he tinana wairua, he tinana kikokiko too ngaa mea katoa, ahakoa te whenua, he wairua toona; te moana, he wairua toona; te kararehe, he wairua toona; heke iho ki te tangata, he wairua toona. I mua atu i te whakaahuatanga o te tangata i te oneone, he wairua ia - i noho tahi me ngaa atua¹¹ (Barlow, 1991: 152).

Such a perspective, introduced the idea of being able to actively function and interact with the host of entities placed across the esoteric, natural and human dimensions in a meaningful life sustaining manner, at the spiritual level, in consultation with their spiritual manifestations. Having a spiritual identity with a central place of origin, gave rise to notions of mana, wehi , ihi, tapu and noa, especially when the whakapapa lines suggested that those very life sustaining resources from papatuanuku and ranginui were in fact genealogically connected to the same one's desiring to consume or use them.

Mana became the conceptual cement, and set the conditions for interaction and exchange to occur. The tapu and noa components regulated those life giving exchanges by minimising the rise of detrimental factors through a process of correctness. Wehi and ihi were the evaluative tools of analysis to check the effects of those interactions and exchanges between the parties in communion. Though much of the literature in contemporary times contends that Maori spiritualism seemed all embracing, one might consider it a contradiction to discover that a Maori philosophy was built on patterns of departmentalisation. For example, historical data presents Maori societal settings that gave reverence to a 'pecking order' between many gods, had a range of minor and key kaitiaki, and used a system of graded teachers, and specialists to convey knowledge to future generations. However, in the same breath, each departmentalisation in traditional

¹¹Translated as "The Maori believe that all things have a spirit as well as a physical body; even the earth has a spirit, the sea has a spirit, and so do the animals, birds, and fish; mankind also has a spirit. Before man was fashioned from the elements of the earth,

Maori society was linked to notions of collective wellbeing. Subsequently, wairuatanga embraced a multiplicity of gods: creators of all the fire, earth, water, and air elements that made up the ancient world of the Maori; established an interactive accord: this meant that social roles were imbued with responsibility to be the 'go between' or the 'medium' between the physical and spiritual worlds within that one cosmo reality; and finally allowed people the ability to exert some control over their world using the power of the word (Henare, 1988). One can understand why Te Heu Heu a paramount chief of the Tuwharetoa, based on the shores of Taupo, in conversation with Rev. Richard Taylor, wholeheartedly supported the use of wairuatanga, and even ridiculed the introduction of a single god scenario that seemed to lack the commonsenseness of his world view. This commonsenseness of his world view lies within his korero with Taylor:

Is there one maker of all things amongst you Europeans? Is not one a carpenter, another a blacksmith, And so it was in the beginning, one made this another that: Tane made trees, Ru mountains, Tangaroa fish and so forth. Your religion is of today, ours from remote antiquity. Do not think then to destroy our ancient faith with your fresh born religion (in Taylor, 1855: 108).

A critique of Wairuatanga as a life giving principle

There was an inclination to dismiss, as the growing pains of an infant primitive budding culture, much of the known material surrounding traditional Maori thinking and behaviour about wairuatanga. Yet, this study of wairuatanga as a healing principle for pre-contact Maori, was underpinned by the following notions of respect, balance and multidimensional interaction.

The notion of respect inherent in Wairuatanga

Much of the discussion thus far has concentrated on the metaphysical aspects of wairuatanga. Patterson (1992), rightly takes time to acquaint the reader with the value laden aspects of Maori spirituality as well. One such value is that of respect. Wairuatanga is built on respect for all things. The respect concepts of mauri, tapu, mana applied as equally to people, as to a stone, a landmark, air or animals. Furthermore, this notion of respect was tied to a belief that everything also had protecting guardians, known as kaitiaki. Some of these kaitiaki were familiar to specific whanau, others were in the realm of departmental gods. Knowing that everything was connected and also protected highlighted the need for those mediators between the spiritual and physical planes to understand how the translation of that respect into protocol and practice occurred. Why place such importance on this value in relation to wairuatanga? Smith (1913: v) gives one response to such a question:

The Gods were ever at hand, continually interfering in the affairs of mankind, even becoming the fathers of offspring by human women. The spiritual enters into all relations of life, whilst the gods are always, as is only to be expected, of an anthropomorphic nature.

With this in mind these mediators pursued and produced a system of philosophy - one level of wairuatanga, to sufficiently provide explanation for universal questions such as, where did they come from, why were they here and where were they going to at the conclusion of their mortal existence. These mediators, chosen in part by their own, were also classified according to their genealogical lines, their ability to learn the various levels of lore and individual mana. Best's research discovered that in ancient times these mediators - teachers - tohunga were graded:

To be precise one should add to tohunga an explanatory term, as tohunga ahurewa or tohunga tuahu [a high - class priest], tohunga kehua [a shaman] tohunga makutu [a wizard], tohunga whai hanga [carpenter], tohunga whakairo [a tattooing or carving artist] (1924: 244).

Te Kani Te Ua (1932: 1932: 44, 45, 46) is more explicit in his description of that grading:

Taumata Ahurewa - the priest of the sacred place where the mystic ceremonies were conducted. . . Second grade teachers - were acquainted with the ritual pertaining to the departmental gods and second to the ritual in connection with the tribal gods. . . Third grade Tohunga (Charlatan by nature). They were the medium of demons and imposed upon the people by shamanistic practices.

The wairuatanga of Maori in those days maintained this type of mediator structure. This structure brought the people very close to their gods on a daily basis, and respect between the parties allowed a harmonious challenging dynamic system of reality to exist. Sinclair (1976: 39) adds to that notion of respect by outlining the reciprocity lines established between the esoteric and the human social order structures:

Religious ideology was intimately bound up with social order: genealogies linked the higher status members with the divinities while chiefly power was supported and vindicated by the Gods.

A debated issue surfaces from the historical evidence, namely that much of those intra and inter whanau, hapu and iwi conflicts seemed to be founded on disrespect. Even with a strong spiritual foundation demanding respect, the ancients of that time period, seemed to regularly engage in situations that were hostile and often involved a lack of respect. A closer look at this notion of respect shows that it was measured in terms of obligations and responsibilities and the outcomes were immediate and usually in the physical terrain. This did not reduce the dependency between the different dimensions but created many reciprocity demands. Therefore respect in this sense, created opposition in all things: in the form of threatening acts of reciprocity for those who failed to meet their obligations. Also validated was the survival perspective: the strong could dominate and take over the weak or vice versa, especially if the spiritual environment was accessed appropriately. Consequently, this notion of respect was inextricably linked to disrespect, much like the relational

joining of tapu and noa. Chapple and Veitch (1939: 7) inaccurately imply that all Maori ever wanted to do was seek an excuse to fight. Yet in the following statement they do un-beknowingly to themselves, give some insight into the reciprocity terrain created by this notion of respect:

If excuses were wanted they were plentiful and ready at hand. Sights, fancied or otherwise, insults to chiefs or to their relatives, trespass of rat-runs or of fishing ground, disputed rights to occupancy of land were all common excuses for a start, and a feud once commenced, good memories and the thirst of vengeance (utu) would do the rest.

Sinclair (1976: 39) renders an analysis of the way in which the notion of respect from wairuatanga, was active in responding to the spiritual and physical demands of wellbeing for those Maori ancestors.

. . . that man has his corporeal and his sacred dimensions - both demanding attention and satisfaction. The often warring demands of this dual aspect required ritual recognition and upon this the system of tapu rested.

However, though he implies a firm line can be drawn between the corporeal and sacred dimensions of reality, these were in fact intricately woven, and interconnected to make such a clear distinction, even duality, difficult to comprehend.

The notion of balance inherent in Wairuatanga

When thinking of this notion in relation to wairuatanga, the life of Te Maiharanui¹², provides a good illustration. He held so much personal tapu, that it often created situations where his very presence upset the physical, spiritual and natural balances in certain environments. For example, if his shadow fell on a food storage amenity, all the resources within would be deemed 'unusable'. A firm knowledge of the spiritual aspects affecting their world would have been central to any interaction

¹²A revered spiritual head of Kai Tahu who lived in Banks Peninsula and Kaiapoi during the earlier part of the 19th Century.

with Te Maiharanui. Mikaere (1988: 10) describes a situation where imbalance resulted in wide scale inter - hapu conflict:

Some time in the second decade of the century, a woman from Waikakahi, near the southern end of Wairewa (Lake Forsyth), decided to wear a dogskin cloak which belonged to Te Maiharanui, while he was absent. Her action was a grave insult, and Te Maiharanui's relations revenged it with blood. The killings provoked full-scale hostilities between the people of Taumutu, where Waihora (Lake Ellesmere) opened to the sea, and those of Banks Peninsula and Kaiapoi.

This situation involved extracting utu to compensate for the wrong created by the hara that disturbed the balances previously in existence. Patterson (1992) takes the analysis regarding balance a step further by translating it back into a philosophical dimension to highlight its role in dealing appropriately with all types of ills befalling humanity. The view postulated here, is similar in many respects to other non-western cultural methods of approaching ill health and negative wellbeing.¹³

The proper and natural state of the world is one of balance. When things go wrong - for example when a forest is smitten with a virus disease - that is a sign that something has upset the balance. The correct response is not to attack the symptom - the virus - but to restore the balance, and until that is done there will continue to be trouble of one sort or another (38).

In addition, wairuatanga was all about recognising the order of this universe and implementing checks and balances to capitalise on opportunities to maintain or increase the wellbeing of the collective. Reassurances of wellbeing were based wholly on performing the correct or correcting rituals to restore the balance of that society. Pere (1982) accentuated this by declaring that the ancients readily looked for support from their supernatural personalities to assist them in their daily living. In order to gain support from the supernatural terrain, tributes were made.

¹³Refer to the writing of Davin Wing Sue (1981).

These were either of a spiritual or even physical nature. Pere (1982: 15) gives further clarity.

Whether a tribute was made in a physical or spiritual form, the correct format and procedure was of utmost importance. The slightest error was regarded as an ill-omen that brought with it some retribution. To the Maori, a mistake was a definite 'Tohu' (sign) that all was not well, and that some disaster or tragedy would strike before long. The people who took the lead in spiritual matters had to be perfectionists.

The notion of multidimensional interaction inherent in Wairuatanga

This notion permeated throughout all the dimensions of the traditional Maori world. 'Multidimensional', was and is about developing a blueprint for interrelatedness and connectedness. Although whakapapa is often referred to as the catalyst for this type of joining, this notion actually drew its origins from wairuatanga. Henare (1988: 15) when writing about 'Nga tikanga me nga ritenga o te ao Maori', gave some insight about the way in which wairuatanga was paramount in terms of the various levels of reality and their interrelatedness to each other.

The Maori understand the physical realm as being immersed in and integrated with the spiritual realm. Every act, natural phenomena and other influences were considered to have both physical and spiritual implications.

An advantage that wairuatanga introduced to the living world, was that it allowed those mediators of the various dimensions to recognise which level they needed to access for wellbeing needs to be met. Henare (1988)¹⁴ explained that once these dimensions were recognised then those human mediators, through correct ritual and protocols, used the spoken word to bring into play an element of control over the direction and activities of parts of their known universe. It was also about integration that took into

¹⁴"The Maori world view incorporates a belief in the interrelatedness of people and nature and the ability of people to exert some control over the natural world by the power of the spoken word." (Henare, 1994: 10)

account the view that Maori wellbeing was not just a physical health issue. It involved understanding about the multidimensional spheres of engagement and responding in like manner. In other words, good Maori wellbeing would reflect on the good wellbeing of water, grass, forests and so forth.

Limitations of the life giving principle of Wairuatanga

One of the limitations to this life giving principle was that the masses were not always in control of their destinies. A chant or karakia or hara could instantly jeopardise the wellbeing of the individual and also the collective. There was a heavy reliance on a structure of accountability that reeked with hierarchical power. For instance, learning the appropriate chants or incantations was viewed as a privilege, and placed those living repositories of tribal/nation knowledge, with enormous amounts of personal power and control. Instances abound where this power and control led to death and betrayal.¹⁵ Te Matorohanga, emphasised another limitation during a mihi he gave in 1856. Those houses of learning, 'Whare Waananga', were not consistent in the teaching of Maori lore from Te Kauae runga/celestial knowledge.

There was no one universal system of teaching in the whare waananga. Each tribe had its own priests, its own college, and its own method (Smith, 1913: 84).

Moreover, it was quite plausible, that spiritual information was highly localised but limited in a transferrable sense as a learning institution across the Maori nation bodies.

Strengths of the life giving principle of Wairuatanga

Wairuatanga was not practised as a separate institution where believers were herded off to Church on a Sunday. Its strength was that it was submerged in and throughout all aspects of the natural living terrains of

¹⁵The strategies that Kahungunu used to gain the hand of Rongomaiwahine - that culminated in the betrayal and death of her husband.

humanity. In other words, it was an every day - every minute, lived phenomenon. It was not something that was just a philosophical position, but a phenomenon that was continually used and developed in the real life situations of the ancients. Wairuatanga maintained a dual role in the reality makeup of the traditional Maori world. First, evidence points to wairuatanga as the original source of pain and suffering, yet second, it is also the source of all healing and wellbeing. Dealing with the tapu restrictions and correct protocol therefore had major benefits for those on track and in line with the demands of such a system.

Perhaps the most outstanding aspect of wairuatanga was that it provided moral reasoning, used to analyse their real lives and situations. In other words, a moral platform that supported the various interactions of humanity with their gods and the numerous natural entities. In summary, Salmond (1991: 43, 44) suitably explains why this was valued:

People prized this contact with the gods and safeguarded it by observing the laws of tapu, which set apart those people, times and places where the gods were present and in communication with the human world. . . Ancestor - gods gave people courage and confidence in their daily lives - although ritual errors or attacks by hostile gods could cause intense fear and even death; but this did not lead to a neglect of practical knowledge.

With a knowledge of wairuatanga firmly in place, it seems timely to now shift the focus onto the second life giving principle.

The life giving principle of Whakapapa

The second most important life giving principle to study within the esoteric dimension is that of Whakapapa. Its relationship to wairuatanga is central to the entire traditional Maori ethos. Healy (1988: 20/21) encapsulated this relationship through a macro interpretation of whakapapa.

At the heart of identity and of spirituality for the Maori lies whakapapa. . . [and] . . . Whakapapa embraces the history and the cosmology of a people.

As this is an introduction to whakapapa, a definition analysis of this principle will begin this section. This will be followed by addressing the role of whakapapa in responding to questions of where did they come from - an issue of place of origin. Discussion about authenticity surrounding the link of whakapapa to creation stories and knowledge acquisition should provide ample opportunity to view the traditional approaches to making whakapapa a 'worked phenomenon'. The second part of this section focuses on critiquing whakapapa as a life giving principle. Various notions inherent in whakapapa will be revealed, as well as some of its limitations and strengths.

A definition analysis of Whakapapa

Makereti (1986) defined whakapapa as genealogy. She explained in detail her own genealogical connections to others of her whanau, hapu and iwi by describing her kinship descent line from an eponymous ancestor, common to all in question. Binney and Chaplin (1986) added to this connecting power of whakapapa by stating that the backbone of Maori history, whanau, hapu and iwi development was a direct result of the strength of kinship ties in traditional Maori society. Whakapapa also strengthened the basic belief that one's future was linked up with one's past so that heritage was firmly implanted to make sure members of that whanau would know who and what they were. Of paramount concern was keeping their unique collective identity intact (Pere, 1984; 1985). Beaglehole (in Sutherland, 1940: 51) amplifies this notion of collective identity in whakapapa:

All members of the tribe could trace direct genealogical relationships with each other.

Ngata went a step further and suggested that traditional Maori sought to make everything related in their known world. Here whakapapa took on a global multidimensional linking characteristic:

Blood relationship is the real and fundamental factor in determining tribal groupings and the attempt is made in Maori life to connect all organised relationships with

actual blood kinship and common descent (in Sutherland, 1940: 166).

Smith (1986) analysed the role of whakapapa along obligation lines at two critical levels. First, at the micro level, whakapapa was important in establishing relationships, setting up an obligations/rights environment, and reinforcing patterns of personal influence and or credibility. Second, at the macro iwi level she discloses that:

Whakapapa was used to maintain more political relationships, to assert dominance, to sort out allegiances, to lay claims, to remember significant past events, and to maintain a time scale (Smith, 1986: 6).

Smith also alludes to the function of whakapapa as an evaluative tool for summing up the moral fabric and personal characteristics of an individual. Pei Te Hurinui (1959: 3, 3/4) in his translations of Tainui tribal history, gave support to such a notion at the personal level when recording the life of Te Rauangaanga - chieftain warrior and father of Te Wherowhero:

Apart, therefore, from any intimate knowledge of the character, behaviour and achievements of any candidate for high office, or as a suitor for a maiden's hand in marriage, the Maori, after a recital of a man's genealogy had been given, would soon sum up his worth. . . More often than not, after assaying the demerits and fine points in whakapapa, the Maori made an accurate valuation.

Not only was this achievable at the personal level but whole whanau and hapu within iwi acquired and were known to hold certain moral traits and characteristics.¹⁶ Finally, Gilgen (1991) and Salmond (1991) both bring the reader again back to the influential nature of this life giving principle in terms of ordering the relational environments of the ancients. Salmond (1991: 42) summarises this principle as follows:

Whakapapa (genealogy) was the central principle that ordered the universe and this, too, was often expressed in

¹⁶Offspring of Hineringa - Ngatipahauwera, are renowned for their healing skills and ability. This appears to be an inherited trait for this hapu in Ngatikahungunu.

metaphor's of plant growth, so that a descent line might be described as a gourd plant with the main line as its stem and subsidiary lines branching off like twining tendrils which might either flourish, or wither away and die. All things in the world were held to share common qualities of life.

And Gilgen (1991: 6) highlights its living developmental nature:

It is important to understand that whakapapa is continually evolving and being extended, as all experiences in the present arise directly out of the past. Hence, in the present we are the living embodiment and representation of all that has gone before us. In this respect, whakapapa is a living reality for all Maori, it is Maori identity.

Thus far in this definitions analysis of whakapapa, the notions of connectedness, collective identity, a global multidimensional linking tendency, the establishment of obligations, evaluation usage patterns, its centrality in all things, and its propensity to develop as a living reality, have been displayed. Whakapapa was about understanding your roots of origin.

Whakapapa and place of origin

The discrepancies regarding the exact place of initial origin for Maori society, and the authenticity of held information about origin, is someone else's thesis, but four factors have remained constant through the literature and oral evidences given. First, the Polynesian connection is undisputed. Second, the migration and travel routes to Aotearoa were well known to these seafaring travellers, settlers and explorers. They often traversed these routes leading to and from Aotearoa. Such an understanding added weight to the view that Aotearoa was not populated by a 'Great Fleet'¹⁷ migration. Rather, it lends weight to the view that the

¹⁷Apparently the various Maori iwi were supposed to have arrived together in fleet formation to begin inhabiting Aotearoa. The thought that Maori regularly travelled to and from Aotearoa was not perceivable to the initial non-Maori commentators of Maori whakapapa and history. In order to fit their perceptions they created the 'Great Fleet' migration theory.

settlement of Aotearoa by various Maori iwi was a progressive developmental process that took years. As Brailsford (1981: 3) affirmed:

Authentic tribal traditions tell a canoe story, not a fleet story. The great fleet was a European invention that made its first appearance in the 1860s.

Third, what is obvious from investigating literature concerning the whakapapa origins or beginnings of Maori culture and society, is that Aotearoa was a landing place, that became the key home of origin for Maori people (Buck, 1949). The fourth and final point converges around the esoteric connections valued by the traditional Maori historical accounts. For those familiar with the wairuatanga dimension of Maori society, it seems absurd and invalid not to give any credence to the creation stories that link humanity to the gods. For example, most cultures profess a connection back to their form of deity - from stone henge, to totem poles, to Aztec temples, to pyramids, to whare waananga, to buddhist places of worship, to monasteries, to churches, the connections to the esoteric are more than just figurative. Kings, queens, rulers, chiefs, leaders, politicians, state representatives and so on, all sought confirmation of their roles from deity. To deny critiquing these terrains or to marginalise these dimensional crossovers by categorising them as non issue, or mere stories or myths, leaves the research on whakapapa incomplete.¹⁸

For organisational reasons, the next part of this section has been broken into two sub - parts. To start with, part one provides discussion about authenticity surrounding the link of whakapapa to creation stories. Part two then focuses on whakapapa and its relationship to knowledge acquisition to view the traditional approaches used for retaining this valued knowledge and wisdom. There are a range of key research questions to remember as this material is analysed. Did Maori have theoretical/conceptual material? If so where did this material reside and

¹⁸This will be looked at in more detail under the subsection on Whakapapa and the creation

how could it be accessed? In terms of Maori social policy development, was it possible to formulate from such sources, if they existed, Maori social policy theories to achieve positive Maori wellbeing?

Whakapapa and the Creation stories

The relationship between the living principle of whakapapa and the creation stories opens up an entire tapestry of Maori philosophy conceptualisations and thought used by the ancients to maintain their identity and relationships with nature and the gods (Pere, 1982). Like other cultures,¹⁹ Maori also saw their ethos, their original creation as being wholly connected to the establishment of their world and universe, in both spiritual and physical terms. For example, Taylor's (1855) Maori informants supplied him with a genealogical analysis of the creation of this universe and the eventual emergence of the human element. At the same time, those genealogical pathways established a hierarchy of relational configurations between the Gods, Nature and Humanity.

Dittmer (1907) seemed to be captivated by the intricate nature of Maori thinking about the mystical development of a universe where the gods were the root source of humanity. This meant that these dimensions were tied together in a common descent line which strategically established a cosmos - reality based on kinship links originating from an esoteric primeval source common to all. Whakapapa described and reinforced the inter-relationships between the creation process starting from nothingness, to budding forms of developmental thought and process formation, injecting the human element and finally introducing the notion of posterity or increase²⁰ of all matter in their known world. Sinclair (1976: 37), using this understanding was able to conclude that:

stories.

¹⁹Christianity based Western societies saw the emergence of all things from the seven day creation epic described in Genesis. Indigenous peoples of the Americas focus on the supernatural terrain to explain the creation of this universe. Buddhism used the various heaven scenario to depict stages of development in the perfection of humanity.

²⁰See Best (1924: 57) who identifies one of Taylor's (1855) respondents - Kohuora of

The myth [creation story] establishes the affinity, the relationship among all living and created things; birds, fish, the beings of the forest and man all spring from the same ultimate source - Rangi and Papa.

Subsequently, this doctrine also promoted the belief that the human dimension was dependent if not subordinate to the natural and esoteric dimension,²¹ an antithesis to Western Eurocentric thought, which enforced the belief that humanity could conquer and be master over all other dimensions. Each iwi/nation valued the creation stories as a means of anchoring their history and past with their philosophical, spiritual, and physical wellbeing. However, the stories were again determined by tribal knowledge, experience and methods of passing them down. However, these iwi based creation stories did have some unified commonalities. Again Sinclair starts the dialogue on this topic:

It is clear that many ages of pre-existence were postulated. Chants indicate that the listener is led from a dark void into an enlightened world in which the forms of Rangi (Sky-male) and Papa (Earth-female) have emerged. . . In time they had children (this varies from 70 - 6) but in every version all the offspring were male (1976: 36 also see Best, 1925: 1).

Walker's (1990), creation story line is a reasonable interpretation of all the various tribal versions. He illustrates the life and death struggles between the primeval parents - seeking to remain together in eternal embrace, and their offspring - who wanted to separate the parents so that they could gain further light and knowledge in te ao marama. The separation occurred and each of the offspring became departmental gods in various realms of that reality. Their posterity moved from the gods, to the demi gods [revered

Rongoroa who in 1854 stated a genealogical line of descent which began with words denoting mental attributes or faculties, and certain physical functions, and treated them as though they were living entities or personified forms.

²¹Patterson (1992: 23) qualifies this relationship: ". . . the victory of Tu over Tane and the other brothers does in a sense give man a superior position. But it is not the sort of superior position embodied in the Jewish myths. In Maori tradition man is also kin to the rest of nature, in the strict sense of genealogical connection, whereas in the Jewish story, although both man and nature are created by the same being they are not kin. . . A key concept here, as so often in Maori thought is that of balance."

rangatira Ariki], to the mediators [rangatira and tohunga], down to humanity. Thus the line of descent from the gods was realised. This study of whakapapa and the creation stories, delineates a philosophy that secured the creation of all things within the wairuatanga plane. Next, a relational order that permeated from a common genealogical line of creation reinforced the 'parent - offspring' interaction patterns of all things in their universe. As well, the cosmological whakapapa framework of the Maori was used to imbue iwi with the so called 'right connections'. This meant that humanity was endowed with inherited elements of godliness and power to engage the various dimensions through tikanga and kawa protocols.²² In conclusion, whakapapa and the creation stories gave birth to interconnected knowledge, which along with the network of relational configurations, allowed Maori of that time period the right to request from their gods favours (under condition of correct protocols), to meet the positive development desires, and security/safety needs of their societal bodies.

Whakapapa and Knowledge acquisition

Whakapapa and knowledge acquisition were often viewed traditionally as one and the same thing. This tendency will now be investigated. Like whakapapa,²³ there were various levels of knowledge. Not all levels were shared openly, neither were they accessible to, nor learnt and held by, all members of that whanau hapu and iwi. Two related points are put forward here. First, that access to those differing knowledge bases was linked to a created form of class stratification. And second, that categorisation of knowledge into commonly held as opposed to specialist forms existed. Regarding the first point, only, certain people under controlled conditions could participate in acquiring the historical and cultural wisdom implanted in whakapapa. In response to the second

²²The life giving principles of tikanga and kawa will be discussed after the analysis on whakapapa has been addressed.

²³Whanau whakapapa was well known, but hapu and iwi whakapapa was not as accessible to the commoner.

notion of differing levels of knowledge, it has been forwarded that ordinary Maori folk of that time, knew very little about esoteric matters. Understandably, lower forms of whakapapa and knowledge were accessible to the masses,²⁴ but as Kohere (1949), Best (1924), Buck (1949), Smith (1913), and Firth (1959) contended throughout their writings, there were even higher planes of 'Specialist knowledge', accessible to only a select few. Metge (1967), went on to argue that 'Specialist knowledge of origin', often viewed as 'higher knowledge', was given in anthropomorphic form. Hence, the use of 'mythopoetic' (Bruce, 1932) metaphorical language to create lasting images of whakapapa and specialist knowledge for whanau, hapu and iwi. Moreover, this knowledge was also protected by the very language that informed the observers. Much like the way in which Isaiah in the Old Testament used similes and metaphors to keep the truth of Christianity away from the unbelievers. In contrast to 'general or commonly held knowledge', this 'higher knowledge' was often relegated to the categories of fable and myth. This was due in part to the fact that they were often studied from a non-spiritualistic point of view (Te Kani Te Ua, 1932) and because the level of specialisation and status the bearers of that knowledge had within their cultural world was not recognised by non Maori researchers. Learning at certain knowledge and whakapapa levels appeared to be based on privilege and right. Such themes as equity and freedom of access for all to learning were counterbalanced by notions of collective responsibilities and interdependence of roles and functions within the collective to share the learning.

A critique of Whakapapa as a life giving principle

A summary inspection of genealogy²⁵ - Whakapapa, as a healing principle for pre-contact Maori, must take into account the notions of order,

²⁴For example, whanau based whakapapa and whanau specific knowledge - making a hangi, and so on.

²⁵Defined as "the direct descent of an individual or group from an ancestor . . . A chart showing the relationships and descent of an individual group" (Gordon, 1982: 463).

interconnectedness, growth and survival. To end this section, a brief analysis of the limitations and strengths of this principle will be given.

The notion of Order inherent in Whakapapa

The principle of Whakapapa set in order the various frameworks of existence which gave reason and understanding to the lives of those olden day Maori and their experiences. This exceptional ability to store orally the totality of their learning required an order of exactness - consequently, the principles of tikanga [law, ways of doing and thinking] and kawa [protocol, regulations] will be aired later. The roles and functions of Tohunga [specialists] and Ariki rangatira [leadership most high], were crucial in the establishment of order between the human terrain and the god spheres. Order gave traditional Maori clear guidelines about responding to the imbalances which could lead to illness. Moreover, it meant that controlling the relationships between the spiritual and the temporal involved an order that respected differentiation of duties and functions; that reinforced the need for correctness in all regulatory and protocol contracts between the various dimensions of reality; and yet still placed a premium on elements of flexibility to respond to the 'unexplained' when addressing the wellbeing of whanau, hapu and iwi membership under the auspices of 'in the public interest'.

The notion of interconnectedness inherent in Whakapapa

Patterson (1992: 23) revisits the following observation that:

In Maori tradition man is also kin to the rest of nature, in the strict sense of genealogical connection.

Within that traditional world framework, the importance of 'kinship - whakapapa ties' is also manifested in various karakia used to help whanau members in conflictual or death threatening situations. Knowing that the human element was interconnected with the spiritual terrain through mediums such as the tohunga and arikinui, elevated the position

of karakia as an oral communication pathway between the ancients and their host of gods:

A karakia may be defined as a formula of words which was chanted to obtain benefit or avert trouble. A vast number have been composed by all tribes to meet every possible contingency in human life and they cover a range which exceeds the bounds of religion (Buck, 1949: 489).

Buck produces a classification of various forms of karakia based on their functions. Likewise, Ruatapu (Reedy, 1993) reports that there were karakia especially for birds, fish and some especially for women. Some for possessions, kumara, burns, to calm the ocean, for toothache, for people who were ill, whose bodies were in pain, for those suffering broken backs, to help bring something up, for the spirits in the sky and in the earth. The notion of interconnectedness thus emphasized that multidimensional relationships were an important part of the healing process. For example, Maui's taming of Te Ra illustrates the layers of relational constructs that determine the outcome, in this case the healing of time and space so that people could complete the tasks of the day. In essence, the commonsenseness of Maori people evolved out of this relational world. Binney (1980), purported that this commonsenseness emphasised that life for Maori hinged on a discontinuous series of states. The anecdotal material (Reedy, 1993; Best, 1924; Smith, 1915; 1913) suggests that closer to the truth is the view that the interconnectedness of whakapapa acted as a catalyst for engagement between the spiritual, natural and human dimensions of reality. At times that engagement was beneficial and on other occasions detrimental to those dimensions that interconnected. Earlier on in the piece they worked out the fact that the future was ultimately connected to the past and that pain and joy could move through the whakapapa lines. This meant that cultural transformation²⁶ processes were possible and expected.

²⁶Cultural transformation reflects the ability to make adjustments, to foster change, in order that the cultural entity in question continues to thrive.

The notion of growth inherent in Whakapapa

Nicholas (1986) introduces the notion of growth²⁷ which reflects that nothing really dies in the Maori world, but instead progresses through different dimensions of living. Herein, this pre-contact environment, gave reverence to knowledge acquisition. This philosophical principle challenged Maori learners in two somewhat contradictory ways: In the first instance to follow the order of the day, while second, being prepared to seek out new and better pathways of knowledge. Why was this so prevalent in those times? As tribal, subtribal or whanau tohunga recited their roots to the gods, they were also subtly accessing the characteristics and genes which the gods had to carry out their supernatural chores. This meant that as each karakia/pao/whakapapa process was conveyed word perfect, then this gave the person reciting certain god like powers. These in turn, through whakapapa connections could be used to benefit or bring chaos to other whakapapa lines.

The notion of survival inherent in Whakapapa

In essence the heritage lines were set across the generational structures, which meant that one generation did not have to absorb all of the teething or dying pains experienced in their life time. The history surrounding Poroumata and how his grandchild Tuwhakairiora was used to redress the fate that Poroumata and his sons suffered (Te Kohere, 1949), amply illustrates that tendency toward survival and redress, be it across the generation gaps. There were numerous ebbs and flows of cultural life in Aotearoa as certain iwi nations were born, flourished, peaked and died. Within the boundaries of Ngatikahungunu, there are still traces of the people of Tara, Rangitane, Maruiwi and a host of others. Yet the saving grace for those in traditional mode was their ability to make the necessary changes, to adapt to their new and changing environment. The environments of Aotearoa were not all the same as their ancestral homes

²⁷This whakatauki reinforced the cyclic elements inherent in this notion. Death and life

in Hawaiki nui. Adjusting to Aotearoa meant that they needed to be innovative and this requirement has been highlighted by the intricate methods used to capture birds for food, snares for other bush, river and sea life (Firth, 1959; Buck, 1949; Best, 1924). A multitude of tribal variation and difference in teaching life skills for food gathering and transferring of local and tribal lore from one generation to another seemed to be a key characteristic of this time period. In many ways, this same dynamic characteristic helped in the overall survival of Maori ways of viewing and doing. Patterson (1992: 15) adequately sums up this notion of survival inherent in whakapapa by contesting that:

As in any dynamic culture, the values of the Maori are able to adapt to changing circumstances and to vary from person to person and from group to group.

Limitations of the life giving principle of Whakapapa

One of the main limitations associated with this helping principle appears to be its tendency to support the belief that having a hierarchy in social and spiritual circumstances was a positive thing. The social environment would be ordered by looking for direct senior lines to rangatiratanga, originating from the gods. Often human entities walked like gods on the earth because of their whakapapa. Examples of direct abuse of power can be drawn from numerous tribal environments. Another limitation focuses on the localised versus national as distinct from universal commonality roots. One might say that this interconnectedness with all parts of the universe, acted at times as a throttle on the human element. Nothing could be done unless karakia were performed properly. Putting it bluntly, the order and interconnectedness notions of whakapapa created a cumbersome regulatory environment, and on many occasions lessened the Maui type characteristics essential in breaking the known boundaries to lores and mores of the ancient's societal experience.

Strengths of the life giving principle of Whakapapa

A traditional strength of whakapapa is that it was often produced by Tohunga, as a means of reiterating the role of the gods and the natural environment in healing or responding to a range of ill fortunes or sicknesses. Consequently, the spiritual environment was far more dynamic and interactive with the living world. This facilitated relationships of tuakana and teina, matua and tamariki across the divine between the gods, nature, and humanity. It was quite sane within that traditional Maori world framework, to expect the gods and nature to assist in and take a dominant role in the healing aspirations of humans in crises. 'Safe passage and obligation relationships with others', appears to be another strength ingrained in the principle of whakapapa. History provides an illustration of this during one of Te Rauanganga's²⁸ campaigns against the Ngati Toa:

Two young Waikato warriors, in the spirit of rivalry paddled over towards Te Totara. One was in a small canoe and his companion on a raft - (Men of Te Rauanganga fighting Ngati Toa). As they neared the Pa, the youth in the canoe saw a greenstone mere or club slowly rise and disappear behind the high Palisading. It was a silent warning from some relative who had recognised the youth as a kinsmen (Te Hurinui, 1959: 46).

Similarly, when a dispute arose between Te Rangituatea and Te Rauparaha concerning fishing boundaries, to avert conflict Te Rangituatea reminded his adversary that he was also of Ngati Toa ancestry. Subsequently, he was allowed to depart unharmed (Te Hurinui, 1959). On both occasions the whakapapa connections heightened the survival rights of those related to each other. In terms of survival and maintaining whanau and hapu formations, this principle of genealogical/kinship ties through an eponymous ancestor/tipuna (Makereti, 1986) also stressed a certain level of biological bonding, reference to difference and a firming up

²⁸Te Rauanganga was the Chieftain Warrior father of Te Wherowhero from Waikato Maniapoto.

of the notion of one's identity in relation to others. Barlow (1991: 137) not only defines whakapapa, but also affirms another strength of this notion:

The meaning of whakapapa is 'to lay one thing upon another' as, for example, to lay one generation upon another. Everything has a whakapapa . . . Whakapapa is a basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things.

The fact that all things came forth from the same whakapapa roots, reinforces the interconnectedness trait that allowed for perceptions of healing wider than just responding to the economic needs of those suffering. All the elements to heal were infused within each marae. The healing and wellbeing elements were intricately tied to the ancient's sense of belonging to their history. Reminders of whakapapa were strategically in place in 'He tipuna whare whakairo',²⁹ the tukutuku patterns, the names of wahi kainga, urupa and so on. Tribal accounts of that time period, readily interwove themselves with their ancestors and future posterity (Kohere, 1949; Beaglehole in Sutherland, 1940), with their numerous gods (Sinclair, 1976) for protection and sanctity; and with all matter - living and non living (Reedy, 1993). Thus, the healing terrain was not just a physical process but could draw from all the dimensions of their universe because everything had an essence, an inner power that under the right conditions, could be beneficial. The acceptance of whakapapa and a belief in the power (mana) of living and non living entities, thrust into their world the need to give the right incantations for access to the healing powers of those many entities existing in and ordering their universe. This analysis of whakapapa as a life giving principle is far from complete. However, along with previous study of wairuatanga, in tandem these two principles provide a solid foundation with which to evaluate the way the psyche of Maori traditional thinking responded to collective and

²⁹At Kohupatiki Marae, just outside Heretaunga, the meeting house is named 'Tane nui a rangi'. Its ta moko whakairo, amply illustrates the genealogical connections between the gods, the natural terrain and humanity.

individual wellbeing. The next task is to introduce the final life giving principles of Tikanga and Kawa to complete the conceptual platform.

The life giving principles of Tikanga and Kawa

The principles of 'Tikanga and kawa' have been built on four key founding stones. The first one argues that the term tikanga, in the traditional sense, focused on the development and maintenance of customary ways. Tikanga provided a framework that could be viewed as Maori law or legislation, while kawa focused on the assemblage of regulatory processes and practices or ways of doing things, that could well equate to making tikanga real (Durie, E 1994 unpub.). These two principles were irrevocably tied to each other. They embellished each other in similar fashion to the Chinese life principles of yin and yang. The second founding stone, reinforced the view that tikanga and kawa as life giving principles provided Maori ancestors with a known world of behaviour, learning, thinking and interacting. Consequently E. Durie (1994 unpub.) asserted that:

Tikanga was pragmatic and open ended. . . was flexible, subject to reinterpretation according to circumstances. Decisions were pragmatic, not bound by unbreakable rules. . . Kawa was rule-like, more rigid and applied mainly to process and procedure (4).

Arguably, these two principles enhanced the right to name their world and to extend the boundaries of their cultural knowledge even further as they continued to develop. This meant that as tikanga extended and sought out new knowledge, then kawa regulated and consolidated that same knowledge into a workable system of action. A third founding stone, was based on the premise that although tikanga and kawa appeared as customary practices of that time period, because these principles were a part of the philosophical constructions of the traditional mind of the ancients, their role in the development of the moral fibre of pre-contact Maori can not be minimised. Henare (1988) aptly summed up this particular developmental quirk of tikanga and kawa, by anchoring the

range of values and standards that underpinned the formulation and implementation of that pre-contact Maori moral fibre within the natural setting of Aotearoa. The fourth and final founding stone of tikanga and kawa, materialises out of a simple statement by Roa (1987: 15):

Pai ke atu te tikanga Maori - I prefer the Maori way.

This view of the 'Maori way' has been acknowledged in studies directed at Maori mythology, Maori philosophy and Maori symbolism. Its centralism to all of these areas of research bears out the vitality inherent in this life giving principle. Examples of its vitality emerge in ordered sequence when viewing the ways that kawa enacts the tikanga under study. The Maori way has accounted for interpretations of responses to ill health and poor well being. In essence, the role of the collective response within a framework for helping has always been the domain of tikanga and kawa. The translation elements needed to redress those processes which harm the welfare and or public interest of the whanau, hapu and iwi, find their origins in tikanga and kawa. This was where the ideology of wellbeing moved into actual practice strategies.

A critique of Tikanga and Kawa as life giving principles

A critique of tikanga and kawa, as traditional life giving - healing principles, introduces the reader to the following notions of consistency, holistic healing, constitutional order, social justice and social development. Each of these notions will be briefly explored now.

The notion of consistency inherent in tikanga and kawa

Many writers of the traditional Maori experience have introduced the principles of tikanga and kawa by listing the range of concepts with attached descriptions of their translation into the common and specialised practices of that day. The commonalties right across the broad range of iwi/nation experiences suggest that the thinking framework for Maori in general involved a very strong consistency aspect to it. For instance, from Ngatiporou in the east, Taranaki tribes to the west, Ngapuhi commanding

the North, with Ngai Tahu paramount in Te Wai Pounamu, every traditional record addressed the social formations of whanau, hapu and iwi. The tikanga of and kawa associated with social formations based on whakapapa, were then translated into numerous processes of action and behaviour. Often the overriding feature was that difference within and between whanau, hapu and iwi reinforced the uniqueness of Maori thinking. Herein lies the consistency of tikanga and kawa. The patterns of life conceived in thought were constantly developing within a known sphere of critical thinking and experiential living. It was therefore quite conceivable to expect that the consistency talked about here referred to the phenomenon that change was inevitable and expected.

The distinctiveness of this consistently changing environment was that the trends of past performances were enshrined in the cultural fabric of Maori society, not discarded. Steadiness was part of this consistently changing environment. It was not a new cultural perspective. It had thousands of years of progressive action to back-up the philosophical investigations of reality. Astrology and travel, agriculture and the seasons, war and the accepted practices brought with them a history of consistent improvement. The blueprint of that improvement was tikanga and kawa.

The notion of holistic healing inherent in tikanga and kawa

The philosophy of holistic healing commanded an appreciation of the relational elements of that Maori world. Tikanga and kawa progressively used these relational realities to establish coded responses/processes for all activities they engaged in. The expression of physical ills could be linked to a wrong in the spiritual dimension. Moreover, a correction to behaviour in a whanau could lead to a replenishing of certain resources needed by that social entity. Implicit in this framework was a belief that wellbeing at the wider whanau level would correspond with individual expressions of good health. Tikanga and Kawa was about protection of whanau resources and consequently reflected protection of whanau, hapu and iwi wellbeing. For example, ways of obtaining food sources, gathering of natural

medicines, cutting down trees, travelling, marriage, cooking, sanitary protocol all contained elements of holistic healing. The connection between the natural, spiritual and human dimensions were sign posted as follows; Karakia used for tapu breaking of food sources so these could be eaten, seeking out various plants in season for medicinal purposes, incantations to bestow a positive mauri on trees to be used to construct a whare or waka, appeasing the gods with tributes for safe passage by using tohunga, following correct procedures for marriage contracts to maintain 'collective' safety, methods of cooking and understanding the tapu surrounding body fluids and waste so as not to endanger whanau, te ao turoa and to maintain balance in the spiritual terrain.

The notion of constitutional order and social justice inherent in tikanga and kawa

In terms of constitutional order, tikanga and kawa reflected that Maori society was built on an arranged pattern of behaviour options with possible short and long term outcomes. Systems of obligation and responsibility were tied to a bi-social arrangement established by rangatira and tutua classes. Buck (1949: 337) recorded in more detail this scenario.

The Maori[s] regarded their people as falling into two main classes. Those of chiefly rank were termed rangatira; and those who were not, were regarded as ware or tutua.

This system of constitutional order appeared undemocratic. If democracy is based on individual free agency and personal rights then one would be right to assume that this constitutional order inherent in Maori tikanga and kawa was undemocratic. However, if democracy is about collectivity and community growth and development, then this system of constitutional order was democratic. It displayed strong communal interdependency reflected in the many activities required of large groups within their world, such as protection or food gathering and even war. This form of constitutional order placed group access and resource - use rights above any notion of individual ownership. At the same time, decision making was influenced by a notion of collective responsiveness implicit in tikanga and kawa. In order to understand the social justice

dimension of tikanga and kawa, a study of 'belonging', guided by the collective wisdom of those exercising their group rights, is critical. An awareness of the various tikanga and kawa, with application, raised and maintained the identify of members of a particular whanau, hapu or iwi/nation. In essence, it established a platform of relational dialogue and behaviour that made the known world liveable. In terms of social justice tikanga and kawa were set up for two reasons. First, to provide known processes that minimised the effects of adverse interactive behaviour between the various dimensions of reality [Natural, human, spiritual]. The recognition here, was to limit the negative impact of interactive behaviour on mana atua, mana tangata, mana whenua, mana moana, mana awa, mana wahine, mana tane, mana ake and so forth. Second, tikanga and kawa localised and standardised Maori lore. These customary beliefs and practices became whanau and hapu specific and in turn led to acceptable guidelines for tribal/nation law and order patterns, albeit a social justice framework to manage their cultural experiences. This social justice framework was be interconnected with survival and consequently users of it treasured having knowledge of the correct procedures to invoke positive outcomes for them and theirs. Conversely, a wrong word could have disastrous consequences within this type of framework. Reference to the Maui - Tawhaki relationship theories (Ruwhiu, 1995), illustrates the negative and positive outcomes resulting from the correct and incorrect use of tikanga and kawa.

The notion of social development inherent in Tikanga and Kawa

Tikanga and Kawa did not instigate by themselves the social development of Maori in traditional times, but rather were the boundary fences of their known world. At times these beliefs and processes were challenged and the boundaries either retracted or expanded. Using the personal history of Kahungunu (Mitchell, 1944) it was obvious that he used his diplomatic and resource gathering skills to weld together a conglomerate of loosely connected whanau and hapu. Iwi/nations experienced numerous expansions of their territories. Yet, still these expansions continued to

adhere to the tikanga and kawa firmly embedded in 'Te Ahi Kaa/Te Ahi Mataotao'. It was not surprising to see the expression of social development move through the generational time frame. After Kahungunu created the necessary marriage alliances with the various hapu, his offspring warrior chief Taraia forcefully forged that loose confederation of hapu into Ngati Kahungunu, demonstrating that generational nature of social development. Another facet of tikanga and kawa and its relationship to social development, was portrayed in Ruataupare's ventures for her own expressions of tino rangatiratanga and mana wahine. Apparently, Ruataupare recognised that her powerful husband - Tuwhakairiora - was overshadowing her own mana. As Kohere (1951:20) states:

She made up her mind there and then to forsake him and to seek for herself an independent name. Without hesitation she told her husband to get Ihiko for his wife. When he remonstrated that Ihiko had her own husband. . . she made fun of him. He then went to Puketapu and took Ihiko from her husband - Tuhuanu. Ruataupare was every inch a rangatira. . . she returned to Tuparoa and Tokomaru. . . [to her own people] who name themselves after her.

The infrastructure of tikanga and kawa allowed for whanau groups with their eponymous ancestors to establish their own development pathways, though like Ruataupare, that meant that what might have been viewed as positive development for one group of whanau, hapu and or iwi/nation bodies, was in fact quite detrimental to other societal formations, in this case Tuhuanu. A final point about the effects of tikanga and kawa for social development at the micro level was that often the teaching roles were also based on the social strata formulations. In other words, from within a whanau, the Kaumatua/kuia - mokopuna, matua - tamariki and Tuakana - Teina support systems were also based on and responsive to tikanga and kawa. Consequently, children were taught table manners, received personal instruction, were given the basic genealogical patterns and tribal histories, and so on through those social support systems (Buck, 1949).

Limitations of the life giving principles of Tikanga and Kawa

The most obvious limitation about the life giving principles of tikanga and kawa is a philosophical one, philosophical in the sense that a reciprocal - obligation type system meant the line between an actual slight versus a genuine mistake, appeared blurred to the point that it had the potential to become life threatening.³⁰ Entire generations appeared to be locked into a belief and regulatory system that maintained a set of unhealthy living patterns into which children were born. This could be described as a continual action - response scenario. The tribal societal make-up focused on working together, yet the holders of knowledge, those enforcers of the social justice system were far from democratic in their judgements. Another practical illustration of tikanga and kawa limitations had to do with whanau, hapu and iwi differences and varying levels of communication between the societal parties in question. Protocol regarding food preparation, marriage, welcoming of guests, were all potential crises points for the unwary.

Strengths of the life giving principles of Tikanga and Kawa

As expressed earlier, tikanga and kawa provided a sense of structure and order. These principles in tandem gave the ancients a working blueprint of how to move beliefs and values from the philosophical plane into interactive realities used daily by the various dimension of the Maori 'one cosmos' environment. Healy (1988: 6) adds support to this analysis by articulating that:

Tikanga Maori are not an assemblage of discrete customs
but are part of an integrated whole.

Finally, a positive aspect of 'adding to' the total collective wisdom and experience of Maori people, was that succeeding generations using this cumulative cultural matauranga, successfully created what Buck (1949) referred to as 'a different attitude towards life'. More likely, this different

³⁰ Much like the law of Moses which reflects a punitive approach to broken laws.

attitude to life reinforced the need to recognise that far from being a primitive culture Maori people were in developmental mode, continually learning, growing and transforming.

Concluding comment - a summary of the conceptual platform

The philosophical framework of 'Tikitiki o Rangi' - 'Esoteric lore', has been formulated as a guide to gaining a better understanding of traditional pre-contact Maori efforts to secure wellbeing. The three key analytical components of this framework, referred to as the 'life giving principles', have each been critiqued in terms of their inherent ability to assist in meeting the social wellness demands of the ancients. The following notions have emerged from that critical analysis of the life giving principles of wairuatanga, whakapapa and tikanga - kawa. It is the author's contention that when combined, these notions form a solid conceptual working definition of Maori wellbeing, crucial for developing contemporary Maori social policies to meet Maori welfare concerns. Refer to Table Two: 'Tikitiki o rangi' - a conceptual platform for precontact Maori wellbeing, which outlines the three key life giving principles, key notions underpinning Maori wellbeing and possible indicators for social policy development, at the end of this chapter.

In the life giving principle of wairuatanga, the following notions of respect, balance and multidimensional interaction transpired. Order, interconnectedness, growth and survival notions came out of the analysis on whakapapa. Finally, from the life giving principles of tikanga and kawa, came the notions of consistency, holistic healing, constitutional order, social justice and social development. Of importance, was the way in which these notions and life giving principles were cemented together with the various types of mana and created a interrelationship between the spiritual, natural and human dimensions that could be understood by using the whanau dynamics analysis framework (refer to Figure One: An analysis of the interrelationships between the various dimensions of reality and the role and function of Mana - at end of this chapter). Dealing

with Maori welfare needs and achieving Maori wellbeing involved establishing control and balance through tikanga and kawa, social healing and support by capitalising on whanau and hapu whakapapa connections, and harassing desires for advancement/development that took into account the central role of wairuatanga. However one of the common issues to emerge in studying pre-contact Maori perceptions of wellbeing was their prioritising of collective needs above those of the individual. Individualism for pre-contact Maori did exist, in that individuals were expected to develop their talents, be proficient at current knowledge and skills, and seek out new knowledge and skills. This would come to naught if these talents, knowledge and skills failed to find positive expression for and on behalf of their collective sodalities wellbeing (Hopa, 1977).

If one considers the end products of these traditional wellbeing strategies to involve the overall advancement and good health of the collective, the philosophical and conceptual foundation of 'Tikitiki o Rangi', harbour strong explanations or social policy theories that inform the various practice modes used by Maori/Tangata Whenua, prior to contact with Pakeha/Tauwi. These same Maori philosophies and experiences have conceptual frameworks that can be ordered into theoretical paradigms, useful in formatting strategic plans for wellbeing. In line with Jackson's (in Oddie & Perrett, 1992) perspective that Maori truth has always existed, the author also contends that the validation of traditional Maori baseline philosophies is necessary and crucial in truly comprehending the transferable healing capabilities of past Maori knowledge, wisdom and experience. These conceptualisations are therefore the backbone to this thesis, that is, from within Maori philosophical foundations as indigenous peoples of Aotearoa, emerge the theories and practice that give substance to Maori social policy development. This is not the place where these theories (outlined in Table Three: Precontact Maori theoretical paradigms regarding Maori social policy development - at the end of this chapter) will be subjected to scrutiny. That is another potential thesis. Suffice to note that they do exist and are heavily laden with conceptual understanding

that has yet to face up to active contemporary Maori dialectical conversation.

Other critical issues centre around the way that wellbeing was continually aligned with survival and protection. The social control and balance aspects of Maori wellbeing focused on the need to have systems of behaviour protocol up and running so that 'order' could limit the role of disorder on their numerous life seeking processes. In other words, they named their world (Freire, 1972). Thus they were familiar with the boundaries and new horizons this world view presented. Survival was more to do with understanding how their philosophical frameworks influenced primary and secondary levels of healing and support strategies/interventions undertaken.

Two further issues were prominent: Firstly reciprocity in its widest sense and secondly, multidimensional interaction to conjure up appropriate action. Both issues emphasised the connection between nature, humanity and the esoteric dimensions. More significant was the struggle to get the balance right, in terms of how much attention should be placed on the spiritual, the physical and so on. The right combination of intervention strategies was required as every input and outcome, affected their wellbeing. Subsequently, Maori traditional healers were viewed as social service professionals in their own right, though their mediator functions meant that they embarked on dialogue for and on behalf of rather than directly to those suffering sickness or misfortune.

Finally, there was evidence to support the contention that pre-contact Maori were actively engaged in providing social service delivery, within the boundaries of their ways and means of living and comprehending their world. And yes, if social policy is about life giving/life sustaining/life organising/life development and progression, then they also had elements of social policy embedded in their customary practices which can be studied.

In conclusion, a central point in this chapter is that Maori social policy had its genesis in the traditional historical fabrics of pre-contact Maori society and culture. Looking back over those fabrics has reinforced the point that pulsations within a cultural experience remain unknown to outsiders intent on taking without giving. On the other hand, cultural insiders need to actively respond and engage with those pulsations, and as the following whakataurangi suggests, create a pattern that you know well.

Te rongonui o te taniko, Kei roto i te whiriwhiri no, mau
tonu tona ataahua³¹

This chapter reinforces the belief that customary Maori knowledge and wisdom contains solutions or resolutions to Maori welfare concerns. It makes sense to look inward at pre-contact Maori thinking and practices before going on to the next phase of development involving outward contact with Tauwhiri. This chapter has accomplished the twofold purpose it set out to do: first, to formulate, describe, discuss and critique a conceptual foundation measuring social wellbeing of the ancients, and second to provide a working definition of Maori wellbeing as displayed by the notions inherent in each of those three life giving principles. Figure Two at the end of this chapter entitled, 'Ko au framework on understanding Maori Wellbeing', draws together the key features of 'Tikitiki o rangi', that have been documented in this chapter. This framework places Maori knowledge, wisdom and experience in a prominent role when analysing the key components of contemporary Maori social policy formations and efforts to redress Maori wellbeing. The next section of this thesis provides a historical analysis of Maori social policy and Maori wellbeing in 'contact history' times.

³¹Translated by Stewart (1990: 13) to mean, "The beauty of taniko is that there is more than one pattern." Subsequently in this case it has been included as a welcoming gesture to all who are keen to contribute to debate and discussion about Maori social policy and social service delivery in Aotearoa. This is the author's contribution to that debate.

Table Two: Tikitiki o rangi a conceptual platform for pre-contact Maori wellbeing.

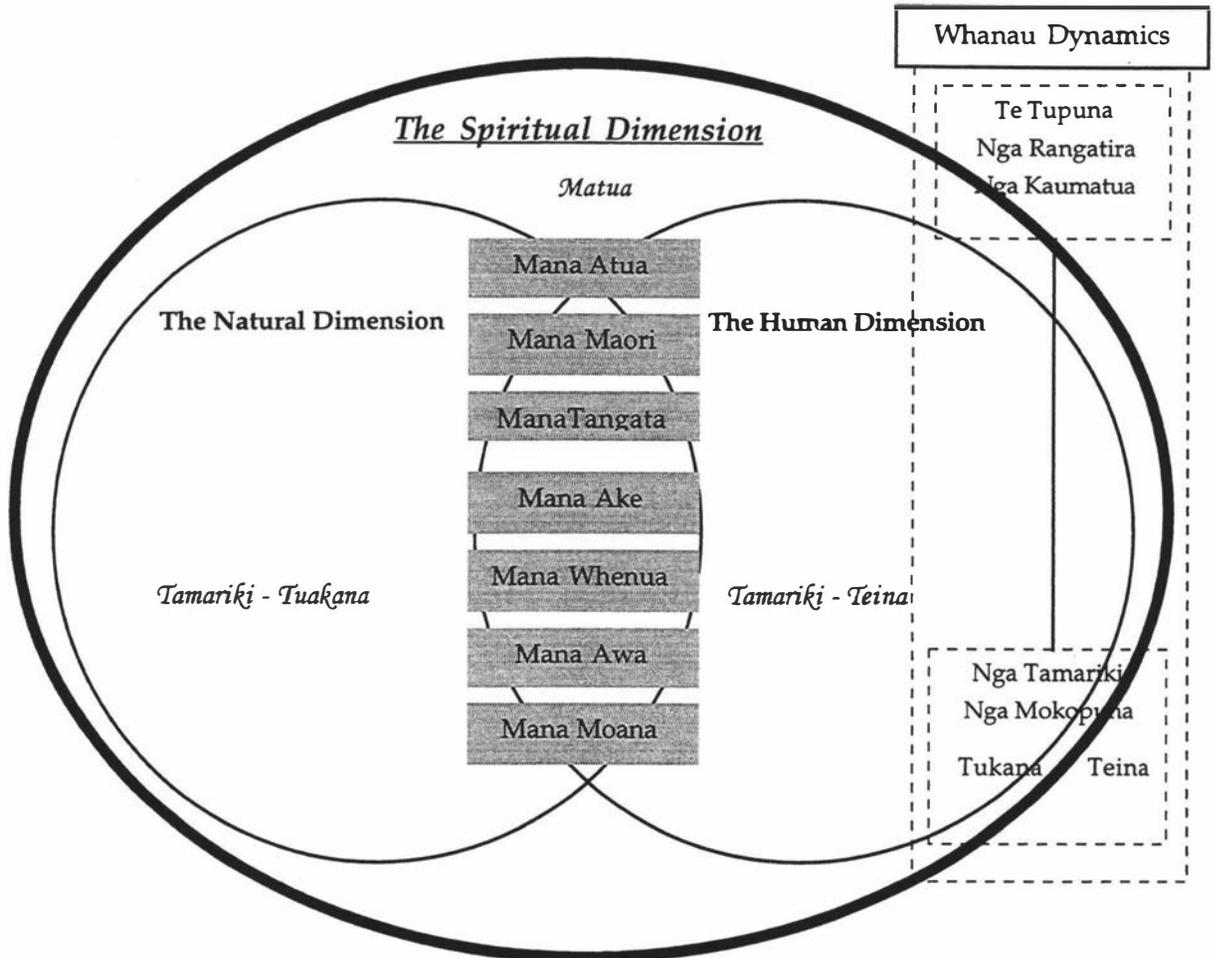
Tikitiki o rangi a conceptual platform for pre-contact Maori wellbeing.		
<i>Key life giving principles</i>	<i>Key notions emerging from the analysis of those life giving principles (Definition of Maori wellbeing)</i>	<i>Possible indicators for social policy development</i>
1. Wairuatanga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respect - Balance - Multidimensional interaction 	Utu, tapu/noa, muru mana, Tohunga, Whare Wananga, Rangi me Papa, Nga Atua, Kaitiaki, Mauri,
2. Whakapapa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Order - Interconnectedness - Survival 	Rangatiratanga/tutua Te Ao Tawhito, Te Ao Hurihuri, Te Ao Marama, Whenua, Whanau, Papakainga,
3. Tikanga/Kawa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Consistency - Wholestic healing - Constitutional order - Social justice - Social development 	Tohatohata Tangi Hui Manaakitanga Marae Makutu Karakia Koha

Table Three: Precontact Maori theoretical paradigms regarding Maori social policy development.

Theoretical propositions that require testing.		
<i>Key theories of Maori Maori Social Policy development</i>	<i>The key areas of concern for these theories</i>	<i>Possible concepts/tools of engagement to critique these theories</i>
1. Iomatuakore anake Universal theories	Theories in this area look at the notion that claims all entities both living and non-living were created spiritually prior to their physical expression. Other areas of concern for these types of theories are checking out the origins of humanity, the godlike characteristics inherited by humanity, the desire to learn and gain more knowledge, and the collective experience as versus the individual ones.	Te Po, Io, Wairua, Nga Kete Matauranga Maaori e toru, Mauri, Whakapapa, Karakia, Poutama, Tohunga, Patupaiarehe, Kehua, Makutu, Kaiako, Kaiawhina.
2. Rangi and Papa creation theories	Theories in this category provide an in-depth analysis on the issues, of connectedness, political processes, decision making, research, the concept of consensus, the notion of reciprocity, and the relational nature between the various dimensions and humanity.	Whakawhitiwhiti korero, Tino rangatiratanga, Marae, Papakainga, Matua - Tamariki, Nga Atua, Tohunga, Mauri, Te Ao Tawhito, Rangi me Papa, Whare Tipuna, Whare Tangata, Hupe me roimata, Takaaro, utu, muru.
3. Maui and Tawhaki relationship theories	A greater focus in these sets of theories is on social relationship dynamics within and across gender and other collectivities. The notion of individualism is scrutinised. Other issues dealt with here, are the debate on morals, the relationships between humanity with its tuakana - nature, and its parent - the esoteric dimension.	Tino rangatiratanga, mana, tapu/noa, Teina - tuakana, Nga kuia/kaumatua, Matua - Tamariki, Nga Atua - Nga Tangata, Whare Tangata, Te Ao Tawhito/Hurihuri, Te Ao Marama.

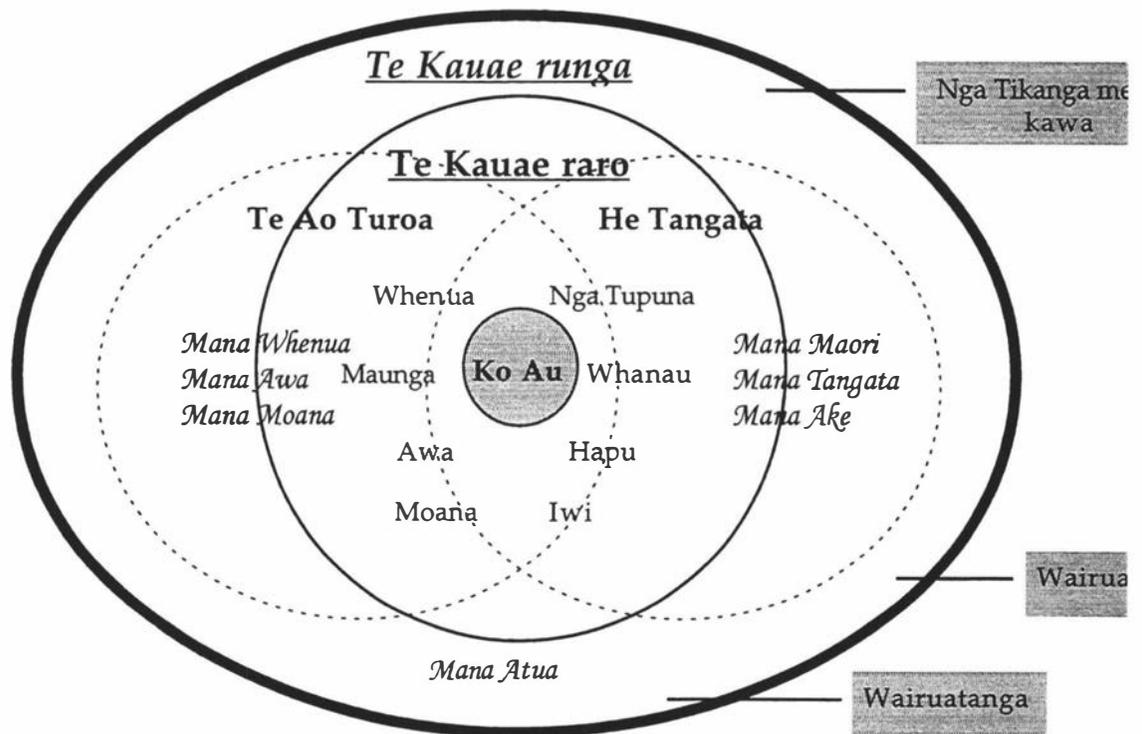
Adapted from Ruwhiu, L. A. (1994). Home fires burn so brightly with theoretical flames, in Te Komako, Vol. VII, No. 1, January.

Figure One: An analysis of the interrelationships between the various dimensions of reality and the role and function of Mana.



- A Macro conceptualisation of Tangata Whenua world views
- These dimensions are bound together with various types of Mana.
- The relationships between those dimensions are analysed by using whanau relational dynamics evaluative model.
- The spiritual dimension is matua, the natural and human dimensions are tamariki. The natural dimension is tuakana to its teina, the human dimension.

Figure Two: Ko Au framework on understanding Maori wellbeing



- The plurality of the client.
- Healing matrixes between the various dimensions of reality.
- Life giving principles of Maori wellbeing.
- The place of mana in binding this view of wellbeing together.

*Part II: Ko te ao hurihuri
o nga tupuna Maori me nga Taiiwi
Relational history*

Prelude to Chapters Three and Four:

Part three of this thesis entitled 'Ko te ao hurihuri o nga tupuna Maori me nga Tauwiwi', builds on the challenge that historical turning points between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi in Aotearoa played an important role in the politics of Maori social policy development.

To fully comprehend the historical impact on Maori social policy development, an analytic framework will be constructed in Section one of this prelude entitled 'Huri noa'. It contains a critique of the following overriding issues and principles making up this analytical framework:

- a 'Bi-Polity' analysis framework used to make sense of the historical data compiled.
- 'blue print terminologies' such as Tangata Whenua, Tauwiwi and so on.

'Kanohi ki te kanohi', is a Maori phrase that is often used to stress the point that it is better to front up instead of using diversionary, non face to face tactics when dealing with people and issues. With this phrase in mind, Section two of this prelude is used by the author to 'name' and 'own' this historical analysis. It is not a revisionist historical account, rather it is another Tangata Whenua contribution in checking on the patterns inherent in Aotearoa race-relational contact affecting Maori social policy formation and implementation. Seven historical time periods will be addressed in Chapters Three and Four that focus on key thematic points about the politics of Maori social policy development.

Each chapter renders a brief summation concerning those key ingredients of promised growth, adaptation and development that need nurturing in order to respond appropriately in contemporary times to Maori social welfare needs. This will be done by drawing the best from those periods of contact history and experience to help establish appropriate Maori social policy formulations that will guide Maori effectively today (refer to Chapter Eight - Table Five).

Huri Noa . . .

The contact, relational or joining history¹ between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi, though relatively microscopic in time measurement terms,² has been of critical significance in the formation of influential patterns that have determined the direction of Tangata Whenua and Tauwi cultural, spiritual, social, political and economic development in Aotearoa. This joining of the range of Tangata Whenua and Tauwi cultural experiences, was illustrated in a haka created by Merimeri Penfold:

He iwi ke, He iwi ke, Titiro atu, Titiro mai! - One strange people and another looking at each other (in Salmond, 1991: Cover pg.).

The key impression implied here was that an air of inquisitiveness prevailed as two macro cultural frameworks, originating from distinctively different world experiences began to interact, engage and contest one with another in Aotearoa.

Te Tiriti O Waitangi/Bi-Polity analytic historical framework

Consequently, the relational contact experiences of people in Aotearoa/New Zealand, can be best understood when importance is given to a 'macro bi-polity Tangata Whenua - Tauwi world views historical philosophical analytical framework'. Significantly, the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840, was a clear illustration of that macro bi-polity agreement. Debates have arisen concerning the need to deal with bicultural issues in Aotearoa instead of moving too swiftly to focus on multiculturalism.

Te Tiriti O Waitangi, at its inception was the first contractual agreement between Tangata Whenua and the Crown [representing all Tauwi], which

¹Historians (Belich, 1996; Sinclair, 1976; Sorrenson, 1975) often refer to the term contact history when analysing race relations in Aotearoa. From the author's perspective, based on training in the profession of social work and social policy, the notion of relational or joining history captures more fully the nature of those race/culture interactions evident between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi.

²Maori history spans more than a thousand years of development and formation. The relational history with Tauwi-Pakeha covers less than three hundred years.

set in place key conditions and principles for a macro 'bi-polity' relational context to exist in Aotearoa.

The objectives of the Treaty at its signing combined Tauwiwi annexation expansion desires, and responsible humanitarian government determinations, with Tangata Whenua iwi sovereignty survival and cultural interdependence, in the face of a continuously aggressive western modernisation influence (Hanley, 1990; Henare & Douglas, 1988; Locke, 1988).

Second, much of the early and current trauma in cultural relationships between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi of Aotearoa has placed a premium on both the interpretation and activation of the articles agreed upon in the Treaty of Waitangi. However, major discrepancies in defining the roles, functions and protocol espoused by that document, has left these two contracting parties, in conflict and competition. History indicates that this has resulted in an ongoing transformation of power relationships between, 'these two macro main frame world views', as the roles, functions and protocol have been redefined by each of these nation bodies.

Table Four (see at end of this prelude) uses the Bi-polity³ nature of 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840)', to begin the construction of an analytical framework to evaluate the politics of Maori social policy development evident in relational history between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi in Aotearoa.

At the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, agreement was reached by the majority present at various hui around Aotearoa, that inevitably this part of the world was going to change. Some Tauwiwi viewed this document as rite of passage to begin settlement in earnest, as a window of opportunity for personal wealth. Others optimistically considered it was an enlightened gesture in terms of providing the indigenous people with protection

³ Bi-Polity is defined to mean two macro nations identities. In this case, Tangata Whenua [All Maori] and Tauwiwi (the Crown representing Western Eurocentric society).

against the ills of western civilisation. Still, there were those who considered its value in terms of its swaying power towards civilisation and Christianity. Tangata Whenua of that time period held a variety of perspectives regarding its value for their wellbeing.⁴ So, in relation to developing a framework to analyse the contact history, Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a clear starting point.

Terminology inherent in this analysis framework requires clarification. First, Tangata Whenua and Tauwi are not by any means a reflection of singularity, or totality groupings but draw together a range of diverse realities. The bi-polity arrangements made between Tangata Whenua (Iwi nations) and Tauwi (the Crown) through the Treaty of Waitangi, gave credence to two contrasting views. First, in international circles of the 1800s, New Zealand was seen as a new South Pacific fledgling substation of the British empire, under its care, subordinate, and parented by well endowed civilised outsiders (Hanley, 1990). However, a somewhat different and contrasting position expressed by Tangata Whenua in contemporary times is that the signing of Te Tiriti O Waitangi was about building a new South Pacific Nation (Ihimaera, 1994, 1993; Jackson, 1988, 1987; Kawharu, 1975). It gave permission for non Maori to assist and participate as partners in that development. So in terms of this study, at the macro international level, the Bi-polity nature of New Zealand's governance was stressed. It gave the appearance that this nationhood development was based on the acceptance of diversity, in order to create unity.

At the national level, after the annexation of Aotearoa to the British Crown, this sovereign body began to represent all other Tauwi, and entered into negotiations with Tangata Whenua on that political mandate. Often this has been misconstrued to mean that the Crown did indeed represent all non-Maori, and that there was also one voice for Tangata Whenua. The reality was more complex. Negotiations have always been

⁴ See Chapter Three for more information on the reasons Maori signed Te Tiriti O Waitangi.

with representatives of those nations of indigenous people living in Aotearoa. In other words, multi-polities existed at the iwi level. And though some might argue the same is true of Western society, the Crown still maintained the unifying power of one voice for many.

The following definitions of Tangata Whenua are postulated in this analysis framework. At the macro/international level, Tangata Whenua is a collective term referring to the indigenous Maori people of Aotearoa/New Zealand. This blueprint category encompasses a range of diverse whanau, hapu and iwi entities. Under Nga Iwitanga/multiple nationhood, one is introduced to a meso/national conceptualisation of Tangata Whenua, which infers specific mana whenua rights to resident iwi authorities in a said locality (refer to Figure Three at the end of this prelude).

Table Four, also highlights the blueprint category of Tauiwī. Tauiwī has often been mistakenly used as another exclusive label for Pakeha/Western Eurocentric worldviews. To quell that confusion, the framework emphasises coverage of a wide diverse range of cultural experiences, Pakeha being only one.⁵ In traditional times this term was also used to refer to other Maori visitors to an area.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that Tauiwī has developed as a relational term to Tangata Whenua. At its inception, Tauiwī was used in the Maori translation of the bible to mean 'the unclean - uncircumcised - unbeliever'.⁶ Its more frequent meaning was in reference to new comers to Aotearoa. In the 1970s/1980s Tauiwī was actively used in Universities to define all people who were foreigners to Aotearoa. Suffice to say that in

⁵ Tauiwī traditions referred to strangers. Maori of one district could be view as Tauiwī if they travelled into another district. In a broader sense contemporary sense, it has come to mean non Maori: an all encompassing term which includes all the cultural groups residing in Aotearoa. Samoan, Fijian, American, Chinese, Korean, Swedish, and so on (all these make up 'others' under Tauiwī in Table Four)

⁶ For example, Ezekiel Chapter 44 verse 9; Ephesians Chapter 2 verse 11, Colessians Chapter 3 verse 11 in the Holy Bible.

contemporary times its meaning is inclusive of all non-Tangata whenua/non Maori, in Aotearoa (Te Taurawhiri i te Reo Maori, 1996).

The diagrammatic depiction of relational filters surrounding each diverse cultural/ethnic reality, though discernible is, however a far from obvious phenomenon to the naked eye. In fact it is easier to highlight the functions and roles of these filters than it is to determine their absolute composition. For instance, one of the functions of these filters is to provide rules of conduct for interacting with other people. There is also a facilitator role these filters enact when it comes to dealing with internalised dilemmas or those expressed in the interrelational environment. One's moral fabric and its engagement with situations, other people and self rely heavily on these filters. So what do these filters comprise? These filters house elements of a person's social, cultural, political, economic, spiritual, emotional, psychological, philosophical and physiological makeup. Socialisation, biological determinism, inferences and tendencies within one's behaviours and thinking, all converge together to construct these filters to assist in naming their world and themselves. These also provide a critical environment for contact/relationship engagement between self and others. Not only is this environment characterised by the uniqueness of individualism, but at the same time it recognises the commonality of group identity, in peoples' requests/attempts to develop relationships with others.

These relational filters gave rise to five key patterns of cross cultural interrelationship engagement: Consociationalisation, Paternalism, Participation, Partnership/Parallel development and Autonomy. These Five patterns are the analytic tools of the Bi-Polity framework. Chapters Three and Four will conclude with a summary referring to these five patterns of engagement.

Many observers of these relational/contact experiences in Aotearoa have supported the use of these five patterns of interaction between Tangata whenua and Tauwiwi (Belich, 1996; Sinclair, 1976). Consequently, an inquiry

into the ordering of these patterns of interaction development will kick start this section. Next, discussion about the relational history patterns unique to Aotearoa will be forged. An assortment of timeline snap shots, into parts of that relational history in Aotearoa between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi, will follow. It has a two-fold function. First, to retell that relational history and second, to provide the reader with a reality check of race relations in Aotearoa over a epoch ranging well over 200 years. Making sense of that relational contact history in Aotearoa naturally involves studying the growing pains, the developmental spurts, elements of progress, and also reviewing the resultant devastation and trauma experienced by those in the relationship. Each relational pattern and related experience chosen will gravitate the debate towards issues of difference, an understanding of power structures, an awareness of the impact of historical events, of key actors and the impact of legislative direction on race relations in Aotearoa. Hence, what follows is an analysis of key issues, events and actors; an analysis of New Zealand social policy and the State; and finally, an analysis of the State's approaches to Maori wellbeing needs. Of major significance is the way in which these dynamics interface with Maori wellbeing depicted in the conceptual framework for Maori social policy, given in Chapter Two (Figures One and Two).

Reaching this point of understanding is very much like encountering the eye of a hurricane. This natural phenomenon allows for respite from the lashing storms, and gives all another opportunity to secure possessions and to enact other safety measures to guard the wellbeing of their loved ones. Though a sense of calmness emanates, all are aware of the pending catastrophe.

In numerous ways, discussion thus far surrounding this 'Bi-Polity' analytic framework has also been about preparing, reinforcing and establishing clear guidelines to help navigate through, an at times tumultuous relationship, between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi. The sum and substance of Chapters Three and Four reflects the nature of those cultural exchanges and forged inter-relationship dynamics. In other words, these

chapters contain preparatory information needed to brace oneself against the turbulence of a 'cross cultural' Hurricane, based on misunderstanding and even hostility. The five patterns of engagement consolidate this analysis of the historical data surrounding the politics of Maori social policy.

Kanohi ki te Kanohi⁷

Analysing the relational dynamics of initial and ongoing contact history between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi is executed by describing, evaluating and assessing the impact of significant contact events, various policy formations and key actors/key stake holders on race relations between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi in Aotearoa.

Outline of Chapters Three and Four

This historical socio - cultural race relational analysis has been ordered into seven key time periods, moving from 'first contact experiences', progressively to the 'present'. In Chapter Three: History of the politics of Maori Social Policy development (First contact - 1899), three main periods are covered.

- Period One: Pre 1800 First Contact;
- Period Two: 1800 - 1840 Legal Pacts with Cultural Contractions and Relaxation;
- Period Three: 1841 - 1899 Treaty Reconstructions, Distractions and Cultural Extrapolations.

Chapter Four: History of the politics of Maori social policy development (1900 to present day). This analysis has been broken into four significant periods of time.

- Period Four: 1900 - 1950 Survival/Underground - Cultural Rebirth versus Cultural Consolidation;

⁷ Kanohi ki te kanohi literally means 'face to face' contact between people.

- Period Five: 1951 - 1970 Myths and Legends;
- Period Six: 1971 - 1990 Attack and Parry, Coming Out - Our home fires burn brightly;
- Period Seven: 1991 to the present Different Heights.

While the headings for these time periods were created by the author, as a means of ordering the historic events, situations, actors and policies that impact on the responsiveness to Maori wellbeing across the cultural divide, the material gathered indicated that these time periods reinforced specific race relations development in Aotearoa as well.

Table Four: The Bi-Polity analytical framework in Aotearoa/New Zealand

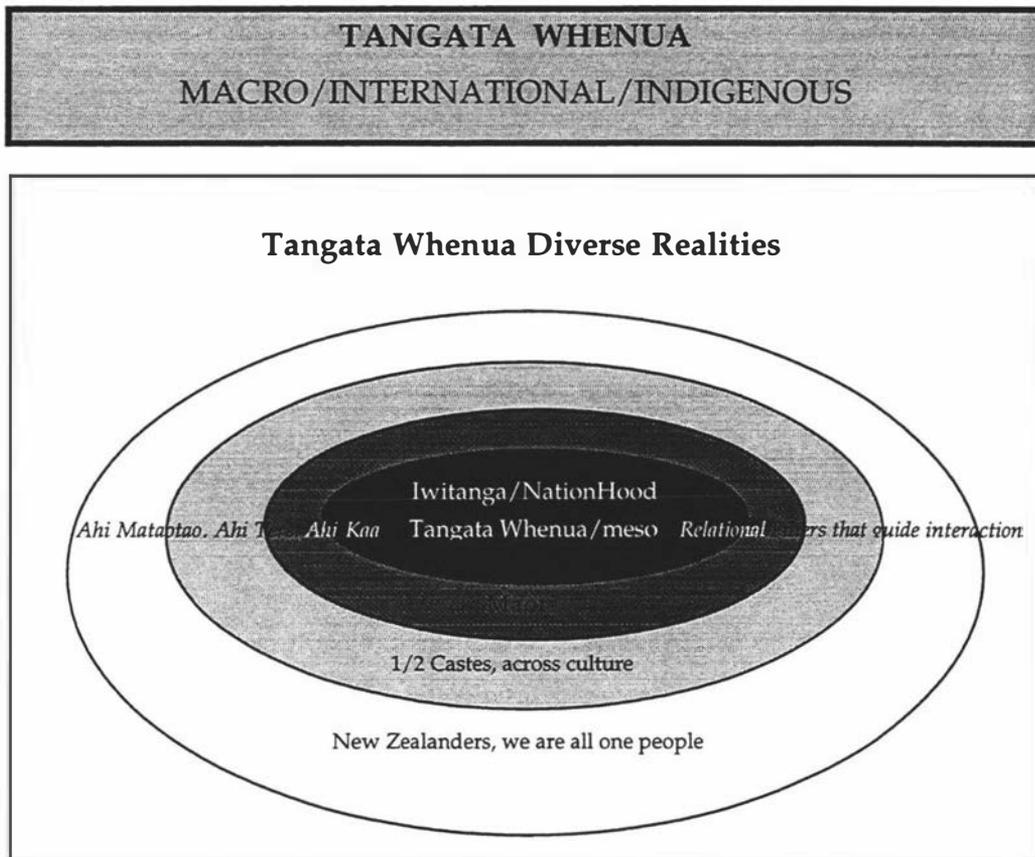
<p>Te Tiriti o Waitangi: A Bi-Polity Paradigm for Aotearoa</p> <p>to understand the histo-philosophical dynamics and impact of the relational history</p>						
<p>(Macro) Tangata Whenua</p>			<p>Relational filters</p>	<p>(Macro) Tauwiwi</p>		
<p><i>Diverse realities</i></p>				<p><i>Diverse realities</i></p>		
<p>Consociationalisation, paternalism, partnership/parallel development, autonomy</p>						
Iwi	Maori	1/2 caste	New Zealander	English	Pacific	Others
<p>Maori realities</p>			<p>Tauwiwi realities</p>			
<p>Multiculturalism engagement under a Bi-Polity paradigm emerges</p>						

Key factors:

This framework places a priority on dealing with the ‘bi-polity aspects’ inherent in the inter-relationship that Tangata Whenua has with Tauwiwi.

It also contextualises the place of Multiculturalism/multi-polities under the mana of Te Tiriti O Waitangi.

Figure Three: A breakdown of those Maori diverse realities from the 'Bi-Polity analytical framework in Aotearoa/New Zealand'.



- Whakamaramatia te pono o te ngakau Maori ki roto i tenei kaupapa e pa ana. Illustration of a 'heart' to depict the movement away from the centre where 'being Maori' is viewed in a positive and strong fashion.
- E whakatu ana te kupu Tangata Whenua mo nga iwi maori katoa i roto i te ao marama - [Macro]. E Whakawhitiwhiti korero ana ki nga ahuatanga rereke o nga iwi maori o Aotearoa. Anei, ki oku whakaaro i te kupu Tangata whenua mo ia rohe ia rohe - [Meso]. Two levels of 'Tangata Whenua Status' are identified here - National and local.
- Whakamaramatia hoki nga huarahi tika o nga mea hohonu i roto i te tikanga Maori. Na ratou tipuna i o ratou matauranga i enei mea, ko te ahi kaa, te ahi tere me te ahi mataotao. Dealing with the levels of Maori identity affected by colonisation experiences.
- He aha aua mea - relational filters - Consociationalisation, paternalism, participation, parallel/separate development, autonomy.
- He Maori ahau i mua, he maori ahau inaianei - he aha te tika i roto i tenei rarangi korero? Whose to say someone is not Maori?

Chapter Three

History of the politics of Maori social policy development (First contact - 1899)

This chapter deals with the politics of Maori social policy by studying the effects of inter-race contacts in Aotearoa between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi. Early contact history was characterised by Western Eurocentric colonisation philosophies that were assimilative by nature. Change was inevitable as customary power and control dynamics in Aotearoa faced alteration during the following three time periods:

- Period One: 'Pre 1800 First Contact'.
- Period Two: '1800 - 1840 Legal Pacts with Cultural Contractions and Relaxation'.
- Period Three: '1841 - 1899 Treaty Reconstructions, Distractions and Cultural Extrapolations'.

A summary of Chapter Three brings closure to these historical time periods and aligns the critique to five identifiable patterns in cross cultural relationships, underpinning the politics of Maori social policy.

Period One: Pre 1800 First Contact

The fourfold purpose of this section is to identify the key actors initiating race relations in Aotearoa (in sections named - He tauhou ratou, he rereke hoki ratou/Tauwiwi, Ko te ao pohatu o te Maori/Tangata Whenua), the nature and impact of that first contact relational experience between these parties (entitled, The key themes emerging from 'First Contact'), an analysis of those key themes underpinning Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi race relations, and a view of the impact of those themes on Tangata Whenua wellbeing (Themes of Wellbeing), in this pre-1800 time epoch.

He tauhou ratou, he rereke hoki ratou¹/Tauwi

The first contact experience was traced back to the Dutch man, Abel Janszoon Tasman, who in search of riches for his motherland, sighted the mountainous southern Alps of South Island on the 13th December in 1642 (Wright, 1959; Sinclair, 1976; Slot, 1992). Explorers like Tasman ventured past the outermost peripheries of their known worlds, in convoy mode and discovered lands populated by people who held worldviews, historical lifestyle patterns, customs and cognitive impressions foreign to them. For Tasman, his recorded experiences of these southern islands did not endear the imagination of others to make the trip south. Though Tasman charted part of the west coast, and initially named this new land 'Staten Landt',² his stay was brief and less than impressionable. In fact, on the 18th December 1642 an altercation with Tangata Whenua left him minus 4 of his crew^{3 4}. And though he travelled northward, mapping along the way, that traumatic first contact experience with the locals in the South Island, meant that he kept his distance from shore and never attempted to land again (Wright, 1959; Beckham, 1969). It was more than a century later, on the 6th of October 1769, that the next key Western European explorer - Captain James Cook of England arrived at Turanganui, Poverty Bay in the North Island. For Cook, Tasman's Nieuw Zeeland was a place containing limitless inexhaustible supplies of natural resources:

Cook . . . praised the country, remarking on the quantity of excellent timber and the native flax, noting the fertility of the soil (Sinclair, 1991: 33).

¹ Translated . . . They are strangers and they are also different - reflecting early contact history.

² Staten Landt was renamed Nieuw Zeeland.

³ Wright records, "One of several canoe loads of natives who had paddled out inquisitively to his anchorage attacked the cockboat shuttling between his two ships. . . 4 Dutch sailors were killed." (1959: 3)

⁴ Tasman records in his diary the following account: "After this outrageous and detestable crime the murderers sent the cockboat adrift, having taken one of the dead bodies into the prow and thrown another into the sea. . . Seeing that the detestable deed of these natives perpetuated against four men of the Zeehaen's crew this morning must teach us to consider the people of this country as enemies." Beckham (1969: 20 & 21)

Understandably, he grappled with a range of sensations such as awe, fear and inquisitiveness, about this new land and its inhabitants. To quench these sensations, Cook and his associates were responsible for extracting samples of foliage, animal, mammal, insect and other biological imprints from these southern pacific based islands.⁵ Ethnographic and anthropological data was also recorded. For example, Joseph Banks writes that:

... we saw few signs of religion among these people. They had no public places of worship like the inhabitants of the islands. They acknowledged, however the influence of superior beings and have nearly the same account of the creation of the world and mankind like the islands of the seas. (In Beckham, 1969: 111)

Cook and his expedition were also impressed with the healthy physical disposition (Rout, 1926) and simple philosophical/poetic heritage (Sinclair, 1976) of these island inhabitants. Yet these ambassadors of Western thought and virtue, used their belief systems, scientific mentality and life experiences as a way of judging the realities of those indigenous to this part of the world, whom they observed⁶ or had contact with. They were ill equipped to deal with the cultural expressions they confronted in 'Nieuw Zeeland', and approached cross cultural encounters as 'Upholders' of civilisation. Subsequently, their overall assessment reinforced the image that Maori were primarily savage, primitive and non moralistic by nature (Beckham, 1969). Western European historians revere Cook as the initial instigator for moving 'Nieuw Zeeland' onto the world-wide trade, colonisation and settlement possibilities grid for Western European expansionism. Like Tasman, Cook's early connections with Tangata

⁵ The Royal Society had sponsored Cook's expedition so the repayment of their investment came in the form of gathered data from the trip on the natural/social terrain's of inquiry. Two Botanists, Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander accompanied Cook in his first voyage to Aotearoa/Nieuw Zeeland/New Zealand. Personal dairies of crew members highlighted the harsh realities of exploring for months on end, coupled with the exhilaration of discovering new fauna and other natural resources, possible settlement areas and an abundance of researchable anthropological material.

⁶"Cook saw the results of the whangai hau war ceremony in which the bleeding heart of the first victim is offered to Tu and other gods of War" (Brailsford, 1981: 27)

Whenua resulted in loss of life on both sides. Nevertheless, that '*talking past each other*'⁷ tendency was a reality in the earlier exchanges.

Following in Cook's wake were the French explorers, De Surville (who arrived in these isles in December, 1769) and Marion du Fresne (who came 3 years later). The killing of du Fresne and twenty-seven of his men (1772) in the Bay of Islands and the murderous retaliation by the French on the local indigenous population, again provides ample evidence that the initial intercultural relationships, though friendly at first, were often wrought with increasing tension based on cultural miscommunication and misunderstanding (Horrocks, 1976).

The discovery of Nieuw Zeeland and its inventory of inexhaustible resources attracted the next wave of visitors to its shores. Even the stories of a savage primitive people inhabiting its shores added to this attractiveness as a frontier for opportunity. Unsurprisingly, astute business entrepreneurs, feeding off the spoils of a dynamic though ageing British imperial foreign expansionist international platform, interpreted the discovery of Aotearoa and the research gathered by Cook and other explorers to mean fortunes were awaiting those willing enough to set up business interests here. Thus the navigator/explorers were closely followed by agents of these entrepreneurs. These agents were the initial wave of sealers and whalers. Sealers arrived at Dusky Sound, located on the southern-west reaches of the South Island, in 1792. However, these sealers faced many hardships and it wasn't until around the turn of the century that this form of trade based on wholesale slaughter of seals, seemed profitable. Whale ship log books pinpoint the arrival of the whaling industry in Aotearoa waters as early as 1793 (Taylor, 1855) to hunt for Sperm Whales. In essence, these initial forays by Tauwiwi to acquire and dispose of the natural resources of Aotearoa for monetary wealth, had minimal impact on the overall iwi based economies of the day. Suffice to

⁷Metge & Kinloch (1978) provide further insight into this tendency to miscommunicate between cultures as they establish contact with each other.

echo, that the cross-overs of cultural interaction were still determined by Tangata Whenua.

Ko te ao pohatu o te Maori⁸/Tangata Whenua

Unequivocally in the pre - 1800 time period, Aotearoa was dominated by Tangata Whenua tikanga and kawa. Tribal lore and history discussed in Chapter Two depicts an indigenous people, divided through connections to whenua and whakapapa. Kotahitanga identification nationally did not feature as a significant binding characteristic. The strength of iwi nationhood evolved around the social entities of whanau and hapu. These social formations created allegiances, that when coupled with spiritual natural and human relational spheres, authenticated a universal philosophical framework placing the human elements in a dependency mode within the ethos, world and universe of Tangata Whenua (see Chapter Two which fully explains this dependency. Figure One at the end of Chapter Two displays this in diagrammatic form)

A significant outcome was the formation of social status infrastructures, clearly defined on interdependent relational lines. The advent of Western European explorers to their shores sign posted in the immediate and short term, very little change in social political and economic matrices of Tangata Whenua wellbeing and development. In fact, Tangata Whenua impressions of these Western European navigators invoked caution, intrigue, wonderment, conflict, interest, etc. For example, Te Horeta Taniwha, a chief from the Mercury Bay area, reports that his people viewed these white visitors as 'Goblins' who came from their God - the ship, and were able to perform magic - killing wild life with a stick that breathed fire, and move amongst the living as intermediaries between the spiritual and physical spheres (Sinclair, 1991). This appears to be backed up by Salmond (1991), who states that:

⁸ Referring to a Maori world.

. . . According to William Williams in 1888, the Rongowhakata people first thought that the Endeavour must be a floating island. Joel Polack, a European trader who recorded an account given by the grandchildren of some of those who lived at Turanga-nui when Cook arrived, said that the Endeavour was mistaken for a great bird, . . . the bird was regarded as a house full of divinities, Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the people. (Pp. 123/24)

On the other hand, Mahina⁹ viewed them as 'strange beings', some of which he killed at the mouth of the Manawatu river, while others escaped in a 'strange canoe with peculiar paddles.' (McEwen, 1986). Similarly, Te Kuri and other Bay of Island chiefs, who visited regularly with du Fresne prior to his murder, exhibited no fear of these strangers. They were very inquisitive, and engaged regularly with these French explorers (Horrocks, 1976). An insight into the life of an other key actor during that early contact, Te Wherowhero,¹⁰ explicates the minimalism of impact these European explorers had on the way of life for Tangata Whenua in those days. By the 1790s, Te Wherowhero was still claiming 'Mata Ngohi - taking the first kill in battle' (Te Hurinui, 1945: 37/38). Like a flower on the wall, Cook observed 'Whangai Hau - offering the bleeding heart of the first slaying of a confrontation to Tu and other war gods' (Brailsford, 1981: 27). He was in no position to change these customs, no matter how reviling they may have seemed to him.

The key themes emerging from 'First Contact'

To summarise this period it can be argued on reflection that the initial contact period, first and foremost was a Tangata Whenua dominated environment. In other words, a Tangata Whenua world in every way. This meant that Tangata Whenua languages, traditions, institutions, and ways of living, to name a few, were central to all environmental settings in Aotearoa. All the symbolism, all those legitimate ways of comprehending the world originated from a Maori heart and mind set.

⁹An ancestor of Te Aweawe from Rangitane in the Manawatu.

Much of the collated information on early contact experiences between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi placed a premium on indigenous forms of justice and control. This meant that if contact was beneficial to Tangata Whenua needs then it occurred, if not, swift Tangata Whenua justice prevailed. Many instances in early contact times reflect this process. Like in any culture, Tangata Whenua notions of justice became located in their customs. These customs propagated acceptable and appropriate behaviour for their members and influenced the nature of race relations between them and outsiders. As illustrated earlier, Marion du Fresne and his crew died because they were not attuned to Te Kuri's tikanga and kawa. Horrock (1976) in studying the du Fresne affair, explained how the French were put off by the thieving of Te Kuri and his people. Of significance was the miscommunication between these culturally different people. Judging the behaviour of Tangata Whenua using non Tangata Whenua reasoning meant culturally relevant conceptual laws were broken by those who knew very little about them:

The spate of thieving that took place in early June may be explained in terms of Maori dissatisfaction with European transgressions: initially these were tolerated, but the frequency of violations may ultimately have become too much to bear. The Maoris, rightfully to their way of thinking, then sought recompense for the wrongs committed against them (Horrock, 1979: 22).

It would be safe to argue that in pre - 1800 times these early violent experiences, when contextualised within the immediate time frame and assessed along side existing cultural social political and economic structures of the country and its inhabitants, were of nominal significance. But in the long term, the violent confrontations between these two interacting parties set in place patterns of conduct that were to impinge on the development of race relations for years to come in Aotearoa.

¹⁰King Potatau Te Wherowhero of the Kingitanga movement.

Themes of Wellbeing

From a Tauwiwi perspective, social wellbeing in this time period gravitated around such themes as exploitation of outer darkness - a centre-periphery resource acquisition argument (Stevenson, 1992; Blaut, 1993). This argument clearly identified 'Empire building'. For example, the centre of the British Empire is Britain. Some of the places on the periphery of this Empire would have been India, Australia and New Zealand. The next aspect of this argument was that the resource needs and wants of those inhabiting the centre of the Empire, were paramount. Consequently, Western Eurocentric civilisation [Britain and European] interests were placed at the centre of the wellbeing cartwheel. Countries on the periphery were commissioned to supply resources and services for the centre. Interestingly enough, the needs and wants identified by those on the periphery were of little significance to explorers. Blaut (1993) analyses Eurocentric diffusionism which contends that all societies have been influenced positively by engaging with superior Western Eurocentric civilisations. Indigenous periphery outsiders to Western Eurocentric nations were viewed as resources to be used for the centre - in this case Britain and European countries (See Figure Four: Eurocentric Diffusionism - the centre periphery development cartwheel, at the end of this Chapter).

The conceptual formation of 'Paternalism' had its roots in this time period under that core assumption of 'Centre based Wellbeing'. Permeating from this assumption was the belief that these explorers were in fact 'Upholders of decency, morality, and civilisation'. Their observations of Tangata Whenua reinforced their own held view that these natives needed Western contact, and would benefit from becoming civilised. The impact though minimal, also introduced ownership notions that differed from those held by Tangata Whenua residing in Aotearoa. Modernisation values of rational science over mythical fatalism left these early contact actors with the task of gathering data to assess possible settlement and

industrial production development. It seemed quite feasible that stripping of labour and natural resources from Aotearoa would have an immediate impact on quenching the supply demands from motherland, the centre. This development mentality also professed that a range of benefits would automatically filter down to those on the periphery. For instance, allowing ships respite in calm harbours raised the odds of successfully negotiating the arduous return trip to England with cargoes intact, i.e. whale oils etc. As this satisfied supply demands at home, one of the filtered down benefits for Tangata Whenua was receiving gifts of Western technology to further their own pursuits in Aotearoa.

However the sum total effect of economic market forces on distribution of wealth and social status held no bearing at all on the immediate wellbeing of these heirs and heiress of Aotearoa. For the explorers, it was all about the 'potentiality' factor. These islands had untapped, bounteous amounts of natural resources, which were deemed accessible, available and untenured. Western European consumerism and a capitalistic desire to increase financial gains were key reasons for exploring, labelling and profiling potential future market expansions.

For Tangata Whenua, Nieuw Zeeland's sovereignty still remained firmly fixed in their hands. Tangata Whenua interactions with Tauwiwi had strong trade ramifications though the outcomes varied according to the overriding situations they found themselves in when meeting these goblins and the levels of awareness between the worldviews in question. Tangata Whenua philosophies of the universe and world remained paramount here even though Tauwiwi could claim that they had superior weaponry and other technology. Mana imbued from te kauae runga, was locked into the existing 'rangatira - tutua - pononga' social dynamics of whanau and hapu. Therein was tino rangatiratanga enacted, not in any supra - structural political entities such as iwi.

Period Two: 1800 - 1840 Legal Pacts with Cultural Contractions and Relaxation.

Tangata Whenua and Tauwi race relations from 1800 through to 1840 can best be described as a period of transformations,¹¹ determined by Tangata Whenua protocol. It is with this in mind that a detailed historical analysis of Legal Covenants with Contractions and Relaxation follows. These two contrasting terms of contractions and relaxation are central to the birthing process. Metaphorically, this birth process describes well continued contact between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi in the period 1800 - 1840. Intense moments¹² were interspersed with peaceable activities.¹³ There are two parts to analysing this time period. 'Macro/International/National connections', explores Western Eurocentric cultural development and its link to Maori development. And secondly, under the heading of 'A historical understanding . . .', a historical analysis provides illustrations of Maori efforts to deal with both cultural contact and Maori wellbeing during four decades identified as follows: 1800 - 1810 'North wind and trade routes'; 1811 - 1820 'The bible, guns and belly'; 1821 - 1830 'Utu and resistance'; and finally 1831 - 1840 'Allegiances and contracts'.

Macro/International/National connections

Western Eurocentric modernist influences in the early nineteenth Century, set the scene for change in Tangata Whenua pre and early contact thematic structures and supporting philosophies dealing with social wellbeing. An analysis of Western Eurocentric cultural development is necessary here to observe its impending impact on Tangata Whenua social wellbeing. This critique of Western Eurocentric cultural development

¹¹What the author means by this is that 'a period of transformations', infers an environment where Tangata Whenua were presented with numerous contractual options for establishing long term relationships between themselves, other iwi and with an assortment of Western European powers, as illustrated by such things as the Declaration of Independence, land deeds and also Te Tiriti O Waitangi.

¹²Examples of massacres and interracial conflict will be referred to throughout this section.

¹³That is intermarriage, international travel and so on.

begins with the time epoch known as the dark and middle ages, which literally meant that much of the creative energies of humanity had little expression. Central to this period were the following characteristics: privilege meant power and control of the avenues to increased knowledge; only a few people, whether it resulted through birth and heritage or through ordination from God, were given access to sources of knowledge, thus the slogan that the bible was tied to the pulpit; expressions of dialectical discussion hardly happened on a massive scale and people were more inclined to see the realities of the time, as absolute; the role of the State and of the church determined the existence of all things; the place of the monarchy in the power and decision making of that time period became paramount; the power and control of the church continued to monopolise the discovering/teaching responsibilities (Turner, 1992; McLennan, 1992; Rustin, 1989; Green, 1987). These notions created societies that held on to exaggerated Judaeo-Christian philosophies that continued to legitimate subjugation of women, to block free thinking by limiting access to educational pursuits or opportunity, reinforced the work ethic without addressing the inequitable social, political and economic environments that kept people locked into poverty and oppression; that advancements in social organisations, industry, technology and thinking were restricted because of the absolute rule of a small portion of society, the church and the State Monarchy Green (1987). During the latter stages of this period, the stability of their known world began to shudder under the natural tendencies of human inquiry that sought to discover, to expand, to conquer other unknown parts of the world and the struggles for citizenry around basic political rights such as franchise concerning suffrage (Tennant, 1989).

The enlightenment period of Western Eurocentric development which followed the dark ages and middle ages advocated the twin driving forces of discovery and emancipation. Discovery in the sense that all established knowledge, ways of living, even ideology, were challenged. Accessibility to

education and freedom of thought espoused by existentialism¹⁴ became a driving emancipatory force for this time period (Stevenson, 1987). It was a protest against the determinism of the existing ideological, emotional, political social and physical constructions that made up the boundaries of the known world. This time period challenged what had been previously considered sacred tenets.

Modernity was the name of the next Western Eurocentric development phase. This epoch began in the late seventeenth century and carried on through to the post-World War II time period of the 1940s. Its development also coincided with the rise and transformation of what some have termed the modern bureaucratised capitalistic based autonomous State (Turner, 1992).¹⁵ In terms of philosophical development, a key outcome of this phase has been humanities quest to further explore the ontological presuppositions of human nature, existence, understanding and development, alongside the rise of capitalism and the emergence of new social structures called modern industrial societies.

Inherent in transformations of this time period, was a marked decline in the power of a traditional social order, with fixed social hierarchies and overlapping allegiances. Hall and Bram (1992) argued that these traditional social orders were replaced by a dynamic social and sexual division of labour.¹⁶ This was accompanied by a rise in the influence of the Protestant ethic,¹⁷ which emphasised asceticism (self denial, self discipline) and was

¹⁴ One significant outcome from existentialism was illustrated in the acceptance of the following truism: that the earth was round and that it was not the centre of this particular universe.

¹⁵The establishment of monetarism exchange economies, based on the large-scale production and consumption of commodities centring around the market place, gave weight to the notion that this growing 'economic rationalisation', was driven by individualism inherent in capitalism. Acceptance of extensive ownership of private property and the accumulation of capital on a systematic, long-term basis, went one step further in justifying this capitalist accumulation perspective.

¹⁶In modern capitalist societies, this was characterised by new class formations, and distinctive patriarchal relations between men and women.

¹⁷An ideology promoted within the Protestant faith, that focused on the morality of work, and the individual capabilities to deal with any situation in isolation. In Mitchell's

one of the singular driving principles underpinning explorer mentality that thrived on seeking mastery of the world during the seventeenth century. Modernity was also a time period in which positivistic¹⁸ universal notions were established. Universal in the sense that people of the world were viewed as similar and this led to totality type theories to explain relationships. At the same time, those creative aspects of individualism (a hall mark feature of the enlightenment era), appeared to be rapidly replaced by secular (cold facts) sameness, mass production, organised to secure management and control of the environment.

Modernity encompassed a 'competitive individual market driven industrial economy' and a 'rational science perspective'. Subsequently, Western European countries in the early 19th century actively pursued new resources to suffice demands for commodities, by their consumers. In terms of new technologies and increasing their boundaries of knowledge, the scientific approach was used to glean from the experiences of other people without addressing ethical cultural issues (see the section entitled 'Principles of Western research' in Chapter One).

Sovereignty rights were sought by Western Eurocentric powers, over recently discovered 'other outer - periphery parts' of the world. Their emissaries used an assortment of acquisition strategies to gain access to and then claim as their own, the natural resources inherent in those newly mapped countries. Concurrently, these Western agents utilised their own moral and legislative institutions of church and crown to nullify the residency status of indigenous populations, with the end result often being

(1992) account of *Protestant thought and Republican Spirit*, this isolation attribute of Protestant theology was held firmly through the claim that two realms existed in the make up of a person: These being the spiritual and carnal, and that each needed to be seen in separation from each other, so that each may do its own work. Furthermore, the 'inward devotion' suggests that the 'Protestant ethic', so obvious in the tendency to suffer inwardly in silence, reinforced the notions that ones' destiny was up to that individual and God. That individualism appeared to be paramount in the development of what Turner (1992) called the capitalist modernism personality, which was based around accumulation, privatisation, secularisation etc.

¹⁸ Refer to Chapter One - material on Positivism in section on 'the principles of Western research'.

war. Another important fact was that Aotearoa's colonisation by Western European rule and influence, was initially deterred by geographic distance and isolation. Durie (1985), argued that Western Eurocentric cultural development during modernity also focused on the 'division of things', an antithesis to holistic analyses of phenomenon. Ponter (1989)¹⁹ also supported this aspect and added that modernity also created a moral polemic dualism tension. In other words, opposition in all things meant that Modernity was characterised by paternalism and sovereignty, racism and antiracism, class and classless societies, of colonisation and independence, development as verses under/over development, and of primitivism and civilisation. This reflected a view of the world against which there was resistance but not of an equalised binary kind.

A historical understanding ...

These basic tenets of Western Eurocentric modernity will be unravelled in the historical analysis of this time period, which has been broken down into four decades of contact named as follows: 1800 - 1810 'North wind and trade routes'; 1811 - 1820 'The bible, guns and belly'; 1821 - 1830 'Utū and resistance'; 1831 - 1840 'Allegiances and contracts'. The roles of the sealers, whalers, traders, missionaries, and crown representatives in propagating Western Eurocentric civilisation in Aotearoa will be measured in this section along side Tangata Whenua efforts to maintain their own tino rangatiratanga in preserving whanau, hapu and iwi social wellbeing. Pivotal to this debate is the belief that commercial then political interests underpinned Tauīwi desires to open up the trade routes to Aotearoa. The next phase was to consolidate these through honest and transparent treaty negotiations with Tangata Whenua. Belich (1996) reminds all that Tangata Whenua had hidden agendas too, and were far from apolitical in their

¹⁹Ponter's (1989) article reinforces the tendency that scientific studies have in breaking down inquiry into smaller more isolated parts, for easier management of the research arena to be covered. At the same time these individual expertise levels can be drawn and woven together to infer major theoretical underpinnings in order to advance knowledge about the research arena being studied.

desires to engage with Western knowledge and technology. These dimensions will be explored and unmasked in this section.

1800 - 1810 North wind and trade routes

For the first decade of 1800 to 1810, the title, 'North wind and trade routes' was chosen because it reflected a continuation of northern hemisphere attention and interest in Aotearoa for trade and resource acquiring purposes. At the same time, this was far from a unified joint venture by all the Western-Eurocentric northern hemisphere powers.

Animosity and competition to own or control the resource base of potential colonies continued to influence the way in which these trade routes were established in the early 1800s. In actuality, these trade relations were to become the determinants of race relations in Aotearoa. On the one hand, there was an array of culturally bound,²⁰ at times conflicting, rationale that prompted Tangata Whenua to link with Tauwiwi efforts to preserve and strengthen these trade links, while on the other hand, these same trade relationship equations became the source of much controversy. Consequently, this historical analysis begins by looking at the second wave of whalers, sealers and traders who visited these Isles.

At the turn of the century Whalers were actively harvesting whales from Aotearoa waters and visiting these shores (Sinclair, 1976). Sealers were already in the South Island prior to the turn of the nineteenth century. The American Texan influence of 'bigger than big', took this industry into another dimension after they discovered in 1804 the Foveaux strait sealing grounds. Early records indicate that the Americans and others began to take skins by the tens of thousands (Natusch, 1971a). The sequential

²⁰The author argues that Tangata Whenua reasons for maintaining contact with Tauwiwi were linked at times to their own tikanga and kawa. For instance, the notion of 'utu' was redressed through obtaining guns from their visitors. These were then used to extract revenge on those unfortunates who had previously enacted some slight against them (Belich, 1996; Hohepa, 1971).

offshoot from these initial boom years in whaling and sealing meant that traffic on these southern trade routes quadrupled.

Savage observed that there were no white settlements at the time of his visit in 1805 (Sinclair, 1976). With limited Maori language skills he gathered together information about Tangata Whenua knowledge of cosmology (Beckham, 1969) and though fraught with researcher idealism his works emphasized to readers in England that these shores were inhabited by people - this was no 'Terra Nullus'. While the cultural interface between Tangata Whenua and Taiuiwi was still in its developing infancy stages, the Tangata Whenua realities continued to demark social, political, economic and spiritual ways of doing things in Aotearoa.

As indicated in the previous time epoch of 'Pre 1800 First Contact', confrontations between Tangata Whenua and Taiuiwi continued into this decade. Again Sorrensen (1975) insisted that:

European's still had to learn to respect the laws of tapu and the mana of chiefs; it was probably their failure to do so that provoked the massacres of . . . Boyd²¹ [and others] (99).

An analysis of the Rutherford and Boyd incidents²² attest to the swift responsiveness of localised Tangata Whenua institutions of justice and accompanying judgements, to deal with conflict surrounding broken tapu and slights against various types of mana.²³ At the same time European response was often immediate and merciless.²⁴ This needs to be seen in relation to the fact that people were obviously in 'talking past each other'

²¹ The Boyd was a name of a ship that visited these waters in 1809 - see the following footnote to find out what happened to those who came on it.

²² In 1807 a gentleman by the name of Rutherford was the only one spared from his ship by Tangata Whenua after an encounter and lived amongst his captors for some years. Likewise in 1809, Captain Thompson, his crew and passengers on board the Boyd were all disposed at Whangaroa after a slight (Taylor, 1855; Sinclair, 1976).

²³ Mana Atua, Mana Tangata, Mana Whenua, Mana Ake (Buck, 1949; Marsden in King, 1992).

²⁴ Hanley states that: "Some 2000 Maoris had been killed through savage reprisals by Whalers who did not understand why the Maori reacted if Tapu was broken" (1990: 69).

(Metge, 1978)²⁵ mode, yet the historical illustrations compounded the fact that Tangata Whenua were still very much in control of their world.

Another key feature of this decade was the fact that Tangata Whenua also began to explore Western Civilisation.²⁶ On returning to Aotearoa, these Maori seafarers brought various types of Western knowledge, skills and technology back to their whanau, hapu and iwi. Not all of these things sat well with the social dynamics of the day. While individual whanau, hapu and iwi benefited (Hohepa, 1971), Belich (1996) was still of the opinion that contact with Tauwiwi was done in self serving ways. Consequently, a sense of unified nationalism by the indigenous people of Aotearoa did not appear to be a governing principle in formulating a workable main frame for inter-race relations.

Inter-race relationships based on personality and favour based²⁷ lines ushered in various trade protocol between Western Eurocentric business interests and Tangata Whenua (Rickard, 1971; Natusch, 1971b). Subsequently, visiting ships found no moral dilemma in selling guns and goods to resident Tangata Whenua whom they sought these personality

²⁵Book title - Talking Past Each Other, first edition.

²⁶ During John Savage's visit to Aotearoa in 1805 (Sinclair, 1976), he was impressed with Moehanga, a young warrior from Whangarei. Moehanga, in accepting Savage's invitation to accompany him to England in 1806, became the first from his culture to do so. In other words: Moehanga was the Tasman of a Maori discovery of Europe (Belich, 1996: 141). In 1805, Te Pahi a northern Bay of Island chief of some standing in his community, was also occupied in overseas travel to Sydney. There he secured a cooperative working friendship with Governor King, and became a key instigator and intermediary for those seeking to gain a foothold in Aotearoa. Belich (1996) goes ever further to summarise that: Historians still credit this [Te Pahi's relationship with the Governor] the first reciprocal relationship ever established between New Zealand and the outside world (141). At the turn of the century, another Bay of Islands chief called Ruatara, had travelled onboard whaling and sealing ships across the Tasman to Sydney²⁶, as well. But it was not until 1809 that he made it to London. Likewise, ship muster logs supported the view that Maori travellers began to circumvent the globe. In the early parts of the 1800s, whaling masters eagerly recruited Maori seafarers to fulfil their crew quotas that were affected by such things as desertion, injury and untimely death (Belich, 1996; Rickard, 1971). Maori quickly became part of a cosmopolitan pool of sailors, joining whaling and other vessels in their hundreds (Belich, 1996: 144).

²⁷ Favour based lines is an author concoction reflecting two things: first, I scratch your back if you scratch mine and second, emphasising the notion of reciprocity that Tangata Whenua were very aware of in such things as muru, utu or tohatoha. This also introduces 'Consociationalisation' to be discussed in the summary of this Chapter.

and favour based alliances with (Binney, 1969). Suffice to say that the impact of introducing these instruments of war, were to have a profound affect on traditional power relationships across, between and within whanau, hapu and iwi throughout Aotearoa.

In summary, this decade entitled '1800 - 1810 North Wind and Trade Routes' saw the establishment of a system of safe harbour stop overs for ships in Aotearoa waters. Tauwiwi entrepreneurial interests were at the root of setting up these trade/venture routes to and from Aotearoa. The need to establish alliances with resident whanau and hapu social formations who controlled these entry points into the New Zealand economy and culture were paramount. Moreover, it was strategically important for these visitors to respect the laws of tapu and mana which maintained legitimate and valid worldviews governing relationships between the natural, human and spiritual dimensions of those very same people. In hindsight, the tendency to act swiftly against tapu or mana breakers had one positive result, in that New Zealand was not viewed as a possible convict settlement destiny. Finally, Western influence through the introduction of guns and goods beginning around 1810 (Sinclair, 1976), created an atmosphere of change that was embraced by some Tangata Whenua while others felt its wrath. Under these conditions Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi entered another phase of their relational development which took into account religious fervour, the real impact of guns on social order and the changes new food products and goods initiated. The next decade explores these in more detail.

1811 - 1820 The bible, guns and belly

Though a number of Western Eurocentric powers made moves toward claiming this South Pacific space as their 'baby',²⁸ in 1812 the Napoleonic wars in the old world coupled with the Anglo-American Wars in the new world, brought most of these expansionist activities in the South Pacific to

²⁸Paternalism - looking after the savages.

a virtual halt (Salmond, 1991; Sinclair, 1976). Post - war contact was resumed again at the coal face by the whalers, sealers, and traders (Binney, 1969). It is also important to remember that Tangata Whenua cultural exchange visits to Western societies intensified.²⁹

'The bible, guns and belly' decade of 1811-1820 was named because it heralded the propagation not only of Christian ideology in Aotearoa which fought to save the souls of the indigenous heathens, but also saw the rise in influence and importance of Western goods and associated services for Tangata Whenua consumers. Warfare technology³⁰ and Western food products³¹ provided the impetus for, and gave rise to, the beginning of dramatic lifestyle changes for Tangata Whenua. These introduced goods and services constructed physical wants and desires that became an impediment to Tangata Whenua traditional relationships between the three spheres of reality, these being the spiritual, physical/natural and human terrains.³² More importantly, colonisation of the soul (Jackson in Oddie & Perrett, 1992; Jackson, 1987; Stewart in the National Standing Committee, 1990) and body worked in tandem to change Maori appetites, wants, and desires. These changes would have an emphatic effect on Tangata Whenua interpretation of needs and the implementation of appropriate strategies to deal with Maori wellbeing. Prior to investigating the spiritual contestation arena, it is important to contextualise the concept of 'need' as verses 'wants' in this decade. 'Need' espoused by Tangata Whenua was often about obtaining Western knowledge and technology for political leverage in their world (Belich, 1996; Hohepa, 1971; Natusch, 1971a; 1971b; Ball in Sutherland, 1940).

²⁹Maui, or Tommy Drummond, after living with Marsden for several years, taught Sunday school near Edgeware Road, London, in 1816. Tuai and Titeri - visited London in 1818. (Belich, 1996: 144) Pat Hohepa tells of how Hongi Hika along with several Ngapuhi chiefs [Korokoro & Ruatara] stayed with Marsden in Sydney (1971).

³⁰This intensified the losses of Tangata Whenua in inter hapu and tribal conflict.

³¹The introduction of new food products pre-empted new culinary habits for Tangata Whenua. The acquisition of these food stuffs involved entering into a market economy that was propped up with Western Eurocentric competitiveness and modernisation mentality.

³²See Chapter Two - The conceptual framework of Tangata Whenua wellbeing in Figures One and Two.

However, the introduction of Christianity had more to do meeting the social, economic and political 'wants' of Maori. Maori did not depend on these emissaries of 'the white man's God' for economic sustenance, but having missionaries reside in their presence was a 'mana building exercise'. With this in mind, an analysis of the introduction of Christianity to Aotearoa will now proceed.

The initial stages of setting up missions in Aotearoa had its genesis in the colonial settlements of Australia. These spiritual curators of Western society, who acted as emissaries of God and carriers of the so called arts of civilisation, were stimulated into missionary outreach zeal by interesting accounts from Tangata Whenua visitors at the turn of the century. As Belich writes:

In Sydney in 1805, Te Pahi, Ruatara and others helped shape Marsden's view that New Zealand was a promising field for missionary activity (1996: 142).

During the earlier part of the 1800s, Samuel Marsden - a church of England minister plus front man for the 'Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East' (Hamilton, 1971) - became a central figure in promoting cross cultural relationships between his Western Christian world philosophies/practices and Tangata Whenua visitors to Sydney, with their own world views and ways. This cross cultural relationship experiment was laced with romanticism and even led to the emergence of the 'noble savage' label³³ (Hopeha, 1971). Often missionaries in Marsden's old, believed that it was their mission to uphold the high moral ground of civilisation, and to push the need to bring salvation gospels to iwi Maori.³⁴ The next key issue to look at was that these settler/missionaries

³³These early encounters with the indigenous others, fascinated these soul savers and even led to the argument that Maori were in fact of Aryan/Semitic origins. (Dale, 1936)

³⁴ Therefore, in December 1814 Samuel Marsden, in charge of a Church Mission Society sponsored group³⁴, led the way in bringing the good news to Maori people (Hamilton, 1971). They landed in the Bay of Islands, Northland and under the direction of Ruatara, whom Marsden had befriended in Sydney, they instituted the first mission for the Church of England at Rangihoua (Belich, 1996; Sinclair, 1976; Hamilton, 1971). The significant point here is that no such venture would have been possible without Tangata Whenua permission

were initially influenced by Marsden's *modus operandi* with Tangata Whenua. This was that:

Maori should be first taught the arts³⁵ of civilisation and that Christianity should follow in its wake (Owen, 1968: 33).

So in line with this philosophy those early settler/missionaries pushed this education focus by establishing the first mission school at Rangihoua in 1816 (Pihama, 1992.)³⁶ In the next decade the entire missionary approach changed. More importantly, Tangata Whenua also saw Christianity as the 'te kauae runga' of Western knowledge and experience but the benefits were not as attractive yet.³⁷ It is therefore not surprising that during this decade there were no converts to Christianity. As Hamilton (1971: 203) states:

To the Maori, Christianity was a way to acquire the European skills and goods they desired rather than a means of salvation.

and or direction, as they were the reigning kings and queens of their own kingdoms in Aotearoa. Marsden vivifies this point in his diaries by saying: . . . that there would have been no mission in 1814 if Ruatara had not wanted it, and it was Ruatara who determined its location and function (Belich, 1996: 94).

³⁵A focus on the practical skills with Western technology. These missionaries introduced such things as the blanket, various food crops etc.

³⁶ Its primary objective was to facilitate conversion through teaching practical skills to Tangata Whenua (Elsmore, 1986). However, diversity in thought and action about how one might fulfil the proselytising of Christian values and beliefs in a better fashion, also existed amongst the Church Missionary Society party at Rangihoua. In founding the school/education arm of the mission, Thomas Kendall realised at the end of this decade, that attempts to convert Tangata Whenua to the gospel through teaching them practical skills was doomed to fail unless missionaries accustomed themselves to the Maori language and culture. (Hamilton, 1971). He believed that the way to reach Maori was to learn their language and produce books in their language so that they could read about the gospel. Therefore, advancing literacy amongst these saveable heathens in their own language. He practised what he thought and took on board the cultural values and beliefs of the Tangata Whenua. Marsden, a fierce critic of his behaviour, portrayed Thomas to be a fallen man who had succumbed to adultery and relinquished Western civilisation in favour of the heathen values and beliefs of his host hapu (Binney, 1967).

³⁷Missionaries were still completely dependent on Maori and not always in a position to promote themselves to Maori, as new role models of a better way of life within Christianity.

Another key factor was that these missionaries were entirely dependent on their benefactors³⁸ - the resident whanau and hapu of a particular area - for food, shelter and protection against other Maori.³⁹ Missionaries' desires to share their religion with Tangata Whenua were hampered by the fact that they were not viewed seriously enough by their hosts.

Shipping company personnel, traders, missionaries and settlers, as well as Tangata Whenua seafarers and overseas travellers, were prominent in bringing the musket into Aotearoa. This trade accelerated in 1815 when muskets became readily available after the conclusion of the Napoleonic and Anglo - American Wars⁴⁰ (Belich, 1996). The reason for this flourishing trade was that Maori demand for guns was insatiable.⁴¹ Along with new war technology came introduced foods, goods and services. These Western products and processes challenged the interrelated and connected lifestyles of Tangata Whenua. The need to appease the gods was confronted directly with market driven consumerism based on satisfying personal wants and desires. Notions of individual wealth and opportunity contrasted strongly with the dependency on collectivism for survival that was an inherent part of indigenous world views in Aotearoa. The breakers of this cultural seal of reality were both Tangata Whenua and Tau-iwi. Not all were of devious intent. For example, Ruatara sought to better the lot of

³⁸Binney (1969) summed up that, "Missionaries were at the mercy of the Maoris who hardly took seriously the settlers' attempts to persuade them that Maoris were of moral inferiority and religious error" (144).

³⁹ Binney (1969) also contended that it was nearing the conclusion of this decade that this very same dependency relationship forced some missionaries into the gun trade to appease their hosts. The debate about why missionaries entered into this trade, range from a survival tactic at one end of the spectrum to being another means of reaching the macro goal of more converts for their parent church bodies at the other end (Belich, 1996; Hamilton, 1971; Binney, 1967).

⁴⁰Te Morenga traded 3 tons of dressed flax for 35 muskets. (Hohepa, 1971)

⁴¹ To illustrate the influx of guns into Aotearoa and the impact these had on social power and control patterns in Aotearoa, Hohepa (1971) provides a timely overview of Hongi Hika's exploits with the musket. In January 1812 Hongi received his first muskets for providing hospitality to the crew of the Harwick. The following year Hongi Hika acquired several more through trading. Five years later, in league with Te Morenga - another Ngapuhi chief, they went on separate tours of utu and spread havoc and mayhem in Tauranga and along the coast down to Hicks Bay. In 1819 he bore the fruits of his war labours home to the Bay of Islands. The gun was therefore instrumental in moving the whole

his own people. So he brought back seed crops. Home sceptics were numerous, even when his crops began to flourish. However, as Belich outlines:

In early 1814, they were literally forced to eat their words when Ruatara ground some into flour with a hand-mill sent at his request by his ally Marsden. By this time, he had fine fields of wheat, as well as cabbages, turnips, carrots and onions, to add to potatoes and pigs bequeathed by Te Pahi (1996: 142).

The culinary appetites of Tangata Whenua created another level of adjustment and change to the overall cultural psyche in this decade, and a natural outcome was the desire by Tangata Whenua to develop and take advantage of these new products and associated skills (Butterworth & Young, 1990). On the negative side, Tangata Whenua values, beliefs and institutions were unable to explain the new realities created, and this led to a shift away from the traditional principles of wellbeing.

1821 - 1830 Utu, conversion and resistance

This decade has been labelled, 'Utu, conversion and resistance', for several reasons. The concept of 'Utu', while not a new phenomenon in traditional Maori philosophies and practises,⁴² has been used as in the heading of this decade to reflect the view that with more muskets, inter tribal wars intensified and proved both bloody and destructive.⁴³ Like the preceding decades, inter-nation travel and cultural exchange continued,⁴⁴ trickle down development mentality remained a constant in 'robber trading'⁴⁵

process of colonisation up a peg. Tauwiwi didn't need to battle with these warrior nations. They just provided war technology and Tangata Whenua turned on themselves.

⁴² See Chapter Two.

⁴³ These tools of war, acquired from missionary/settlers and traders, were used by and against whanau, hapu and iwi, to extract utu - reciprocity, for past grievances.

⁴⁴ Henare and Douglas (1988)⁴⁴, also contend that these native observers of Western European cultures and societies, were not the naive noble savages with limited critical analysis skills, that some made them out to be. In fact, these Tangata Whenua visitors were critical of kingship, clearly aware of British parliament structure and justice processes, had an understanding of the armed capacity of their foreign hosts, and had insight into the colonialist designs of these Western expansionists.

⁴⁵ Robber trading gravitates around the concepts of 'Brevity and maximum profit'. In other

(Rickard, 1971a), social change and interaction became more complex, and the effects of introduced diseases⁴⁶ impacted heavily on the physical wellbeing of Tangata Whenua who possessed no natural body immunity against them. Consequently, the social fabric and contextual environments in Aotearoa appeared to be in an explosive mood yet in the same breath, were more susceptible to change. The title also includes the concept of 'conversion', because the impact and role of Christianity in Aotearoa became a major change agent during this decade. The final part of the heading for this decade invites a critical analysis of those cross cultural exchanges. The concept of 'resistance', reassesses the critical judgement calls and actions made by Tangata Whenua leaders in this decade in response to contact with Tauwiwi. In its totality, the title of 'Utu, conversion and resistance', depicts a watershed time period where changes in attitude and action reflected significant power swings between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi in Aotearoa.

A reflection of Tauwiwi colonial settlement interests in Aotearoa was first manifested through the establishment of mission settlements in the last decade but there were other forms of contact and partial settlement happening in Aotearoa during this decade. These types of partial European settlements centered around the business visions of capitalist entrepreneurs. Their strategies included setting up base camps and trading outposts to access the timber and flax trade⁴⁷ resources that were an inherent part of Nieuw Zeeland's natural character.

words, entrepreneurs sought to get the most out of their investments, knowing fully that the 'pickings were only for a short time'. There was no commitment to long term investment or planning. Likewise, sustainability and protection of resources or resource management was foreign to the thinking of these advocates of robber trading.

⁴⁶ Transferable diseases began to impact on Tangata Whenua wellbeing. Respite for sailors meant intimate contact with the native populus. Simple ailments such as the common cold quickly spread death through Tangata Whenua ranks who had no natural immunity to such diseases (Justice Department, 1987/88⁴⁶). Owens (1968), emphasised the havoc Western diseases evoked on Tangata Whenua whanau, hapu and iwi. Sinclair (1976) explains that these introduced ailments reached epidemic⁴⁶ proportions in these unprotected indigenous communities of Aotearoa.

⁴⁷Natusch (1971b) describes the contract that Captain Edwardson of the Snapper to secure a load of flax and to promote further trade in this product.

In the pre and early 1800s the other cementing factor in terms of interpersonal relationships between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi centered around what Belich (1996) described as the sex industry.⁴⁸ It was quite common for visitors from whaling and trade ships, to intermingle intimately with the indigenous populus. Burns (1844) and many others utilised this growth industry to consolidate their standing in the native communities that they interacted with for survival. Others used their respite visits to fulfil sexual/physical desires after months on end being in predominantly male company. As Belich assesses, this was the main industry that brought resources into the country.⁴⁹ From a societal perspective, those that took on the 'Burns response' which was to leave their newly acquire native whanau, left much to be desired. They satisfied their own egos but the sad thing was that on occasion some of these half caste children, that they left behind often felt the brunt of anti race sentiments from both their Tangata Whenua and Tauwi sides. Literally they became bastards or non people. There were others who became revered members of Maori whanau and hapu. Other Tauwi established long term meaningful relationships such as marriage with Maori women. The emphasis was to teach their wives European ways (Owen, 1968) and symbolically change and claim them through baptism or conversion to Christianity (Hanley, 1990; Sorrenson, 1975). Their children became flagstaff examples of:

⁴⁸ Burns (1844) provides a vivid account of his own adventures as a trading master for one of those astute business entrepreneurs, called Montifore. Burns left Sydney in 1829 and it took him approximately 4 months of travel to Mahia where he was contracted to set up a trading post with the express orders to: . . . "then commence bartering with the natives for flax and such trade" (5). Burns had to adjust to the conditions and the culture of the Tangata Whenua. He mentions that it was nearly 11 months before he saw another white man. In that time period he established a family with the local chief's daughter, took on their ways of doing things, learnt their language and even obtained a full face moko. Men such as Burns were opportunists who knew the benefit of taking on board their host's culture. Interestingly enough, some of them like Burns who created families with Tangata Whenua in Nieuw Zeeland, left these shores when opportunities arose and returned to their societies with a certain amount of celebrity status, due in part to their so called adventures in 'outer darkness'. But what of their families that they left behind.

⁴⁹ This industry preceded wool, gold and dairy products as New Zealand's leading earner of overseas exchange (152).

. . . good behaviour and stepping stones to health and progress (Hanley, 1990: 102).

The impact of guns on Tangata Whenua wellbeing during this decade will now be investigated. By September of 1821, Hongi Hika re-embarked on his war mongering campaign with over 1000 musket armed warriors and aggressively began to settle a number of old scores with iwi south of their borders (Stokes, 1980; Hohepa, 1971). Ngata and Sutherland (1940) called it a time of great intensification of Maori inter-tribal wars where the defeated whanau, hapu and iwi suffered numerous atrocities, such as slavery, rape, and even became the relishes for victory feasts. In essence, the use of muskets in this decade, challenged the foundation tenets of the Tangata Whenua world view ethos.

Sinclair (1976) wrote about the changes this technology had on the ordering powers of mana and tapu inherent in the social fabric of whanau, hapu and iwi, during that time period. One outcome of this accelerated use of muskets, in terms of inter race contact was that it pre-empted the consolidation of relationships between Maori and their overseas visitors. Belich (1996) takes that view that the musket trade established the first inklings of dependency on two fronts. First, guns meant ammunition, and ammunition meant supply, and supply meant dependency, and dependency in this case meant that the philosophies of Western civilisation or Western thinking were moving up the scale of importance and influence for these indigenous people. Colonisation of the mind, body and soul had begun. Second, guns meant war, which meant casualties, which reinforced conflict and anxiety. Peacemakers were necessary and the role was eagerly taken on board by the soul savers of Western society, the missionaries. The next part of this section does a stock take of the development of Christianity in these new lands.

In the beginning stages of this decade two notable things happened. First, those safe zoned mission stations increased⁵⁰ in number, accentuating the

⁵⁰William Williams set up the Paihia Mission Station in 1823.

transference of Western ideology and learning to Tangata Whenua, even though inter tribal mayhem continued (Hamilton, 1971). Second, missionary personnel and their approaches to securing converts created another dimension to the overall conscientisation of Tangata Whenua about Western Civilisation.

There are five main reasons that propelled the final acceptance of Christianity by Tangata Whenua. The first reason draws together a Tangata Whenua view of all the key aspects of this and previous decades. Intertribal warfare, health epidemics, a desire for peace, increased literacy amongst Tangata Whenua (Ngata & Sutherland, 1940),⁵¹ a challenge between collective censorship based on social hierarchy in contrast to individual options and responsibilities,⁵² a sense of realism by Tangata Whenua about Western Eurocentric diffusionism (Butterworth & Young, 1990), an inability of traditional roles and philosophies in dealing with a range of new ills combined to cultivate an environment for change (Sinclair, 1976).

The second reason was based on Tauīwi strategies to expedite the infiltration and colonisation of Aotearoa with Western ideologies and institutions of governance, industry and settlement. Sinclair (1976) argued that missionaries chose to teach literacy to slaves first in order to upset the social political and economic infrastructure within whanau, hapu and iwi. This then led to a scurry of rudely awoken chiefs who realised that they were behind the eight ball so to speak. He puts it succinctly:

Concentration on slaves meant that social order was questioned. Chiefs to maintain mana joined Christianity (73/74).

⁵¹Maori were quick to develop literacy skills, and found the affinity with stories in the old testament, especially the plight of the tribe of Israel who they likened unto themselves.

⁵²Belich (1996) reminds us that new ideas brought back by Tangata Whenua who ventured overseas began to impact on the social relationship patterns of whanau, hapu and iwi. It meant that Maori were introduced to a world where the human element reign supreme. It introduced them to personal ownership of whenua, to individual accumulation of wealth and so on.

The third reason centered around the way missionaries used a range of unethical and irrational lines of thought to back up their push for conversion of Tangata Whenua. For instance, knowingly⁵³ they promoted the belief that Maori suffered from ill health epidemics because of their sinful state. What made this rationale even more impressionable to prospective converts was the fact that Tauivi seemed unfazed by any of these newly introduced ills. Sinclair also went so far as to state that:

Not only were the Maori gods powerless against the European diseases, they were infact impotent against the Europeans themselves, who violated every tapu with impunity and yet sported a disconcerting immunity to most of the calamities afflicting the Maori (1976: 71).

Binney (1969) and Sinclair (1976) claimed that this contradictory phenomenon left Maori in a quandary: the interdimensional whanau dynamics of 'Ko Au'⁵⁴ came under heavy scrutiny, especially after Tangata Whenua religious miracle workers - the Tohunga - were unable to deal with these new welfare needs of whanau, hapu and iwi brought on by cross cultural contact.

The fourth reason converges on incidents where missionaries were called in to mediate for peace. Binney (1969) maps out the scenario in 1828, where Henry Williams was approached to mediate in a dispute between iwi of the Hokianga Bay region. This gave status or mana to the men in cloth. And consequently, they were able to situate themselves close to cutting edge of development in Maori political, social, economic and religious endeavours. These missionaries were both friends and guardians, who upon breaking the economic dependency connections with resident iwi and acquiring competency in Te reo,⁵⁵ became a solid force in promoting Western Eurocentric society, culture and practices. In effect they took on a

⁵³Binney (1969) wrote that, "The settlers [Missionaries] had made it their specific purpose to undermine beliefs in certain aspects of Maori culture as a precondition of being accepted as a Christian" (151).

⁵⁴See Chapter Two: Figures One and Two - conceptual frameworks for wellbeing - for further information on 'Ko Au' refer specifically to Figure Two.

⁵⁵1828 - Henry Williams was articulate in Maori and English.

similar role that Ruatara provided. Missionaries became the new intermediaries between cultures.

The fifth and final reason had to do with changes in the composition of 'the Maori psyche'. Another crucial event happened in 1824 of this decade: Dumont d'Urville recorded that Maori believed that they held the powers of executive governance in Aotearoa. He used Kemp's trading store and the way Tangata Whenua interacted with Kemp to illustrate their powers of executive governance. Thus, the 'Kemp-gate affair', became symbolic as an actual practice illustration of their powers. With this understanding in mind, their actions demonstrated total ownership of those facilities, goods and services that Kemp offered (Binney, 1969). Being exposed to an international community dominated by Western Eurocentric powers, became even more influential in making new less powerful race relationship patterns Tangata Whenua had with Tauwi. These pattern changes were based on Western societies abilities to diffuse Western European values throughout the world. For survival reasons, Tangata Whenua were able to change quickly and diversify.⁵⁶ Conversion to Christianity was one such adjustment for survival purposes.

The next aspect to study is the notion of resistance. Patterns of resistance as cross-race contact quickened. In 1830, opposition to the infiltration of Western religious influences on the social, political, spiritual and economic dimensions of Tangata Whenua, gave rise to what some would deem a religious movement. This was called, Papahurihia or Te Atua Wera. Sinclair (1976) described that the sum and substance of this movement. It was:

. . . essentially hostile to the missions. More importantly, the combination of missionary teachings with traditional Maori beliefs generated a form of worship quite

⁵⁶Binney (1969) wrote that: "As traditional beliefs of the people were rendered obsolete by the European intrusions, so there grew up new religious patterns which retained direct connections with older beliefs." (148)

independent of missionary control . . . Use of Ngarara [lizard of death] became Nakahi [the lizard of life] (99).

To suggest that resistance efforts solely evolved around the intrusion on Tangata Whenua ways of living, thinking and feeling by Tauwiwi would be correct at one level. The spiritual dimension was inundated with evidence that old ways were not redressing the problems surfacing. However, at another level, it is important to note that Tangata Whenua were politically active prior to and during these early years of contact. For instance, the marae papakainga were living evidence that resistance was tied up with healthy development of whanau and hapu. Debate and discussion on a range of issues followed by strategic practices were obvious throughout the decades critiqued thus far. Spiritual resistance movements have often been viewed as the source of religious devoutness that became a characteristic of Tangata Whenua in latter years. The author argues that these were in fact appropriate political formations of resistance. In Chapter Two, the relational dimensions of Tangata Whenua, have always placed the spiritual dimension, Te kauwae runga, in the parent role. Inherent in this dimension are the founding roots of all political, ideological and philosophical thought, action and behaviour. So critical thought in this decade harnessed the wairua as a means of protest and redress concerning the costs that Tangata Whenua were experiencing as a result of the relational dynamics pursued by Tauwiwi. Binney (1969: 164) echo's Owens (1968) point about resistance as a strategy force on Maori. As she states:

. . . dissatisfaction with older beliefs would not have occurred without the impact of Pakeha society. In a sense Maori were not free to choose. They were forced to change their ways of life and beliefs more rapidly and probably in directions which they would not otherwise have chosen had they continued to live in isolation. But inevitably they modified those beliefs which they adopted.

In conclusion, this view that Maori resistance and adaptation could coincide at the same time reflected the diverse nature of Maori communities within this time period.

1831 - 1840 Allegiances and contracts.

If the last decade was a watershed period where changes in attitude and action reflected significant power swings between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi in Aotearoa, then this decade firmed up these power relationship infrastructures between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi by moving to formalise them. Hence the heading for this decade: '1831 - 1840 Allegiance and contracts'. History dictates that this 'Allegiance and contract environment' was created by changes and developments in the economic, social, political and spiritual status of cross cultural relationships between the indigenous populus and visitors, in Aotearoa. It set in place a plan for bridge building between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi to develop a unique southern pacific nation of bi-polity proportions. A three dimensional critique was used in Chapter Two, to identify key life giving principles impacting on pre - contact Tangata Whenua wellbeing. These same dimensions: the natural, humanity and spiritual - will guide discussion and debate about Tangata Whenua wellbeing during this decade. The natural dimension will be evaluated by observing the industrial development and land speculation of this time period. The humanity dimension explores the social spheres of change and development in Aotearoa, between races of people and within the complexities of indigenous iwi diversity. The spiritual dimension accounts for all the various political and religious spheres of change and development.

The natural dimension

The status of the natural dimension for Tangata Whenua in this decade can be evaluated by studying examples of industrial development and land speculation. The historical development of industries such as whaling, flax, timber, and the exporting of smoked human heads will be looked at, followed by a brief analysis of land speculation and acquisitions. Rickard (1971) emphasised that in the 1830s the whaling industry in Aotearoa, was

at its peak with a very strong American merchant influence.⁵⁷ In the twilight period of this decade, whaling, much like the sealing industry, came to an abrupt halt. The 'robber industry mentality' of seeking instant short term profit wind-falls, translated into the near annihilation of various whale species in these parts. The flax trade was also tagged as a potential money maker. However, it too was short lived and had reached its peak as an industry in the international markets by 1831. The role of the timber trade would gain more significance once colonial settlement by *Tauiwi* of Aotearoa got a strong foothold (Sinclair, 1976). From a naval point of view, this was a strategic industry in terms of providing spar timber for ship building. Negotiations for access to resources of this nature were localised between hapu heads of authority and trader representatives. Another short term industry was directly connected to the intensification of tribal conflict. It centered around the importation of smoked tattooed heads, which gained a footing in the 1820s. However, in 1831 this industry was banned altogether by Governor Darling, the British crown presiding authority residing in and ruling from Sydney (Butterworth & Young, 1990).

All of these industries were not geared towards providing long term development for *Tangata Whenua*. The outcomes were threefold: first, profits went off shore to distance lands; second, 'robber trading' and a non conservationist mentality meant resources were not replenished; and third, the impact of localised rather than national trade agreements meant only selected groupings of *Tangata Whenua* benefited from contact with agents of western civilisation. Often this resulted in their own particular brand of trickle down development.⁵⁸ From an international perspective these three points in unison left the country wide open for the next phase of colonisation, which involved land speculation.

⁵⁷ Over half the visiting whaling ships were of American origin.

⁵⁸See the subsection on 'Utu' in the decade entitled, "1821 - 1830 Utu, conversion and resistance". In essence, western civilisation benefits were often used to further their own expansionist actions for more power and control over their unfortunate fellow *Tangata Whenua* neighbours, old enemies and so on.

Potential for long term settlement and ownership of Aotearoa had been recognised by Tauīwi from the onset of Western Eurocentric contact with Tangata Whenua (Brailsford, 1981). With the rise of the bay whaling stations, and the need for respite/recreational centres⁵⁹ the land buying potential was not lost to the land speculators of the old world. As with industrial development the private sectors opinions of land were influenced by the all the hallmarks of modernisation, capitalism and westernisation.⁶⁰

The signing of Te Tiriti O Waitangi in 1840, did very little to lessen the private sector's tentacles on the land dealing that was to follow, but it did initially attempt to bring land speculation into line with British government rules and laws to protect the vendors. In summary, land acquisitions of this time period were much like the quell before the storm. Its ownership in Western Eurocentric terms would challenge and in time, usurp traditional Tangata Whenua relational interdependence where the natural dimension was the humanity dimension's tuakana.

The humanity dimension

In order to fully comprehend the make up of the social spheres of change and development within the humanity dimension of this decade, a stock take of relational changes between races of people and within the complexities of indigenous iwi diversity will be advanced. This stock take involves analysing the social/human formation layers inherent in inter-race and inter-tribal relations, taking into account the impact of a developing Tangata Whenua cultural persona in the face of exposure to

⁵⁹ Kororareka became a place for trade exchanges, respite leave etc.

⁶⁰ The several illustrations given here depict an overt plan based on profit and greed, to secure as much land as possible from Tangata Whenua, with minimum overheads. This was illustrated clearly by Ballara (1986) in her description of the purchase, for a mere few hundred pounds, of over three quarters of the Hawkes Bay region⁶⁰ - the prime living quarters of various hapu from the iwi called Ngati Kahungunu. Another example of the wheeling and dealing that went on in terms of land speculation during this decade was illustrated through the actions of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. In historical terms, Wakefield promoted a colonial expansion philosophy that was based on profit through land purchase for settlement (Sorrenson, 1975).

western civilisation and finally acknowledging the influence of education patterns implicit in all social spheres of that time.

It can be argued that inter race conflict and issues provided both hot and cold experiences as Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi adjusted to each other. Communication lines required alignment so that miscommunication could be limited. As with the previous decades these communication alignments were not always successful, as customs, philosophies and cultural experiences created barriers to cross cultural exchanges. Rickard (1971) unravels the social complexities of inter race contact when critiquing the advancement of the settlement at Kororareka. Apparently, a colourful character by the name of Ben Turner,⁶¹ seized an entrepreneurial opportunity set up a grog/alcohol shop at Kororareka in 1833. Kororareka rapidly became the centre of western/indigenous inter-race contact. It became the wild west 'Tomb stone' equivalent in the South Pacific and was responsible for the wholesale promotion of alcoholic beverage⁶² amongst Tangata Whenua. It is true that inter race contact accelerated Tangata Whenua towards 'civilisation' but people like Turner, were far from good Tauwiwi role models/teachers⁶³ of the better things civilisation had to offer.⁶⁴

The conflictual interests of Panakareao and Pororua, Hongi Hika and others also indicates that Tangata Whenua were fractious, and incapable of joining as one nation. This made it easy for them to strike up relationships with Tauwiwi that were self rewarding and advantageous for their own whanau and hapu. While the inter-race contact went up a scale, the inter-tribal conflicts continued. In fact, an interesting point emerged in this and

⁶¹Rickard suggests that Ben was initially a convict who had served his time in Australia and then moved to New Zealand to seek his fame and fortune. He managed to achieve the latter in Kororareka.

⁶²Certainly Kororareka grew sufficiently and was well enough populated with wild characters to be labelled as 'Hell'. Helped to spread the taste of liquor amongst Maori, who had previously done well to reject that beverage (Rickard, 1971: 199).

⁶³These men were often touted by missionaries as the dregs of western civilisation.

⁶⁴Their own greed created conflict between themselves and the indigenous population whom they interacted with.

the two previous decades; the whanau and hapu based entities were not powerful enough to survive on their own. The acknowledgement of 'hapu to hapu' alliances under the auspices of iwi connected through whakapapa became even more significant, as iwi or tribal affiliations, even nation authorities, began to flex their muscles. Ngata and Sutherland (1940) noted that these battles between iwi intensified from 1814 - 1837. One noticeable change in the latter part of this 23 year period was depicted in the battles against Te Whanau a Apanui around 1835.⁶⁵

Next, key hereditary emotional and physical characteristics of Maori people or their cultural persona played an important role in determining the contextual nature of relationships established between themselves and Tauwiwi. Tangata Whenua, like other cultures also comprised of poets, philosophers, educators, agriculturists, lovers, thinkers, theorists, strategists, economists, community planners, and so on (see papers written for Hui whakapumau (1995) by Mead and Ramsden). To reduce the entire cultural experiences of Tangata Whenua to the 'Majestic Savage' syndrome,⁶⁶ was made even easier once treaties were entered into. So by the conclusion of this decade, some of that paternalism expressed by Banks (Beckham, 1969) began to feature openly in the management of various contractual agreements reached between Crown representatives and Tangata Whenua. However, on a positive note, this same diversity created a cultural persona that was adaptable and capable of transcending traditional cultural boundaries more so than their Tauwiwi counterparts.

In terms of education patterns, Tangata Whenua education systems were in place at the commencement of this decade, but these were exclusive to ruling classes. However, the advent of mission school environments of

⁶⁵Three tribal entities [Ngati Porou, Ngati Kahungunu and Ngapuhi] joined forces to campaign against and defeat Te Whanau a Apanui. The practice of eating the vanquished was not carried out because several in that war contingent had converts to christianity (Ngata & Sutherland, 1940). Therefore, the practices and patterns of inter hapu/iwi war were affected by the influence of western theology.

⁶⁶This focused on warlike attributes displayed by Tangata Whenua that made them a novelty within Western European anthropological circles.

the previous decade began to bear fruit. It also challenged the political and class makeup of traditional Maori society. Education was viewed as a means of alerting, empowering and informing people. Like a double edged sword it advocated for breaking boundaries, in the same breath it was used to assimilate, to subjugate and to disempower. Soon after the initial signing of Te Tiriti O Waitangi, the education of Tangata Whenua began in earnest.⁶⁷

The spiritual dimension

Traditionally, the spiritual dimension was the most important of all the dimensions in that it espoused the key life giving principles for Tangata Whenua of wairuatanga, whakapapa, and tikanga me kawa.⁶⁸ In unison, these principles drew together and gave substance to the cultural identity of Tangata Whenua within the social, economic, political and spiritual fabrics of their own hapu and whanau.

During this decade the separation of political from spiritual was overtly pursued by Tauwiwi. This was in line with western leanings towards duality, specialisation and compartmentalisation (Ponter, 1989); as illustrated in the role differentiation between the church and the role and functions of the Crown.⁶⁹ However, within the world of the Maori, the spiritual dimension gave credence to the belief in whole - lism: that the spiritual was the political, was the economic, was the philosophical, was the social (Durie, 1984). It is vitally important to understand that political reactions by Tangata Whenua to Tauwiwi imperialism, were embedded in spiritual frames of reference. This meant that it was quite common amongst Maori when dealing with imbalances, to enact tapu/noa

⁶⁷An important point to remember is that by the end of 1840 over half of all Maori could read and write in English. For Tangata Whenua, education was the key for securing optimal change. Though some kaumatua warned of cultural loss as their people willingly accepted western technology and knowledge many of the disadvantages were viewed as insignificant in the face of changing times.

⁶⁸ See Chapter Two.

⁶⁹ The church was viewed as a soul saver, and the crown dealt with matters of governance.

procedures and allegiances, albeit with the other dimensions⁷⁰ that influenced their attainable levels of wellbeing. These procedures and allegiances enacted a similar function to western law and treaty agreements, in that behaviour was either condoned or outlawed. So, for Tangata Whenua the relationship between the spiritual and the political were intrinsically connected.

However, the main pattern deep-rooted in Tauīwi - Tangata Whenua relationships nurtured within this decade centered around the strategic rigors of colonisation based on systematically stripping the natives of their most obvious resource, land. Assisting strategies involved breaking up Tangata Whenua learning institutions through changing Tangata Whenua social group dynamics such as leadership, advancing Tangata Whenua dependency on introduced goods and services, and challenging Tangata Whenua ontological perceptions by promoting monocultural education and mono-esoteric explanations of god.

With these considerations in mind this section analyses the philosophies underpinning the various strategies used to capture, colonisation and also emancipate Maori people - this case, the philosophies to be checked out are ethnocentrism, humanitarianism, and tino rangatiranga. That is followed with a study of specific allegiances/treatises entered into between the cultures and significant outcomes.

Two key underpinning philosophies advancing Western Eurocentric expansion strategies were ethnocentrism/assimilation and humanitarianism. Pakeha value systems using ethnocentric philosophical ideology and assimilation strategies drove straight over Tangata Whenua value systems.⁷¹ As Jackson (1987: 27) stated:

⁷⁰ Dimensions in this context infers such things as the multitude of contact points that one needs to take into account when addressing the various other actors that influenced your wellbeing, that is the gods and so on. For example, Maui's own story depicts the dangers of inappropriate or incorrect incantations which left him vulnerable to Hinenuitepo.

⁷¹The rhetoric of Western-European ethnocentric superiority justified and legitimated robbery, murder and many other ills, as being part of the pathway to civilisation that the

Its [Pakeha value systems] roots lie in an ethnocentric belief that assimilation is the path to true 'progress' and a Victorian equation of 'civilisation' with technology.

Humanitarianism was also influential in the formation of allegiance patterns between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi. This humanitarian⁷² position challenged the empiricism of earlier colonial endeavours. The impact of past experiences of colonisation directed at indigenous people was assessed by some in the Home Office as being catastrophic to say the least. These humanitarianists advocated for more peaceable means to settlement, and argued that the Crown had some obligation to effectively direct/facilitate such an outcome.⁷³ Dale (1936) defends this perspective by arguing that 'colonisation and settlement' came as an unwilling act of mercy on the part of the Queen and her representatives, to reduce the influence of the so called 'dregs of her society', on the Tangata Whenua and other Europeans in Aotearoa

. . .the colonisation of New Zealand was not the spontaneous act of the Queen's government, but was forced on them as the only means of averting the evils of which the unauthorised settlement of her majesty's subjects there appeared to threaten the inhabitants whether European or aboriginal (19).

The sum and substance of ethnocentrism and humanitarianism was the development of a 'managed form of colonisation' in Aotearoa that was viewed as a positive step in the civilisation of Tangata Whenua (Locke, 1988).

Tino rangatiratanga also emerged as an influential philosophical framework in the construction of appropriate allegiance patterns because, changing the face of Tangata Whenua realities was also a preoccupation of Tangata Whenua. The desire for recognition on the international world

indigenous population needed to go through. Much like a 'refiners fire', so to speak. Subjugation, oppression and destabilisation experiences were all part of processes that drew Tangata Whenua into the civilised world of the Westerner.

⁷²Locke (1988) saw the role of humanitarians as one of protecting indigenous populations.

stage led rangatira to look for and set up, parallels to Western European government, sovereignty and governance structures, here in Aotearoa. At one level, the status bound nature of Maoridom meant tino rangatiratanga reinforced privilege and access to those who were born with the right whakapapa, who recognised the opportunities emerging from this changing 'contact environment', and who acted on those opportunities presented. At another level, though not as obvious in this decade, it became a catch cry for emancipation. The exploits of Hongi Hika, Te Rauparaha and others reflected a range of idiosyncrasies implicit in the kawa patterns between Western society and Maori rangatira. One strategy was to pamper these indigenous leaders with personal wealth and visions of sovereignty. Often they were tantalised by the fact that Western technology could aid them in extracting vicious reciprocity against traditional enemies. In other quarters, leadership of the time, began to gather together to discuss the future within a Western dominated world. Whanau and hapu wellbeing was inextricably linked to the all embracing larger social structure of iwi. Moreover, inter-iwi responsiveness to change and development necessitated a joining together of indigenous people, a task of monumental proportions when taking into account the histories of the various iwi polities.

In this decade, allegiances and treaties were critical in formatting race relationships between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi. Petitions to the crown (1831), the Kingitanga movement, Declaration of Independence and Te Tiriti O Waitangi created an interesting twist in cross race-relationships that would mould Maori social policy approaches through to the present day. For instance, petitions seeking protection were made by rangatira to Tauwiwi monarchy of England in 1831.⁷⁴ In their quest for unification, these

⁷³In other words, a paternalistic moral obligation to protect native populations from the dangers of a 'too much-too fast' introduction to western society.

⁷⁴ The most significant aspect of the petition in 1831 to King William IV by thirteen paramount rangatira, was that it recognised in written form, their aspirations that they were responsible for the development and wellbeing of Aotearoa, a fledgling infant south pacific nation (Thomson, 1969). Two key points arise here. In the past, whanau, hapu and iwi had on occasion colluded with each other and entered into various allegiances for

rangatira were driven by a mixture of selfless humanitarians beliefs about improving the wellbeing of all Tangata Whenua, alongside a range of self serving interests.⁷⁵ The petition was also viewed as a means of aligning the country with a known long established western power for protection against annexation⁷⁶ (Thomson, 1969). In essence, their petition of protection made to King William IV in 1831 reflected a desire for 'outsider arbitration' in their own iwi affairs, and stressed a threefold protective function: first, against other foreign powers seeking land interests here; second, in dealing with law and order issues relating to Tauwiwi in Aotearoa; and finally, protection against the threat of utu between iwi for past grievances. (Henare & Douglas 1988). At the same time, the notion of 'Maori monarchy' became a discussion point as other rangatira sought to replicate the environment of sovereignty displayed by the royal family in England.⁷⁷ The most important factor about Kingitanga or Kingship was that some Tangata Whenua saw it as a way of unifying the nation tribes of New Zealand by replicating monarchy power structures/systems existing in the Western European world.

In 1835 and 1840, two key events occurred that have been earmarked as cornerstones towards establishing this nation, and set in motion, conflicting processes between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi in their struggle for sovereign rights of Aotearoa. The Declaration of Independence in 1835 celebrated the movement of Tangata Whenua onto the international platform as a nation of nations. Te Tiriti O Waitangi, contradicted the Declaration of Independence by acknowledging a bi-polity interrelationship between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi with rangatira

safety or expansion reasons. However, this petition went one step further in suggesting that there was a mandate for chosen rangatira to speak on behalf of all Tangata Whenua in Aotearoa when negotiating relationships with foreign interests.

⁷⁵ For instance, the advantage of exposure to new technology and ideology had permeated southward and other tribal entities were dominating the domestic affairs of Aotearoa. Ngapuhi weren't the only ones with guns now. The 'international flag incident' had also threatened the success of their economic forays on the international market.

⁷⁶ . . . acting on missionary advice, petitioned the King of England to become a friend and guardian of their islands based on the following: Fears of French intentions to annex New Zealand . . . (Butterworth & Young, 1990: 11). Also refer to Hanley, G (1990:71).

and the crown as respective representatives, given the mandate to create a new south sea nation incorporating the indigenous people with their new resident neighbours. Both of these contract setting events will now be analysed.

He whakaputanga o te rangatiratanga o Nu Tīrene

Henare & Douglas (1988) argued that the signing of 'The Declaration of Independence in 1835 was the resultant of a combination of historical events. For example, the 1820s was a time of exploration for Tangata Whenua in the Western world. Consequently, Maori gained a greater understanding of political structures such as parliaments, governments, monarchies along with military capacities, colonialism, expansionist philosophies and action. This exposure to Western Civilisation planted seeds about possible constitutional frameworks in Aotearoa. Furthermore, Governor Bourke directed the British Resident - James Busby - in 1832 to begin to monitor the behaviour of Tauīwi in Aotearoa. He was given instructions and an armed vessel to protect the Tangata Whenua from Tauīwi aggression, debauchery and crime (Buck, 1949). At the same time he was to safeguard Tauīwi from Tangata Whenua reprisals. Butterworth & Young (1990: 12) indicate that Busby was also given the mandate to:

. . . work actively at establishing a more settled Maori polity including some form of courts.

In response to that mandate, Busby facilitated a resolution on the 20th of March 1834, between 25 Northern Maori rangatira, to secure a national flag. This was ratified by the British Crown and became a symbol of Tangata Whenua aspirations for nationhood. It heralded the birth of a new separate country entity in the international sense, with associations to the old world through Britain (Henare & Douglas, 1988; Orange, 1987; Buick, 1914). As Cox (1993:42) contends:

⁷⁷ Kingship/Monarchy, surfaced as early as 1824 (Cox, 1993).

For Busby, the seeds were sown for Maori nationhood. He had provided a model for concerted action in the international arena and a possible procedure for national administration - a model he was to develop further through the Declaration of Independence - He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirene.

It is also important to take into account the effects of key actor personalities and ambitions when analysing the formation and demise of 'He wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirene'. James Busby actively pushed for and promoted this notion of establishing a national administration structure. With support from Henry Williams, they drafted and translated the four Articles of the Declaration of Independence (Walker in Novitz & Willmont, 1992). On the 28th of October, 1835 Busby proceeded to seek and finally obtained support from a number⁷⁸ of Northern rangatira who were invited to Waitangi to discuss the formation of this national administrative legislative body. All recorders of this historical event support the fact that eventually 52 signatories were gathered from 1835 to July 1839 (Butterworth and Young 1990). This declaration placed the roles and responsibilities of sovereignty squarely on the tribal nations of Aotearoa. They became known as the United Tribes of New Zealand.

The Declaration of Independence set out some key tasks for the confederation of tribes in their pursuit of 'centralising Maori politics'. These tasks can be summed up as follows: rangatira were to meet annually as a congress; they were to frame laws that promote peace, justice and trade; they were to police those laws; and finally they were to construct an administrative parliamentary structure (Henare & Douglas, 1988).

Witnesses to this occasion reflect the hidden agendas underpinning this event. For example two were representatives from the Church Mission Society, a body that had been at the forefront of settlement in Aotearoa,

⁷⁸ Henare and Douglas (1988) and Ross (1980) contend that there were initially 34 signatories to 'He wakaputanga o te rangatiratanga o Nu Tirene', while others like Durie (1994) and Thomson (1969) say that there were 35 signatories.

and were keen to increase the number of converts to Christianity. There were also two traders present who 'saw a potential business opportunity'. Busby's reasons for facilitating the creation of this document will be discussed later. Finally, some rangatira from the northern tribes were there to make sure that their own hapu would be in an advantageous position as contact increased with outsiders, while others saw it as a way of obtaining a voice for all Maori (Thomson, 1969). One would have considered this to be quite a momentous occasion: to be part of the support network for a newly forming nation of people.

However, Busby's real intentions suggest that his activism was a short lived means to an end, based on self sustaining strategies which placed Tangata Whenua well being as secondary to his own wants and desires. Ross (1980) makes the observation that Busby had opportunities to assist Tangata Whenua in their quest for independence but instead he became inactive and basically failed to follow through in supporting this initiative that previously he sold with vigour and determination. Ross (1980: 88) then contends that:

Seen against the preceding background it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that far from being the inspired document Busby claimed it to be, or even an instrument to deter Thierry, the evidence is convincing that the Declaration of Independence was merely a measure, hastily conceived and executed to circumvent Mc Donnell and his Hokianga Liquor law on the grounds that it did not derive from the authority of the Assembled Chiefs, a weapon, in brief in what had become a ridiculous vendetta with Mc Donnell.

For some Tangata Whenua, this declaration moved their sense of sovereignty as whanau, or hapu onto the international sphere as a young nation or nations. It became an internationally recognised bid to constitutionalise the indigenous governance structures of Aotearoa. But others were less than accepting of this initiative because of its origins in the northern part of the North Island. Busby, nearing the end of the 1830s accepted that Tangata Whenua were highly unlikely to be able to create an acceptable central government of their own volition (Butterworth &

Young, 1990; Hanley, 1990). Hanley (1990: 73) Another, not so vivid reason, rests with the way in which Britain conveniently moved the issue from one of protecting the fledgling nation to owning it or claiming sovereignty rights through Te Tiriti O Waitangi. 'He wakaputanga o te rangatiratanga o Nu Tirene' slipped by the way side, and Te Tiriti O Waitangi took centre stage. Though until July 1839, paramount chiefs were still signing 'He wakaputanga o te rangatiratanga o Nu Tirene.'⁷⁹ In August the agenda of the British Colonial Office signposted a new political arrangement where Tangata Whenua would cede their sovereign rights to the Crown. Walker (in Novitz & Willmont 1992: 18) states that:

... Lord Normanby instructed Hobson 'to treat with the chiefs of New Zealand to surrender their sovereignty to the British Crown by their free and intelligent consent. The rationale for the cession was that the national independence of the Maori was precarious and could no longer be maintained in the face of European settlement.

Te Tiriti O Waitanga

Like the Declaration of Independence, the origins and formation of Te Tiriti O Waitangi appeared to be again, Tauwi Pakeha driven.⁸⁰ History indicates that on the 6th of February in 1840, Hobson, though ignorant of basic hospitality protocol, with the help of the missionaries, facilitated the famous signing of Te Tiriti O Waitangi, at Waitangi in Northland.⁸¹ Many of the records about the events surrounding the signing of Te Tiriti O

⁷⁹With the view in mind that it would lead to their independence and an indigenous centered form of nationhood.

⁸⁰From Normanby's proclamation, Hobson and fellow naval officers drew up the first draft of this treaty and their missionary intermediary, Henry Williams was left with the task of translating that first draft into te reo Maori. However, Hobson continued making changes to that draft given to Williams, and Walker (1990: 90) contends that: "... "The outcome of these combined efforts was four English versions and a translation into Maori which matched none of them".

⁸¹On that day forty odd northern rangatira added their mark to that document. On the 12th of February, another fifty-six Hokianga rangatira committed their hapu to its kaupapa. Te Tiriti O Waitangi began a life of its own, as its proponents [both Maori and non-Maori] began to travel through Aotearoa to promote its virtues. That Treaty document was finally endorsed by 540 rangatira after 41 portal stops that took near on 18 months from the initial signings at Waitangi to gather. Of that 540 rangatira, five were women of high standing in their iwi/hapu (Henare & Douglas, 1988).

Waitangi come from the diaries and letters of missionaries,⁸² traders and crown representatives present. There is an underlying facet here that needs airing: because Aotearoa was a Maori world, most of the political processes centered around the use of extensive huihuinga on marae. Discussion and debate [whakawhitiwhiti kororero⁸³] regarding Te Tiriti O Waitangi on marae resulted in some regions like Te Arawa and Ngati Tuwharetoa rejecting the treaty propositions. These propositions appeared to be irrelevant, especially when these iwi/nations already believed they were the heirs to their whenua and possessions.

Not all signed Te Tiriti O Waitangi. As Walker (in Novitz & Willmont, 1992: 19) points out:

Despite the fudging of the meaning of the first clause, the paramount chiefs Te Heuheu, Te Wherowhero and Te Kani-a-Takirua refused to sign the Treaty.⁸⁴

It must also be acknowledged that reasons for signing were numerous⁸⁵ and not always based on having a 'sure knowledge of the wider picture'. For example, Tamati Waka Nene of Ngapuhi signed Te Tiriti O Waitangi, so that the English Crown would become the protector of Tangata

⁸² The idea that Maori were dupped into signing it was not supported by Father Louis - Catherin Servant who attended a 5 hour debate at Waitangi on the 5th of Feburary about the various aspects of that document. He wrote back to his superiors that Hobson had managed to sway the minds of rangatira present by promoting the role of the Crown to maintain order, protect their interests and preserve all their chieftainship and possessions.

⁸³ At Te Horeke, Te Taonui provided a prime example of the rigours of political discussion and debate. Initially, he was an ardent objector to its signing. However, he was convinced that an intervening authority was needed to protect Maori interests and saw the Crown as a mediator between Maori and non Maori who came to settle in Aotearoa. Evidence supports that the hui at Waitangi, Kaitaia and Te Horeke, much like others held throughout the country, continued to question the translations of terminology used in the Maori Treaty text.

⁸⁴ These paramount chiefs who control large segments of land mass in the North Island were also key supporters of the Declaration of Independence, and saw Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a clayton's option that severely threatened their long term tino rangatiratanga in Aotearoa.

⁸⁵ Ranginui Walker (1990) also described a range of other reasons for signing which ranged from it being promoted as the word of god and therefore intrinsically part of the Tangata Whenua wairua psyche. Other reasons gravitated around obtaining one-up-manship. For example, several like Te Rauparaha signed for mercenary type reasons. Having at your disposal Western European tools of war was quite tempting. Others considered gleefully increased access to Western Goods as very good economic sense.

Whenua⁸⁶ (Kohimarama Conference, 1860). From Hone Heke's perspective, Missionaries acted as translators between the races and were trusted to safeguard the integrity of his people. Nopera Panakareao of Kaitaia, also signed Te Tiriti O Waitangi under that belief that it would in no way mean a transference of his tino rangatiratanga to the English Crown (Novitz & Willmont, 1992).

Implicit throughout Te Tiriti O Waitangi was a two fold acknowledgement: Firstly that Tauwi through the crown had a legitimate role in the further development of Aotearoa/New Zealand as a south pacific identity, and secondly that it provided another reaffirmation that Maori iwi/nations were indeed Tangata Whenua, the indigenous heirs/heiresses of Aotearoa. The expectation was that Maori iwi/nations would determine, participate and contribute to, not be nursed through the early stages of cross cultural intercourse. To facilitate that type of development, the crown representatives established a Native protectorate to make sure that Maori rights permeating from Article 2 were upheld. The first native protectorate, fluent in te reo Maori, took that job quite seriously, which did nothing to endear him to his peers, especially those seeking to make a fortune from land conveyancing.

So what were some of the key aspects of that Treaty's composition that need investigation. In the English preamble to Te Tiriti O Waitangi, the Queen desired to protect Maori from the 'worst effects of British settlement' by setting up a sovereign authority to organise a 'settled form of civil government' in Aotearoa. The Maori preamble version a single word 'Kawanatanga' was used to replace both civil government and sovereign authority. Henry Williams and his brother William Williams went for simplicity and less clarity in their translation of the first English draft of Te Tiriti O Waitangi. This was noticeable in their translation into Maori of the first Article of the Treaty. Though the English version

⁸⁶ His experiences to that point and time, reflected a peaking of Ngapuhi influence in Aotearoa, with a gradual decline in opportunities for his people. The safety of crown

expected Maori chiefs to 'cede absolutely and without reservation sovereignty to the crown', they used Kawanatanga. Maori did not see it as ceding sovereignty, but rather ceding governing authority. In Article Two of Te Tiriti O Waitangi, Tangata Whenua sovereign rights to their customary ownership of papakainga and all other iwi/hapu/whanau resources was reinforced. Their chieftainship rights and privileges were guaranteed. This appeared to be in direct contradiction to the Crown's claims of all sovereignty in English version of the previous Article. One of the most interesting aspects of this Article was the way that Hobson listed what specific things they had 'full exclusive and undisturbed possession of': their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively and individually possess. In the Maori version, that detail was left out and the statement 'nga taonga katoa' literally meant all of their treasures. This would come back to haunt the Crown in the 20th Century. The third part of Article two was the British Crown's exclusive right of pre-emption: that all land transactions had to go through the crown and its representatives. This restriction on land sales was a strategic one for the Crown. It meant that they were legitimately able to purchase land for settlement. In the Maori version of Te Tiriti O Waitangi, no exclusive purchasing monopoly right appeared. Again the missionaries had used a simple word like Hokonga to mean pre-emption, but in fact it was a common word used for both buying and selling. In the third Article of this Treaty, Maori were also given all the rights and privileges of British subjects. In other words, they had the opportunities open through dual citizenship. There were no discrepancies between the versions, but the implications for accepting this dual citizen were not clarified. Furthermore, evidence directly after the signing suggests that they were far from treated as British citizens. Observations detailed in the historical period entitled 1841 - 1899 Treaty Reconstructions, distractions and cultural extrapolations bears witness to this. Finally, there was a lesser known 4th clause that Colenso, an Anglican missionary and Pompallier, a Catholic

support meant that 'he and his' were guaranteed survival into the modern civilised world.

bishop, propagated: It is often referred to as: . . . the 'Unwritten Fourth clause'. . . It espoused religious freedom, especially for these churches, and, interestingly enough, Maori beliefs.

Although Te Tiriti O Waitangi is plagued with the aforementioned semantic type traps such as the translation debates about rangatiratanga and kawanatanga (Novitz & Willmont, 1992), has questionable international status (Metge. 1967), and is still viewed by some as an anthropological obscurity best left in museums, it did mark the beginning of western type constitutional forms of government in Aotearoa (Palmer, 1992). At the same time it provided a clear mandate for non Maori to operate as partners with Tangata whenua to construct a new south pacific nation of nations. Oliver also argues that this was in fact the first formal social policy document. In many ways, Te Tiriti O Waitangi became a figure head for all development in Aotearoa - in that rangatira were able to negotiate legitimately with the British Crown for survival purposes (Henare & Douglas, 1988), and the Crown took this social contract as a stepping stone to full settlement and control of Aotearoa. As McKinlay (1990: 7) states:

Our present system of government traces its origins from the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) which provided the initial, formal, basis for the involvement of the British Crown in the government of New Zealand.

This document created a range of responses from Tauwiwi and Tangata Whenua in terms of their relational environment. Keenan (1994) contends that there was a perceived departure point for Tangata Whenua onto two developmental pathways. The first pathway reflected a bicultural experience with Treaty Partners and this was hugely influenced by notions of assimilation and integration. The second pathway of Tangata Whenua growth and development maintained a strong mana motuhake flavour with marae being the centre of resistance activity. In other words, there was a shift to resist which sprung up in response to the offensive the Crown embarked on to secure sovereign rights in Aotearoa.

Within Maori communities these pockets of resistance crystallised as spiritually motivated movements. So while some Tangata Whenua were into taking on board the culture of the 'white man', others claimed to uphold their turangawaewae rights on that mana motuhake pathway. For these Tangata Whenua, a dominant theme emerged in the contact with missionaries, settlers and traders alike. These visitors were aggressively depleting the mind, body, soul and land space of Tangata Whenua. Recognition of the wider strategy to take sovereignty away from Tangata Whenua spurred them on to respond in the spiritual dimension by supporting the emergence of spiritual resistance movements. Elsmore (1986: 7) tried to explain as follows this tendency to use religious responses as a means of protest:

The religious responses of the Maori have usually been regarded as protests against the social and political order of their time, and while this is accepted, the fact remains that because of the Maoris religiously-grounded approach to life, the responses themselves were religiously rather than politically oriented.

As mentioned in the introductions to this decade, it was more about the spiritual being political, rather than Maori being religiously oriented. Consequently, these spiritual movements were a natural response to overt forms of domination that threatened Tangata Whenua sovereignty. These spiritual movements were politically motivated to resist those external threats propagated by Christianity. After the signing of Te Tiriti O Waitangi, the emergence of spiritual resistance movements accelerated. These will be discussed in the following period. As shown in this decade entitled, '1831 - 1840 Allegiance and contracts' there were pivotal changes and developments occurring all over the place: be these of an economic, social, political and/or spiritual nature. The foundation of traditional Tangata Whenua world views was shaken to the core. Those dimensions were irrevocably altered, to incorporate Western Eurocentric patterns in their makeup. Consequently, Tangata Whenua wellbeing was also reformatted.

In essence, the British Crown, took sole responsibility for bench marking any legitimate relationship building with numerous Tangata Whenua rangatira: a 'one to many' developmental relationship.⁸⁷ While these changes were impacting on Tangata Whenua, it is still important to remember the following:

- Tangata Whenua status as the indigenous people of Aotearoa was unquestioned.
- Maori were still kaitiaki of all resources prior and up to 1840. They dominated all social and political processes with sheer numbers - 30 Tangata Whenua to each Tauwiwi.
- That a nation of nations scenario was projected in several ways to Tangata Whenua to move them onto the international framework. In the first instance, through the Declaration of Independence they were pampered with indigenous centered power and governance. Through Te Tiriti O Waitangi, a bi-polity framework emerged with assimilation and integration underpinnings.

Aotearoa, had gone through the first stages of a cross cultural puberty type phase in cultural development. Tangata Whenua were divided about the pathways to take and the Crown capitalised on that division to facilitate the moving of sovereignty responsibility away from these indigenous people. These directions were obvious to some and the emergence of spiritual resistance attests to their activism. The 1841 to 1899 period contains their struggles to curb the tide of oppression and racism that was to follow as Tauwiwi consumed Tangata Whenua through war, law and legislation.

Period Three: 1841 - 1899 Treaty Reconstructions, Distractions, Cultural Extrapolations

⁸⁷ In economic, social and political terms, Tangata Whenua had only one agent to work through and the Crown had choice: either to work the 'divide and rule' strategy to monopolise benefits and gains for the empire, or to enact humanitarian directives to safeguard the assimilation of these natives into the modern world.

The naming of this section takes into account the strategic, systematic stripping of Tangata Whenua sovereign rights in Aotearoa. The '1841 - 1899 Treaty Reconstructions, Distractions, Cultural Extrapolations' time period was all about the changing focus inherent in Te Tiriti o Waitangi. It was used by Tauwi as a means of gaining legal entry into the economic development fabric of Aotearoa. At the same time, its worth as a 'binding of the races' document, changed significantly. Historical illustrations throughout this time period, depict a steady rise in the worth of Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a document to refer to when seeking redress for depletion of Tangata Whenua tino rangatiratanga rights. Subsequently, Te Tiriti o Waitangi became the source of relationship reconstructions between the dreams held by disenfranchised Tangata Whenua and Tauwi who designated themselves the protectors of their indigenous 'children'. These reconstructions helped to shape the ideological contestation places of this and future time periods. Themes of loss and empowerment, of illness and wellbeing, of struggle and resistance, of colonisation and freedom, of assimilation and separate development, braced those contestation environments.

Distractions and cultural extrapolations reflect the impact of difference between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi, and the ease with which assimilation through integration occurred. In essence, Tangata Whenua were far from coerced into taking on board white values, beliefs, goods, services, clothes, ways, even marital partners. One of the outcomes was an acceptance of fate. For social, economic and political development purposes it seemed strategic to acquire 'te matauranga a te Pakeha'. The key issue was whether Tauwi Pakeha also had that same propensity to willingly adapt and change.

Of greater significance, was the fact that cultural extrapolations reflected an environment where Tangata Whenua and Tauwi once again became strangers to each other's development. Many Tauwi Pakeha perceived Tangata Whenua to be best served by becoming 'brown skinned Pakeha'. That was held as the ultimate signal that Tangata Whenua had succeeded

in their quest for civilisation and cultural development. Though there were many adherents of this philosophy, Tangata Whenua were also survivors, who consolidated their position in Aotearoa by 'keeping their fires burning on Papatuanuku.'⁸⁸ Amidst the chaos of war, confiscation and foreign moves to control their lives, resistance continued, albeit underground in the latter part of this time period. Those cultural extrapolations created separation and distrust as land was taken and Tangata Whenua were left resourceless. The exchange for becoming white, meant that they experienced poverty and separation from the decisionmaking places organised by the settler government that was delegated to continue as representatives of the Crown.

Using those three interconnected dimensions of a Maori World view, the spiritual, natural and human dimensions,⁸⁹ it is possible to observe the way that Crown representatives systematically attempted to strip Tangata Whenua of their birth right to Aotearoa. This section provides an overview of some of those key actors, events, and legislative actions affecting Tangata Whenua wellbeing from 1841 to 1899. The overriding theme during this time period was about changing the indigenous power and control facets of Aotearoa, as Britain claimed sovereignty and then to advocate the absorption of the natives into a white mainstream.

The spiritual dimension

Capturing of the native soul and heart was initially left up to missionary zeal, through the spread of white Christian religion. Indigenous political ingenuity suffered as Westminster government forums emerged and took control. At the same time, Tangata Whenua resistance initiatives were varied, though not overly successful. Examples of oppressing the soul and heart of Tangata Whenua in this decade accelerated, as the siege mentality

⁸⁸ 'Te ahi kaa' is a principle whereby mana whenua is acknowledged through connections with a particular part of Aotearoa. The burning fire metaphor reflects the fact that people are living on the land and are connected to the mother of all 'Papatuanuku'.

⁸⁹ Te Kauae runga - The Spiritual dimension; Te Kauae raro - The Natural and Humanity dimensions. See Figure One in Chapter Two.

of western religion agents and then government officials,⁹⁰ advocated overt assimilation techniques through education to align Maori minds and beliefs with Western Christian teachings.⁹¹

The missionaries from the Church of England, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and Roman Catholic faith took a major foothold in determining race relations between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi until the 1860s (Sinclair, 1976). There were contradictory approaches taken by those various clergymen. Those coming from a 'Buddle'⁹² persuasion were open about being the enlightened civilised ones with the following mission:

And let it be our constant effort to banish all that remains of the old superstitions of the country, and to diffuse among the aborigines of our adopted land the blessings of an enlightened civilisation, and the influence of a divine and happy religion (Buddle, 1851: 31).

There were also illustrations of Tauwiwi supporting the indigenous population. For example, the Protectorate Department was set up in 1840 with George Clark, the first Chief Native Protector. He was a grass roots clergyman who drove a somewhat patronising philosophy that emphasised self determination of Tangata Whenua to actively pursue self government. This philosophy was to be the downfall of Clark and those of like mind, as illustrated in the following quote by Butterworth and Young (1990: 5):

Their interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi, including advocacy of recognition of Maori customs and to a degree, of separate legal institutions for Maori, ran against Governor Grey's belief that Maori should be subjected to British Law and institutions as quickly as possible. He took

⁹⁰ Sorrenson (1975), explains that the role of assimilating Tangata Whenua was initially taken up by the missionaries, then politicians and finally became the responsibility of State bureaucrats and the professional social services: for example, the Resident magistrates, Native land Court Judges, Village School teachers and Native medical officers.

⁹¹ E tahuri ana ratou, te huri i te Ao Maori ki te Ao Pakeha.

⁹² Buddle reflected cultural biases held by many politicians, missionaries and settlers in the early 1850s. They tended to view themselves as the oppressed minority and consequently believed that: . . . "desires to subdue the Maori was righteous in intent" (Ward, 1967: 161).

measures to ensure the resignation of the chief Protector George Clarke and abolished the Department in 1846 (Butterworth & Young, 1990: 5).

Missionaries were then supported by the Crown through the 1844 Native Trust Ordinance⁹³ to use education as a means of civilising Maori. Ward (1967: 169) contends that:

In turn the Christian notions of leading Maori society into changes considered beneficial had become distorted into a Roman concept of colonisation involving the imposition of these changes. Righteous idealism had become self-righteous arrogance.

Though humanitarians at heart, John Goret, J. C Richmond, Dillon Bell, Henry Sewell and William Gisborne all continued to support the belief that Maori needed to share in the benefits of a 'British life style', that could only be possible through establishing a 'virtuous white government' (Ward, 1967). Consequently, politicians of this time period were more at one than their missionary counterparts. Settlers successfully sought mandate from the Crown to set up political lines of accountability. In the public sector the structural establishment of a Westminster form of government in 1852⁹⁴ took over the reigns of Maori assimilation. Many of their comments, legislative actions, and personal views, exemplified both those overt racist attitudes of their constituents and the humane assimilationist mentality previous pushed by the missionaries. For example, Governor Grey continued to discredit missionaries of George Clarke's calibre because he believed in the philosophy that Maori were child-like and needed to become white to reach maturity.

⁹³ 1844 Native Trust Ordinance - Captain Fitzroy allocated land to the churches for building mission schools, with the express purpose of, "assimilating as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the Native to those of the European" (Ball in Sutherland, 1940: 272) This was followed by Governor Grey's 1847 Education which placed a premium on education being taught in English. Furthermore it introduced the notion of using boarding schools to change the learning environment for natives - to get them out of their cultural social settings into a place where assimilation would occur unabated.

⁹⁴ The 1852 New Zealand Constitution Act - which emphasized the linking of voting rights to individual land ownership. Maori were effectively locked out of the decision making processes.

Featherston⁹⁵ in 1856, even suggested that the humane aspects inherent in assimilation policies from that government would be held above reproach:

Our plain duty as good compassionate colonialists is to smooth down their dying pillow . . . to establish government control by phasing out as humanely as possible the cultural basis of Maori society (Flera & Elliot, 1992: 181).

Briefly outlined below are some other key events and legislative actions which affected Tangata Whenua spiritual, political and ideological wellbeing in this decade. In 1867 under the Native Schools Act Maori communities were expected to donate land so that schools could be built in their villages. The irony was that the main kaupapa of this initiative was to assimilate Maori children within their own village settings. Though not segregated from their whanau communities, their teachers were Pakeha, the school environment was Pakeha, the mode of delivery was Pakeha, and the usage of te reo Maori was totally banned in the classrooms and playgrounds (Shuker, 1987; Kelsey in Spoonley et al, 1984; Binney, 1969). Here were the roots of language loss for Tangata Whenua. Moreover, confused rulings in this period abounded from the judiciary which compounded the ideological and political dilemmas experienced by Tangata Whenua. For example, the 'Kauwaeranga fishing judgement' made by Judge Fenton in 1870 indicated that Maori did have special rights based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi. In contrast, Attorney General Prendergast's⁹⁶ ruling in 1877 that it was a 'nullity' meant that Maori had no special rights and were subject like all in New Zealand, to British law and justice (Parsonson in Rice, 1992). In the political arena Vogel⁹⁷ reinforced the

⁹⁵ Dr. Isaac Featherston was Superintendent of Wellington who held similar beliefs to Buddle.

⁹⁶ Prendergast with the support of a very conservative advisory body supported the grace principle which pushed the belief that, Tangata Whenua should be grateful to the European for freeing them from the chains of ignorance and barbarity and introducing them to the civilised world.

⁹⁷ Julius Vogel - 1870s, was the premier of Central government in New Zealand. Interestingly enough, he advocated for a pragmatic approach to dealing with the needs of New Zealand citizens. This was in direct contrast to the philosophies of Laissez-faire that dominated

irrelevance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and placed an emphasis on changing the role of local body regulations so that in 1876⁹⁸ provincial governments were abolished and a more centralised system of government emerged. A perusal of Tangata Whenua ingenuity in this period will give insight into the central thrust of those challenges affecting faith and beliefs.

As mentioned in the conclusion of the previous time period, there was a range of religious/political activism type responses by Tangata Whenua, seeking to clarify and determine those relationship patterns inherent in Te Tiriti o Waitangi with their Treaty partners. In the previous decade under the subtitle, 'The spiritual dimension: Political and religious spheres of change and development', the formation of religious resistance groups to combat oppression was a logical development from Te Kauae runga for Tangata Whenua. 1841 to 1899 reflects a sustained period of contestation and struggle by Tangata Whenua to curb the tide of oppression and racism that was to follow as Tauwiwi constructed their own religious, political, judicial and social institutions in Aotearoa. To clarify this Elsmore (1986) maintains that these religious resistance movements could be categorised into two key groups:

In the first, the response was for the people to separate themselves from the problem and try as much as possible to resume the traditional way of life (189). . . The other response arose in areas where Pakeha contact had been longer, so the Maori were more learned in the ways of the European and chose to confront their problem. . . Attempted to cope with the situation through the creation of a new sense of identity and self understanding by building on the new assumption and assuming a new history (227).

Immediately after its signing, the Treaty became a source of contention between Tangata Whenua and the Crown. The following illustrations

the creation of legislation through the world. The affects of this pragmatic approach on Tangata Whenua centered around land acquisition, without reference to Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

⁹⁸ In 1876 the Central government viewed Tangata Whenua as a singular separate without taking into consideration the nations within.

emphasise that there were a range of resultant strategic responses: from forceful conflict, isolation and separatism to accommodation and acceptance. The Pao Miere and Titokowaru movements of the late 1840s focused on isolation from and rejection of Tauwi institutions and philosophies. Pai Marire or commonly referred to as the 'Hauhau' movement surfaced in the 1850s. It refocused on Maori tino rangatiratanga or self determination (Sinclair, 1976). Stokes (1980: 8) contends that Pai Marire was:

. . . an effort to come to terms with European settlement, not to drive all Pakeha from New Zealand. Rather a revival of tradition . . . As an adjustment cult, an effort to regulate the process of cultural change for the benefit of Maori

Te Kooti Rikirangi modified Pai Marire and formed his own church called 'Ringatu' in 1872. Though Tauwi viewed him as a blood thirsty savage, Tarei (in King 1978: 66) assessed Te Kooti as follows:

In our eyes Te Kooti, far from being a blood-thirsty renegade, was one of the greatest men that God sent to teach the people. (1867 - 1893) He acquired more for the Maori spiritually and taught the Maori more about the word of god and Christianity than all the other churches had managed to do in twice as many years.

Tohukakahi and Te Whiti from Parihaka, utilised European technology to consolidate a thriving community that was dependent on no one other than themselves. They had created an independent, autonomous entity. At the same time their teaching of passive resistance in the face of Tauwi Pakeha aggression, drew their whanau, hapu and iwi into a religious political movement that lasted from 1866 into the next century. Though not a religious movement as such, Kingitanga was established in 1858 with King Tawhiao ushering in an era of survival politics based around unification and maintenance of iwi resources. These religious political movements highlighted several key points: that there would be no naive acceptance by Tangata Whenua of the Europeans as they had done prior to the 1860s (Sinclair, 1976); that Tangata Whenua were prepared to use

Western institutional/political frameworks to survive but claimed their uniqueness in terms of kawa and tikanga that made those imported institutions and political frameworks real for their people; and finally, that Tangata Whenua were survivors who actively utilised the spiritual dimension to cope with cultural change and political trauma (Tarei in King, 1978).

Parallel to those religious movements were other illustrations of Tangata Whenua political ingenuity. In 1841 a commission was set up to investigate concerns by Tangata Whenua who felt that their Treaty rights were being challenged. The Wairau incident of 1843⁹⁹ vividly illustrated that Tangata Whenua aboriginal land rights and that these were recognised by Crown representatives of that time. Out of a growing history of discontent about Treaty breaches, came petitions,¹⁰⁰ court cases,¹⁰¹ commissions of inquiry,¹⁰² huihuinga,¹⁰³ A Native Representation Act,¹⁰⁴ a Native Rights Bill,¹⁰⁵ Te Kauhanganui¹⁰⁶ (The Council of Chiefs), and

⁹⁹European Settlers sent by the New Zealand Company were slain by Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha. However, Governor Fitzroy concluded the Cook Strait Settlers were in the wrong and refused to take any action against the Tangata Whenua.

¹⁰⁰ For example, in 1882 Ngapuhi sent a delegation to petition the crown in England because they felt that their Treaty rights had been breached.

¹⁰¹ For example, in the R versus Symonds case of 1847, the supreme courts judges of New Zealand recognised the legal status of Maori tribes to their ancestral lands. *Wi Parata versus The Bishop of Wellington* (1877) was a case in point where these were relinquished through non recognition, a complete turn around from the 1847 ruling (Parsonson in Rice, 1992)

¹⁰² These occurred in 1841, 1882, and 1891 after Maori followed due process in Pakeha law to have their grievances heard. Interestingly enough, though recommendations supported their claims to injustice, often these reports were shelved and no action was taken.

¹⁰³ 1870 and 1880 Maori gathered together to discuss the 'Pakeha/European problem'. In the a nationally orchestrated maori pan tribal hui was held regarding land loss.

¹⁰⁴ Four Maori seats were allocated in Parliament in this act of 1867.

¹⁰⁵ A Bill of Rights for Maori was initially circulated in 1848, represented in 1865, resurfaced in 1890 and was unceremoniously dumped in 1896. The key aspects of this bill was that Tangata Whenua wanted their Treaty rights to be acknowledge in law. Furthermore, they sought a functional autonomous role in administering justice in their only territories. However, in 1890 the Pakeha MP's did a mass walk out when it was presented for reading. Pakeha PM's refused to to accept that Maori were being unfairly treated and its was defeated in 1896.

¹⁰⁶ This initiative was put forward by the Kingite movement as a dual parliament to the Pakeha one in 1894.

Kotahitanga (Unification of iwi) through 'Te Paremata'¹⁰⁷ (Maori Parliament). Along with those religious political movements, these initiatives strongly contended with Tauwiwi who were full of the grace principle and overtly practising assimilation tactics that left Tangata Whenua in poverty.

In 'the spiritual dimension', the seeds of monoculturalism¹⁰⁸ impacted on the soul and heart of Tangata Whenua as their ideologies embedded in the life giving principles of wairuatanga, whakapapa, and tikanga me kawa were reduced from being valid and legitimate tenets of a developing culture to the 'primitive whims' of a child needing management. The next part of this analysis looks at 'the natural dimension' and 'the human dimension'. The focus on dominating the native heart and soul through colonisation also moved to include the body and mind of Tangata Whenua. In other words, there was a push to redefine and change the relational dynamics between the natural terrain and its teina, the human dimension. Furthermore, within each dimension the effects of these relational changes meant that reconfigurations stifled notions; for example, of belonging to the land and even challenged the usefulness of whanaungatanga in light of the nuclear family unit.

The natural dimension

The most evident battles of cross cultural contestations occurred in the 'Natural dimension' surrounding the reconceptualisation of land from being a living personage to becoming a possession that could be exchanged. After its signing, Te Tiriti o Waitangi was used by the Crown as justification for wholesale land purchases to meet insatiable colonist settlement needs. At first the Protectorate Department staved off a lot of

¹⁰⁷ In 1892 this unification initiative surfaced - limited funding and diverse Maori realities made it impossible to sustain.

¹⁰⁸ Monoculturalism has been defined in this section as a belief that Western European culture was the center of all things and therefore no consideration was given to other ways of thinking, living, feeling. This position saw one cultural reality dominate all others under such ideology as the 'grace principle' and 'assimilation'.

dubious land sales but with the introduction of the 1844 proclamation, British settlers were given the right to purchase land directly from Tangata Whenua. The respect and fear between the races in earlier contact times was superseded with a determination by the settler population and then their political representatives, to 'land grab at all costs'. Often this was disguised under the misguided belief that they were not the aggressors, but in fact had the responsibility of stamping out the roots of naive native primitivism displayed by Tangata Whenua. A prime illustration of this polarising of negative attitudes towards Tangata Whenua emerged out of the media coverage in the 1860s¹⁰⁹ surrounding images of productive colonial settlements alongside undeveloped Kingitanga land.

Tauwi/Pakeha sought to create a Utopian British colony that mirrored its Western Mother, that is to create a large colonial English farm in the South Pacific. Attempts in this time period to do this were evident through the burning off of native foliage and bush¹¹⁰ to turn the ahua/image of Papatuanuku into a civilised product, not a personage but a product which could then be exchanged like all other goods and deemed part of the wealth of individuals (Butterworth & Young, 1990; Waterson, 1969; Stone, 1967).

The irrigation of swamps, creation of townships, development of public works,¹¹¹ establishment of a Westminster form of government, private property ownership, a currency, international trade contracts and so on, were all part of the next stage of Tauwi/Pakeha development in New

¹⁰⁹ On the one hand Maori land was viewed as dark, unproductive, non-prosperous, underdeveloped in contrast to Settler land that was delightful, bright, well organised, prosperous, developed etc.

¹¹⁰ While the East Coast is mostly bare of native bush today in the mid and late 1880s, Ralph Kemp - Rotokautuku - describes the terrain as follows: "heavy bush grew within a mile or two of the sea and was succeeded by dense manuka scrub with grew down to the beach" (Drummond, 1937: 3).

¹¹¹ Vogel's Public Works push had nothing to do with wanting to assist Tangata Whenua. The drive was for creating better accessibility to land for settlement purposes, then consolidating those colonial settlements. Maori were obviously disenabled by such strategies.

Zealand in this settlement phase. As McKinlay (1990: 7) put it, Tauwiwi/Pakeha development:

. . . was based on a shift of European settlement from the north to throughout New Zealand, a continuance of immigration and pressure to establish a physical and commercial infrastructure in the country.

At the same time, Western education outposts for 'Pa Maori' in the form of industrial church boarding schools for the natives, emphasised the distractions used to minimise the trauma that Tauwiwi/Pakeha development impositions had on Maori culture, lifestyle and wellbeing.

Some iwi in Taranaki, Waikato and Bay of Plenty would not sell ¹¹² their land to Tauwiwi, however soon after the Kohimarama hui in 1860, the Crown went on the offensive against them. Called the Maori Wars¹¹³ but more appropriately renamed the New Zealand land wars (Henderson, 1965), Grey entered into open warfare to crush any Maori resistance to his assimilation policies. With the help of legislation,¹¹⁴ Tangata Whenua again suffered heavy confiscations after the 'sovereignty land wars' of the 1860s. Grey would like us to believe that the issues were all about bringing the light of the civilisation to Maori instead of it being a strategic plan based on resource accumulation¹¹⁵ [the Native Land Acts of the 1860s - 90s].

¹¹² In Ngai Tahu the selling of their land was inferred by the following statement - sending it out to sea. Over 8 million acres was sent out to sea for a mere 2000 pounds (Mikaere, 1988).

¹¹³ Technically these wars were about taking land from Tangata Whenua, yet those who fought to defend their homelands against the crown were viewed as being in 'rebellion'. Calling these wars 'the Maori wars' reinforced such a view, that Maori were at fault.

¹¹⁴ The Native Land Acts of 1862, 1865 and 1867 secured the right of access for investors to purchase directly from Tangata Whenua. These also preempted the setting up of a land court and introduced the notion of individual property rights over tribal ownership. At the same time the 1867 gave credence to dissolving tribal ownership of land by demanding that there be 10 signatories on the land title. The Suppression of Rebellion and New Zealand Settlement Acts of 1863 recognized land confiscation as a means of punishing those iwi who refused to buckle under assimilation policies of that time period. As Mahuta (in King, 1978) observed, around one million acres was taken off Tainui because of their participation in the land wars against the State. So through war, law and confiscation land was stripped from Tangata Whenua.

¹¹⁵ Land agents for government tried to buy maori reserve land. Land speculators introduced individual ownership of land after purchasing 3/4 of the South Island in the famous Kemp Purchase.

However, Parsonson (in Rice, 1992: 190) sums up all of these associated events, significant legislative actions, and key actor intentions as follows:

. . . Government took land by force (War) and by confiscation. Elsewhere its weapon was a new institution called the Native Land Court - 1862, 1865 (Legislation) . . . to encourage the extinction of such proprietary customs (Maori tribal land ownership) and to provide for the conversion of such modes of ownership into titles (Individual land ownership) derived from the Crown . . . The purpose of these developments . . . was two fold: first, to enable the British to colonise the North Island . . . and secondly, to 'detrribalise; the Maori by destroying 'the principle of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions, upon which their social system was based.

The role then of early government departments responsible for the 'management of the natives' remained wholly focused on the transfer of Maori land out of their ownership and control, to the government who moved it directly to settlers:

Land was wrested from Maori control through the passing of many key Acts of Parliament. Such Acts as the Constitution Act 1852, Native Land Acts 1867, 1873, and Native Land Act 1888, gave legislative power to the Native Department to operate as it saw fit: McLean's Native Department had long been disliked as a law unto itself (Orange, 1987:161).

These land transfers were viewed as enabling for settlers and disabling for Maori. Yet they remained a crucial part of the philosophy of successive administrations in their obsessive quest for 'responsible government. The changing natural face of Aotearoa, left Tangata Whenua dispossessed of their Turangawaewae under Tauwiwi/Pakeha law but within the bounds of Maori lore those ties though unrecognised by successive governments of this time period, continued to generate active, passive, underground resistance.

The human dimension

In terms of the human dimension, while there were an array of concerns for Maori regarding broken Treaty promises, the time period from 1840 through to the latter part of the 1850s was called the 'Golden Years' for

Maori development: Tangata Whenua expertise in the land cropping market, meant that they provided much of the food stuffs for the colonial settlements in New Zealand and Australia¹¹⁶ (Sorrenson, 1975); they had at their disposal their own trade shipping vessels; they were communal based service and support entities and still numerically a force to be reckoned with; they were immersed in their cultural roots of 'te reo me ona tikanga'; and their wellbeing was further enhanced through introduced goods, services, wisdom and religion originating from their treaty partners.

The subjugation of the physical terrain through land grabbing endeavours left Tangata Whenua in poverty by the end of the 1880s. Once proud owners of trading schooners, and thriving businesses, Western legislative cultural norms and practices had effectively reduced Tangata Whenua status to 'have nots'. What followed was the subjugation of the human dimensions inherent in Tangata Whenua social formations. Fleras and Elliot (1992) explain this further by stating that:

. . . the imposition of liberal-capitalist values of Pakeha over the communal principles underlying Maori culture gradually marginalised Maori social status.

Ngata (in Ward, 1967) believed that the main aim of assimilationists during this time period was to reconfigure the 'Maori communal kainga into a Tauwi/Pakeha nuclear home'. In line with this view, Durie-Hall and Metge (1992: 58/59) contend that:

After New Zealand was established as a nation in 1840, policy makers of British origin entrenched the parent-child family of the British cultural tradition as the approved form of family. For well over a hundred years, Parliament passed laws which undermined the whanau by outlawing aspects of its practice (relating to marriage,

¹¹⁶ After providing the labour to obtain building material for housing in the New Zealand settlements, in 1848 Tangata Whenua also built their own flour mills and by 1855 were the main suppliers of wheat, potatoes, pork to those dependent on the North Island Coastal trade. By the latter 1850s Tangata Whenua were in control of the bulk of New Zealand's exports to the Victorian goldfields (Sorrenson, 1975, Miller in Sutherland, 1940).

adoption, and the guardianship of children) and otherwise refusing to recognise its existence

As mentioned earlier, Tangata Whenua whanau, hapu and iwi social constructions were often referred to as the 'hub of communism'. Tauwiwi inferred that these social entities were responsible for the ill discipline and poor attendance records displayed by Tangata Whenua children in the native schools (Huata, 1980). Little thought was given about the effects of cross cultural expectations, racism, or power differentials. It was expected that Tangata Whenua needed to change so as to improve their lot in life. And one of the key areas to change were their social formations.

A combination of those government actions to change the purposes of whanau, hapu and iwi, along with other related legislative tactics, left Tangata Whenua reeling in an identity crisis which had a profound affect on Maori perceptions¹¹⁷ of self worth. The 1887 Destitute Persons Act though focusing on family responsibility to care for loved ones who were destitute, still saw the State's role of care above that of whanaunga or extended family and introduced the notion of dependency that was to plague social wellbeing of Tangata Whenua throughout New Zealand's welfare history. The Old Age Pension Act of 1898 highlighted two key points: first that the government was prepared to help those deemed worthy of support (based on the old English poor law principles such as deserving/undeserving, benevolence and discipline) and second, that although Maori people could apply, they were often excluded for not meeting culturally generated criteria. They would not receive the same rights and privileges as other British citizens until such time as they had completed their cultural metamorphosis: until they had become brown.

¹¹⁷ For example, in 1858 Maori Language was openly challenged by the native schools that were run with the express purpose of assimilating the natives. Te Reo was banned in classrooms and playgrounds with devastating effects on the transfer processes of a Tangata Whenua worldview to new generations. The 1867 Maori Representation Act, gave Maori four seats in the colonial government. However, it was done to limit the political clout of Maori who in some electorates outnumbered their Tauwiwi/Pakeha counterparts. In 1879 The Maori Prisoners Trial Act effectively meant that Maori could be held in prison without trial and negated their 'due process of law' rights as British subjects stipulated in Article Three of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

skinned Pakeha by being able to show proof of age and held individual land titles - in other words, were 'people of means' in capitalistic terms.

Another important determinant of colonising the Tangata Whenua human wellbeing dimension, was the impact of a range of illness and diseases.¹¹⁸ Strategies to domesticate the human dimension, involved four key things: first, to attack the legitimacy of Tangata Whenua societal structures such as whanau, hapu and iwi; second, to reduce citizenship rights for those maintaining their culture and making more attractive the civilised option of assimilation; third, to create a cultural identity crisis for Tangata Whenua through legislation and law that would be long term; and finally, to sensationalise and connect the ill health realities to moral justification that being brown skinned Tauwi/Pakeha was right, while remaining Maori was wrong. Those separation and dismantling strategies used by Tauwi/Pakeha to assimilate Maori into their world, moved colonisation past acquiring natural resources from Aotearoa, to capturing the soul, heart and mind of Tangata Whenua.

In 1858 there was an equal proportion of Tangata Whenua to Tauwi. But by 1870, Tauwi Pakeha were numerically superior in number to Tangata Whenua. Bell,¹¹⁹ Weld¹²⁰ and later, Judge Prendergast's open rejection of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1877 and the need to amalgamate¹²¹ the cultures left Tangata Whenua in poverty by the turn of the century. The vision of Tangata Whenua and Tauwi working as supportive and equal partners in developing this new south seas nation disappeared quickly as power relationships were structurally consolidated by Western forms of

¹¹⁸ In the 1890's, whanau, hapu and iwi were hit by measles, small pox, tuberculosis and Typhoid epidemics. Having no natural immunity meant that they died in their thousands while Tauwi experienced minimal losses. Rationale used to justify such huge losses, ranged from 'the pakeha god being displeased with their barbaric ways', to that fact that their 'communal lifestyles facilitated the wide spread introduction of these infectious diseases' (Sinclair, 1976; Salmond, 1976).

¹¹⁹ Dillon Bell was the Minister of Native Affairs in 1863.

¹²⁰ Frederick Weld also became Minister of Native Affairs in the liberal government of the 1870s.

¹²¹ Amalgamation in this context reflected the belief that Maori needed to become English to survive.

governance and government. Te Tiriti o Waitangi barely survived its unceremonious dumping in the museum archives of Auckland where it gathered dust instead of people. Yet it became the focal point for resistance as Tangata Whenua lamented the broken promises and lost heritage as land moved into settler hands.

The Wairua incident of 1843¹²² contrasts significantly to many of the Liberal government's assimilation policies of the 1890s and reflects the change of power in terms of self determination. Paternalism of the early 1800s became a reality moving into the 20th century. A moving tribute by King Tawhiao regarding his indigenous identity was made soon after returning from a visit in 1884 with the Crown of England. The purpose of that visit was to reclaim Maori sovereignty rights laid out in Te Tiriti o Waitangi. However, a pattern of inaction on the part of Tauwiwi to redress these concerns appeared to be ingrained.

I haere Maaori atu i hoki Maaori mai. [I went as a Maaori and returned as a Maori - nothing had been achieved] (Hopa, 1988: 43).

Consequently, resistance measures advanced by Tangata Whenua seeking redress of Treaty grievances were based on a deep sense of absolute sovereignty, of absolute belonging, that connected them to Aotearoa. They were indeed the indigenous people of this land. In 1853, the rangatira of Ngai Te Rangi, encapsulated this sense in a farewell speech to Governor Grey.

Haere ana koe ko nga pipi o te aria; ka noho matou ko nga pipi o te whakatakere.¹²³ Translated to mean 'You go, the shallow - rooting shellfish, while we the shellfish of the deep waters stay behind' (Salmond, 1991: 11).

¹²² Williams (1977) highlights that the Wairua incident of 1843 was the result of Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha exercising their Tino Rangatiratanga rights over their own whenua. These settlers had brought land from Wakefield's New Zealand Company, but in fact that land was not for sale. Governor Fitzroy concluded at that time that those settlers were in the wrong and refused to take any action (33).

¹²³ Wiremu Tamihana was locked out of the settler government when he attempted to gain entry to represent Maori needs.

Concluding comment - the historical analysis

Spoonley (1993) gives a simple challenge - know your history about the development of New Zealand, do not seek to control it. Therefore, a scan of history about the relationships propagated by Tauiwi/Pakeha is bound to show the following picture: Te Tiriti o Waitangi meant penetration of capitalism and the active, open alienation of Tangata Whenua from their home fires; the 1852 New Zealand Constitution Act introduced legal imperialism; the land acts domesticated Maori interpretations of ownership; Christianity worked to displace Maori systems or morality and spiritualism; Cultural imperialism was taught in the schools; and finally, exposure to Darwinism supported the embodiment of Paternalism. 'Governor Grey's' mentality reigned supreme: Tauiwi displayed a paranoia about Tangata Whenua exercises of Tino Rangatiratanga or self determination; many politicians of his mode utilised flamboyant rhetoric to stir up monocultural emotions to cloud the real issues; and finally there was an over exposure to paternalism/Eurocentric diffusionism based on the 'old world - new world' paradigm (Blaut, 1993; Hamer, 1988). This led to an approach to extinguishing native title to land through rightful purchase, confiscation, the Native land court and war. It dramatically increased the transmigration of those from Britain to these shores, resulting in Tangata Whenua becoming the minority. Walker (in Novitz & Willmont, 1992: 20) clearly identifies the outcomes for Maori People:

Colonisation resulted in cultural erosion, alienation and marginalisation as the brown underclass of New Zealand Society.

He then went on to argue that Tangata Whenua responsiveness was multifaceted. This included: armed resistance and warfare, metaphorical protest action such as cutting flag poles down, political protests, setting up their parallel councils - parliaments and so on, supporting the unification Kotahitanga movement, the development of Kingitanga, negotiating with heads of state, presenting culturally appropriate legislation to parliament. However, nearing the turn of the century one could argue that Tangata

Whenua efforts to be heard in the public arena were successfully stifled. In conclusion Jackson, M. (1988: 35) provides an astute analysis of this time period. He states:

It is one of the tragedies of Western history that the culture-specific nature of its own system of law has blinded it to the existence of law in other societies. This monocultural myopia, when coupled with the economic demands of an imperial ethic, has led to a dismissal of other cultural systems as not being 'legal', and subsequently imposition of the Western way. Maori society was one of the many colonial victims of this short-sighted monolegalism.

The key themes emerging from this historical analysis of Maori social policy development from pre-1800 to 1899, have been fourfold. First, contact history in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries prior to 1840, was characterised by a 'hapu based reality' that viewed Maori wellbeing in terms of adherence to localised and hapu specific tikanga Maori. Initial and early contact did not alter the nature nor influence of those life giving principles of 'wairuatanga', 'whakapapa' and 'tikanga me kawa'. However, increased access to Aotearoa by Tauwiwi travel pursuits by Tangata Whenua reflected an indigenous culture in the throes of change and adaptation. The cost of such behaviour ranged from death and poor health because of introduced diseases and warfare technology, to embracing the benefits of new food crops and literacy. The development of religious resistance/protest movements emphasises the diverse reactions of Maori to 'early contact history'. Second, Te Tiriti O Waitangi was signed by Maori because it was seen as an 'enablement' strategy. It did facilitated 'change' but created colonisation opportunities for non - Maori and exposed Tangata Whenua to assimilation strategies believed to be in their best interests. In the latter part of this time period Te Tiriti O Waitangi though a source of much controversy, appeared to be an important leverage for protestation by Maori. In contemporary times it was also given the label of this country's first officially documented 'social policy'. Third, cross-cultural relationships development moved from Tangata Whenua being in control/charge of their world in the early 1800s to being

in deficit mode and filling up the stations of poverty and injustice by the late 1890s. Four, in pre contact times, Maori welfare needs were met by being in harmony with 'the spiritual, natural and human dimensions' of reality (see Chapter Two Figure One that discusses the inter-relationship between these dimensions). The introduction of consumerism, capitalism, and religion that promoted a reliance on individualism over collectivism responsibilities impacted negatively on the wellbeing of social formations such as whanau.

Analysing those key themes is the sole purpose of this summary. To make sense of the historical data compiled and key themes identified, the 'Bi-Polity historical analysis framework' (see prelude to Chapters Three and Four) will be used.

Its relational filters gave rise to five key patterns of cross cultural interrelationship engagement: Consociationalisation, Paternalism, Participation in the halls of power, Partnership or Parallel development and Autonomy. These five patterns will be used to explore the nature of cross-cultural interpretations about Maori social policy development, as seen through the perspectives of Tangata Whenua and the Crown - representing both Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi interests. A concluding comment in poetry form draws these analysis threads together.

Consociationalisation

Consociationalisation was a term coined by commissioners from 'The Royal Commission on Social Policy' report (1988). In simplicity, it reflects a pattern where dominating elites communication with subjugated elites to work out self interests above those of the masses. This pattern centered around the process of using personality and providing small favours as a way of drawing together different groups of people. It was used in early contact times: a rifle for respite and food, a man's word is as good as his bond, etc. However, after Te Tiriti o Waitangi, its propagation became an art form. One of its earliest proponents during this time period was Governor George Grey: an autocratic leader who used his personal charm

and the strategic bestowing of small monetary grants and official minor status positions to Tangata Whenua elite¹²⁴ to gain their support. Tangata Whenua elites were seen as being easily swayed with flattery and gifts:

. . . responsive to a mixture of chiding and candy (Ward, 1967: 154).

Illustrations of that tendency to disguise or maintain hidden agendas that were self serving appear to be another major component of this pattern. For example, in 1865 Firth (an Auckland miller and entrepreneur) began negotiations with a Ngati Haua chief called Wiremu Tamehana for the lease of tribal lands but his ulterior motive was that of land acquisition. On the one hand he was friendly with the natives but on the other he was a member of the 'Direct Purchase Association' whose prime object was to destroy tribal ownership and:

. . . reduce the tribes to acquiescent beggars on the fringes of the estate (Waterson, 1969).

Another key point emerging from this pattern was that it was obvious that these persuasive speakers had the ability to play people off against each other. In 1859 Governor Browne met with Te Ati Awa and convinced a minor chief called Teira to sell tribal land despite the fact that their paramount chief - Wiremu Kingi, had remained obstinately opposed to 'sending land out to sea'. Naturally, the government accepted Teira's offer to sell amidst the furore of Wiremu and his supporters. In 1860, Browne declared a state of martial law to claim their sale was legal and above board.

Within Maoridom there were differences of opinion about dealing with State representatives who supported this pattern of Tangata Whenua and Taiwi socio/political relationships. Northern Maori under Hirini Taiwhanga pushed Kotahitanga while Eastern Maori representative - James Carroll stressed equality under law as partners and fellow citizens of

¹²⁴ Te Wherowhero and Te Heuheu were early targets and beneficiaries of this type of approach.

this relatively new nation. Tainui continued to push for autonomy under kingitanga. Yet in some way or another, they were all affected by personality and promises of favours.

As Stone (1967: 74) states:

The essence of politics was not ideological differences but personalities, local issues, and above all public works . . . The contest over the rights to buy Maori land, leaves us with a reminder that political power was used as a key to sectional and personal profit as well as to district advantage.

Finally, McLean was also a prime supporter of this personality and favours based approach where friendly persuasion and force were used sparingly and discreetly. Many of his legislative efforts were categorised as the 'Sugar and Flour' policies because these hinged on societal sentiments of that time period, that showed little respect for Maori political institutions and ways of living.

Paternalism

One of the main themes that blossomed soon after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi was the perpetuation and magnification of paternalism by Tauwiwi on Tangata Whenua. Grey openly spoke about Tangata Whenua in parental terms like 'my children'. Often he made reference to managing or disciplining them as was the case with Pai Marire and Hauhauism (Stokes, 1980). Having Maori portrayed as depraved, violent and heathenish savages or a decimated people, made their assimilation into white culture, seem almost humane (Elsmore, 1986; Thomson, 1969, Ward, 1967; Sutherland, 1940). Nathan (1973: 48/49) rightly cites the fact that assimilation:

. . . rested on the basic assumption of the superiority of European civilisation. . . Industrial Schools were seen as a way of consolidating Christianity, a means of fostering western standards and maintaining racial harmony, and finally as instruments of assimilation.

Under the guise of paternalism, the responsibility for spreading the tenants of civilisation were given to the enlightened ones, to act as parents for those yet to be enlightened. In Christian terms it fulfilled a missionary outreach focus. Tangata Whenua desired Christian representatives to guide them through the initial phases of formatting a working relationship with crown representatives that would enhance their long term wellbeing. Tauwiwi/Pakeha viewed their paternal functions as god sent and did little to make that desire of Tangata Whenua a reality.

Frederick Weld, who later took up the Native portfolio also believed that Maori were fully aware of the benefits that Western civilisation had to offer, but like many others failed to comprehend the goodwill extended to them by their Treaty partners. This opinionated position of paternalisation took no interest in keeping the principles and articles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Paternalism emphasised the belief that central government needed to take an active part in dealing with those who needed support. In terms of Maori affairs, this meant stripping them of their natural resources and facilitating change that move them away from 'being Maori'. Ward (1967) maintains that these paternalistic views underpinning decisions in the 19th century were fed by three key points: first, Maori were feared by those early colonialists; second, there was overt racism or contempt of Maori by Tauwiwi/Pakeha reflected in their description of Tangata Whenua as barbaric and so on; third and finally, politicians actions suggested that they were trying to create a 'master - servant' relationship between 'white and brown' in Aotearoa.

In contrast, though the end was similar, Rev. T. S Grace, believed that unless Maori accepted the European order of things and learned European ways, they were destined to a life of servitude for those increasing numbers of settler/colonialists. In international development circles of the time a strong laissez-faire philosophy underpinned most welfare policies and provisions. However, in New Zealand, this acceptance of a paternal role by Tauwiwi/Pakeha partly explains why pragmatism or responding to arising needs took root in welfare provisions and policies:

New Zealand's experience of government, from the late nineteenth century, was an interaction of these two main strands: the dominance of central government and the widespread acceptance of the attitude that, given New Zealand's peculiar difficulties, government had an overriding role to intervene in order to bring about outcomes which although collectively desired, were seen as unlikely to ensue without government intervention (McKinlay, 1990: 9).

Butterworth and Young (1990) voiced the opinion that many of the politicians who enacted a pragmatic approach to the 'native question', mirrored white settler perspectives which viewed Maori in a sentimental and highly paternalistic fashion. In fact:

Settler attitude was threefold: Anxious for Maori Land, No support for Maori domination over them locally, Maori survival was by Maori acceptance of European values, laws and institutions (35).

Consequently, these politicians displayed an open dislike for Maori institutions and were clearly disrespectful of Maori lore, philosophy and its representatives. However, their brief from Te Tiriti o Waitanga, to form a Westminster Government in Aotearoa was based on the proviso that it be responsible and also protecting of Tangata Whenua rights and privileges. Paternalism gave reason to forfeit such responsibilities. This left a mark of distrust on efforts to draw the races together under the cloak and flag of a budding south sea nation. An opening statement in a Maori news flyer in 1863 depicts that mark of distrust as follows:

The misunderstanding between the two races. The day is dark wholly observed, the blue sky cannot be seen neither is there a ray from the Sun (Hokioi o Nui Tireni, Feb. 15th).

Participation in the Halls of Power

Prior to the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and at least up until the late 1870s, our tupuna actively participated as food and goods providers/traders in the local and inter provincial economic markets. Furthermore, our tupuna were more than obliging landlords to those many Pakeha/Tauwiwi

tenant settlers. Knowing this history would suggest that our tupuna had adjusted well to the relational environment and were able to secure their tino rangatiratanga, but why then by the turn of the nineteenth century did they end up in impoverished states of being. This phenomenon is clarified by checking out the impressions held by our Treaty partners. In fact, over a relatively short period of time, prior Treaty admiration turned to open distaste. The influx of colonists with their biases and prejudices accounts for this change in attitude held by Tauwiwi/Pakeha.

Sorrenson (1975) explains further, that though settlers openly feared and loathed the indigenous people of Aotearoa, because of their warrior reputation, disposing of them like vermin was highly unlikely. A better strategy was to involve them in Tauwiwi/Pakeha institutions and processes where the power relationships were already out of their control. Therefore, participation in the halls of power reflects the reality that Maori engaged with those Tauwiwi institutions to make sense of their notions of wellbeing, but were never in the driver's seat. When Treaty breaches occurred, Tangata Whenua processed their grievances through a range of strategies available to them. They petitioned often to Parliament and the Crown, sought advocacy support from their Maori representatives in Parliament, instigated numerous commissions of inquiry, and approached the judiciary demanding justice through due process in law.

But the realities of that time period indicated that Tauwiwi/Pakeha systems of redress had a predisposition to continue the assimilation on mass of Tangata Whenua. While certain Maori actors learnt quickly those systems and appropriate strategies of redress, often the playing field changed to benefit the defenders of the faith, in this case the architects of assimilation and monoculturalism. In Grey's third term of office starting in October 1877, he contended that with John Sheenan at the helm of the Native Affairs, there would be a system in place that would ensure justice for Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi/Pakeha land speculators. One of the positive attributes of Sheenan was his desire and readiness to be accessible to those whom he was representing. This led to Maori becoming familiar with

Tauwiwi political environments and processes. King Tawhiao, a past ally of Grey, was one of the beneficiaries of this exposure to the mechanics of those systems and ways of doing things: consequently, at the Kopua meeting with government, land acquisition activists, and Maori rangatira in May of 1879, King Tawhiao dismissed the consociationalism type approach by Grey and Sheenan and advocated in this open forum against the selling of land to Tauwiwi.

Legislation such as Native Rights Act of 1865 was an attempt to reinforce equality for Maori as dictated in Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Two years later in 1867 the Native Representation Act was passed as a means of controlling the input of Tangata Whenua into further parliamentary legislative developments. Still, it provided, along with the newly established Maori Native School network, a tiny Maori voice within the macro Tauwiwi/Pakeha political social and economic structures (Butterworth & Young, 1990; Sorrenson, 1975).

In opposition to Tangata Whenua effort to learn and develop competency in dealing with these introduced systems, institutions and processes, Settler mentality wanted Maori in those structure, but for a totally different reason. As the Waikato Times aptly put it:

. . . the deployment of Native Labour in the Public Works scheme would discourage them from fighting as experience teaches us that when savage people take regular work they seldom or never return to their old habits (24 September, 1877).

One of the better examples of this desire to participate in the halls of power was displayed by the Te Aute College Student Association, initially called 'The Association for the amelioration of the Condition of the Maori Race' (1891) but receiving official status in 1897. Students were sent to this industrial Maori school for the express purpose of becoming white, domiciled and civilised to become the 'good citizen'. Their whanau would argue that they were the 'new breed' tailored to meet the challenge of maintaining a Tangata Whenua cultural face amidst the onslaught of

Tauiwi/Pakeha monoculturalism and assimilation (Butterworth & Young, 1990). Much of their output as an association indicates a desire to stem the tide of cultural genocide on Tangata Whenua wellbeing. For example, in the political environment they formed what was known as the Young Maori Party. Members of this organisation were to influence the politics of race relations in Aotearoa, through into the mid parts of the 20th Century. Regarding the social wellbeing of Maoridom, in 1891, the Association was also responsible for establishing a district nursing service directed specifically for Maori whanau (McKegg, 1991).

In conclusion, participating in those halls of power left Maori in a catch twenty two position. Did they help in their own assimilation and cultural stripping or was this the place to actively pursue their rights and stand tall in advocating for a Maori face in the structuring of this fledgling nation.

Partnership/parallel development

Partnership/Parallel development was all about respecting the mana of Treaty partners. More importantly, it was about sharing power and recognising that differences were inevitable between the races as attempts were made to draw closer together. Uniqueness meant that at times, these Treaty partners would need to develop along their own pathways. Illustrations of these types of scenarios between the State and Tangata Whenua were occurring as early as 1847. The Resident Magistrate Ordinance supported the inclusion of two Maori assessors to deal with Maori matters alongside resident magistrates in their areas of jurisdiction. The 1852 New Zealand Constitution Act also set up districts beyond European settlement that could continue under Maori lore. This was viewed as another way of strengthening partnership between the races and acknowledging the dual inheritance for Tangata Whenua:

There is evidence that British colonial law made provision for this situation, allowing the Maori legal system to adjust to colonisation. . . The Constitution Act of 1852 reflected this notion: section 71 of the Act allowed the settler government to designate areas of New Zealand

where Maori practices as well as law would be maintained at least temporarily (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988: 134).

However, in reality this was but a paper exercise that left the welfare needs of Maori in the hands of a charismatic autocratic governor that believed wholeheartedly in assimilation of Maori into his world, and a less than sympathetic settler Parliament. Consequently, in response to Tauwi/Pakeha activities to establish reasonable government,¹²⁵ parallel efforts by Maori came in the form of the Kotahitanga Movement which took on board the responsibility of advocating and negotiating with government for and on behalf of iwi who had tribal and inter-tribal grievances resulting from broken Treaty promises. The express aim of Kotahitanga was to capitalise on the collective political powers through unification of all Maori so that they could protect their Treaty rights. Interestingly enough, some Maori also set up runanga of their own to deal with disputes and to develop codes of conduct for their people and those in their jurisdiction. In partnership, Tauwi/Pakeha were more condescending of those parallel developments. As Butterworth and Young (1990: 29/30) declares:

. . . in 1857 Fenton as resident Magistrate of Whaingaroa reported enthusiastically on the development of the runanga movement. Sought to polarise Maoris onto New English styled villages - more like reservations.

The Kingitanga movement, though more of an attempt to enact autonomy, also reflects to a certain extent, a Partnership/parallel development pattern. Pushed by Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi, this movement culminated in the crowning of Te Wherowhero in 1853 and was set up to parallel the British Crown's position as the legitimate representative for all Tauwi. Fleras (1980) refers to another parallel development initiative based on the use of 'Runanga and

¹²⁵ Through the 1852 Constitution Act, the 1853 elections, and the 1854 assembly of prospective politicians.

Pirihimana¹²⁶ structures, set up to deal with matters of injustice within Maori cultural settings. The cumulative affect of these initiatives was the rise of the New Zealand Maori Wardens in the next century.

Autonomy

Autonomy patterns were about remaining true to the kaupapa of the Declaration of Independence. Sovereignty rights in Aotearoa were tied securely to indigenous status. While there were those who did not sign Te Tiriti o Waitangi and claimed their continued sovereignty rights, there was also growing disquiet amongst those in partnership ranks with Tauwiwi. The source of those concerns was based on the fact that Tangata Whenua felt isolated from the constitutional development of a representative national government. Cox (1993: 43) pinpoints the driving philosophy behind the push for autonomy:

Maori needed to develop their own structures to embody the sovereignty which they were realising had been lost to them.

Again, the development of Kingitanga is used to illustrate this autonomy pattern. Maori had had enough of seeing their land flow into the hands of settlers, and Kingitanga appeared to be a forum to obtain the following things: to waylay fears about being under the rule of a foreigner; to establish a respected Maori equivalent institution to control Maori land interests; to join the iwi/nations together with a clear framework for dealing with injustices; and facilitate Maori cohesion in order to advocate for equality of status stressed in Te Tiriti o (Cox, 1993, Elsmore, 1986). Kingitanga was also about being able to identify politically with others who were Maori rather than becoming 'Pakeha similar'.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ The Ringatu and Ratana faiths both instituted these 'marae police'. Though they had no statutory power, their responsibilities centered around enforcing religious observances, anti-social behaviour etc (Fleras, 1980)

¹²⁷ 'Pakeha similar' infers the initial stages of becoming a brown skinned Pakeha. Acceptance of the worth of Pakeha philosophies and trying to replicate similar institutions tends to suggest a clear movement away from one's cultural roots.

Many of the religious political movements (Pai Marire, Hauhauism, Ringatu, Parihaka, Ratana - see Henderson, in Pocock, 1965) were all about seeking autonomy too. As Sinclair (1976: 103) contended, these religious movements:

Arose amid racial antagonism and land wars. A means of addressing European hegemony. In such religions there was an attempt to re-establish Maori dignity and control over their destiny.

Autonomy and independence through opposition to white domination was their war cry (Sutherland, 1940). For some, their thirst for sovereignty and separate identity were never quenched in this decade. The land wars in Taranaki, Waikato,¹²⁸ Ngapuhi, raids on Parihaka and 'children of the mist',¹²⁹ depicted a white government that would not tolerate any form of independent Maori authority (Ward, 1967). This did not stop the emergence of Maori leaders hell bent on pushing the kaupapa of tino rangatiratanga,¹³⁰ albeit through the appropriate channels of redress or in the case of Te Whiti and Tohu, encouraging passive resistance at Parihaka (Butterworth & Young, 1990; Chapple, 1987). Traditionally, Tohunga fulfilled the role of intermediaries for Tangata Whenua, between the living and their gods. During this time period, as holders of Maori traditions and values, they came to the fore as leaders of the protest movement which advocated for autonomy from Pakeha society (Sinclair, 1976).

Autonomy, independence, sovereignty and opposition are all terms that reflect a power relationship inequity. Why did Maori incorporate such terms into their cultural psyche? They all gravitate around the way in which Taiwi/Pakeha systematically acquired land. On the one hand there

¹²⁸ See Holmes-Kinsella (1984) *The Emphasis and Prejudices of the Waikato Times 1872-1896*. Vast amounts of Tainui land was confiscated soon after the land wars for settlement purposes.

¹²⁹ The Tuhoe tribe - Rua Kenana's settlement.

¹³⁰ For the purpose of this part of the thesis, acknowledging the time frame, tino rangatiratanga is defined as Maori autonomy/sovereignty.

was a push by Taiwi government/settlers/kupapa¹³¹ to sell land [Tuku whenua], while on the other hand, King Tawhiao and those of like mind, wanted to retain the land [Pupuri whenua] (Sinclair, in Muntz, 1969). In fact, he met with other Maori leaders as early as 1867 to discuss that kaupapa of 'Pupuri whenua' (Mahuta in King, 1978).¹³² Though the initial outcomes in this time period, indicated that Maori autonomy was an impossible dream, the cumulative effective of these initiatives for autonomy were to carve out a resistance foothold that grew to greater things in the 20th century.

Drawing the threads together through poetry

A summation of this time period has been provided in poetry form from the author:

Its birth in cloak and flag a time to build . . .

Busby, Te Tii, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Hobson's tea, 41 stopovers in 18 months, Ngapuhi the first of 540, Kawana for Mana, Tino Rangatiratanga me nga Taonga Katoa, God's word, refuge and goods or guns, trick or treat the main deceit or feat, and still some never signed. Its promise lost in lies a time to hold the ahua . . .

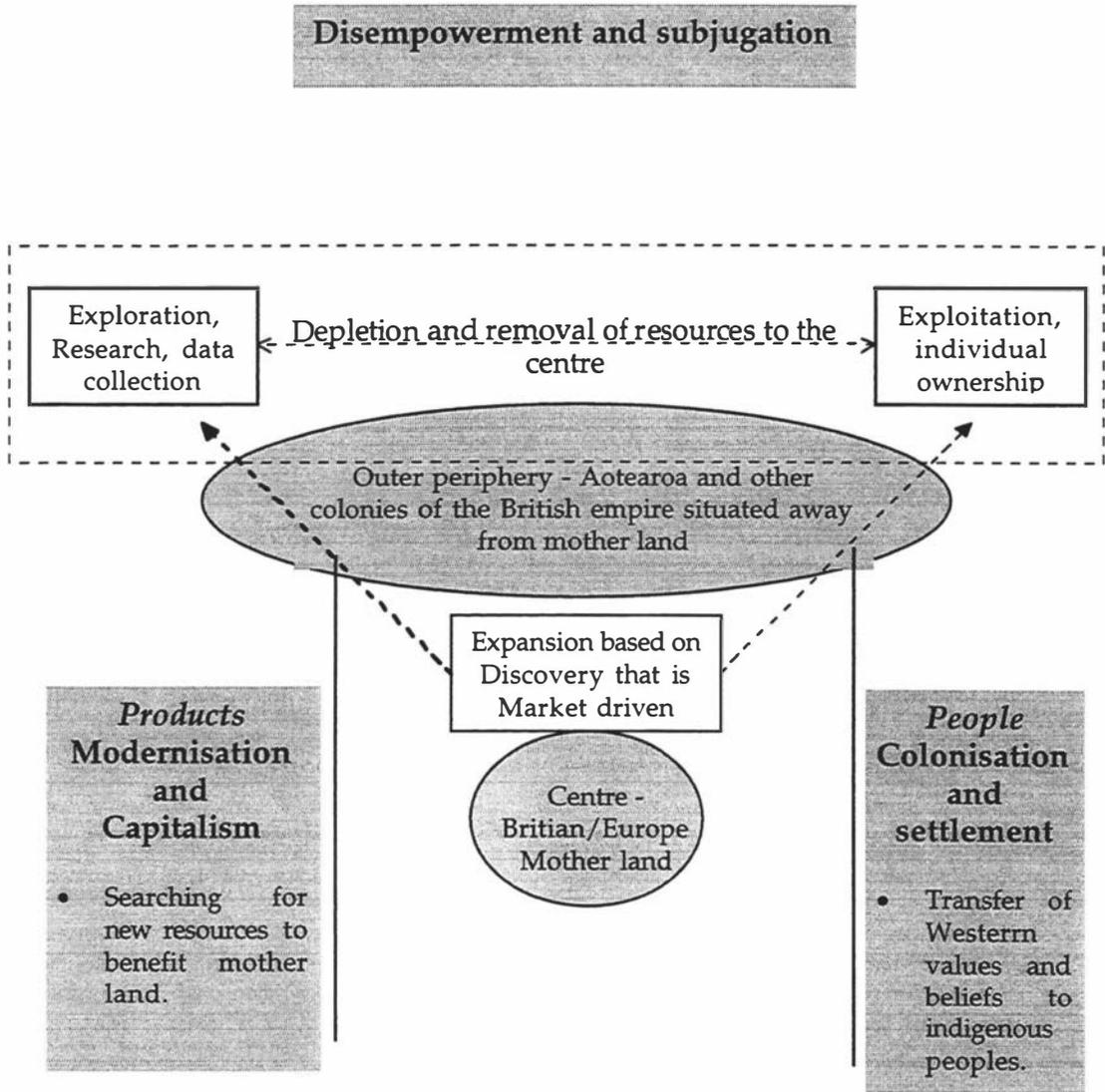
These knew the truth, the land was stolen, Te Kooti ma, stand up Kenana, Moko wept with injustice, Te Whiti and Tohu - ploughmen of Parihaka showed strength in peace, Te Kauhanganui and Kingitanga, Te Paremata and the face of 4 fought rear guard against white law war and confiscation. Assimilation and oppression with love, A nullity for Prendergast, Seddon's sedition, Pakeha paternalism and the living die faster. 42 thous' now survive . . . Its death stayed through underground pursuits a time to hide and smile . . .

¹³¹ Kupapa is a Maori equivalent for 'Uncle Tom' - a sell out to their own people.

¹³² Pages 33 - 36 provide a very interesting Time line. 1840 - T.O.W; 1845 - Te Whiwhi and later Wiremu Tamehana take up the cause for a Maori King; 1856 Te Heuheu Iwakau stages a large inter-tribal meeting at Pukawa, Lake Taupo, to discuss the reasons for setting up a king. (In Tuwharetoa - pp. 442 - 457, 1959); 1860 - Te riri Pakeha - land wars in Taranaki and Waikato; 1863 NZ Settlements Act confiscates over a million acres of Waikato tribal lands in retribution for rebellion against the crown; 1867 - Tawhiao meets other Maori religious leaders, Te Ua Haumeene, Te Whiti and Tohu, Te Kooti and Aperehama Taonui.

Figure Four: Eurocentric Diffusionism - the center periphery development cartwheel

Drawn from the writings of Blaut (1993) and linked to Aotearoa by the L.A Ruwhiu.



Chapter Four

History of the politics of Maori social policy development (1900-To present day)

The hand of time has sculptured fine the lives of those who have made Aotearoa their home. From the previous section the lamenting cry resonates, 'a time to hide and smile'. The response is swift and multilayered in the 20th century.

Its death stayed through underground pursuits a time to hide & smile. . .

The fatal public eyes of NZMC, Paikea, MWWL, and co. bear fruit in wastelands barren, the witch and light are laid to rest in 7, but hell is lost to warlocks cut in Ngaruawahia, yet blood returns to Tu, a second turn and death smiles on Battalion, no gifted land for lungs that burn, but funds cut off, an offer of a parents hand to guide the man child home. An ethos lies of unity. Lessons learnt from a macro stage, Black is beautiful, bra burning, the seeds of maranga mai emerge. Under the cultural spot light, Marae korero thrives and lives but bashers keep it out of schools, silent voices remain heart hidden, marry a Pakeha, but juju lips are out.

Its time to call the dogs in . . .

Haka bastardisation left blood on the university floor, An uru pa and Raglan's golf course, Bastion and Joe ma - what a point, Whina Kupa, whanau and the white libbies march to Wellington, a Donna's sovereignty. Nga Tama Toa no hori anymore, Sports mix and politics barricades and Police sticks, language loss rescinded, black droplets in a sea of white, and they say the creme de lux end up in prison or university, black power, brown power, police power, mungies and football teams, but still the flight is white.

Its whanau time to feel the pain. . .

Sad stories while our whanau died, on tohoro 30 plus per day were laid to rest, the flu what a pest. A broken branch sent to Tairawhiti for felling. Cruel spirals made Huhana cry. Huriwai and Paringatai reigned in Horoerea. They gave Tira to Hau, a tragedy would unfold. Their five stood firm but Daniel and Te oho slept within their mother's bosom. That heart was ripped from Pirihī's foursome

hands. To Mei that child was born and buried but scars remained forever more. Two wives and 21, photos in the rain and our ancestors weep. Fires warmed their poverty. Apples locked a selfish heart, the cross of life and death swung to and fro. Left, thrown out no head is turned, just broken dreams of what might have been, A cage a fence an urban nightmare for the bold. Waikaraka one then two, the lesson learnt in Mohaka. An honoured man chose life not death, his daughters knew no sin. A pepper pot and wild bird sing, now in unison. And snakes came two by two, the yellow and the black, Insane to some but health and wealth, a cultural heritage. With Vauxhall and the nine, our nana sighed and Gangan smiled, but Pop was left behind.

My cries through times of change. . .

Cow boys won and losers were the itchy bums, served last though first, the kings of childhood sports find shadows in mental illness halls of fame, cousins as friends with no regrets, skin pinching to be white, the sisters passed for girls so white, black rule no fool in secondary school, Te wa te ra to te wiki o te reo Maori, a Reunion of tears and the 'wanna be's can't hear, we Maori are no good, the hate and pain now drive insane the bearers of our claims, the olden marks and topknot held the fire and rage at bay, the strip show brings a grin, Mac Whakamoe held firm, Hugh Kawharu and BBC a wonder to behold, cruising ideology street poets black fair well, a no go with the elderly, CYPs gains the stage I'm Maori I'm Pakeha I'm LDS and stuck,

Its a time to heal and fight . . .

Unconnected isolation in cities - Whakawhanaungatanga; The Polynesian collective - huihuinga; Nuclear family psychosis - Whakapapa; Who am I? - Ko nga waka e toru, Ngatokimatawhaorua, Horouta, Takitimu; An 'A' in English - Ka nui te korero i roto i te reo o to tatou tupuna o nehera; University - Kohanga Reo; John Bradley's vigil against the poverty trap with 'niho taniwha' - Nga Moemoea, Nga Kaupapa, Nga Tikanga, Nga Ara Taumata o te whanau, to me you'll always be famous bro; One god - Nga Atua Katoa; Assessment and competition - Nga Wairuatanga me nga Mana; Government - Te Ohaki o Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

The preceding poem contextualises the next four historical periods of analysis that will be covered in this chapter:

- Period Four: 1900 - 1950 Survival/Underground - Cultural Rebirth verses Cultural Consolidation;
- Period Five: 1951 - 1970 Myths and Legends;
- Period Six: 1971 - 1990 Attack and Parry, Coming Out - Our home fires burn brightly;
- Period Seven: 1991 - To present day: Different Heights.

The approach taken here is to identify briefly the effects of that changing history on the maintenance, propagation, evolution, and transformation of those traditional key life giving principles underpinning Maori wellbeing. This will be accomplished by summing up and critically evaluating the key characteristics of these time periods: taking into account key themes, actors, events, and legislation that impacted on Tangata Whenua wellbeing. Like the previous section, it is important to study the various relationship patterns between Tangata Whenua and their Treaty partner, the Crown. A significant point to remember is that the Crown delegated to the colonial representatives in 1852 the right to set up responsible government to look after both Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi interests. The history thus far, purports that the legislative/political, educational and social efforts of those settler governments were enabling for Tauwiwi/Pakeha. This enablement came in the form of land acquisition for settlement, through the establishment of monocultural power institutions that promoted a white world view. This was done by changing the market relationships to capitalism that stressed individualised wealth accumulation and through immigration policies that dramatically increased the numerical superiority of Tauwiwi/Pakeha. On the other hand, Tangata Whenua experienced disablement: they languished in a state of dependency through paternalism, had to live with the subtle dissemination and perpetuation of stereotypical attitudes that marginalised them, and felt the sting of poverty as their resource base from papakainga disappeared through war, law and confiscation. This

historical analysis will expose whether or not race relationship patterns in the 20th Century were any different from the 19th Century historical realities.

The final act to round off this historical analysis is a summary of Chapter Four using five identifiable patterns in cross cultural relationships [The 'Bi-Polity analysis framework' (see Table Four): Consociationalisation; Paternalism; Participation; Partnership/Parallel development and Autonomy] to observe, compare and contrast the nature of Maori social policy development in the 20th Century from previous history.

Period Four: 1900 - 1950 Survival/Underground - Cultural Rebirth versus Cultural Consolidation

The first part of this time period, 'Survival/Underground', indicates the existence of a two tiered, social/economic and political system in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In the top tier, known as the official political public¹ terrain, Tauwiwi/Pakeha continued to dominate most of the facets of political decision making and economic power in New Zealand.² The bottom tier, appeared to be the reserve of the oppressed indigenous people. Subsequently, a ground swell of Tangata Whenua resistance efforts marked this political tier. As Maori entered and moved through this part of the 20th Century their list of grievances with their Treaty partners quadrupled (Walker, 1990; Orange, 1989). The cost of these grievances were obvious as Maori representation in negative health, education and justice statistics rose dramatically. It was about trying to survive within a Western frame of reference that continued to marginalise Tangata Whenua wellbeing. In terms of the 'Old English Poor Law' principles of charity, benevolence, deserving/undeserving,³ Tangata Whenua rated highly in need of help but often were the recipients of harsh discipline (Cheyne,

¹ The official environment, controlled by media, government officials, and the general public - a postulation of the accepted norms and values of society, where law reigns.

² The colonial mask of mother England resonated throughout the land and turned Aotearoa into a British estate in the South Pacific.

³ See Oliver's, (in Triln, 1977) article entitled, 'The origins and growth of the Welfare Stat.

O'Brien, & Belgrave, 1997). In the public arena, these results strengthened Tauwiwi/Pakeha beliefs that Maori were indeed a 'museum commodity', and the quicker the adjustment to westernisation the better. The push to exclude the speaking of 'Te reo Maori' in the native school grounds emphasises this approach (Codd, Harker & Nash, 1985). However, the hub of Maori resistance development continued, albeit underground on Marae, in the political system through Maori representation in various statutory departments, or in parallel quasi-national Maori bodies.

The concepts of 'Cultural rebirth versus Cultural consolidation' in the context of this section are about gauging the levels of cultural identity loss or gains for Tangata Whenua and/or their responsiveness to integration/assimilation policies and events of this time period. Some Tangata Whenua viewed rebirth as a new start. Such a position emphasised that Maori had lost their cultural roots, therefore rebirth was all about experiencing a new awakening of their cultural selves. It appeared to also reflect losing their traditional cultural makeup and taking on board Western values and beliefs.

Other Tangata Whenua advocated the consolidation argument which contended that mana Maori motuhake was all about recognising the tino rangatiratanga of a Maori world view and that there were pathways for cultural development which did not mean having to sell one's soul, to become a brown skinned Pakeha. Raureti (in King, 1978) points to the rise of the Ratana movement in 1920 which began as a faith healing movement, based on Maori values, beliefs and processes. It was about adding to an already existing pattern of emergence based on thousands of years of cultural development. Both positions illustrate the intense and comprehensive socio - political adaptations Tangata Whenua experienced. These experiences meant that Tangata Whenua were more likely to develop bicultural tendencies.

For Tauwiwi, the reflection of cultural rebirth and cultural consolidation was quite different. Howe (1973) purports that Tauwiwi/Pakeha saw rebirth

in light of New Zealand entering onto the international arena as a fledgling new Nation. Furthermore, with the advancement of the Social Security Act of 1938, and the mistaken belief that New Zealand had no race relations problems⁴, the 'big boys - Western world powers', could learn a thing or two about race relationships and welfarism from this new boy on the block. So in period four: 1900 - 1950 Survival/Underground - Cultural Rebirth versus Cultural Consolidation, the outcomes of a rigorous assimilation pre-1900 plan by Tauwiwi/Pakeha bore fruit as post colonisation took affect and both Tauwiwi and some Tangata Whenua believed their own propaganda of harmonious race relationships.

In the following subsection entitled, 'History speaks volumes: survival and stability', the urgency of adapting to, forming and stable relationship with and challenging established political institutions became a priority for Tangata Whenua. To make sense of Tangata Whenua attempts to respond to this priority, five key players from various parts of that two tiered political system; The Young Maori Party, Ratana and the Labour coalition, Native Affairs, the New Zealand Maori Council and the Maori War Effort Organisation; will be studied alongside events, and specific legislative actions of this time period. All of these organisations engaged with the State for the general purpose of representing Maori interests at the national and regional levels. They also provide a reference point to study the range of diverse Maori realities involved in maintaining Maori wellbeing. Finally a brief concluding comment entitled 'A link in time ...' sums up this time period and sets the scene for the next.

⁴ New Zealand was viewed by overseas observers as having dealt effectively with cross cultural issues - later New Zealand would be used as a model for race relations. The emergence of the theme 'egalitarian ethos' has its roots in this belief.

History speaks volumes . . . survival and stability.

The Young Maori Party (TYMP)

One of the key players determining the formation of early interaction between the races in this time period was 'the Young Maori Party' (TYMP).⁵ Taiuiwi/Pakeha politicians were eager to back the initiatives of these perceived new Maori leaders because they appeared to stand for movement away from those traditions of their forefathers that did not 'measure up' to Western standards. Consequently, Sutherland (1940: 31) states that:

When the race was at its lowest ebb Maori Leadership in a new form to meet new conditions re-emerged . . . took the form of the Young Maori Party, a loosely organised but intensely purposeful group of young men and women of the Maori race, who were supported by sympathetic influences among the European population.

Other commentators, building on this notion of new leadership, stressed that this group was responsible for turning the tide on Maori mortality rates⁶ that reduced the numbers of Maori to 42,000 people, at the close of the previous century. As Keesing (1928) suggests, TYMP members were instrumental in shifting Tangata Whenua into the 'Modern Life' of the twentieth century. Their leadership style advocating for adjustment by Maori to 'civilised demands', was perceived by some as a strategic ploy to support the survival and regeneration of Tangata Whenua culture. Yet TYMP were often at odds with Maori traditionalists who challenged their commitment to advancing matauranga Maori, tikanga and kawa. Being instrumental in outlawing 'Tohunga practices' through the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907,⁷ did little to reduce such perceptions. While this

⁵ Its roots from Te Aute in Hawkes Bay, were inevi as young Maori came to understand Taiuiwi/Pakeha through the art of education. Some of those well known in this group were Hone Heke, Maui Pomare, Tutura Wirepa, Reweti Kohere, Te Rangi Hiroa [Peter Buck] and Apirana Ngata.

⁶ This drastic rise in mortality rates for Tangata Whenua was based on diseases carried by Taiuiwi/Pakeha who had developed immunity (New Zealand Official Year Book, 1987).

⁷ This act was introduced by Maui Pomare with the belief that embracing and adopting Western medical practices would improve Maori Health and also safe guard Maori against any practicing charlatans -Tohunga. It was also an attack against the use of mediators between the human dimension and the spiritual (Sinclair, 1976).

Act was passed to safeguard Maori from their own superstitious ways, it also stripped Tangata Whenua of *maturanga* Maori, and reduced their participation in developing this new nation of Aotearoa. Moreover, the words⁸ and actions of TYMP members, for example Ngata in the political terrain, or Pomare in the health sector, continued to provide insight about the dilemma's of those walking and working across cultures.

This new kind of Maori leadership, one based on knowledge of the ways of the Pakeha arose, though to be effective it had to secure the cooperation of the hereditary chiefs (Sutherland, 1940: 403).

On the one hand, *Tauiwi/Pakeha* supporters⁹ of the Young Maori Party were active in advancing the wellbeing of Tangata Whenua, though in a paternalistic manner. In tandem, disciples of assimilation were quick to seize this opportunity to further domesticate their *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* partners, through stressing that all Maori ways and means of doing things were inappropriate, unhealthy, and undesirable (Duncan, 1907).¹⁰ While on the other hand, TYMP members themselves were just as active in promoting *tikanga* Maori and *te reo* Maori, though their efforts have often been used to justify the progressive nature of Pakeha/*Tauiwi* influence on Maori.

Prompting these changes pushed by TYMP were the following health crises: a typhoid epidemic which began in 1891 and continued to wreck havoc in Maori communities before petering out in 1919; the 1900 whooping cough epidemic; both the influenza (1937) and Tuberculosis (1939) epidemics all culminated in the demise of Maori physical wellbeing (Huata, 1980; Sinclair, 1976; Sutherland, 1940). Early initiatives in the health sector such as the partnership between Maori communities and the Public Health Department was noteworthy because it saw the promotion of Maori health workers to deal with Maori communities and their health

⁸ For example, in Ngata's proverb - *E tipu e rea*.

⁹ McKegg (1991) cites Dr. H.B Turbott as the instigator of good health protocol for Maori. The Young Maori Party took that approach on board which eventuated in the removal by law of some of Maori *tikanga me maatauranga*.

¹⁰ Duncan (1907) in his stocktake of Maori progress in civilization and religion reports, records that Tangata Whenua were ". . . extremely low in the scale of civilization and awakened in me feelings of pity and disgust" (683). Furthermore, he sights the following key cultural characteristics of Tangata Whenua: that they were cruel, dishonest, liars and cheats.

needs. However, in 1909 the Government rescinded its support of that initiative and re directed the funding to a Tauwi health organisation - the District Nurses (Durie, 1984). In other words, a Pakeha organisation which did not encourage Maori nurses into its ranks was given the 'Maori health portfolio'. Another reason highlighting the influence of TYMP was the fact that this time period took in two World Wars.¹¹ The drain of leadership on both sides, for Tauwi and Tangata Whenua was immeasurable. Consequently, in the public arena, TYMP was actively perceived as bridge builders across the cultural divide, representing Maori interests. Through the 1900 Public Health Act, central government took control of all environmental health responsibilities but pushed Maori interpretations of well being into the irrelevant basket. TYMP, brought these concerns back onto the public political agenda for redress. In essence, the TYMP were advocates for 'Maori tinorangatiratanga' - to determine the positive development and survival of Maori culture and to facilitate worthwhile transitions in that changing environment (Walker, 1990; 1987; 1987a; 1987b)

Several inter race relationship patterns were dominant in the workings of TYMP. For example, often they would collude with government ministers in charge of the Maori portfolio, or hereditary Maori leaders to obtain political licence and financial clout for their initiatives: a prime characteristic of Consociationalism (refer back to the conclusion in Chapter four on this concept). Ngata, Pomare and Buck also illustrated through their efforts in the public sector an ability to participate rigorously and effectively in the halls of political power. Carroll's ministerial influence that push Maori land welfare measures alongside the achievements of his political protégé's Ngata - junior minister of the Native department from 1909 to 1912 and Native minister from 1928 - 1934, clearly attests to this.

The Ratana movement

Another prime example of 'participation in the halls of political power' was illustrated by the active role those of the Ratana faith had in championing Maori political, economic, spiritual and social/cultural concerns in the New Zealand Parliament from 1932. As a prophetic based movement which started around 1918, its initial focus was on faith

¹¹ World War I (1914-1918) and World War II (1939 - 1944).

healing but in tandem with that spiritual mission was its commitment to politically redressing Maori grievances through Tauwiwi/Pakeha political institutions. As Raureti (in King, 1978: 43), states, Ratana as a movement represented:

- (1) a protest against the encroachment and growing dominance of Pakeha Power. (2) a distrust of European ideas and methods, understandable in the light of the land confiscations of the 1860s.

In 1932 this movement won its first seat in Parliament, and after negotiations with Savage, it entered into an alliance/coalition with the New Zealand Labour Party. In 1943, the four Maori seats in Parliament were controlled and held by Ratana representatives, fulfilling a prophecy to their founder that he [his followers] would control the four winds, four corners, or four shores of Aotearoa: to some, symbolically representing a capturing of those four seats in Parliament, to others, a recognition of the influence Ratana members would have in leading Maori in their quest for self-determination. From a community development perspective, what began as a social, cultural, economic, spiritual endeavour grew with increased patron support into a political force that was to dominate Maori involvement inside Parliament for years to come. The Ratana movement reflected the belief that faith, healing and good works were important in responding to Maori health and social wellbeing. In the context of this illustration, the notion of building a community of believers was required to deal with the pressures of modern times. The roots of Maori community development were implicit in the Ratana movement of the early 1900s and it reflected that independent community development was a reality that worked for Maori needing spiritual, physical, mental, economic welfare support.

The Native Department - Maori Affairs (MA)

The Native Department was reconstituted by Sir James Carroll in 1906. While its name changed from Native Affairs, then to Maori Affairs in 1947, as a department it was given sole responsibility and jurisdiction to deal with Tangata Whenua wellbeing. But disenfranchisement patterns set in the 19th century that focused on systematically stripping Tangata Whenua of papakainga resources, continued into the 20th Century. However, instead of seeking land for settlement, this period of consolidation was

about stabilising the control of political, social, economic and thus cultural power in Western institutions. So while the brief of that department was about Maori wellbeing, in fact the structural and functional realities remained oppressive. This contradiction between perceived function and reality permeates from a known history of taking from Tangata Whenua. The departmental structural oppression could be visually measured as Maori staff were a rarity in these consolidation stages. Even with Sir James Carroll and Apirana Ngata as its head at different times, the superiority of Tauwi/Pakeha staff at all levels of employment in that department severely hampered their own desires to assist Maori.

The political infrastructure of the department signposted that contradiction between perception and reality well. So while Carroll laid down a legislation foundation for creating an economic base through Maori land management, in fact those very legislative policies were translated into practice by Tauwi/Pakeha politicians and bureaucrats to deprive Tangata Whenua opportunities to self determine.¹²

The responsibility of managing Maori Affairs moved further away from Iwi/tribal/nation hands. In essence, these and similar legislative actions of this time, reflected a paternalistic pattern of race relationships that left Maori politically vulnerable and economically poor: As Butterworth and Young state:

These programmes followed the standard government model for delivering social and economic services with little recognition of Maori social structures and desire for self determination (1990: 2).

The influence of Native Affairs in the development of social service delivery to Maori whanau has been argued by some¹³ as the domestication Mecca of the 20th century. It took on a pacification role, that was seriously

¹² For example, amendments to the 1904 Maori Lands Administration Act, gave these people licence to confiscate Maori land with any arrears in rates, for public use. In 1905, the Maori Land Settlement Act, strategically altered the composition of Maori land boards: that of those three member boards, only one needed to be Maori. Decision making about the usages of Maori land was reliant on goodwill of the predominantly non-Maori board members. The Maori Trustee Act (1920), and Maori Land Development Act (1929) also displayed government's willingness to dismantle traditional boundaries and create controllable social formations to look after Tauwi Pakeha interests in Maori Affairs.

¹³ Fleras (1980) describes the Department in light of its overt plan to assimilate Maori into becoming 'Pakeha'.

challenged by resistance movements within Maoridom. However, this would reach a head during World War II, with the emergence of the Maori War Effort Organisation.

The most significant pattern of inter race relationships illustrated through the workings of this department was the paternalistic one. The seeds of institutional racism fostered and harvested in the 19th century, began another cycle. Though not as obvious, this was a period of securing head way or political and economic advantage achieved previously. The stereotypical views about Maori being lazy, unreliable, though good at parties moved into the subconscious cultural psyche of New Zealanders. Implicit strategies to differentiate between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi in terms of housing needs for example, were explicitly transferred into policies that were devoid of Maori thinking on the subject under scrutiny. In summary, remembering that the paradigm Tauwi/Pakeha had of race relations was markedly different to Tangata Whenua activists, New Zealand was a budding nation with things to offer the world stage, especially in the welfare provision/legislation arena. However, for most Tauwi New Zealanders, Maori affairs was of low priority in contrast to the energies used in constructing systems and supporting ideology for Pakeha/New Zealander social and economic development of this period.

At the turn of the century, in response to the Maori resistance and parallel political developments such as Te Kauhanganui and Te Paremata, the State set up what Spoonley (1993a) amounted to a legislative piecemeal response to Maori cries for self determination. For Sir James Carroll, though this initiative ranked lowly in terms of the reigning Government's priority list of goals to achieve, it gave legislative credibility to 'Maori development' overall (Butterworth & Young, 1990). Thus, appeared the legislation of 1900, backing the establishment of a New Zealand Maori Council (NZMC) organisation (Walker, 1987; Fleras, 1980). It was envisaged by the State that this organisation would provide a politically docile and unified Maori voice which broke across iwi, hapu and whanau boundaries and that supported 'becoming Pakeha' (Keesing, 1928). This consolidation of iwi into a pan-Maori entity was based on two key characteristics. First, it was a domestication process that challenged the validity of traditional Maori leadership political structures by redesigning accountability along local, district, regional and national lines, paralleling Pakeha/Tauwi organisational management (Butterworth & Young, 1990;

Sinclair, 1976). Second, it was an opportunity for Maori to become familiar with those parallel Westminster organisational management structures (Spoonley & Maharey, 1993).

Novitz and Willmont (1992) in summing up Tangata Whenua responses to Tauwi/Pakeha sponsored consolidation from 1900 - 1951, state the following

Political initiative in the early 20th century passed into the hands of Maori academics. It can be argued that they promoted a cultural renaissance as the Maori population recovered, but they were unable to stop the alienation of Maori land that continued during their stewardship (17).

So the NZMC Act of 1900, facilitated a half hearted attempt to re-categorise Maoridom as an independent unified body under Pakeha/Tauwi law. In doing so it reinforced a similar idea generated by Kingitanga Ratana, Ringatu and Kotahitanga: that of creating an organisation with mandate at the national level to interface a true representatives of all Maori. And though some districts and Iwi executives were created, they were left to fend for themselves.

The Maori War Effort Organisation (MWEO)

The Maori War Effort Organisation of World War II provides ample illustrations of Maori autonomy and Government paranoia with changing parent-child relationships between themselves and Tangata Whenua. This subheading of 'Paieka and Bruce's spider,¹⁴' reflects an environment of ongoing attempts by Maori to determine their own future. Historically, Tangata Whenua had suffered heavy confiscations during the New Zealand Land War and were naturally wary of helping government to contribute iwi-power to the First and Second World Wars. In fact, a group of Waikato Maori were imprisoned in Auckland after supporting their rangatira's call not to enlist in the New Zealand forces of the First World War. Those that did venture overseas were placed into the Pioneer Battalion, generally under Tauwi/Pakeha command. In between the two World Wars, a range of strategic ploys were embarked on by Tangata Whenua to change the paternalism they experienced. For example, in 1936

¹⁴ Robert the Bruce of Scotland's experience in seeing the struggles of a spider inspired him to try again for independence.

at the Maori Labour Conference, Maori members of that party put forward the idea of restructuring Native Affairs. The key aspect of this plan was to develop better co-ordination of government agencies to deal with Maori Welfare needs, and support greater participation by Maori at all levels of public administration. Two years later in the 1938 Social Security Act introduced by the first Labour Government, one of the requirements was that all workers needed to register before receiving government support through benefits. Up until this time, there was very little in the way of a national data base on Maori in New Zealand. When World War Two began, government wisely refrained from compulsory conscription after their experiences with Tainui in World War I.

In 1940 Paikea¹⁵ became part of the War Cabinet with primary responsibility for facilitating further support from the Maori communities in the War. Through the efforts of Paikea and submissions by Ratana ministers of Parliament, Cabinet approved the establishment of the 'Maori War Effort Organisation' (MWEO) in 1942. Though the kaupapa for the organisation was about military conscription matters, the MWEO rose to prominence because it used Maori tikanga/kawa and Maori social leadership to draw Maori support. Consequently, at its conception, the organisation used Maori custom and tradition to secure support. By late 1942, the MWEO had set up tribal committees that stressed rangatiratanga, whanaungatanga and manakitanga. For example, genealogical lines of association were paramount in linking recruits into appropriate military units. Recognition of traditional leadership cemented these units together. Uniformity in approach was rejected in light of the fact that tribal tikanga varied between iwi. The manakitanga/caring - support, was naturally an extension, in that whanau felt obligated to support their members in these military units. This support came in the form of providing culturally appropriate food stuffs to their whanau in those units and/or moving to the urban environment to contribute to the war industries.

The MWEO's role and function diversified with the urban drift of Tangata Whenua to the cities. Poor housing, ill health, isolation, employer/employee relationship problems such as absenteeism, were just some of the problems that Maori experienced and members of the MWEO

¹⁵ Paikea had the personality and communicative ability to draw people together. What also helped was that his whakapapa lines gave him standing in the Maori world as well.

had to deal with. Consequently, by 1943 on their recommendation, the National Service Department appointed women welfare officers for major cities and certain towns to help bridge the gap for Maori experiencing the trauma of moving from the rural sector to urban environment.

The demise of the MWEO had a lot to do with its successes. Since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the State systematically dismissed the relevance of Tangata Whenua perceptions of reality in all their sponsored activities. Consequently, the State left all welfare, social, and economic concerns of Maori up to the Native Department. However, in contradiction to that particular race relations paradigm, through the synergy of Ratana MP's, Paikea and others, Maori successfully negotiated with the State to autonomously run an organisation along tikanga Maori lines. Not only did it successfully facilitate the mass recruitment of Tangata Whenua into New Zealand's contribution to allied forces in World War II, but it also illustrated to observers of that time period that Tangata Whenua philosophies, ways of doing things, perceptions, theoretical constructs could successfully be harnessed to effectively meet the needs of Tangata Whenua. This observation did not go unnoticed by Tauwiwi within the Native Department: there was vigorous objections to extending the influence of MWEO into social services, a task traditionally viewed as one of the Department's roles. Paikea's untimely death in April of 1943, left this organisation vulnerable to attack and in late 1943 this came from the Minister of the Native Department. It appears that Department officers [all white] were brassed off that Maori were side stepping their service for the MWEO. The Department's reputation as a 'legal/accounting tool' of the colonisers, that manipulated the legal system to strip land resources from Maori, left a long lasting negative impression of a paternalistic organisation that stifled Tangata growth and development (Spoonely & Maharey, 1993; Butterworth & Young, 1990).

With this history, Mason - then Minister of the Native Department, proposed a revival of the Maori Councils set up under the 1900 New Zealand Maori Council - a strategic ploy to nullify Maori self determination attempts outside the Native Department. One interesting addition to the role of this department was to introduce a system of Welfare Officers under its wing. By June/July of 1944, Maori had voiced major dissatisfaction with that Department: Pakeha staff were unfamiliar with and less sympathetic to Maori perceptions of the issues they faced; as

a bureaucracy it was renounced for its slowness; the staff appeared to be unable to cope with the expansion of work demands to name a few. Even so, Fraser - the Prime Minister, though sympathetic to Maori aspiration for autonomy, went against the concerns expressed by Maori political constituents and showed openly his support for the Native Department. Funding for the MWEO was stopped and responsibility for dealing with the 'Native question' rested once again with Tauwi/Pakeha in the 'Native Department.

As mentioned earlier, the MWEO was a prime example of Maori efforts to seek autonomy. In contrast to the creativity and cultural appropriateness it engendered, the Native Department, emanated paternalism, control and dependency. The conflict between these two organisations illustrate the following characteristics. In times of crises Tangata Whenua left to organise themselves did so successfully under their culturally appropriate perceptions of reality. When the crises was over, it was back to Western Eurocentric monocultural structures, depicting paternalism. This initiative was a precursor to iwi development that was tribally based as displayed by efforts to develop fighting units along iwi rangatiratanga/leadership lines. However, bureaucracy hampered the MWEO's endeavours to develop that approach.

A link in time . . .

Revisiting the heading of this period, 'Survival/Underground - Cultural Rebirth versus Cultural Consolidation', the roots of paternalism and assimilation were firmly fixed in Aotearoa. Like a coin with two sides, or a magnetic with opposite poles, the flip side to paternalistic and assimilative actions and thoughts were resistance strategies based on acceptance of Treaty obligations. The worth of Tangata Whenua contributions in formulating cultural appropriate ideologies and structures of governance and government in Aotearoa were promoted. However, a reality check on this time suggests that these were notions on the drawing board of committees that had very little economic or political clout. The next period of time entitled '1951 - 1970 Myths and Legends' suggests that things were to become even more complicated before getting better.

Period Five: 1951 - 1970 Myths and Legends

Cross cultural history from 1951 to 1970 has been labelled the 'Myths and Legends' period. Reasons for naming this decade as such, reflects a dual understanding. First, that by all accounts, due to the build up of Tauwi/Pakeha 'self talk' and 'self back' patting, New Zealand was viewed internationally as a unified multicultural society¹⁶ (Spoonley, 1993; 1991; 1984; Simon, 1986; Sinclair, 1976). New Zealand was well respected for being the so called 'social laboratory of the world' - the moral highground of egalitarianism. This public rouge or ideological camouflage effectively reduced the onus of Government responsibility to help and support Tangata Whenua in culturally appropriate ways. Moreover, this egalitarian ethos intellectually fed those postulating the benefits obtained by Tangata Whenua through mere association with Western Society. These images of harmonious race relations were the product of a systematic multilayered effort across social, cultural, economic, religious and political spheres, to civilise the beast out of Maoridom. Those same extreme measures used to assimilate or for want of a softer word, integrate Maori into civilisation meant that some Maori became 'assistant gate keepers'¹⁷ of Tauwi/Pakeha monoculturalism.¹⁸

A second level of understanding draws strength from the following saying: 'you can take the micky out of an Irishman but you can't take the Irish out of a Micky'. Reflectively thinking, while developing a bicultural person and an appetite for Western - Eurocentric lifestyles, Maori were still subject to the influences of their cultural roots. Meaning, that Tangata Whenua actions and attitudes were influenced by their cultural

¹⁶ Simon critiques the 'egalitarian ethos' and its move towards becoming 'practise'. Spoonley and Maharey analyse the effects of 'ethnicity' on race relations in Aotearoa. Sinclair reflects on the impact of the Hunn report that stressed integration of Maori into Pakeha society.

¹⁷ Often used as role models for others because they had forsaken their cultural heritage, and readily benefited from a range of favours given to them by Tauwi/Pakeha oppressors who controlled government and had political and economic power.

paradigms, made up of baseline principles such as spiritualism (Wairuatanga), connectedness (Whakapapa) and accepted behaviour (Tikanga me Kawa).

International paradigm shifts, involving changing attitudes about cultural development impacted on the maintenance and propagation of New Zealand's egalitarian ethos. In international circles credible contestations facilitated by feminism, black and indigenous movements world wide plus an acceptance of psychological tenets that drew people into self exploration earmarked the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s as a time of growth for many of the oppressed sections of humanity. Empire building expansionism strategies were replaced with inward looking stocktaking as whole societies struggled with comprehending their own unique identity issues. The unification of Nation states under slogans of war and death had left people throughout the world challenging traditional leadership. The inequality experienced by women within the walls of their homes, was painstakingly moved from personal to public issues. Likewise, the black movement, after contributing to the building of nations, voiced their discontent at inequality and bondage, reflected in their relationship with their white brothers and sisters. Formation of the United Nations after the World Wars created avenues for the voices of Indigenous people to be heard. For those in New Zealand, it was about identifying the paradigms utilised by Tauwiwi/Pakeha and Tangata Whenua to describe accurately, 'the New Zealander Syndrome'.

This thematic rationale that 'we are all one', continued to block peoples' attempts to re-evaluate connections with their own cultural roots. As well, Government's track record of acknowledging the will of the people, often superseded their contractual obligations to provide responsible government for all. The label 'Myths and Legends', asserts the view that peoples stories in this time period, would ultimately become the

¹⁸ In other words, they had successfully mastered the skills of Tauwiwi/Pakeha knowledge, experienced the joys of self-wealth accumulation, and taken on board the whole package

succeeding generations' myths. Part of the process of developing legends has to do with recognising who the key facilitators were for shifting the country's race paradigms during this period.

In the following subsection entitled, 'History speaks volumes: the conceptual battle lines are drawn', old paradigms are revisited by people struggling to comprehend the make up of their being, as 'New Zealanders'. For Tangata Whenua it was about moving up from that lower tier of political and economic dependency to reside in the public site historically dominated by Tauwiwi/Pakeha. Not as a piecemeal or last minute after thought, but through the front door, claiming rights of occupation in the political corridors of power as Treaty partners. For Tauwiwi/Pakeha, it was about looking in the mirror and dealing with shadows that advocated the ideology of fairness, unity and oneness but displayed monocultural realities instead. To capture the essence of this period, the Hunn report of 1960 kick starts this analysis as an 'events' case study. The principles it upheld were to underpin race relationships right through to the 1990s. The Hunn report was also part of a historic context that was influenced by major changes in Maori education, new Maori leadership, recognition of Maori health demands and the impact of Maori urbanisation - the drift from rural farming economies to industrial and service economies situated in urban settings. Each change factor will be discussed briefly.

Maori initiatives and/or movements that surfaced to deal with Maori issues about cultural wellness will also be studied. These 'Maori movement - type' case studies appear under the heading '*The changing faces of Maori contribution to their wellbeing*' and have been categorised into three key streams: Maori using the system; the system using Maori; and Maori working for Maori outside the system. Clearly, the Maori Women's Welfare League (MWWL), New Zealand Maori Council (NZMC), and New Zealand Maori Warden (NZMW) movements were depictions of case studies that progressed in stages, through these three key

streams. The historical development of the Native/Maori Affairs department (MA) rests wholly in 'the system using Maori' stream and the Maori Trustees (MT) were not far behind. Nga Tamatoa (NT), on the other hand squarely stood in the 'Maori working for Maori outside the system,' camp. The author offers a concluding remark in the form of a poem entitled 'The silent cry', as one moves into period six: 1971 - 1990 Attack and Parry, Coming Out - Our home fires burn brightly.

History speaks volumes . . . The conceptual battle lines are drawn

The Hunn Report

In 1959/60 under a Labour Government, Jack Hunn was commissioned by the then Prime Minister of New Zealand, Walter Nash to audit the Department of Maori Affairs.¹⁹ Hunn set up nine working parties²⁰ and produced an all encompassing report that addressed amongst other things, the effects of urban drift on current Maori status and projected future Maori development trends. Though the Report was completed in 1960, due to impending elections, Nash held back its release date. In the election Labour lost, and National under Sir Keith Holyoake became the new Government. His Minister of Maori Affairs, Ralph Hanan, then published the report in 1961.

Fleras and Elliot (1992) believed that the 'Hunn report' indicated a Clayton's²¹ paradigm shift within government circles regarding the

¹⁹ The prime focus of this audit was to account for all Maori assets this department was responsible for and to suggest possible ways of best using them in the future. Anomalies had arisen as individual land titles continued to split Tangata Whenua land holdings into insignificant fractions upon each generational succession. It appeared that Nash was keen to negate any 'further dissipation of Tangata Whenua material resources'.

²⁰ These nine working parties were: Population, education, employment, health, housing, land titles, land settlement, legal differentiation and crime.

²¹ This paradigm shift emphasised the principle that it was possible to develop a 'uniform united society' by combining elements from Maori - Tangata Whenua and Pakeha - Taiwi cultural realities to make 'one New Zealand culture'. Proponents of this idealism also stressed another core principle, that this 'one New Zealand culture mentality', would in no way compromise Maori and Pakeha 'cultural distinctiveness'. To the uncritical eye, government appeared to officially abandon its rigorous assimilation policy directed at Maori people, in favour of integration.

'Native issue'. Instead of continuing an aggressive assimilation approach the focus changed to one of 'integration'.

Integration emerged-in contrast to assimilation, which sought to absorb the Maori with complete loss of culture, the new principle of integration centred on retention of diversity within a single overall framework (182).

But as Metge (1990a: 25) states:

Maori were quick to judge the practice of integration as assimilation under another name.

Simon (1986) raised two interesting aspects about Hunn's emphasis in his report on the 'value of cultural diversity'. First, that this emphasis constructed a 'conscious illusion' that Maori and Pakeha cultures were of equal worth. This illusion was well supported in academic circles, as researchers grappled with the philosophical trends of cultural relativity that deemed the ideology of egalitarianism as a favourable and desirable pursuit in cross cultural relationships (Ballara, 1986). Second, the reality of race relations in New Zealand was a 'deliberate hypocrisy' of those egalitarian principles. As Sharp (1990: 188) stated:

The immediate aim - and the ascribed meaning of the verb 'to integrate' - was 'to combine (not fuse) the Maori and Pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct'. But in the longer term it was rather a process of 'assimilation' - '[becoming] absorbed, blended, amalgamated, with complete loss of Maori culture'.

So in essence, the Report effectively re-packaged 'assimilationist' core principles and rhetoric under a new set of semantic symbols headed by the term 'integration'. As well, the expectation was that this new 'one New Zealander ethos' would require a departure on the part of Maori from their cultural roots, with no such expectation demanded of their Treaty partners - Pakeha/Tauwi. Interestingly enough, Government used this Report to promote, perpetuate, and increase its hold on determining the nature of race relations in Aotearoa. In other words, Maori dependency on the State was expected and reinforced. The principle of 'paternalism' was

alive and well. Finally, on its release in 1961, there was an overwhelming condemnation from Maori leaders that this report was in fact legitimising the continuation of Pakeha/Tauwiwi 'assimilationist designs (Fleras & Elliot, 1992; Sharp, 1990). For example, the Maori Synod (1961) argued strongly in their published Report entitled 'A Maori view of the Hunn Report', against the assumptions implicit in this report that Maori needed to divorce themselves from their cultural roots.

Historical context underpinning the Hunn Report

This Report did not spring out of a vacuum. It came from within a historical reality. Some of the characteristics of that historical reality have been put together for critical observation. McKinlay (1990) observed that from World War II up until the latter 1960s New Zealand politics was dominated by a National government (briefly broken by the Nash Labour government in 1959) intent on responding in an ad hoc manner to the whims of its electorate white majority. International trade and money markets were available as part of the spoils of war for triumphant Allied forces, which included New Zealand. Therefore, in contrast to the recession/depression of the late 1930s and mid 1940s, New Zealand's post war experience, was one of industrial development, urban expansion, and full employment. Furthermore, New Zealand became a participating member of the international community as its entry to the International Monetary Fund (1967) depicts. In terms of education, Metge (1990) explained that schools were considered a place where individuals were attuned to acceptable societal values, beliefs, mores, norms and behaviour. Subsequently, critical debates occurred between those in charge of educating Maori children²² and pan Maori organisations/significant others, who actively fought for recognition of Maori tikanga, Maori Knowledge, Te Reo Maori and so on, in curriculum development, to meet

²²The Education Department set up National Advisory committees on Maori education and also on the teaching of Maori language in 1955 and 1958. Both of these committees were dominated by Tauwiwi/Pakeha.

the needs of Maori children/youth in education institutions. In backing this point up, Metge states that the:

. . . Maori Women's Welfare League, the Tribal (later Maori) committee system, and Young Maori Leaders Conferences all pressed strongly for greater recognition of Maori culture and the teaching of Maori language in schools attended by Maori children (1990: 22)

Maori Leadership Conferences

In 1959 Maori leadership conferences were convened, to create space for the younger Maori generation to participate in the debates about the philosophies, plans and action of Maori development. Even though land was absorbing a lot of attention most of the synergy of these leadership conventions was expended on thrashing out educational and other social concerns. What Maori leaders also had to contend with during the sixties, were several reports that emphasised 'deficit theory' perceptions to explain the significant lower levels of education attainment that Maori children, in relation to their Pakeha peers at school.²³ In opposition to these 'deficit theory' perceptions, the New Zealand Education Institute Report (1967), accepted that schools were also partly responsible for those under-achievements - if the school culture was out of step with Maori children's home culture, their learning would be negatively affected. In 1970 the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education report was released amidst a range of protests about racism and challenged the education system that improvements and modification were required to redress Maori educational needs.²⁴ At the eventide of this time period, bicultural education had its roots amidst a flurry of activism and change initiated by Maori in the national education sector.

²³ The Currie Report (1962) and a committee on Education, Training and Research Report (1963), were adamant that these failures were the result of poor home environments and placed the blame squarely on parents of these children.

²⁴ The most significant aspect of this report was its bicultural component that introduced the deficit knowledge base that Pakeha had about their Treaty partners - He matatini Maori: For the first time, the meaning of Maori education was widened to include the education of Pakeha in things Maori (Metge, 1990: 24).

Health concerns

The main concerns in the health sector from 1900 to the early 1930s, involved such things as the water supply, sanitation, housing and the spread of infection. With the advent of the Women's Health League (1937), Maori War Effort Organisation (1941), Community Workers from Maori Affairs (1945) and the Maori Womens Welfare League (1951), the major health concerns throughout the rest of this time period were as follows: Infectious diseases, child care, maternal health, nutrition, tuberculosis²⁵ and access to medical treatment (MacLean, 1964).

Urban drift

Sinclair (1976) and Pikari (in Winitana et al, 1985) both emphasised the dynamic impact of urban drift on Maori development and Maori/Pakeha relations. Accompanying that transient behaviour from traditional rural environments to cities, were a range of social and economic problems that would hinder Maori adjustment and wellbeing. The most serious of these was being isolated from whanau and hapu support networks. One of the strengths that Maori people utilised to deal with the negative effects of colonisation was their own infrastructure of whanau and hapu. As Metge (1995: 259, 260) explained:

In the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, senior whaanau members acted quickly when there was a threat to the wellbeing of children, although it meant intervening with the offender's consent . . . closely knit whanau came together for a korero whenever disagreements between members threatened whanau unity.

Migration to the cities left some of these support mechanisms in tatters. Pakeha charity organisations were ill equipped culturally to cope with the difficult adjustments Maori had to content with. Contact between the races in white dominated urban settings, reinforced by derogatory stereotypical

²⁵ TB - 1966 321 new sufferers, 1967 361 - people needed vaccinations (Report from the Maori Health Committee, 1968).

statements like 'hori' and half hearted attempts to assimilate through peppercotting or creating ghetto Maori communities meant that conflict was inevitable. At the same time Maori youth born in urban settings were advancing into education arenas such as Universities. Normal exposure to knowledge about patterns experience by oppressed people left these Maori young single adults searching for explanations about colonisation affects on their own people by Pakeha. Conscientisation of the Tangata Whenua masses or Maori proletariat stock now began to pay dividends as these new thinkers entered the political cauldron of Pakeha government to advance Maori wellbeing. Latimer²⁶ sums up metaphorically the effects of urban drift and urbanisation during the 1950s and 1960 on Tangata Whenua as follows:

Like a huge flock of birds landing on a small pipi bank we converged into urban life. Some were to be smothered in the rush, some to lose their direction, some were to lose their identity, some to lose their parents, some were left to cling to whatever they could for existence, some were to turn and go home. But where ever we turned, except for the first batch that landed on the pipi ground we were to meet with, in most times frustration (in Fleras, 1980: 26).

The changing faces of Maori contribution to their wellbeing

The three movements to be looked at now could be catalogued under any one of the following streams: Maori using the system; the system using Maori; and Maori working for Maori outside the system. More importantly, they are prime illustrations of parallel development. Maori Womens Welfare League (MWWL); the New Zealand Maori Council; and the New Zealand Maori Wardens, will be analysed.

Maori Womens Welfare League (MWWL)

'Women's labours of love' have always been synonymous with voluntary social service delivery history in New Zealand. They were expected to participate in a range of gender designated duties surrounding the care of

²⁶ In his keynote address to the Young Maori Leaders conference of 1977.

loved ones, or those deserving of support. The 'Auckland (1857) and Onehunga (1863) Benevolent Societies' plus community outreach initiatives²⁷ attest to this view that women were responsible for the delivery of charity and good works to those in less fortunate circumstances (Else, 1993; Tennant, 1989). Maori women were also active in providing support for their communities. On the 25th - 27th September 1951, Te Ropu Wahine Maori i te Ora [The Maori Womens Welfare League], was formed and amidst an air of excitement and enthusiasm, held its inaugural conference in Wellington. Perhaps the most vivid aspect of their launch was that these 90 plus women in attendance were optimistic about the future benefits for their people and 'cared deeply about their wellbeing'. As Rogers and Simpson (1993) point out, Te Ropu Wahine Maori i te Ora was the:

... first national Maaori organisation to be formed, it was also the first to provide Maaori women with a forum in which their concerns could be aired, brought to a wider national audience and placed before the policy-makers of the day (xii).

Accordingly, the content of some of their first resolutions emphasised a push for Te Reo Maori in Maori Schools and the introduction of suitable books on Maori subjects in all schools. For Walker (1987) this display of concern for their race, placed the MWWL as the 'only policy lobby group for Maori', between 1951 and 1962.

The strength of Maori Women to organise themselves was obvious, especially when the overriding objective of this organisation was to meet child welfare, health, education, housing and employment needs of Maori whanau. The mobilisation of Maori women at regional and national levels created an interesting paradox; though upheld as a non-political entity joined under the kaupapa of wellbeing for Maori, this league became a political voice and crucial support network for Maori removed

²⁷ From the church community, such initiatives as the Sisters of Compassion and the Salvation Army come to mind (Chilton, 1969). Other community initiatives where women

through urbanisation, from their whanau, hapu and iwi (Else, 1993). At the same time the MWWL, like the NZMC, provided opportunities for its members to develop the necessary political skills to engage with Tauwiwi/Pakeha, and Tangata Whenua/Maori. It is not a surprise to discover that the MWWL leadership personalities who filled the early presidency spots of this organisation reads as a 'whose who' of Maori women who are and were renowned for their activism in redressing Maori wellbeing.

For others, they identified that the original reasons for setting up this organisation were not as altruistic as one might first perceive, rather it was just another government supported ploy to reach assimilation goals, to domesticate, to control, and turn Tangata Whenua into responsible Christian individuals. During the 1951 inaugural session of the MWWL, Mr E. B Corbett emphasises this 'I - Christian', mentality: (MS Paper 1396 Folder 1).

I am glad that you are meeting here to help me as Minister of Maori Affairs through our welfare organisation which was set up with one purpose only - to improve the conditions of the people, to improve the standards of the individual and to bring us to that state of unity that must be the goal of all Christian people.

On the contrary, Mr T. T Ropiha (Under secretary to Corbett), who recognised the invaluable contribution this organisation would have in shaping the minds and hearts of future Maori generations, warned members of the MWWL that though change was inevitable, their cultural roots should not be forsaken as a 'better Maori self' was being developed:

Whilst we must be prepared for changes and must look ahead, we must not neglect the traditions of our race (MS Paper 1396 Folder 1).

The New Zealand Maori Council (NZMC)

Because of its historical life line to the government, like the NZMC, MWWL was often blamed for being too conservative. Likewise, the MWWL struggled financially and in the mid and latter 1960s struggled with maintaining its member roll.²⁸ Many of the late 1960s, earlier 1970s younger Maori voices demanded overt action against oppression, not the bleeping of 'we are one with our Pakeha friends' that seemed to be a doctrinal principle underpinning its original formation.

As Rogers and Simpson (1993) have correctly observed, throughout this period Maori Women took the 'bull by the horns' so to speak, and stepped up to advocate for the continued positive self determined development of Maori in all sectors of society. This organisation became a political vehicle that covered a range of issues.²⁹ A perusal of the minutes from the annual conferences held by the NZMWWL in 1968, 1969 and 1970 illustrates this wide sweeping decree they carried (MS Papers 1396 Folder 1 & 7).

In 1962, National government under the leadership of Keith Holyoake passed legislation superseding the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act of 1945. It was named the Maori Welfare Act,³⁰ and took into account recommendations inherent in the Hunn Report. In essence this Act marginalized the role of iwi as governing and managing bodies for Maori and strategically created a 'four tiered' political, economic and social network for Tangata Whenua. The primary objective of this 'four tiered' network was to break the leadership traditions inherent in iwi,

²⁸ MS Papers 1396 Folder 7 NZMWWL, minutes of the 16th Annual Conference, July 1968.

²⁹ In the MS Papers 1396 Folder 7 NZMWWL - Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Conference, held at the Dominion Council Town Hall Whangarei 22nd-25th July 1968. Covered such topics as the declining membership of the League, seeking stricter measures to Maori women frequenting ships in port, that the word 'Maori' be omitted from Newspaper reports when prosecuted in courts - other topics such as 'Department and grooming/training schemes for Maori unemployed, seeking the return of land set aside for an express purpose-once the purpose is and responding to limits put on the duration of whitebaiting and mussel dredging, were covered.

³⁰ Also known as the Maori Community Development Act.

hapu and whanau social configurations and replace them with units similar in many respects to Pakeha governance patterns (Walker, 1987).³¹

The relegation of iwi status as a mouth piece for Maori concerns, in the national public corridors of New Zealand's Westminster government was thus completed with the rise of another State sponsored National Maori body, called the New Zealand Maori Council (NZMC). Establishing contemporary managerial boundaries for Maori, usurping traditional iwi mana and rangatiratanga lines, initially emanated within the philosophy that gave rise to the 'New Zealand Maori Council Act' of 1900. Many of this Act's provisions were never actioned in the early 1900s because these appeared to be minor considerations in light of the New Zealand government's pursuit to gain international recognition as a South Pacific nation. So this four tiered network system was not a new phenomenon. Various representative councils did exist right through to the 1950s but attempts to establish a coordinated national body were unsuccessful until members of the Wai-Ariki district council began to advocate for tribal committees and executives. Under Major Vercoe's leadership Wai-Ariki facilitated a national conference in October of 1959, with other district councils to organise a four tiered New Zealand Maori Council structure of leaders for Maoridom.

In unison, those four managerial entities outlined in the 1962 Maori Welfare Act, had a twofold responsibility: first, they were expected to promote Maori economic and social development; second, they were also responsible for moving their own people to become upright citizens of 'a one New Zealand culture'.

³¹ It was Government's desire to see Maori utilise this network to encourage, assist and convince their own people to support the integration philosophy of that time period: to become 'white New Zealander' or brownskinned Pakeha. This four tiered framework began with local Maori committees, that interlinked and superseded Tribal Committees. Overseeing these were District Councils, empowered with regional authority and status by the government.

Upon studying its roots, along with the MWWL, the NZMC was often labelled a conservative pro-government organisation. It was initially government funded³² to provide a 'tamed' political voice for Maori in general. It was to replace the political vehicles of iwi, hapu and whanau. Creating this national forum for Maori to gather and discuss their concerns in a guided environment, appeared to be a unique political innovation of that time period. However, many saw it as a 'window dressing' exercise that gave Maori a semblance of power only. In other words, to appease this 'self determination' drive that Maori had actively pursued since the mid/late 1800s, government considered it a wise move to have the spokespeople of the Maori world contained within a known Pakeha dominated environment that was situated close to the government's halls of power.

This was to become an interesting paradox. In reality, the four entities espoused in the 1962 Act remained distinct from other Maori activist movements because these were enshrouded in legislation. Yet, like most of the other Maori movements of the 1800s, its national face, the NZMC, became another vehicle for redressing Maori grievances with Pakeha/Tauwiwi. At its inaugural meeting on the 28/29th of June, 1962 this Council's agenda³³ reflected a strong sense of Maori pro-activism in policy development which set the scene for race relationship interaction in the Pakeha/Tauwiwi political arena for the next 30 plus years. This was even in the face of pressure from Pakeha/Tauwiwi politicians like Ralph Hanan that pushed a paternalistic agenda. One of the most obvious advancements made by the NZMC in policy development terms was the reinstatement of 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi' as a subject for continued debate in the public political terrain. A perusal of notes from various council meetings (CM)

³² The NZMC was hamstrung financially by the government failing to adequately fund the body to fulfil the 1962 Acts requirements.

³³ The following items appeared on the NZMC's agenda: Treaty of Waitangi; Social Problems for those in urban areas; Adoption; Maori culture teachers in schools; Crime; Alienation of Maori Land; Conservation of Maori resources; Desecration of Urupa; Jury service - Maori parallel justice system; Maori unit in Defence force; More Maori news on radio. (NZMC, 1962)

and News letter (NL) displays some of the policy development activities and barriers that Council members engaged.³⁴ For example in the Report of the First New Zealand Maori Council held on the 7th of April 1964, the main item of business centered around setting up cooperation protocol with the Department of Maori affairs that did not simply mean 'rubber stamping Government proposals.

The NZMC became a point of call, a training ground for Maori academics and grass roots leaders to move on from in-house discussion around various concerns, into the public arena. It became a breeding ground for political action by those oppressed; where they cut their teeth so to speak on the interactions between the public and the State, and developed their political streetwise approach.

New Zealand Maori Wardens (NZMW)

In explaining the history of 'Pirihimanatanga or Maori policing', Fleras (1980) contended that in the 1870s, parallel Maori illustrations of law maintenance arose. For instance, during 1875, the Ringatu faith created 'marae police' who were responsible for enforcing religious observances, order, and prohibition amongst themselves. In that same year the office of Katipa was established for those living in Ratana. The prime role for someone in this office was to maintain law/lore within their communities. The Kingites also instituted a functionary policing role under their village Runanga in the 1870s. These forms of policing were 'internal social control initiatives', that had no statutory powers. In essence, these positions of enforcement were maintained through the mana of those bearing these offices and their specific relationship to those communities of which they were a part.

In 1900, the Maori Council's Act provided these Maori community policing initiatives with statutory clout, to be able to administer and

³⁴ One of the Maori Councils important functions was illustrated in Sir Turi Carroll speech to the Queen about the importance of using Te Tiriti O Waitangi as a basis to right the wrongs

enforce sanitation, traffic, and liquor control by-laws within 26 district areas determined by the Act. Fleras (1980) gives a brief insight into the real intentions of Government to use these 'marae police' as 'insider-agents of assimilation'. Its key strategy was depicted ambiguously in the wording of this Act, which was . . . to get indigenous leaders to suppress injurious customs.

In terms of 'Pirihimanatanga', by 1945 only six of the original twenty-six districts advanced by the 1900 Act, remained intact and operational. Those tribal committees, who had experienced limited powers of self determination under the 1900 Act, were emancipated by the Maori War Effort Organisation (1939 - 1944) that gave these tribal committees direct access to the national New Zealand political stage. The Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act of 1945 was to change all of this. After World War II had concluded, Government, through the 1945 Act, reclaimed parental rights to manage the natives of New Zealand. This Act effectively shut local tribal committees out of participating at higher levels of decision making when it came to dealing with Maori justice and welfare issues. Still, through this Act, these 'marae police' officially became known as 'Maori Wardens', and their prime responsibility was to reduce 'excessive drinking and regulate unruly behaviour' amongst their own people (Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act, 1945). Though these wardens were now part of the Welfare division of the Native Affairs Department, it was the function of local tribal executives to nominate and then look after them.³⁵

These wardens were effectively state employees, however, they could only work effectively in their communities if they understood the following: kinship or whanaungatanga and compassion or aroha (Fleras, 1980). In 1950 thirty-two wardens were working out of their marae. Their powers were increased under the 1951 Licensing Amendment Bill whereby they

experienced by Maori people (NZMC Newsletter, Vol. 1, no.1, September, 1963).

could seize alcohol on marae without an entry permit. The Maori Welfare Act of 1962 and its amended bill of 1963 emphasised two key points: first, it was reinforced in statute that the role and function of wardens was to prevent any breaches of law and order; and second, wardens were expected to instil respect for community values and standards. At the same time, this Act transferred responsibility for supervising these wardens from tribal executives to Maori District Councils. This was in line with government's failure to recognise the role of iwi in representing Maori interests, and an acceptance of Hunn's assessment that Maori population drifts from the rural to urban sectors had effectively changed iwi concerns into pan-Maori ones. Interestingly enough the amendments to this Act, also stressed that these wardens needed to align themselves to the police, the ministry of Transport and pan-Maori organisations. So by 1966 there were over six hundred and twenty-five Maori Wardens yet they were still unable to organise themselves as an independent national body, nor could they obtain membership in other national Maori organisations. In some ways the contradiction of meeting the needs of their communities and having to account to the State, meant that Wardens was often viewed as pawns of the State or ineffectual in terms of being social change agents, and subsequently, their own people often rejected their forms of social control.

In 1969 Maori Wardens, wanting to be an autonomous body, became an incorporated society with a ratified constitution. However, Government passed the Maori Purposes Act, on advice from the New Zealand Maori Council and this effectively transferred the control and supervision of Maori Wardens to Maori District Councils who were the local branches of the New Zealand Maori Council.

A move by the Maori Council to bring the Maori Wardens back into a Maori based orbit (Fleras, 1980: 25).

³⁵ Reimbursement of costs for these Maori Wardens, were the responsibility of Tribal Executives.

The next two organisations to be discussed were government initiated and slotted in well with the following two streams: Maori using the system; the system using Maori. The Maori Trustee (MT) appeared to be a landing place for both iwi advocates and Maori assistant gate keepers of monoculturalism. Next, a brief analysis of the Maori Affairs Department (MA) during this time period, appears.

Maori Trustees (MT)

The Mason Report (1994) reviewing Maori Trustees explained that ten Maori trust boards were set up between 1922 to 1953 under various laws passed by the New Zealand Government. One of the key tasks of these Maori Trustees was to execute the appropriate administration of compensation received after settlements were reached between the Crown and Maori complainants. The Maori Affairs Act of 1953 saw the powers of these executive trustees expand to include the right of purchase of Maori land worth less than 50 pounds without the owners consent. In other words, these Trust Boards became another agent of land alienation for Maori people. The reasoning behind the rise and acceptance of the Maori Trust Boards Act (1955)³⁶ and its focus on centralising the onus of responsibility of money acquired by the Board of Trustees along accountability lines that were familiar to Tauwi/Pakeha. These administration lines were monocultural, self serving, and individualistic. It was of no surprise that to make better provision for the administration

³⁶ The Act itself promoted these Trust boards to 'manage tribal assets for the general benefit of their beneficiaries'. To meet this expectation, they provided money directly to beneficiaries in the form of subsidies, grants or loans. Their brief was wide and incorporated promoting such things as health, social and economic welfare initiatives, education and vocational training opportunities. These again were supported by way of subsidies, grants or loans, to the individual to attend appropriate services or agencies. The option of providing direct funding to organisations/agencies who serviced their beneficiaries was also another possibility. A significant aspect to remember about these boards was that they were vehicles for government to direct funding through and had a chequered history of dealing with the poverty at their own doorsteps. Still, there were other forms of Maori Authorities and Iwi organisations, but the 1955 Act continued to set the organisational paradigms for that time period. The most crucial point however was the belief that due to the accountability line back to the Minister of Maori Affairs, infact paternalism continued influence the efforts of such organisations that were legally instituted.

of these Boards the Act emphasised that these Boards were directly responsible to the Minister of Maori Affairs who was viewed as the most likely person to look out for the welfare and wellbeing of the Trust's beneficiaries. In other words, those Maori that the Trust was servicing. Mason (1994) also points out that this style of management :

. . . was adopted by the Crown, not because it was convenient for Maori, but because it was considered impractical, impossible or undesirable for such funds to be paid directly to individuals. The Crown opted to pay compensation in the form of annuities to the tribal estate, as distinct from individual beneficiaries to avoid potential problems resulting from the fragmentation of ownership.

The adoption of the Maori Trust Board structure instead of becoming companies, charitable trust or incorporated society appealed to some iwi and pan Maori organisations because it provided 'legalised self management opportunities' around a succinct charter and clearly defined accountability structures. Infact, these Trust boards also set up separate Trusts or companies with the express purpose of expanding their operations. In reality these new entities also became indirectly accountable to the Minister of Maori Affairs.

Maori Affairs Department (MA)

The Department of Maori Affairs is another example of Maori using the system and the system using Maori. A range of legislative measures³⁷ were established to arm the Maori Affairs Department with more bite, especially after this Department nearly lost the Maori Welfare portfolio to the Maori War Effort Organisation in the 1940s. The precedence in terms of State and Maori relations emerged out of the 1945 Maori Social and Economic Development Act. The face of the Maori Affairs Department changed in the most insignificant places. At the face to face level, Maori Community Workers were experiencing what it was like working within the diverse

³⁷ The Maori Affairs Act (1953) which was subsequently amended in 1967 to the Maori Welfare Act (1962), The Maori Trust Board Act of 1955, and The Maori Purposes Act (1969) are all examples of Government flexing their political muscles around Maori Development.

realities of Maori communities, but still the Ministers of Maori Affairs in the 1960s and 1970s were Pakeha who continued to espouse the need for Maori to undertake a change towards 'Pakeha' thinking and acting. In his key note address at the inaugural conference for the MWWL, Mr E. B. Corbett - Minister of Maori Affairs in 1951, openly displayed this preference of individual wellbeing based on 'Christian' values:

I am glad that you are meeting here to help me as Minister of Maori Affairs through our welfare organisation which was set up with one purpose only - to improve the conditions of the people, to improve the standards of the individual and to bring us to that state of unity that must be the goal of all Christian people (MS Papers 1396 Folder 1 NZMWWL).

Maori Affairs were responsible for: Maori land Boards; Maori Trustees; Maori land court; Maori land development schemes; rehabilitation and training schemes. Butterworth and Young (1990: 2) reported that these responsibilities were not based on Maori becoming controllers of their own destiny.

These programmes followed the standard government model for delivering social and economic services with little recognition of Maori social structures and desire for self determination.

Finally, through the 1962 Maori Welfare Act, representatives of this Government department were responsible for making sure that the focus on iwi representation was marginalised in place of the pan-Maori organisation created by government in the form of the NZMC and its various district Maori Councils. The statutory functions were reinforced with individual and agency titles such as honorary community officers, Maori Wardens, Maori Executive Committees, District Maori Councils, and the New Zealand Maori Commission. The activities of these institutions became inter-related. They had been locally described as Pan Tribal and their kaupapa was to focus on the totality of Maori People in their catchment areas rather than on individual specific iwi.

Nga Tamatoa (NT)

The final Maori movement to be discussed in this time period, immersed itself in the stream of 'Maori working for Maori outside the system'. Though not alone in its efforts to seek Maori self determination Nga Tamatoa did impact on and influence the future direction of race relations in these various sites of contestation throughout Aotearoa. Nga Tamatoa was dismissed in certain quarters as a radical, youthful, misdirected, faddish movement, that would eventuate fizzle out. In hindsight this movement signalled to the wider uninformed masses of both Maori and Pakeha that Aotearoa had yet to deal with its own bicultural makeup. The efforts of this group were like a shot in the head or arm, depending on which side of the fence one situated oneself. It was evident that the majority of Pakeha took umbrage to this group's 'in your face' tactics about Te reo Maori. Responsiveness from Maori was more diverse. Those young, colonised Maori in Pakeha tertiary learning institutions could relate to the stories displayed about being culturally marginalised, seeking answers to identity, and discovering that being white was not all 'that it was made out to be!' Some kaumatua in response to Pakeha who had taken offence, appeared intent on pampering these oppressors, for fear of retribution. Still others, questioned themselves about current roles, power relationships, control structures between themselves and Pakeha, opting to support iwi development, conscientizing their own whanau, or even deciding to buy into developing pacts with the oppressor that would be advantageous for them and theirs. Reaction was a mixed bag, so lets observe briefly what this movement stood for. In a magazine published by the Maori Affairs Department (1952) this inkling of a rising tide of change in attitude by Maori people was evidenced by the following statement in the editorial:

In the last few years Tribal organisations and others have stimulated many Maori activities, sports, haka competitions, marae improvements, arts and crafts. In this way a true Maori world is slowly shaping itself to stand beside the Pakeha world (Te Ao Hou, 1952: 1).

Adjusting to assimilation, urban migration and marginalisation had left various whanau, hapu and iwi culturally, economically, politically, spiritually, and socially devastated, but marae had survived. That gathering point had not completely disappeared out of the cultural psyche of colonised Maori. So, gatherings (hui) for tangi and other forms of celebrations, though in adapted form for urban dwellers continued to occur. As the statement above alludes to, there was still a world outside of the 'brown skinned Pakeha mentality'. For Walker (1987), the change to integration was really an attempt by Pakeha administrators to make Maori brown - skinned Pakeha. So while Pakeha viewed that link by Maori to their traditional culture as 'other', for Maori it remained a central part of their ethos, especially on sad or happy occasions. The point made here is that this activism drew its roots from the wairua of protestation and resistance inherent in the struggles of their ancestors efforts in the 19th century. These young Maori activists were cultivated in home environments where their cultural traits still received nourishment. Furthermore, correlation of their cultural suppression could be linked to discourses to which they were exposed at Universities and Teachers Colleges. In essence, the late 1960s era of activism, was built on a combination of cultural core principles, consciousness raising, for example socialists, black, women's and indigenous discourses, plus the steady plod of contemporary Maori and iwi development initiatives. So from the tables at lunch time on campus, to official gatherings, long haired, brown brothers and sisters began to move their philosophies out into the public terrain of both Pakeha and Maori. They called themselves Nga Tamatoa (NT). The questioning had begun . . . Kaumatua and Kuia espoused 'pai te rangi marie' in attempts to soothe the emerging rifts between their rangatahi and Pakeha . . . and Pakeha/Tauiwi had no answers, just a lot of power, control and force that dominated inter-race communications in Aotearoa. Nga Tamatoa were scathing of paternalism, assimilation and integration.

This group became a gathering point for Rangatahi Maori, to develop their own political awareness and structural analysis of colonisation and the domination of Pakeha systems on Maori.

The Silent Cry

In conclusion, this poem entitled 'The Silent Cry'³⁸ outlines the battle lines set as this historical critique moves into period six entitled, '1971 - 1990 Attack and Parry, Coming Out - Our home fires burn brightly'.

³⁹'The silent . . . It's 1951, our mothers fought a royal battle, and life has lengthened some what. The lair uncovered, and still that treasure moves to 'other' hands. Utopia lures with lights of hope and passion, the catch well made, we now crowd factory places. The young are placed above but poverty respects no one and flowers wilt in silence. A pub, the bros, no car, and whanau links are shaken. Those books break shackles and youthful minds rejuvenate. Afro looks, steel eyes, and beret, yes black is beautiful and so is brown.

⁴⁰. . . cry' . . . Dialectic and teachable but who the hell is Freire? Kill those Gooks, another Kennedy lies dead, the commies are

³⁸ This poem is broken up into two parts: 'The Silent . . .' reflects the movement of Maori into a Pakeha world. Part Two ' . . . cry' is all about connecting to the wider issues of this time period that sets the scene for period six - Attack and Parry, Coming out - Our home fires burn brightly.

³⁹ Part One - Maori women engaged in the MWWL to secure the wellbeing of their offspring. Maori leaders became familiar with the Westminster form of government but our land still disappeared through the legislation passed in Parliament. The second wave of urban Maori drift occurred as whanau sought better opportunities for their children. Many of our parents ended up in working class employment environments and placed the dream of educating their children above their own wants. Cut off from whanau, being exposed to the ills of urbanisation the nurturing of our young ones suffer. The isolation met with restructuring the notion of whanau around the pub, often with limited resources and immersed in a sub culture of poverty. Unable to attend whanau, hapu and iwi hui moves the whanau further away from their cultural roots. Still pseudo whanau patterns emerge to meet their needs. Their children survive primary school, high school and enter the tertiary learning institutions. They change, they challenge and enter into cultural politics. This was not the end. . .

⁴⁰ Part two - death was a familiar trait in these time along with all forms of racism and oppression but Freire pushed this notion of entering into discourse with eyes and ears open. Vietnam, assassinations, the red, yellow scares and so on, radical right movements such as the Klu Kluk Klan were just some of the features appearing on the international scene in the mid and late 1960s. Freire talks of contestation of sites of struggle that only the oppressed really know. In this time period, South Africa were ostracised by parts of the world because of apartheid policies.

under your beds, a cross to burn out your lights, yes we're teachable.

Survival and struggle but Freire who are the real oppressors here? Mandela shuffles in solitude, no Maori in rugby scrums here. A giant step for mankind loses billions, a child's death in Bangladesh for nothing. The cries of hunger as multinationalism swings into action. Yes we're survivors.

Empowerment and knowledge, Freire can our boundaries move? Its a mixed up muddle up, shook up world, Long hair, Hendrix's, dope and sexual freedom powered by flower says no to war, And Marx claims a total picture, its all class strata and economic he says. Yes its empowering to say that we have knowledge too to offer.

Conscientization and emancipation, hey Freire - are you Maori? I cried today in my heart when I saw what was taken. I cried out aloud when I saw who took it. I cried with joy when I understood. Yes the silent cry is one of knowing that the stage was larger than just my home or backyard, but small enough to impact on me. Yes I want to be free . . .

Period Six: 1971 - 1990 Attack and Parry, Coming Out - Our home fires burn brightly

During the 1971 - 1990 period there were three Labour and two National Governments in power. The most interesting aspect of this information was the convergence of both Labour and National's economic philosophies in the latter 1980s and early 1990s. Ihimaera (1993) talks of these two decades (1971 - 1990) as being a 'major watershed' period of change in Tangata Whenua/Maori and Tauwiwi/Pakeha race relations. In 1986, while lecturing to students in the Comprehensive Nursing programme, a metaphor was used by one of the male Pakeha students to describe the emergence of this Maori political development. He said:

Maori appeared to be on a train that was racing at high speed forward, while Pakeha, as a culture were like a train that was at a stand still . . . going nowhere.

When locating that metaphor of a train, in the historical context of Aotearoa, while Maori were in cultural survival and revival mode, Pakeha/Tauiwi⁴¹ economic, social and political development still remained dominant. A 'reversal effect' occurred as this Maori cultural 'underclass' prompted the development of a critical political analysis based in part, on grievances originating back to broken promises of Te Tiriti O Waitangi. This meant that paternalism, multiculturalism and cultural labels were challenged, as mind shifting about cultural worth, occurred. The influential 'old guard',⁴² activities of 'young urban Maori',⁴³ and a general sense of 'societal disillusionment'⁴⁴ with systems that alienated Maori in social, political, economic and spiritual terms, facilitated these mind shifting processes for iwi Maori. As Fleras and Elliot (1992: 183) put it:

Maori politicization arose out of the interrelated dynamics of post-war Maori urban migration and the emergence of a Maori intelligentsia.

By the mid/late 1980s, Maori in general were demanding recognition of their tino rangatiratanga in all facets of their lives.⁴⁵ A 'Bicultural Framework' resulted, which now pushed to incorporate tikanga in Government department processes/policies⁴⁶ and 'cultural space' in all other work places. This framework also drew sustenance from Maori

⁴¹ Sinclair (1976: 1/2) wrote in summing up contact history to the 1970s, that "NZ is ruled by a White majority that has in the past one hundred and fifty years, come to dominate all aspects of social and political life . . . from an Agrarian Polynesian Chieftainship".

⁴² The likes of John Rangihau, Maori Marsden, Whina Cooper, were part of this 'old guard'.

⁴³ A number of these were influenced by international philosophies of the oppressed. They had sharpened analyses grounded in the politics of resistance and Treaty grievances of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Syd Jackson, Nga Tamatoa).

⁴⁴ Maori in general began to question the current paradigm which relegated Maori to 'brown-skinned Pakeha' status, dislocated Maori from their whenua, and continued to build on deficit understanding about Maori ills.

⁴⁵ Within Maori circles the political approaches were anything but consistent or unified. Hazelhurst (1993) in 'Political expression and ethnicity', highlights this in her analysis of the rise of the 'Maori Mana Motuhake' political party, by saying that: "Latimer's loyalties to the National Party, on the other hand, clearly reflected the conservative sentiments of his supporters in the Tai Tokerau district. Other conservative enclaves of the Maori World, such as the land-rich East and West Coast tribes and the Kingitanga regions, would also prove to be major barriers to new political alignments" (64).

'cultural reservoirs' to answer pro-deficit⁴⁷ critics of Maori processes and openly challenged Pakeha/Tauwi from within Pakeha institutions about Pakeha monoculturalism. It was also a time to reflect on the diverse realities of Maori, where some sought restitution of traditional mana whenua and mana moana resources while others continued to drive the 'we are all New Zealanders' ethos (Ihimaera, 1993). The mass majority, were often too busy just surviving, as they became face to face with devolution, retrenchment and downsizing by local industries.⁴⁸ 'Attack and parry, coming out - our home fires burn brightly', takes a candid look at these 'new/changing times' in Aotearoa by analysing key events, actors and legislation prominent in the 'politics of Maori social policy development'.

From 1971 to 1990, numerous events, key actors and specific legislation continued to effect Maori efforts to respond to welfare needs. A multi thematic approach,⁴⁹ has been taken here to understand the politics of Maori social policy and relational history in Aotearoa during these two decades. 'Activism in the 1970s and impact in the 1980s', looks at the actions of Maori people who vivaciously shook the paradigms of race relations in Aotearoa. This analysis ties a range of activities together⁵⁰ to highlight the change in attitude and action by Maori to non-Maori

⁴⁶ Their reasoning - to make these places accessible and accoun to Maori users of their services

⁴⁷ Pro-deficit critics place the blame of Maori failures in education, over representation in health or jails statistics , etc on Maori themselves and their cultural genes. For example, in the North and South December issue (1993: 28) David Simon from Wellington writes the following: "Maori . . . have made great contributions to our crime figures and health statistics. They have proven very poor parents and have not encouraged their offspring to become educated." He goes on to state that: "It comes down to what you were born with, your genes in fact. Maoris simply do not have the equipment necessary to be successful in a modern Western society today".

⁴⁸ The forestry in Murupara for instance saw many workers become redundant because of the downturn in the demand for timber on the international markets. In Hastings, Whakatu and Tomoana Freezing works had become a whanau work institution with generations employed by them. However, when these closed, whanau were devastated. It was not surprising to see grandparents, parents, and their children becoming redundant.

⁴⁹ These themes were Activism, Maori and the State, Maori dreams and aspirations, and Tauwi/Pakeha conscience.

monoculturalism. 'A Stately Affair', evaluates the relationship between the State and Maori people.⁵¹ 'Hui a Iwi, and white back pat/lash', looks at the dreams and aspiration of Maori people. 'White back pat/lash illustrates that there were both positive and negative reactions by Pakeha to Maori advocacy for self determination. A concluding section entitled 'Iwi wind patterns . . .' provides a poem to draw this analysis to a close.

Activism in the 1970s and impact in the 1980s . . .

The period of 1971 to 1979 was truly a tumultuous time, characterised by open public inter race conflicts, as Maori individuals, groups, and communities began to passionately re-enter the main stream political arena in New Zealand.⁵² For example, in 1971 Nga Tamatoa declared that celebrations on Waitangi day should be seen as a day of mourning.⁵³ From 1970 to 1972 a group of concerned Maori in Nelson drew together information about the inequalities suffered by Maori being processed through the justice system.⁵⁴ In 1972, Te Hemara, on behalf of Maori primary school educators, took a petition to Parliament which advocated for Te Reo Maori to be taught in primary schools. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, many white historical commentators saw the defeat of those 'Taranaki Ploughmen' as indicative of the fall from grace of Maori culture in New Zealand. However, in 1973 more than 50,000 Maori returned to their roots in Parihaka, reflecting the growth and rise in Te Whiti and

⁵⁰ For example, those rugby contacts with South Africa (in the 1970s and 1980s), the land marches (1975 and through the 1980s), occupation of Bastion point (1978/79) and Raglan (1979), the 'haka incident' at Auckland University in 1979, to name a few.

⁵¹ For instance, the change in focus of the Maori Affairs Department to community involvement and its demise through devolution in the mid/late 1980s receives attention

⁵² Sullivan (in Miller, 1997: 366) comments that: "Following the postwar years of rapid urbanisation, new and assertive political organisations emerged. These included the Maori Organisation on Human Rights, Nga Tamatoa, He Taua, Te Matakite, the Waitangi Action Committee, Mana Motuhake, Te Kotahitanga and Te Ahi Kaa. Many of their protest activities were concerned with tribal land issues".

⁵³ Argued that Waitangi was not being upheld so why celebrate it. The amount of grievances held by iwi Maori because of broken Treaty promises, suggested that it was more like a day of mourning instead of celebration.

⁵⁴ Known as Sutherland's Nelson Maori committee with such people as John Hippolite on it, the key task they worked on was the whole issue of 'financial assistance' for Maori going through the justice system - legal aid (Walker in the Listener, 1987: 89).

Tohu's seed. What also bore fruit at this time was the ushering in of a self-supporting belief that 'Maori cultural tenets', were here to stay. Sports were also exposed as a cultural contestation place in 1974,⁵⁵ at the same time that Maori teachers began training to teach Te Reo Maori in secondary schools. Although in some government policies Te Tiriti O Waitangi was acknowledged as the founding document of New Zealand, the Maori public prompted by the efforts of Te Ropu Matakite and led by Whina Cooper, still decided to march⁵⁶ from Te Hapua/Northland to Poneke/Wellington, to mark their concern about two key issues: first, the landlessness plight of Maori and second, the continual struggles by Maori to avert their own cultural losses (Butterworth & Young, 1990). Their efforts made both national and international headlines.

A notable outcome was that 'harmonious race relations' built on the 'egalitarian ethos', said to have existed in New Zealand, was exposed for the deception⁵⁷ that it was. In the same year Maori educationalists introduced a 'taha Maori'⁵⁸ component into New Zealand school curriculums. Throughout this time period, second and third generation Maori born in the urban environment sought out various sodalities.⁵⁹ Joining league/football clubs, cultural performing arts groups, pub patronage and even gangs⁶⁰ appeared to be a normal response by Maori struggling with cultural isolation in Pakeha/Tauwi dominated urban

⁵⁵ The Petone rugby club were brought into public light when one of their players was refused entry into South Africa because of his skin colour/cultural makeup (Winitana, McGregor, Walker, Pikari, Kahukiwa, 1985).

⁵⁶ As Sharp (1990) contended, this hikoi or land march of 1975 became a symbolic gesture by both Maori and Pakeha. For Maori, it was like 'coming out of the closet' to contest about their grievances. For Pakeha, it was like being hit in the eyes by a four by two, as they came to a point of change about Maori - Pakeha contact relations.

⁵⁷ This deception maintained social, economic and political advantages for Pakeha/Tauwi at the expense of Maori/Tangata Whenua wellbeing.

⁵⁸ This 'taha Maori' component had a life span from '1975-1989'. It was also known as 'cultural appreciation time'. Often it suffered being watered down by Pakeha teachers who felt forced to include it in their programmes.

⁵⁹ Hopa (1977) in her thesis on 'Urban Maori Sodalities', explained that sodalities were types of support groupings. A club, even being part of a union were some of the networks that Maori used to cope outside of whanau, hapu and iwi support units.

communities. Maori also began to write about their struggles in this Pakeha/Tauiwi dominated, 'monocultural society'. Rangihau (in King, 1975), Mahuta (in King, 1978), Pere (1985, 1984, 1982) and others, gave legitimacy to 'Maori philosophical frameworks'⁶¹. These began to be published along side Pakeha interpretations of New Zealand realities.⁶²

This became a reality, from 1977 through to the end of 1979, as several traumatic experiences rocked the comfort zones of all New Zealand citizens. Tangata Whenua iwi based resistance advocates began to flex their political power. First, was the occupation of Bastion Point (1977-1978) which lasted for 506 days. Ngati Whatua experienced the birth pains of contestation within their own ranks as they strove to deal with an assortment of hidden agenda about compensation for tribal land which had been systematically stripped from them by local and central statutory bodies. Ngati Whatua grievances spilt over into the national public arena and culminated in the removal of themselves and their supporters, by police and army personnel on the 25th of May 1978.⁶³ Robert Muldoon's National Government was to face yet another occupation in 1978 by Eva Rickard and her whanau at Raglan. Both incidents reflected a twofold development: first, there appeared to be a definite rising tension between the interests of iwi Maori and the State;⁶⁴ and second, Maori whanau, hapu and iwi social structures were indeed a force to be reckoned with. The

⁶⁰ The emergence of the Maori gang chapters of the 1970s is an epitaph of the fact that some of our youth ended up being victims of the Maori migration and suburbanised dream. Gang regalia and its colours reflected the time and mood of alienated Maori Youth.

⁶¹ Another significant outcome of these writings was the push to recognize again the centrality of iwi tino rangatiratanga over pan tribal organisations, in the development of a 'Maori political orientation', to deal with Maori wellbeing issues.

⁶² Michael King in 1975 compiled an assortment of Maori writers materials into book form and entitled it 'Te Ao Marama: Aspects of Maoritanga'.

⁶³ Aside from the inhouse debates that Ngati Whatua experienced around Bastion Point, another unique part of this time period was the rising influence of leftist leaning white middle class liberals on the face of national politics in New Zealand. Pakeha support of the occupation dented the image of normality voiced by Muldoon and his National government colleagues. The Labour federation of unions also blacklisted any attempts to dislodge Ngati Whatua protestors. Consequently, the State reverted to their own forces - police and army - to do the dismantling.

⁶⁴Paternalism struggling with the rise of iwi te tino rangatiratanga.

Haka Taua^{65 66} incident of 1979 add to the animosity between Maori and Pakeha. It was not just a conflict or fight between the State and iwi Maori any more. Like a wedge, it moved the contestation boundaries wider afield to encompass all New Zealanders and left a clear message to non-Maori that their Treaty partners were 'coming out' with an assortment of strategies to change the political, social and economic power dynamics in Aotearoa.

Of significant importance was the role that the media played in recording and reporting all of these traumatic events. Often, the media has been responsible for upholding the status quo in race relationship patterns between Maori and Pakeha on the one hand, while also being a source of facilitation of critical dialogue for change, on the other. As in the case of the 'Haka Taua incident', both the Auckland Star and New Zealand Herald vilified Maori for not being able to 'take a joke',⁶⁷ while the New Zealand Listener and Dominion began to question the existing race relations paradigm and looked at the role Pakeha people played in maintaining adverse monocultural situations, that continued to negatively affect race relations in Aotearoa (Hazelhurst, 1988). These cross cultural protests in the mid and late 1970s impacted heavily on the nature of appeasement strategies in the 1980s. One of the overriding influences that spurred on this 1980s Maori renaissance, was the way in which historical modern

⁶⁵ On the 1st of May 1979 at 9.40 am about 20-25 Nga Tamatoa members and their allies used physical force to stop a practice by engineering students who were preparing for their annual capping item which included mockery of a Maori haka. This action occurred only after the concerns expressed by Maori groups and individuals condemning the antics of those engineering students were deemed fine by University leadership of the time.

⁶⁶ Cleave (1989) saw the Haka Taua incident as another example of contemporary cross cultural flash points that could be equated to 'the adolescent growing and developing pains' that this bicultural South Pacific Nation called New Zealand was going through in the 1900s. Rebellion, protestation, becoming true partners was the nature of this adolescent growing pains.

⁶⁷ As Hazelhurst (1988: 11) pointed out, "Maori were accused, in various newspapers, of being 'immature', 'unable to take a joke' and 'unable to laugh at themselves'. That they were over sensitive, and had over reacted to a harmless situation, and that this Maori-initiated violence might provoke a Pakeha 'backlash'.

revisionism⁶⁸ became the so called orthodox explanation of past relational history between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi.

The actions of Maori individuals, whanau and communities during this second decade illustrated a desire to regenerate Maori institutions to deal with political, economic, social and spiritual needs expressed by Maori. Subsequently, in 1980, Matiu Rata's political star moved out of Labour⁶⁹ and he formed what was to become known as the Maori Mana Motuhake Party.⁷⁰ In the latter part of the 1970s, while a bilingual primary school was run in the Uruwera,⁷¹ there was an expressed concern about the lack of pre-school Maori learning facilities. After trips overseas to evaluate other indigenous peoples struggles with maintaining their native tongue, a pilot scheme called 'Te Kohanga Reo' or language nest, was run by urban Maori in Wainuiomata (1981). Its main aim was to counter the loss of Te Reo Maori for younger generations. In this same year, Maori who actively opposed racism and oppression established alliances with HART,⁷² While displaying sympathy for the plight of 'Blacks' in South Africa, Maori activists were not slow to capitalise on the contradiction evident in unequal power relations right here in Aotearoa, between Maori and Pakeha. Subsequently, the Waitangi Action committee, gathered together over 3000 protesters at Waitangi, in Northland. The far left wing of this

⁶⁸ By the 1980s what was once a new and revisionist history was the established orthodoxy. At the origins of modern revisionism were, Keith Sinclair (1976), MPK Sorrenson (1977; 1975), Alan Ward (1973; 1967), Judith Binney (1986; 1980; 1969), James Belich (1986), Claudia Orange (1989; 1987) and others.

⁶⁹ His departure from Labour occurred after his party/government was slow to respond to Maori concerns devolving real power and authority to Maori people. His own assertiveness on Kaupapa Maori influenced this shift along with the responsibility spear heading Ngapuhi Treaty of Waitangi claims.

⁷⁰ Maori Mana Motuhake translates to mean Maori taking charge, being in control and having power to decide. The Maori Mana Motuhake party emerged as Maori recognised the limitations that being in political parties of the white majority placed on their desires to be controllers of their own destinies. Interestingly enough, it pushed within the political system to obtain those desires.

⁷¹ A Tuhoehoe promoted initiative.

⁷² HART was the result of an orchestrated effort by middle ground New Zealanders to voice their distaste of South African apartheid policies by strongly protesting against the South African Football tour in New Zealand in 1981.

body let their cries of 'the Treaty is a Fraud',⁷³ resonate as a type of calling card. A significant point to remember is that the Waitangi Action committee began to enter into alliances with non Maori protest movements, as well as with iwi interest groups.⁷⁴

Another stepping stone on from 'Maori philosophical paradigms' that occurred in 1981, was Awatere's⁷⁵ article in *Broadsheet*, espousing 'Maori Sovereignty'.⁷⁶ While revisionist historians⁷⁷ attempted to balance the books by placing a Maori perspective of contact history into print, this particular article introduced a new brand of politics that blew the 'one New Zealander ethos and deficit theories' out of the political waters. Awatere and colleagues⁷⁸ built their analyses on debates about the effects of colonisation on the soul, mind, body and resources of *Tangata Whenua* by *Tauiwi*.

In 1984, there were many Maori initiated projects to respond to the needs of their own whanau, hapu and iwi. In this same year, Maori cultural pride and self confidence received a major boost with the successful exhibition of *Te Maori* in the United States of America. It would also be safe to argue that from 1984 through into the mid 1990s 'Te Tiriti O Waitangi' became a major support pad for a desire to be Maori, a rise in Maori activism and Pakeha adjustment to these new times. A national hui preceding *Hui Taumata*, was held at *Turangawaewae* where

⁷³ In this context, 'fraud' reflected Maori claims that Treaty principles were not being adhered to, so why celebrate its signing on Waitangi Day if that was the case.

⁷⁴ In 1982, to support their efforts at Waitangi they elicited support from the *Tainui Confederation of Tribes - Kingitanga*, which was highly successful.

⁷⁵ Donna Awatere represented the 'youthful rebellious' factions of well educated urban Maori young adults, brought up on 'black ideology', who actively pursued the conscientization of their own people and were prepared to enter into ideological and political battles with *Tauiwi/Pakeha* about past injustices experienced by Maori.

⁷⁶ Awatere (1983: 38) stated that: "Maori sovereignty is the Maori ability to determine our own destiny and to do so from the basis of our land and fisheries. In essence, Maori sovereignty seeks nothing less than the acknowledgement that New Zealand is Maori land, and further seeks the return of that land".

⁷⁷ See foot note 22 on this Chapter.

⁷⁸ These young activists knew they were facilitating cross cultural paradigm changing and began to openly share their experiences about their own Maori identity development with the wider Maori public.

representatives of hapu, iwi and Maori organisations met to discuss the positionality of Te Tiriti O Waitangi in reforming race relations in Aotearoa. Hui Taumata⁷⁹ provided another public forum for Maori to continue to verbalise their considerations about future economic, political and social development of iwi Maori. Not only did Maori gather often amongst themselves to discuss, debate and inform themselves about Te Tiriti O Waitangi and being equal partners with the State, but they also ended up becoming the most consulted indigenous people in the world. Reports galore emerged in the latter part of the 1980s and early 1990s (Rice, 1992; Spoonley, P et al, 1991). These will be covered in the next part named 'A Stately Affair'. Suffice to say that Maori people became conversant with Pakeha legislative processes, political game playing with interpretative skills to project possible outcomes and research protocol plus documentation, from their own face to face experiences in consultation with the State. These skills moved from so called 'specific few' to wider 'whanau masses'. Even when the share market crashed in 1987, Maori already over represented in 'working class', were still positive about their own options for securing responsibility to look after their own. Much of this mentality was advocated by politicians who saw the virtues of 'devolution'. Some Maori whanau, became intoxicated with notions of self determination espoused by new right philosophies, without considering all the resourcing issues.⁸⁰

Effectively, the latter 1980s saw Maori move into a common political base that in the early 1980s was considered the privy of 'young Maori radicals' only. This 'known common ground'⁸¹ became the basic orthodox ideology for Maori political thought in general. So, such statements as:

⁷⁹ More will be said about 'Hui Taumata' in Part 3 entitled 'Hui a Iwi and white back pat/lash'.

⁸⁰ In other words, these options were usually underfunded, but because Maori were keen to work for their own, they often 'went in boots and all' without considering all the costs.

⁸¹ The new orthodox position underpinning this common political base stated: that Maori were Tangata Whenua or the indigenous people of New Zealand and that Tau-iwi/Pakeha were part of a bipolity since contact; that Te Tiriti O Waitangi guaranteed Maori sovereign rights in Aotearoa; that non Maori, through Te Tiriti O Waitangi were recognized; that Te

Te mana wairua, te mana whenua, te mana tangata me tuku iho ki a tatou e nga matua e nga tupuna⁸² (Hei Korero mo Waitangi, 1985: 1).

. . . became the flavour of the day as Maori tribal leaders won injunctions against the Crown in the fisheries debacle and challenged Government's efforts to sell State owned enterprises in 1987. On February the 6th 1990 at Waitangi, Reverend Whakahuihui Vercoe raised in front of Sovereign English royalty, the claim that Maori had effectively been shut out of enjoying the fruits of prosperity and modernisation by Pakeha. A presumption he made was that no amount of pomp and ceremonial fanfare could substitute for the pain and suffering Maori experienced at the hands of their Treaty partner - the Crown. A stocktake of Maori efforts to secure tino rangatiratanga was evident amongst most iwi Maori. However, each iwi had its own story to tell about the various challenges they faced in their walk towards self determination. Urban Maori authorities were also becoming a prominent representative body for many Maori who were unfamiliar with and far from their iwi roots. Their initial mandate was based around responding to the calls for help and assistance by those Maori who had ventured into the cities during the various urban drift migrations of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s.

On the 7th of July 1990, 37 tribes plus a range of Maori organisations were represented at a hui on Turangawaewae. This led to the establishment of a national 'Maori Congress'⁸³ on the 14th of July, 1990. The change in approach from creating centralised decision-making bodies to represent Maori interests, to looking at a national coordinating, networking

Tiriti O Waitangi is a symbol which reflects Te Mana Maori Motuhake; that Pakeha needed to be made account for broken promises; that redress needed to occur to stop the continual effects of colonisation on Maori people.

⁸² Our values and beliefs have been handed down to us by our parents and ancestors. These are invaluable and enrich our overall wellbeing.

⁸³Durie (in Miller, 1997) provides an historical analysis of the birth of Te Whakakotahitanga o Nga Iwi o Aotearoa. He emphasized that the initial thrust made by Sir Hēpi Te Heuheū, Dame Te Atairangikaahu and Mrs Te Reo Hura (Tuwharetoa, Tainui, Ratana) to bring iwi Maori together led to its establishment. The National Maori congress was a timely initiative that focused on parallel iwi development instead of the current

environment where iwi could dialogue with other iwi across the motu had limited success,⁸⁴ as particular iwi were in the final throes of securing their own 'compensation for broken treaty promises'. Money or a lack of it, appeared to become a major divisive tool that split Maori on iwi lines, then into factions within iwi.

The urban drift of the 1950s/60s meant that the 1970s and 1980s was a time when Maori rural communities diminished in size and lost a lot of their influence in terms of exercising healing and support of their own who had now shifted into the cities (Metge, 1995). These second generation urban Maori were street wise and had been exposed to Pakeha education processes and systems. Evidence of their brazenness was well recorded by Winitana et al (1985: 36) as follows:

In the 70s and 80s the Maori has found the same pleasure in calling whites 'Honky'. This turn around is a credit to the 'Black is beautiful philosophy that gave conscience to the oppressed people, the spirit to reject such things as the 'Hori' myth.

A Stately Affair . . .

The State's role in moulding race relations patterns between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi has been studied in these two decades through three key phases: phase one (1971 - 1975); phase two (1976 - 1983; phase three (1984 - 1990).

Prior to phase one (1971 - 1975) party politics was influential in setting the agenda for welfare approaches,⁸⁵ even though Maori welfare interests

mainstream approach where a Maori perspective and people were incorporated into government departments.

⁸⁴ Because of the kawa of tino rangatiratanga - individual iwi were not compelled to discuss and debate issues. As history shows, Ngai Tahu not only withdraw from debate, they also left the Congress. Durie (in Miller, 1997) compares this Congress to Paremata with the addition that it had the full support of Tainui. Paremata was not supported by Tainui in the 1890s. They had their own Kauhanganui then.

⁸⁵ The National Government was instrumental in continuing to consolidate the statutory responsibilities of the State for dealing with the wellbeing of families as illustrated in the passing of the Department of Social Welfare Act (1971). Though ousted by Labour in the 1972 elections, the Department of Social Welfare was established.

remained predominantly a 'Maori Affairs' issue. Matiu Rata's⁸⁶ efforts to harness Maori opinion led to an amendment of the Maori Affairs Act in 1974 and establishing the Waitangi Tribunal Act of 1975. This was viewed as a toothless tiger because claims laid before it could not be retrospective to 1840 and Parliament was not duty bound to pass its recommendations. However, it did bring the importance of Te Tiriti O Waitangi to the general public's notice in legislative form. Though the Maori Affairs Department was left with the entire Maori brief⁸⁷ a change in department personnel was occurring.⁸⁸

Phase Two (1976 - 1983) reflected 'conflict and change'. For example, Muldoonism politics⁸⁹ of the mid/late 1970s continued a State driven history of quick fixes, demonstrated by the introduction of the Domestic Purposes Benefit (1973), Accident Compensation Scheme (1973) and the National Superannuation Scheme (1976). Rice (1992: 484) identified this approach as follows:

... Social policy in the 1970s and early 1980s continued to be pragmatic and *ad hoc* rather than driven by an single ideology or political agenda.

Oliver (1988) also contended that the role of the State changed significantly from providing welfarism support to being interventionist by nature. This was compounded by global effects on New Zealand's economy as the World War II boom petered out. Unemployment hit an all time low, and

⁸⁶ Matiu Rata was given the Maori Affairs and Land portfolios by Prime Minister Norm Kirk after Labours win at the 1972 elections (Sunday News - July 27, 1997).

⁸⁷ In an article entitled 'D-Day' (NZ Listener, July 9th, Pp. 28 - 31. 1988), P. Whaanga stated, "Kua pau te hau a te tari Maori, Koro and Tamati Reedy ma have been exhausted by having to meet all the needs that the other 30 or so departments should have been meeting. The department has had little to say in how other departments responded to Maori needs in Employment, Social Welfare and other services and could only transfer this on" (30).

⁸⁸ Maori community workers and Maori administrative backup staff began to seep into that department as non Maori departed for greener pastures. Furthermore, it also must be said that in 1980, while still under a National government, a unique situation arose. Ben Couch (Maori Affairs Minister), Kara Puketapu (Secretary of Maori Affairs) and Eddie Durie (Chief Judge of the Maori Land Court and ex officio Chairman of the Waitangi Tribunal) were all Maori.

National government responded by supporting 'think big' projects. Often, as was the case with Motunui⁹⁰ on the Taranaki Coast line, Government seemed unconcerned about Maori rights.⁹¹ This pattern⁹² of riding shot gun over Maori interests was a characteristic of the 1970s and Maori opposition appeared to strengthen as iwi Maori began to use Pakeha systems of redress for their grievances against the State. As a public servant Kara Puketapu, the Under Secretary for Maori Affairs (1977 - 1983) began to proselyte a 'tutanga policy - based on Whakawhiti⁹³' (Boston et al, 1991), geared towards harnessing the economic, political and cultural resources and strengths, at their disposal, for the benefit of Maori people. The Marae Enterprise schemes (1977) was a prime example of this and also coincided with the re-emergence of marae, as Maori began searching for their 'roots' which ultimately linked people to their rural or newly created urban marae complexes. One of the feathers in the cap of this National Government administration was the 1983 launching of Maatua Whangai - A Maori initiative in response to concern for Maori children in Department of Social Welfare foster care. This attempt to introduce a Maori support approach was also adopted by the New Zealand Justice Department. However, Pakeha statutory workers were less than enthusiastic about implementing things of which they had no working

⁸⁹ Political and personal bullying/bullocking appeared to be the strategy that one attaches to the efforts of Muldoon led National from the mid 1970s to the early 1980s.

⁹⁰ Walker (in Deeks and Perry, 1992: 107) points out that in 1983 Maori were using the political system to contest government think big plans: "Aila Taylor of Te Atiawa won a judgement from the Waitangi Tribunal against the discharge of effluent into the sea from the Motunui synfuels plant in Taranaki".

⁹¹ Consequently, traditional shell fish beds and fishing grounds were destroyed. Government considered that revenue generated from this and similar think big projects, would far out weigh the inconvenience to local iwi Maori.

⁹² Government actions surrounding Bastion point and the Raglan golf course occupations resulted from legislative strategies such as the 1977 Reserves Act, which updated the 1877 Public Reserves Act re-emphasized the rights of government sponsored bodies to commandeer wasteful Maori reserve or unused/unproductive land using as its brief, 'in the public interest'. These prime examples of 'pig headedness' [excuse the pun] attitudes held by Pakeha politicians who continued to think in monocultural self serving ways.

⁹³ As O'Reilly and Wood contend, this philosophy of Tutanga: ". . . saw the development of community based programmes, notably Kohanga Reo . . . and kokiri centres. Also a number of social services, such as Maori Access and Maatua Whangai were transferred to Maori communities, and resources invested in policies to integrate Maori into the small business

knowledge. Certain quarters of Maoridom, though acknowledging that Maori clients were the beneficiaries of these efforts, still believed that it was nothing more than a tokenistic gesture by government, in light of the under resourcing this initiative received.

Phase three entitled 'Consultation, the freedom facade of devolution and death' (1984 - 1990) provided the Labour party with two 'power sittings' in Parliament as the fourth and fifth Labour Government's of New Zealand. Koro Wetere, was the new Minister of Maori Affairs⁹⁴ who facilitated the Hui Taumata in 1984 at the beginning of his term in office. Social services also came under scrutiny during this time for two reasons: first, Labour emphasised that solid economic and fiscal policies needed to be put in place before social policies could be addressed in any meaningful way. Secondly, the expectation that Labour would honour its manifesto pledge to recognise Te Tiriti O Waitangi left Maori and others contemplating an exciting, innovative period of landmark decision making based on community consultation and participation.

The Nelson based Sutherland group's (1970 - 72) work on legal aid for Maori, was followed by a report⁹⁵ on institutional racism in the Department of Social Welfare that changed public expectations about statutory agency accountability, consultation and transparency. An overview of the Department of Social Welfare was instigated in 1985 and culminated in the publishing of the 1986 Puaoteatatu report.⁹⁶ The implications of its findings could literally be transferred across all Government departments.

sector through such initiatives as Mana Enterprises and the Maori Development Corporation" (in Boston et al, 1991: 323).

⁹⁴ His public servant secretary of Maori Affairs was Tamati Reedy of Ngati Porou descent.

⁹⁵ The Auckland DSW Maori Advisory unit internally set up in 1984/85 wrote this report.

⁹⁶ After wide consultation with Maori communities in Aotearoa, this report clarified three faces of racism and challenged the DSW to acknowledge its own institutional racism. Other aspects of this report included, an analysis of the roots of dependency for Maori, State intervention, Paternalism and so forth. It finds expression today in our atrocious levels of social dependency.

At around the same time period, changes to the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1986) gave the Tribunal powers to hear claims arising before 1975. This meant that Maori could lodge claims dating back to the signing of Te Tiriti O Waitangi. The Treaty also became an intrinsic part of the new wave political psyche in the mid 1980s as its appearance in policies, organisational vision/mission statements, charters and so on, became evident.⁹⁷ Biculturalism⁹⁸ became a framework around which agencies formulated their policy around.

The fourth Labour Government of the mid 1980s gave much promise in terms of redressing Maori grievances and stepped up the tempo regarding 'Biculturalism'. Consultation lines were constantly in use as Government monitored the pulse of Maori communities on issues ranging from Maori fisheries,⁹⁹ social policies,¹⁰⁰ health sector reorganisation,¹⁰¹ Social welfare,¹⁰² to Maori Affairs.¹⁰³

'Biculturalism' was also linked to 'Devolution' which pushed the view that communities could facilitate their own appropriate solutions. Consequently, this 'taking over' of statutory departmental functions by

⁹⁷ For Hopa (1988: 6) this rise in Treaty awareness had shallow roots: . . . "Maori activism of the 70s, generated largely in urban settings aimed to rise the national conscience to the unequal status of Maori people resulting from breaches of the treaty and policies of amalgamation - assimilation which had eroded their self conception. The results have seen a Maori cultural renaissance the politicisation of which has led some government departments to introduce tokenistic Maori perspectives into their operations, and for the education system to follow suit in making provision for Taha Maori - language and aspects of Maori culture - in school curriculum".

⁹⁸ Biculturalism recognized the relationship between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi and used as its foundation the principles of partnership, participation, and protection from Te Tiriti O Waitangi.

⁹⁹ Walker (in Deeks and Perry, 1992) described the case of Tom Te Weehi who was taken to court for having undersized paua in his possession. Judge Williamson from the High Court ruled in his favour, based on the Maori Fisheries Act (1983) section 88 which stated that 'nothing in the Act shall affect any Maori fishing rights'.

¹⁰⁰ Royal Commission on Social Policy (1986).

¹⁰¹ A Taskforce on Hospitals and Related Services (1988) - the Gibbs Report, recommended major changes to hospital services, administration systems and management structures.

¹⁰² Ministerial Advisory Committee (1986) Report entitled 'Puaoteatatu', placed the Department of Social Welfare under the microscope - it indeed featured institutional racism.

¹⁰³ The 1985 Ministerial Review Team chaired by Denise Henare and set up to review the roles and functions of Maori Affairs.

communities was thrust into the political arena by the Roger Douglas during the 5th Labour governments reign.¹⁰⁴ His leaning to 'new right'¹⁰⁵ monetary philosophies blurred the political demarcations between National and Labour parties. Downsizing statutory operations and radical changes in various social service sectors¹⁰⁶ demanded a creative and innovative spirit during these new times. It also meant that there were an array of learning ridges¹⁰⁷ that Maori needed to negotiate. With government's introduction of Individual Transfer Quotas (ITQ) in the fishing industry (1986) Maori became embroiled in battles about Article Two of Te Tiriti O Waitangi.¹⁰⁸ Likewise, suggestions to devolve Maori Affairs¹⁰⁹ were purposely targeted by the media in 1986/7 after Maori Affairs attempted to secure funding from Hawaii¹¹⁰ to help with Maori Development initiatives.

¹⁰⁴ Although Labour won in the 1987 election, the usual convention is to describe the whole of the 1984-1990 period as the Fourth Labour Government.

¹⁰⁵ New right philosophies echoed the belief that community involvement would usher in Iwi self determination. In ideological terms 'freedom to participate' appeared to be secondary to 'freedom of personal choice'. Essentially, this meant that those individuals who had personal wealth could purchase from the market place whatever services they needed. Those who could ill afford these services ended up on large waiting lists that were forever being reevaluated 'in financial terms'. The freedom to participate did not necessarily mean that resources were forthcoming.

¹⁰⁶ The Mason Report on Mental Health argued for community based support agencies that could tap into the patients own families, above institutional support provided by Lake Alice and the like.

¹⁰⁷ In 1987 the occupation of Tauranga Town Hall was evidence that interactions between Maori and Pakeha in this so called race relations honeymoon phase, were not always congenial. The issue again evolved around mana whenua and broken Treaty promises.

¹⁰⁸ Walker (in Deeks and Perry, 1992) explained that in October of 1987 the Maori council, Tainui Trust Board, Ngai Tahu Trust Board and other tribes, filed an injunction in the High Court to suspend ITQ as Government rolled the 50% claim back to 10%. At the same time, there was unprecedented opposition from Pakeha/Tauiwai: The following registered their opposition which ultimately led to the Government withdrawing their Maori Fisheries Bill in 1988: Fishing Industry Board led by Deputy Chairman Fred Baird; President of Fishing Industry Association led by David Anderson; Secretary of the Federation of Commercial Fishermen led by Peter Stevens; Sharefishermens association led by Sean McCann; Recreational Fishing Council; President of Federation of Commercial Fishing - Bob Martin. When Fletcher Fishing worth (\$200 million) threatened to withdraw from the market that was the last straw.

¹⁰⁹ The 1985 Ministerial Review continued to push for the same outcome that was articulated at Hui Taumata - for devolution of Maori Affairs to iwi Maori.

¹¹⁰ Known as the Hawaii Loan affair, in 1986 Tamati Reedy (then Secretary of Maori Affairs) started to negotiate with Hawaiian businessmen to obtain an off shore loan of \$600 million to kick start large Maori Business development. In hindsight, it was political suicide because this was done without approval from Roger Douglas (Minister of Finance)

Devolution of Maori Affairs was preempted in 1988 by two Government sponsored discussion papers,¹¹¹ and in 1989 the Maori Affairs Restructuring Act was passed, which effectively meant that Maori Affairs was no more. At the same time, results of extensive consultation with the New Zealand public saw the emergence in 1989 of the Children Young Persons and their Families Act.¹¹² In social service circles, this Act recognized the positive impact whanau hui would have on decision making and healing for whanau in crises. On a positive note, the rise in iwi Runanga Trusts or Incorporated Societies suggested that Maori communities were keen to take on responsibilities to care for and look after their own. Pan tribal organisations such as Te Waipareira and the Manukau Urban Maori Authority, appeared to fill the gap for 'whanau mokemoke'¹¹³ who lived in urban environments. This change over did not mean that Maori were automatically better off. The Maori train was indeed travelling at high speeds through the 1980s, but susceptibility to

and Treasury. After this information was linked to the media, Kelsey (1993: 250) explained that the media and other politicians had a field day kicking Maori around like a political football in the following manner: ". . . [they] portrayed the 'Maori loan affair' as typical of Maori commercial naivety and incompetence." But then she went on to say that: ". . . the attempt to secure funding off shore, however imprudent, was a consequence of the government's refusal to establish a Maori Development bank with sufficient resources to back larger scale Maori Economic Development. More importantly, the amount of the loan was minuscule in comparison to the hundreds of millions of taxpayers dollars wasted by the BNZ in the 1987 share market crash.

¹¹¹ In 1988 two papers from Government, were distributed to Maori people for discussion. These were called 'He Tirohanga Rangapu: He whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro - Partnership Perspectives' (April, 1988) and 'Te Urupare Rangapu: Te Rarangi Kaupapa - Partnership Response' (November, 1988). Here we see a pattern where the disappearance of the Department of Maori Affairs was inevi, yet government still wanted to give the impression that they had consulted widely. Another major contradiction was that from the 1960s to 1989 Maori were finally experiencing a range of positive supports from Maori Affairs. Yet most of its departmental history was about taking land and resources from Maori people. Even in its death throes, certain Maori communities rallied around to fight the inevitable.

¹¹² This Act, again a product of extensive consultation placed a premium on the place of whanau in healing. Considered by some to be quite a radical step in social welfare, it supported the use of family group conferences and whanau coming together to participate in decisions and strategies to support their own whanau members who were being institutionalised.

¹¹³ Whanau mokemoke, are those families isolated from their heritage roots (Bradley, 1994).

fraudulent behaviour,¹¹⁴ the emergence of a blue blood line demanding the best,¹¹⁵ corporate legal warriors¹¹⁶ charging exuberant fees, left the Maori idealists and radicals alike groping for new high ground to clarify the battle lines as Government moved to consolidate their own political spaces within the Treaty parameters, they set themselves.¹¹⁷ Just prior to the 1990 elections, Labour passed a Runanga Iwi Act, which legislated three key things: first, the essential characteristics of an iwi were identified; second, rules for incorporation and operation of iwi authorities were compiled; third, procedures for resolution of conflicts with iwi was attempted (O'Reilly and Wood, in Boston et al, 1991). However, when National came into power that same year, this statute was repealed¹¹⁸ and Winston Peters (the new Maori Affairs Minister) set about making 'Ka Awatea'¹¹⁹ - or new dawn', the platform for Maori development in the 1990s. However, with Ruth Richardson as the new Minister of Finance, the emphasis of reducing State involvement in all public sectors meant that she and Peters were on a collision course. Amidst these changes in

¹¹⁴ For Kahungunu, the 'strawberry patch' will always bring up memories of either 'financial mismanagement' or entrepreneurial wizardry.

¹¹⁵ Blue blood was about the way in which whakapapa was used to link into Maori aristocracy lines. It vindicates the belief that gender and class analyses of Maori intra relationships still needed addressing.

¹¹⁶ The rise in Maori lawyers involved in settlements and money making endeavours suggests that Maori traditional litigation processes are a thing of the past. These corporate legal warriors postulate capitalism.

¹¹⁷ Kelsey (1993) explains how Treasury produced a document in 1989 called 'Principles of Crown Action on the Treaty of Waitangi. This was a belated attempt to assert some control over Maori expectations to underpin negotiations. It clearly identified Kawanatanga as Government's sovereign right and then pressed home three key themes of participation, partnership and protection emerging from the Treaty. Also introduced the notion of reasonable consultation. Formulating this document involved, getting 1 Maori consultant to write up the report, 7 Maori Kaumatua met with representatives of Govt. Treasury, then a letter was sent out to all iwi, about its existence.

¹¹⁸ The Iwi Runanga Act was viewed as a Labour Government direction. At change in Governments, National were keen to rid themselves of Labour sponsored initiatives. This Act was one such casualty. Furthermore, in their manifesto for the elections Winston Peters had used his own think tank group to promote Ka Awatea.

¹¹⁹ Ka Awatea enforced the replacement of Manatu and ITA with a new Ministry of Maori development. Its key focus was to push education to the front of Maori development. However, it was also about consolidating the affairs of Maori into a bureaucracy that was counter to the ideology of the new right.

Government the influence of 'Biculturalism' was demonstrated throughout the health,¹²⁰ justice¹²¹ and welfare¹²² sectors.

Hui a Iwi, and white back pat/lash...

In this subsection I address two main tasks. The first task is to provide a brief overview of Hui Taumata (1984), sum up the direction of other hui a iwi, and give a personal illustration of Maori coming out in this decade. The second task is to touch on Pakeha conscience development in these two decades.

An overall perspective of the Hui Taumata suggests that certain iwi were already choosing corporate models of development,¹²³ while others were keen to explore their dreams and aspirations specifically for particular whanau, hapu and iwi. Key themes such as self determination, economic freedom, political power, approachable and accountable leadership, commitment to whanau, hapu and iwi development, recognition of Maori tikanga in the future of our coming generations, establishing a plan to revive and maintain te reo Maori, developing positive connections between rangatahi, matua and kaumatua, mana wahine issues, gained prominence at this hui. The significance of this hui was two fold. First, there was a belief that iwi Maori could do a better job than government of meeting their needs.¹²⁴ Second, Hui Taumata was not shuffled away out of sight, but placed on television in full sight of the wider New Zealand public. Though some people were grandstanding, its success was that all

¹²⁰ When the new Minister of Health accepted Te Tiriti O Waitangi and supported the development of Maori health delivery systems alongside Pakeha/Tauiwi ones (O'Reilly & Wood, in Boston et al, 1991).

¹²¹ Maatua whangai support was promoted in the court environment, with taha Maori given in prisoner education options.

¹²² The Children, Young Persons and their Families Act saw whanau gathering in hui to deal with whanau crises.

¹²³ Tainui's submission at Hui Taumata (1984).

¹²⁴ Durie (in Miller, 1997) explained that Hui Taumata was about iwi Maori being a central part of Maori development: "... even though few tribes had the management structures or sound infrastructures necessary for commercial activities and social service delivery. Regardless of this, at the Hui Taumata the then Minister of Maori Affairs and his

these themes had currency in the lives of Maori in general. The basic desire to improve the lot of Maori people as a whole was obvious, especially when viewing some of the immediate forthcoming development initiatives¹²⁵ facilitated by Maori Affairs, iwi Runanga and Maori Urban Authorities.

One example of the usefulness of 'Hui a iwi' occurred in the formation of 'Te Kohanga Reo'. Many Maori whanau, hapu and iwi took up the challenge of establishing kohanga reo in their rohe. By 1990 Maori pre-school facilities were appearing all around the country. In 1984 their brief was to set up these language nests¹²⁶ using iwi relevant curriculum from local kuia and kaumatua. In the 1986 - 1990 period Kahungunu went through the struggles to set up a runanganui. Illustrations of other tribal¹²⁷ developments suggest that Hui Taumata provided a public legacy that changed race relationships forever in Aotearoa as iwi moved to consolidate taking responsibility for their own development, instead of having to rely on a 'government department' such as Maori Affairs. From a personal perspective, whanau development has also paralleled iwi development.¹²⁸

Secretary advocated a policy of iwi development". Note by 1988, this was also a policy direction taken by government" (374).

¹²⁵ Sharp (1990: 191, 192) sums up those things that arose from 'Hui Taumata'. For example, the Maori Economic Development Commission and its initiatives - Maori Enterprise Development Scheme-1986, Mana Enterprises-1986, and the Maori Resource Development Corporation-1987.

¹²⁶ In 1985 Hoani Waititi set up a Kura Kaupapa so their tamariki could move from Kohanga into a Maori primary school environment.

¹²⁷ Mahuta (in King, 1978: 5) wrote that, "Queen Te Atairangi Kaahu supported by the Kahui Ariki and the Te Kau ma rua. (Paramount family and the council of 12 a traditional body of kaumatua who act as advisers to the head of the movement). Also the Tainui Trust board - deals with land confiscation, Also the Poukai Committees - 28 in number which stages regular loyalty gatherings throughout kingitanga rea and play an important role in finances of the movement".

¹²⁸ The following excerpt has been taken from an essay completed by the author in 1989: With the 1982 Waitangi Day Protests, and the Kohanga Reo proclamation (1984), there has been a noticed change in the attitude to things Maori which led to his [my father] taking us all back to Horoera in 1986 and 1988 for whanau reunions. The language was nearly lost as a result of corporal punishment in the school setting - I remember Dad saying to me 'Son, Maori is a dead language', however now it is being nourished within our whanau daily. I can also remember that Dad rarely took time off from work, however its quite a common occurrence to see him place whanau events, such as tangi before work. As Dad

The second part of this subsection now looks at 'Pakeha conscience development' during this decade. Both sides of the coin will be illustrated here. Sharp (1990) pointed to the efforts of Hilda Phillips who strongly opposed positive discrimination directed at Maori. Cultural difference was negated by her belief in the 'common humanity' that made all equal. Sharp (1990: 207) quotes Mary Hume, President of CARE¹²⁹ who provides another alternative perspective in critiquing Phillips approach.

What Hilda Phillips . . . fails to acknowledge is that discrimination can enhance; it does not have to injure. Recognising racial difference can be an important part of accepting a person, or people, it can answer a need; it can help to ensure genuine equality of opportunity in all fields. It is the spirit in which it is done that counts.

Archer (1975) explained that a large proportion of Tauwiwi/Pakeha still viewed Maori with distaste because they would not open up their homes to these indigenous people. Still others persisted with the 'one people/one nation' mentality.¹³⁰ In 1981, the Springbok tour in New Zealand, further split New Zealand's white majority, as white liberals joined HART in protest against apartheid. The challenge to look at their own racism in terms of dealing with Tangata Whenua saw these white liberal activists also ally with Maori protests campaigns under 'Action Waitangi'. Throughout these two decades Pakeha¹³¹ were not only grappling with their label of 'being pakeha', but also involved themselves in a range of

frequently states - 'My era was the horse and buggy, yours son is the era of modernisation'. In many ways I've always been aware that I represented more than just myself while at university. Doing this assignment has reaffirmed my belief that I bring all my history as well, to sit with me as I widen my lense of knowledge. Its an important thing to feel the presence of one's whanaunga, and I must say that there are times when I purposely hold back information because the environment is not safe to share. Pakeha people utilise the tool of confrontation through lively debate, and critical analysis which is not a bad thing but becomes inappropriate when discussing whanau tikanga.

¹²⁹ CARE stands for the 'Citizens Association for Racial Equality'.

¹³⁰ As Ballara (1986: 4) records: The aspirations for 'one people' as well as 'one nation' is one that is often heard in New Zealand, it was repeated at Waitangi day celebrations in 1979, when Governor-General Sir Keith Holyoake, requested his listeners to use the term 'New Zealander' rather than those of Maori and European.

¹³¹ Ritchie, Salmond, Spoonley, Nash, Kelsey and many others.

proactive actions¹³² to counter government hegemony. Some like Spoonley (1986) and King (1991) began discussing what 'being Pakeha' was all about, while others such as McDonald (1986) chose to cocoon themselves in old 'Ku Klux Klan' rhetoric that professed their cultural superiority over Maori, who slept under beds in red.¹³³ In contrast to McDonald (1986), Healy (1988) recognized that instead of expecting to work for Maori, her main challenge as a Pakeha was to evaluate and critique her own space¹³⁴ in terms of its commitment to bicultural development that advanced Maori wellbeing. Consultation under this approach meant that Pakeha people needed to enter into real dialogue with Maori. In order for this to occur successfully, Pakeha needed to do their own homework and critically analyse their roles in maintaining unequal power relations with Tangata Whenua. Healy was of the opinion that sabotaging these opportunities for real dialogue through using cultural deficit myths¹³⁵ or keeping away from Maori, was often seen by Pakeha as a way of maintaining their status quo over Maori. Spoonley and Maharey (1993) were more circumspect of the nature of race relationship changes for Pakeha and argued that racism was still here.¹³⁶ Ballara (1986: 169) paints a realistic picture of that changing race relations face when she wrote:

Changes have taken place in the attitude of many New Zealander, but the implementation of political and economic policies permitting Maori Cultural autonomy is still in its infancy - moreover, there are still pakeha who

¹³² In 1972 Judith Reinstan wrote a report on reasons for high Maori imprisonment but because parts of it challenged the role of police and also talked about a parallel justice system, it was never published. Kelsey (1986) was commissioned to write about legal services - Te Whaingā i te Tika. Again this was delayed by the State (Jackson, M. 1988).

¹³³ Geoff McDonald (1986) thought of Maori as having 'communist' tendencies and believed that this needed to be forcibly sanctioned out of their lives.

¹³⁴ Space refers to work places, agencies, home and within one's own circle of influence.

¹³⁵ Pikari (in Winitana et al, 1985: 3) mentioned, ". . . that John Graham, principal of the Prestigious Auckland Grammar school has stated that Maori students have a high failure rate because they are lazy". Such myths reinforce ones own superiority and distorts the mana of those viewed in a lesser light.

¹³⁶ Contemporary ideological expressions of racism were seen in the following ways: Nationalism sees ethnicity as divisive; Self-determination as Apartheid; Individualism; religious conservatism; anglo conformism where pakeha believe that Maori owe them a hell of a lot. Institutional racism was where the human element is subordinate to an organisational systems process phenomenon.

deny that NZld's racial problems call for fundamental re-education of their own thinking. In the 1980's eurocentrism is still a feature of New Zealand Society.

In conclusion, this Maori and Pakeha communication framework was changing. There was no more talking down at and telling Maori what was best for them. And even with that diversity of thought, their responses could still be packaged into two key streams: 'yes I support iwi Maori autonomy or no I do not support iwi Maori autonomy'¹³⁷.

'Iwi wind patterns . . . a poem'

This poetic conclusion draws together the history of 1971 - 1990 in prose form. This leads into the seventh and final historical period of 1990 - to present day, called, 'Higher Heights'. In conclusion, this poem metaphorically backs up what Mahuta (in King, 1978: 94/95) has to say about these two decades just completed:

Firstly, it is obvious that industry, wherever it is located, needs land for development - Maori land seems particularly vulnerable to this kind of alienation. Multiplicity of ownership complicated the matter of informing owners of proposed development schemes. Secondly, the urbanisation of the Maori has led to organisational changes within tribal communities. There are symptoms of an authority and identity crisis in the cities. Thirdly, legislation and education have tended to place the Maori cultural ethos and world view at the bottom of the cultural values ladder.

A poem

Te riri Pakeha or proud to be white, no niggers in my place tonight! 'One' praise to Keith and Hilda's common blood, yet Jane and Paul know well a bicultural blight to stem the flood.

¹³⁷ A softer option would be to replace the concept of autonomy with 'self determination'. A more direct option would be to replace autonomy with 'separate development'. In terms of time line development, self determination was a theme pushed in the 1970s, autonomy gained favour the 1980s/1990s. Separate development was not going to disappear as a slogan for the later part of the 1990s.

*HART CARE's while Blackwood rues the night. A mockers moon
and Auckland's star most impolite. Side by side they shed their
blood, White flight a Purist flood.*

*Now Maori page the fight, as Motown locks young minds to
'Martin ma', but Greenland got it right. Donna's past drew blood,
lost history now a conscious flood*

*Affairs and lies no more the light, Te Tiriti now burns bright, Hui
Taumata knew Iwi wind patterns drew first blood, then Nga
Tamatoa led the flood.*

*A timely flight to higher heights, our urban streets ran red with
blood, hope and love a whanau, hapu, iwi flood.*

Period Seven: 1991 to present day - Different Heights.

Aakuanei a kino, Too ai me he raa¹³⁸

In the previous section, the main aim was to analyse Maori development and wellbeing, in what was termed a 'major watershed' period of change in all spheres of Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi relationships. It was noticeable that in the early 1980s the mood was one of anticipation about how to go about developing new relationship protocol between Maori and the State. In the latter part of the 1980s and 1990s, the mood was one of adjustment,¹³⁹ based on nurturing and developing a workable political framework¹⁴⁰ between the State and iwi Maori, in order to settle past inter race relationship grievances. Subsequently, a three pronged new right theoretical reform approach¹⁴¹ in the State sector gained influence under Roger Douglas¹⁴² - Labour¹⁴³ and Ruth Richardson - National.

¹³⁸Though things might be bad for you now, your time will come. Maori people in the 1990s were now recipients to settlement outcomes that encompassed efforts by the Government to redress iwi Maori grievances of yesteryear. The time had indeed arrived in the 1990s.

¹³⁹ Adjustment on the part of a traditionally monocultural political environment meant that in the 1990s an air of acceptance about cultural diversity generated a sense of respect for indigenous values.

¹⁴⁰ This common ground framework was Te Tiriti O Waitangi.

¹⁴¹Shaw (1996) identifies these three theoretical precepts underpinning the reform process experience in New Zealand from the 1980s through to present day as: public choice theory, principal-agent theory, and the new managerialism.

¹⁴² Supported by the Business Roundtable and the New Zealand Treasury Douglas implemented the philosophy that social goals and political pressures should be excluded from the realm of economic policy (Oliver, 1988).

To capture the swing from anticipation, adjustment and development to transformation, Durie (1994a) coined 1984 to 1994, as the Maori development decade. Durie (1995: 4) then contextualised this period within the overall spectrum of Maori development and advancement as a culture:

Maori development did not of course begin in the decade 1984-1994, nor is it likely that it will conclude in 1994 . . . the position of Maori in Aotearoa has been subjected to constant change . . . In that respect Maori culture and society has been neither static nor homogenous . . . phases characterised by exploration, innovation, calamity, triumph or adaptation can be identified . . . the past decade of Maori development has been another phase in the long, never-ending voyage of challenge and discovery.

From 1994 - 1998, while government and public alike began adjusting to an MMP electoral environment, Maori entered another level of intra cultural transformation as Maori participation within Pakeha political systems accelerated.¹⁴⁴ At the same time, Maori leaders in attendance at Hui Whakapumau¹⁴⁵(1994), gave an up to date overview of Maori positionality in New Zealand's political, cultural, social and economic spheres.¹⁴⁶ Discovery of one's Maori identity in the 1970s, still ongoing for some in the 1990s, now moved into more complex issues like the primacy of iwi Maori tino rangatiratanga or mandating and appropriate resourcing of urban Maori authorities to deal with Maori concerns at local and national

¹⁴³ This tendency towards new right philosophies placed both a saviour and villain label on the Fourth and Fifth Labour Governments of the 1980s. Saviour in the sense that communities, especially iwi Maori, gained government rhetorical support in their quest for self determination and autonomy. Villain, because it also benchmarked the death of the Welfare State and the rise of capitalistic privatisation.

¹⁴⁴ Mason Durie (in Sites, 1995 no. 30: 31 - 47) notes that, during the 1984 - 1994 Decade of Maori development, debate on the constitutional position of Maori has been active, at least in Maori circles.

¹⁴⁵ Hui whakapumau run on the 10th and 11th of August 1994, by the Department of Maori Studies at Massey University in Manawatu, was an opportunity for Maori to evaluate that 1984 - 1994 decade of Maori development.

¹⁴⁶ Provided an updated analysis of Maori leadership, Maori initiatives in the economic sector, the role of Maori women in Maori development and so on.

levels. Litigation illustrations¹⁴⁷ in this war of philosophies¹⁴⁸ has placed Maori against Maori and beckoned the development of a covenant or protocol of behaviour between all Maori about their approaches with Government, to settle¹⁴⁹ Treaty grievances.

The heading chosen here of 'Different Heights', supports the view that Maori political activism was far from a uniform experience or reality. One of the key principles clearly identified in this period of history was that Maori diversity, a survival tool, was also a real gauge of Maori inequity¹⁵⁰ within and across Maori sodalities. Less time was spent trying to work out the cross cultural bicultural/bipolarity psyche needed to make relationships between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi work. Instead, more energies rested with trying to unify the voices of Maoridom in constructing settlement frameworks in a positive mana enhancing fashion. These efforts faced the full wrath of the contradictory nature of Maori political thought and actions that were rooted in a variety of places: from one end of the welfare sphere - new right conservatism to the other end - State welfarism. As mentioned in previous periods, Labour and National Party key players unified under new right philosophies attacked the Welfare State and advocated for devolution. Localisation in place of 'State centralism', left communities responsible and accountable for quality control of social service provisions to meet their needs.

¹⁴⁷ Legal battles have been numerous as various Maori factions seek to either stay legislative proceedings or accelerate them. The Maori Fisheries Commission has been served with injunctions and taken to the High and Appeal courts by other aggrieved Maori interest groups. Likewise, Maori urban authorities have fought through the courts for recognition of their mandated status as a contemporary form of Maori voice in the 1990s.

¹⁴⁸ Diversity of Maori political thought sees the likes of O'Regan pushing for Ngai Tahu interests only, while June Jackson advocates recognition of new political support configurations for Maori in urban centres.

¹⁴⁹ Durie (in Miller, 1997) saw that this 1990s prominence of iwi Maori created a range of issues in Maori development. For example, what should characterise their relationships with other tribes, and how important was autonomy in relation to economies of scale and the need for expertise. Securing government funds for social and economic programmes was one goal, the other was to maintain standing (mana) in the eyes of their own people, as well as of neighbouring tribes.

¹⁵⁰ Maori were also affected by class struggles that created a 'haves' and 'have nots' within and across iwi Maori.

With this in mind, 'Different Heights' engages with material about Maori autonomy and wellbeing interpretations in the 1990s. The 1991-1994 period, was reflective of the mood to seek a workable cross cultural framework for dealing with past grievances resulting from broken Treaty promises. The period from 1995 - 1998, was about coping with outcomes of that changing new environment in Aotearoa. 'Power dressing . . .', provides a breakdown of key events, actors and legislation. 'Inner or outer circles . . .', looks specifically at Maori dealing with Maori. Finally, in 'The light of selflessness and tohatoha meet . . .', the author leaves a challenge about the move of Maori towards tino rangatiratanga or self determination types of development. What follows 'Higher heights' is an overall summary of Chapter Four.

Power dressing . . .'

This section has been named 'Power dressing . . .', because Government and Maori relationships changed significantly in the 1990s, thus altering power, authority and influence structures that had guided inter race relationships since the signing of Te Tiriti O Waitangi in 1840. This section has four parts to it.

- A historical backdrop of these eight years from 1991-1988 is given first.
- A subsection of Political development displays an analysis of the 1990s Electoral reforms.
- A subsection entitled 'Economic development', looks at Maori efforts to secure an economic base. Three case studies listed as follows illustrate this pursuit: the fiscal envelope, Maori fisheries and land occupations/settlements.

A Historical backdrop of eight years from 1991 - 1998.

A brief analysis of the eight years from 1991 to 1998 will be given. At the end of this coverage its significance is discussed. This historical backdrop begins in 1991 when in July the Resource Management Act was passed and

replaced over twenty other major statutes concerning air, water and land usage in Aotearoa. Even more significant was the official reference to Maori tikanga within the Act, while for some it was more to do with a lack of adequate cultural interpretation of those very things. Antagonists of Government efforts to modify the nature of legislation in New Zealand by being inclusive of Maori interpretations of reality, tended to view these efforts as lipservice only (Jackson, S. 1988a). Often these efforts by Government were also negatively labelled under the umbrella of being politically correct.¹⁵¹ In contrast, some negotiators cross the cultural divide viewed these same efforts as ground breaking and essential in developing good will for resolution of past grievances between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi/Pakeha (Spoonley, 1993a).

Political change and economic development appeared high on the agenda for Maori in Aotearoa. Consequently, initiatives facilitating that change and development occurred in a range of places during the latter 1980s and early 1990s. Upon winning the 1990 elections National's economic and fiscal approach continued in similar vein to Labour's Rogernomics. Consequently, asset stripping of the State continued in 1991, along with an aggressive business enterprise scheme that opened the door for Asian investors to relocate themselves in Aotearoa.¹⁵² At the same time, Maori unemployment was proportionally double the rate of Pakeha/Tauwiwi unemployment. One strategy to redress this issue was illustrated by the implementation of Te Tai Manaaki,¹⁵³ to provide financial support for Maori wanting to advance their employment opportunities by entering into tertiary studies. Furthermore, Ka Awatea¹⁵⁴ came and went after

¹⁵¹ Lipservice/political correctness - nearly every act or mission statement now had something about Te Tiriti O Waitangi, or biculturalism or specific Maori concepts in them. For this Act Section 7a the term 'Kaitiakitanga' was evident. But confusion over its inferences in this Act were numerous.

¹⁵² Walker (1991) Korero, in the Listener and T.V Times, April 22nd.

¹⁵³ Specifically set up to assist Maori tertiary students with paying course fees.

¹⁵⁴ Ka Awatea was Winston Peters response to the Maori Affairs issue. He proposed setting up a new Ministry of Maori development to replace both the Ministry of Maori Affairs and the Iwi Transition Agency. Winston, saw the need to establish four specific units: health, education, training and economic development to meet long term needs of Maori wellbeing.

Winston Peters lost the Maori Affairs Minister¹⁵⁵ portfolio for National. Bolger relieved Peters of his duties that were then duly passed on to another non Maori to control, that person being Doug Kidd. With Government's efforts to open up the economic development terrains of Aotearoa to outside investors, certain Maori responded by attempting to form an independent Maori Trade Union,¹⁵⁶ in order to protect Maori interests in a changing market economy.¹⁵⁷

Likewise in 1992, the health sector was basking in the glory of advancing 'cultural safety' amongst practitioners of their services. Within education circles, mainstream theories were being challenged as Maori intellectuals sought to reposition Maori cultural tenets from philosophical to plausible theoretical compositions.¹⁵⁸ Twenty-two Maori operated and controlled radio stations increased Maori dissemination of information. These also became significant contributors to Maori cultural revival and development.

Ideological change on the international plateau was a key characteristic of 1993. South Africa had its first black president, the Berlin wall came

In fact it seemed to contradict National's overall agenda to downsize and devolve responsibilities held by government to respective communities. Like the hurriedly formulated Runanga Iwi Act of 1990, Ka Awatea had a short life span. The idea of reducing Maori dependency on the State was well meaning but this Act still left Government in control of Maori Affairs. Maori universally opposed this type of relationship with the State at Hui Taumata in 1984. However, one of the strengths of Kawatea was its push for education and training in appropriate technical and science areas.

¹⁵⁵ After National won the 1991 elections, Winston Peters was named in cabinet as the Minister for Maori Affairs. However, after his refusal to back down on opposing the Quality Inn Hotel Chain joint venture supported by Latimer/Bolger - he was against this because the Maori Trustees were having to front up with 3/4 of the money and would only get 1/4 of the directorships for that venture, while their American partners were putting up 1/4 of the money and demanding 3/4 of the directorships offered - Bolger unceremoniously sacked him.

¹⁵⁶ Walker (1991) Korero, in the Listener and T.V times, May 20th.

¹⁵⁷ For example, as Walker stated: "Another Maori organisation to see the potential to become a bargaining agent for workers is the Black Power movement. In fact Black Power has become so conventional that it publishes Te iwi, the only Maori Newspaper in New Zealand" (1991, Korero, May 20th: 45)

¹⁵⁸ An illustration of immediate outcomes for strategic actions of this nature was demonstrated by Ngati Porou leadership who decided to employ their own people rather than so called non Maori research experts to carry out social service needs assessments

tumbling down and the entire world celebrated the 'Year of the Indigenous Peoples of the World'. For Maori development, it was both a challenging time as the Anna Penn¹⁵⁹ case attests, and also quite lucrative in terms of economic advance portrayed by the 'Deed of Settlement' in regard to Maori Fisheries.¹⁶⁰ Of interest was the Mataatua iwi hosted international conference on 'cultural and intellectual property rights of indigenous peoples'. Tangata Whenua efforts to develop culturally safe practices and secure their intellectual property rights were just some of the positive developments in 1993.

The movie 'Once were Warriors' released in 1994, flavoured the year with controversy.¹⁶¹ Hui Whakapumau provided space to evaluate the progress of Maori aspirations a decade after Te Hui Taumata. Likewise, Maori expertise in legal matters pushed home the need for Government to consult with Maori mandated representatives. Conversely, there were ample illustrations where Pakeha continued to tailor and control Maori efforts to become self determining.¹⁶² In the last months of 1994 Maori unrest increased as Government reverted again to its fiscal envelope framework to deal with Treaty settlements.

Who will ever forget the occupations in 1995. From TVNZ, Moutoa/Pakaitore, Whakarewarewa, Waiouru, Taumaranui, Kaipara right up to Kaitaia. From statues being beheaded to carvings being mutilated, chopped down or burned. 1995 saw amongst other things, a Pakeha minister of Parliament play act as Hone the Maori dole bludger, Nga Tapuwae College deal with inverse racism, Pakeha staking claims

within their own communities. Acknowledgement of iwi based expertise in reaching their people reinforced the legitimacy of their own knowledge and wisdom.

¹⁵⁹ Anna Penn reflects a white back lash on being directed in training for nursing jobs in Aotearoa, to learn culturally appropriate behaviour or suffer exclusion from that type of work.

¹⁶⁰ See the Maori Fisheries section below.

¹⁶¹ For many non Maori, it was as if this movie had provided ample evidence about Maori being naturally violent and abusive. For Maori, it gave off a deeply symbolic message warning about the dangers of losing one's cultural essences like Jake did, and the joy Beth discovered in finding them again.

¹⁶² Children Young Persons and their Families Service introduced a document called 'Te Punga' designed to anchor their bicultural commitment to Maori clientele. CYPs hierarchy espoused its worth by saying that Te Punga was the next step on from Puaoteatatu (1988), but Maori opinion cynically saw this in-house report as having very little community input and therefore limited interpretative value for Maori wellbeing in general.

about being Tangata Whenua, blatant racism illustrations from the general white New Zealand public on Maori issues in general, and a range of strategies by Maori to inform Maori about their rights concerning political negotiations on fisheries, land and other claims.

From 1996 through to 1998, Tukuroirangi Morgan's undies gained front-line coverage and so did his involvement with the Maori Television saga. Te Papa opened with calls of baring the soul of this nation for all to see. A changing of the guard as old fighters for Kaupapa Maori issues passed on and new voices took up their challenges.

Political development

These eight years from 1991 to 1998, involved two key strategies that would power dress Maori for this changing/new age environment. First, by participating in redesigning New Zealand's political environment it was envisaged that Maori would significantly increase their contribution in political decision making for this nation. New Zealand's electoral reforms that led to the introduction of an MMP (Mixed Member Proportion) electoral system would amplify this point.

An analysis of the 1990s Electoral reforms

In terms of electoral reform, effective Maori political representation has always been a contestation point in New Zealand national politics. The Royal Commission on the Electoral System¹⁶³ in 1986 not only paved the way for electoral reform in Aotearoa but officially challenged the monocultural nature of political institutions in Aotearoa. Even with a push in 1990 by Maori to sabotage the electoral process by non participation

¹⁶³ In suggesting a more representative electoral system the Commission, amongst other things advocated a change from a First Past the Post (FPP) plurality system to a proportional representation one. One of the better choices studied was that of Mixed Member Proportion (MMP) electoral representation. The Commission also advocated the abolition of separate Maori representation based on the assumption that political parties would need to take more cognisance of the wishes of Maori voters under an MMP system. Maori rejected such a suggestion, because those past negative experiences from within the Ratana-Labour Accord (1935), where their Maori MPs were ineffectual and played only minor roles in political power circles, combined with increased demands for tino rangatiratanga in 1980s, meant that Maori were not about to that leave political parties with the right to be more cognisance of the wishes of Maori voters under an MMP system.

in the national elections,¹⁶⁴ there was an overwhelming 'yes' response,¹⁶⁵ for new electoral reform, so in December 1992, the Electoral reform bill surfaced in Parliament and after several alterations,¹⁶⁶ was passed in 1993. Subsequently, on the 6th of November 1993, not only did people vote in another National government but a referendum on electoral reform saw MMP as the preferred option for 1996.

In the general election of 1996, an unprecedented amount of attention was given by Labour and National, to attract Maori voters. The results proved they were unsuccessful. Although some argue, that New Zealand First captured all five of the Maori seats on offer because they appealed to the younger Maori electorate voters¹⁶⁷ and had untapped potential, in fact traditional voting lines were crossed by all as Maoridom flexed their frustrations against the inability of both Labour and National to deal effectively with Maori issues.

The NZ First party did not go into these elections with specific policies aimed to meet Maori concerns, but they did have vocal charismatic Maori leadership¹⁶⁸ in their hierarchy. A lack of detailed policy could well have worked to their advantage because, unlike Labour or National,¹⁶⁹ Deputy

¹⁶⁴ In 1990, the Maori Council of Churches urged Maori to sign a protest register rather than voting.

¹⁶⁵ Of the 55% of New Zealanders who that turned out to vote, 85% wanted reform.

¹⁶⁶ No provisions for Maori seats in this Bill led to widespread Maori indignation about this forfeiture. As Durie (1998) points out an amendment to this bill emphasised that this electoral reform would retain the Maori seats according to the strength of the Maori roll. In the same breath Government, underfunded Maori efforts to inform prospective Maori constituents. The Act allowed for a Maori electoral option every five years, the first occurring between February and April 1994. Maori protested at the lack of time and resources devoted to this potentially crucial constitutional event, and so lodged a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal. The Tribunal agreed, finding that the Crown funding and servicing of the option was substantially less than could be reasonably required to meet its Treaty obligations. The Waitangi Tribunal recommended an increase in Crown funding in order to achieve adequate promotion and information of the electoral option. Following this, Maori lodged an application in the High Court challenging the Crown's actions, which subsequently went to the Court of Appeal and the Privy Council. The end result of the option meant that for the 1996 election one extra Maori seat would be contested. It was called 'Te Puku O Te Whenua'.

¹⁶⁷ As James (1994: 165) stated, "The old Ratana Alliance has gone and the younger Maori politicians now emerging are a very different breed from the ageing hacks that Labour has been saddled with. MMP clearly offers better representation for Maori".

¹⁶⁸ In the form of Winston Peters and young Maori political aspirants such as Tau Henare, Tukuroirangi Morgan and others.

¹⁶⁹ Another clear result from the 1996 election was that processes were as important to Maori, as outcomes. Although the National government had ventured into uncharted

leader Tau Henare was not hamstrung by having initiated reforms that caused much suffering for Maori.¹⁷⁰ At the same time, Winston Peters drew the voting public to him with populist themes including strong leadership, active government, and an acceptable form of economic nationalism (Miller 1997). One must also take into account that Maori expectations of MMP reflected three key points: first, that more Maori would enter Parliament; second, that Maori would have a greater say in the political decision making of New Zealand; and third, that there would be a degree of Maori unity across party lines. All of these have been manifested to some degree in the political arena of 1996-98.¹⁷¹

Economic development

The second key strategy that power dressed Maori for these new times centred around Maori efforts to secure an economic base. From 1991 - 1998 economic recovery and development became an attainable outcome for Maori as they negotiated settlements with the Crown about their past Treaty grievances. Corporate models of development, autonomous iwi Maori management and urban collective business endeavours were formulated as Maori moved to consolidate their economic foundations to cope with both the long and short term needs of their people. Maori engaged and participated within this new market economy promoted by the National (1990 - 1996) and the National led Coalition Government

territory with its Treaty Claims Settlement Package (the Fiscal Envelope), widespread Maori protest at its secretive formulation and paternalistic attitude saw little National party support via the ballot box.

¹⁷⁰ In particular, Maori had been hard hit by unemployment throughout the reforms of the 1980s and early 1990s.

¹⁷¹ In terms of decision making power, Peters was Treasurer and Deputy Prime Minister until August 1998; Henare continues to hold the Maori portfolio in Cabinet, Delamere has the Transport portfolio. In relation of increased numbers in Parliament there were 6 electorate seats won by NZF and 11 party seats given based on voting ratios. This totalled 15 Maori in Parliament soon after the elections in 1996, 7 NZ First; 4 Labour, 2 Alliance, 1 National and 1 ACT. In terms of developing a degree of Maori unity across party lines, there were attempts soon after the elections to advance such a vision. However, party lines were thicker than blood as Maori continue to attack each other in that political arena. There have been alliances within parties, as displayed by NZ First's Maori MPs. Minus Winston Peters and party list member Ron Marks, those electorate representatives - Tu Wylie,

(1996 - 1998). Having that as a contextual backdrop, this section now explores three of these outcomes in detail: The fiscal envelope, Maori fisheries, and land occupation/settlement agreements.

The fiscal envelope

The National party manifesto for the 1990 elections clearly identified their intentions to continue with monetarist policies and processes. Furthermore, National wanted to place a time and resource limit on Te Tiriti O Waitangi settlements. After winning those elections the new Prime Minister, Jim Bolger reinforced that view in a speech he gave in Ngarawahia (1991). The two key points he echoed were that all Treaty claims needed to be dealt with by the year 2000 and that Government did not have a 'cheque book that was unlimited'. This was to become known as the 'fiscal envelope'. An underpinning principle of this proposal was to obtain full and final settlements for any historical claims by Maori against the New Zealand Government.¹⁷²

Initial Maori reaction to the fiscal envelope reflected an element of uniformity. Activist and main line representative groups such as Te Kawau Maro (Students at Auckland University/Institute of Technology) with Te Kawariki (An activist group from North Auckland) and Taumata Kaumatua (paramount elders of Ngapuhi Confederation of tribes), joined forces to inform the Maori public about the Government's intentions. For example, in the same month as its release, Whanganui River Maori leader Rangitihī Tahuparae organised a hui to discuss the implications of the fiscal envelope. Likewise, in January 1995, Sir Hepi Te Heuheu called a similar hui at Hirangi in Turangi. There was a resounding cry of

Tukuroirangi Morgan, Rana Waitai, John Delamere and Tau Henare - have become known as the 'tight five' (Miller, 1997; Durie, 1998).

¹⁷² Durie (1998: 190) restates the intentions of the fiscal envelope as follows: . . . "The intention was to settle all claims without utilising natural resources or the conservation estate, and to limit the total value of all claims to a billion dollars. A ten year period was prescribed, and to ensure durability, legislation would be introduced which removed settled claims from the jurisdiction of the Waitangi Tribunal or the courts".

opposition¹⁷³ to it by all tribal leaders who attended. Government took the fiscal envelope proposal around the country for discussion and consultation at regional hui, however, nearing the end of those hui the Hon. Mr Doug Graham conceded that:

. . . Maori had aired valid grievances over the fiscal envelope proposals at hui so far. They don't like all the elements in it and I don't blame them. Some of them are very tough and quite pro-crown. but we have to work out what we can do and I was anxious to consult not only with Maori, but with non-Maori as well, because they're the ones who have to pay or be involved in the loss of rights if there are some (Palmerston North Evening Standard, March 15th, 1995).

The general public of New Zealand also appeared to be in the dark regarding why Maori were struggling with the fiscal envelope. Such responsiveness to Maori protests were best illustrated from the newspaper 'letters' columns. Malcolm Bailey¹⁷⁴ of Campbells Bay advised Maori not to kill the goose which lays the golden eggs, inferring that they were lucky Government was considering such compensation. In the Auckland Sunday Star-Times on February the 12th, 1995, one writer entitled his letter 'Just Desserts courtesy of the gimme-gimme mob':

What a nerve they've got! Daring to say they are 'angry' about the fiscal envelope which I and other taxpayers have to fill! There's not a Maori person alive today who has had his or her land confiscated for armed rebellion, so what are they bleating about so greedily is the loss of their looked-for inheritance.

¹⁷³ So blocking of the highway into Whanganui, the Waitangi Day Celebrations fiasco and then occupation of Moutoa gardens, were rightly viewed by many as a direct response to frustrations surrounding the fiscal envelope. More violent confrontations followed as whanau, hapu within iwi voiced their support or opposition to the government's proposal. Most vivid were the clashes at Omaha Marae in Heretaunga on the March the 16th, 1995. On the outrage that the fiscal envelope created, Fox (1995: 38) contended that it arose out of several sources which he describes as: . . . "gross ignorance of things Maori among the politicians, the media and the general public; the habit, especially among the older generation of Maori, to be excessively courteous towards guests; the assumption that the fiscal envelope scheme is an honourable proposal; and unforgivable rudeness from several of the sillier protesters".

¹⁷⁴ In the New Zealand Herald, January 10th 1995.

A similar consultation pattern was invoked by the Department of Social Welfare in its bid to move responsibility for dealing with Maori onto their own iwi authorities under the arm of iwi Maori social services. Since 1996 Margaret Bazley¹⁷⁵ this Department's C.E.O has actively pursued this pathway, by challenging iwi Maori to take up the roles and functions of a social service knowing that there is a cap of around \$1.5 million to work with.¹⁷⁶

Maori fisheries

To understand the complexities of Maori fisheries it is important to remember article two of Te Tiriti O Waitangi guaranteed Maori:

. . . full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession (Treaty of Waitangi Act, 1975).

What dominated inter race relations regarding those possessions, and in this case Maori fisheries, was the steady stripping of that wealth from Maori control. In the early 1980s managers of the fisheries in New Zealand began to consider, develop and implement in the fishing industry, a quota management system (QMS) that effectively recognised potential catches as transferable property or in other words, a possession that could be purchased or exchanged like any other transferable property.¹⁷⁷ In the political arena, politicians had already introduced a new Fisheries Act

¹⁷⁵ North and South April - Beyond dependency - March 16 - 19 by Margaret Bazley - keen to save NZ Citizens from the spiral of welfare dependency. . . "Its our experience that most New Zealanders do not understand that \$27 million a day is being paid in welfare. They don't understand that nearly 30 per cent of our children - it was actually a quarter when I came here three years ago - are growing up in welfare dependent homes. I believe that every New Zealander has to know that and be really concerned about it. Bazley is the Chief executive of over 6000 staff, with an \$11 billion budget, a third of all state spending (116-118)".

¹⁷⁶ The figure arrived at for setting up the Ngati Kahungunu Social Services was basically in kind, that is, seconded Maori Staff from the Children Young Persons and their families service, with very little in the way of sustainable resources for assisting them through the initial years of setting up.

¹⁷⁷ The idea was that fishermen/companies would purchase ITQ (Individual Transferable Quotas) much like any property for a season at a cost, from the Ministry of Agriculture and

(1983) so this QMS was an appendage to that Act in 1986. The Act itself was to play a major role in dealing with Maori claims about their commercial and customary fishing rights, referred to in Te Tiriti O Waitangi.¹⁷⁸ A further development of influential significance on Maori Fisheries was the Te Atiawa/Motunui claim in 1983 and the Waitangi Tribunal's subsequent report regarding that claim.

In essence these two events reshaped the relational environment between Maori and Pakeha that had previously favoured a 'monocultural' perception of Treaty arrangements. These events provided an opportunity to deal with past grievances under the spirit of reconciliation and restitution. Sharp (1990) contended that the 4th Labour Government responded by amending the Treaty of Waitangi Act so that claims could be backdated to 1840 and instituted the principle of reparation in justice to deal with broken Treaty promises. This reinforced the role of the Waitangi Tribunal in facilitating an informed environment for grievances to be aired and settlements to take place.

Within that time period of 1986 to 1988, three significant events became intertwined. First, the High Court ruled that it was the responsibility of the prosecution to prove in the Tom Te Weehi versus the Regional Fisheries Officer case, to define the rights it claimed Maori did not have in relation to Section 88 (2) of the Fisheries Act of 1983, after he was stopped by a fisheries officer with 46 undersized paua.¹⁷⁹ Subsequently Te Weehi's customary fishing rights were upheld by the High Court. At the same time it set a precedence about using common law to redress Maori fishing grievances instead of the usual reference to Te Tiriti O Waitangi or lodging a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal. The second significant event influential in the Maori fisheries debate centered around the reconstituted

Fisheries. No ITQs or overfishing quotas or fishing species outside the purchased quota would mean prosecutions etc.

¹⁷⁸ An obscure section of this Act was to create havoc for the Government from 1986. Section 88 (2) stated that 'Nothing in this Act shall affect any Maori fishing rights'.

¹⁷⁹ Mana No. 23 August/September, 1998.

look of the second Waitangi Tribunal¹⁸⁰ and the proactive stance taken by its members to actively engage with Government and Maori communities for justice to deal with Maori fisheries issues¹⁸¹ in light of the fact that Maori were not consulted about the QMS and subsequently, had no significant holdings on available fish quotas. Interestingly enough, Chairman of the Tribunal - Judge Durie's - concerns were basically ignored by the Agricultural and Fisheries department (Durie, 1998), so in 1987 the New Zealand Maori Council, Ngai Tahu Trust Board, Tainui Trust Board and the Muriwhenua Incorporation proceeded with legal action against the Crown for violation of their Treaty fishing rights. Their success in obtaining a restraining order from the High Court in October of that same year, prevented Government from issuing any further fishing quotas and basically forced them to recognise Maori claims for a sizeable part of the lucrative fisheries business of New Zealand. The dilemma for Government was articulated by Sharp (1990: 82) as follows:

Parallel to the S.O.E case taken by the Maori council only several options were available. The crown would have to negotiate with the Maori for rights it had mistakenly assumed it already had, but which were really Maori or extinguish the rights by rescinding section 88 (2) of the Maori Fisheries Act. This issue was not about the Tribunal nor the Treaty but about common law of the land. That is, that part of the law not laid down in statute but in inherited English custom and past New Zealand and Commonwealth judicial decisions.

In lay terms, it was about dealing with a precedence already set by the successful endeavours of Tom Te Weehi's case. The third and final event

¹⁸⁰ It was noted that the membership of this Waitangi Tribunal were of high calibre and began working in December 1986 with the Muriwhenua Fisheries claim. The key brief of this Tribunal was to do with Maori lands and Maori fisheries.

¹⁸¹ Sharp (1990: 81) illustrates this activism of the Tribunal by stating that on the "... 10th of December 1986 Judge Durie sent a letter to the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries expressing the Tribunal's concern about the Quota Management System (QMS) introduced earlier in the year for both inshore and offshore fisheries. This system was based on allocating individual transferable quotas (ITQ) to fishing industry players. These ITQ would define and limit an exclusive right to catch and market a species of fish. It was a property right, not exactly with the sea but in the activity of fishing - the tribunal warned about Article Two in Te Tiriti o Waitangi that promised Maori the undisturbed possession of their fisheries - so far many Maori had been given no quotas".

was the Muriwhenua Fishing Report (1988) which became influential in establishing a framework for negotiations between the Crown and Maori over Maori commercial fishing rights.¹⁸² This report also redefined Maori customary fishing and challenged the legalities of the Qutoa Management System as being 'fundamentally in conflict with Treaty Principles and terms'. In the same breath, it also gave hope for reconciliation should Government enter into negotiations with Maori representatives to reach an amicable resolution.¹⁸³ This led in 1988 to the setting up of a joint working party between the Crown¹⁸⁴ and Maori interest groups,¹⁸⁵ with a working brief to arrive at a realistic settlement within six months.

In summary, because Maori fisheries is already a multi million dollar business with over \$350 million at stake, getting the allocation processes sorted out has been difficult, especially with the Commissioners invested interests showing out at times. For instance, Sir Graham Latimer gave up a commissioners seat to take up the executive chair on the board of Moana Pacific Limited - the business arm of Te Ohu Kaimoana. Tipene O'Regan, representing the largest coastline iwi - Ngai Tahu, naturally favours a mana moana allocation plan. As chair of the Commission his disdain for the Urban Maori Authorities claims were obvious to all. However, Judge Paterson's ruling has meant that due consideration of Maori in urban settings now needs full consideration by the commission (refer to discussion under the subheading 'Inner or outer circles' in this section). It is obvious that Maori also suffer from greed, but an encouraging sign, has also been provided in the Maori fisheries debate. Pakeha court procedures and processes have been used extensively to clarify Maori concepts,

¹⁸² Mana No. 23 August/September 1998: 52.

¹⁸³ Another significant point raised in the Report was an distinct response to the notion of a fiscal envelope framework Government was considering. As stated by the Tribunal (WAI 22: 239) redressing those concerns of the Muriwhenua Incorporation would involve the follow perspective: that it should not be "... a once-and-for-all settlement", but that it should include a, "... long term programme of rehabilitation to restore their ancestral associations with the seas".

¹⁸⁴Government negotiators were led by Richard Prebble.

however perhaps it is time for consideration of Maori protocol and regulations in formulating appropriate allocation strategies. As Durie (1998: 167) affirms:

the most common reaction was an increased conviction that the court, in New Zealand and abroad was not the right place to argue the application of traditional understandings to contemporary times. It was a Maori issue which ought to be resolved by Maori . . .

Land occupation/settlement agreements.

Maori activism in the form of land protests, marches and occupations, resurrected grievances about an array of land injustices experienced by Maori since first contact with Tauwi/Pakeha. These major issues¹⁸⁶ superseded contact history between Tangata Whenua/Maori and Tauwi/Pakeha and in terms of the historical analysis covered, the tools of law, war and legislation were used effectively to strip Maori of their land heritage. With the Waitangi Tribunal Act of 1975, Maori began to lodge land claims with the Tribunal.¹⁸⁷ However, two turning points in the later part of the 1980s changed the nature of that negotiation environment significantly for Maori and the State. First, the Labour Government's passing of the State Owned Enterprises (SOE) Act (1986) placed in jeopardy Maori claims for return of properties that the State intended to sell to SOEs. Subsequently, Maori opposition¹⁸⁸ to this Act led to a successful petition for an injunction in the High Court (1987). This injunction left Government more hamstrung because it prohibited the sale of State land assets to SEOs. In essence, this action forced the State into negotiations with Maori stakeholders about their land claims. The second turning point

¹⁸⁵ Representatives from the Four Maori parties that took the Crown to court became the Maori negotiators. For example, Matiu Rata for Muriwhenua Incorporation and Tipene O'Regan for Ngai Tahu, Denese Henare and Sir Graham Latimer for the NZ Maori Council.

¹⁸⁶ Land ownership versus kaitiakitanga, being part of the land versus its tamer, seeing it in economic wealth terms versus its role as a living personage, or maintaining its centrality within a culture versus the belief that as a transferable possession connections to it could be relinquished.

¹⁸⁷ One major limitation of this Act was that claims could not be made concerning grievances that arose prior to 1975.

occurred in 1986, when Government extended the working brief of the Waitangi Tribunal.¹⁸⁹ This extended working brief gave iwi Maori the right to present land claims backdated, if need be to 1840. In summary, these two turning points reinforced both by the court and legislation, placed pressure on the Crown to enter into meaningful negotiations with Maori about their land grievances. Consequently, this two pronged leverage facilitated the development of the Treaty of Waitangi (State Enterprises-SE) Act (1988). Sharp (1990: 80) notes that this Act comprised of:

. . . the new arrangements . . . that some restitutory decisions of the Tribunal would now be binding on the Crown . . . the Treaty of Waitangi (SE) Act not only gave the Tribunal its new restitutory power. It further improved its administrative and research capacities.

It is with this history in mind that an analysis of Maori occupations/settlement agreements in the 1991 - 1998 era will now proceed. In 1991, after a hundred years of conflict with the State, Ngati Whatua received legislative acknowledgement in the form of the 'Orakei Act', that their grievances were justifiable and compensation from the Crown was required. In that same year, Hikurangi was physically returned to the Ngati Porou people, though Koro Dewes made sure to point out that legal ownership was a Pakeha boundary which had little effect on Maori connections to their cultural roots. He states:

Even though the crown held legal right to it (Hikurangi) . . . the mauri, its spirituality, never left us. We still sang it in our songs of mourning, in our haka and poi songs. Its still very much alive in our proverbial sayings and in our oral history (Mac Donald, 1991: 23).¹⁹⁰

As well, Te Ati Awa Trustees in charge of the 'Wellington tenths' took a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal about unfair rental returns on properties

¹⁸⁸ The New Zealand Maori Council took the Solicitor General to court.

¹⁸⁹ Even though the role of the Waitangi Tribunal had been nullified by the 1992 Deed of Settlement in fisheries, its political influence continued to play a prominent role in land settlements to current day.

¹⁹⁰ The Listener and T.V Times, March 25th, 1991: 22 - 23)

they were owners of, yet because of past legislation which set in place perpetual leases Maori land owners rights were marginalised.¹⁹¹

By 1992, over two hundred and seventy odd claims had been registered with the Waitangi Tribunal by Maori. The Tribunal reports on Ngai Tahu and Te Roroa in 1992 illustrated manifestations of broken Treaty promises that inflicted poverty on those respective whanau, hapu and iwi. For Ngai Tahu, systematic alienation from their whenua base had been devastating to them in all spheres of well being. The 'Te Roroa claim (WAI 32)', also doubled as a 'test case' about the restitutory powers of the Tribunal. Basically, the Tribunal had recommended that Government purchase a privately owned farm, and return a portion of it to Te Roroa. A dilemma for Government was that Alan Titford had brought the farm in good faith and they could not force him to sell his property, which the Tribunal had recommended. Eventually, Government paid \$3.5 million for Titford's property of 672 acres of which 38 hectares were returned to Te Roroa in settlement of their Treaty grievance. Legislative changes soon followed which removed the Tribunals right to recommend such things as the sale of private land in settlement agreement proposals.

During 1993, Crown and certain inner-circle Maori interest groups¹⁹² consulted and formulated what was to become known as the 'Te Ture Whenua Act'. Its main purpose was to keep Maori land in Maori hands. For example, legalising a property as papakainga (home turf) was now possible, but in some quarters Maori challenged the traditional thinking underpinning its definition of land. Another prime contestation point was that some believed papakainga could not be used as collateral for business ventures and thus severely limited land development potential for

¹⁹¹ Walker (1991) Korero, Listener and T. V Times, April 22nd: 40 wrote that: "Te Ati Awa Trustees of Wellington tenths complained to the tribunal of the injustice of receiving only \$5400 rent for one of its tenths at Pipitea Street in Wellington - the land is valued at \$750,000. The holder of the lease for this land is the government's own property services division, which sublets the lease for \$60,000". However, it would not be until 1995 that a working framework would be agreed upon to respond to concerns from both sides - the Maori owners and current leasees.

¹⁹² Government's own pool of Maori expert consultants such as Te Manatu Maori. Note, Government also held a series of hui about this particular Act.

whanau, hapu and iwi. In relation to activism regarding land issues, an occupation of the Department of Conservation's Tieke Hut in the upper Wanganui river region did occur in 1993. Though a remarkably low key event, concerns were addressed and the hut was officially returned to these occupiers.

One of the key events about Maori land in 1994 centered around the development of negotiations¹⁹³ and proposals for settlement of the Tainui rautapu¹⁹⁴ claim. Government's representative - Doug Graham and Tainui representative - Robert Mahuta, signed a preliminary agreement also known as 'Heads of agreement', to settle the Raupatu claim on the 21st of December. An official apology from the Crown plus \$170 million which included the return of 790 acres to the iwi were significant components of that agreement. Tainui also signalled that they would forego the caveat on Department of Conservation land¹⁹⁵ and their coal mines claims worth well over \$12 billion. However, the Waikato river and specific land block claims would still stand. In an interview with Derek Fox of Mana, Robert Mahuta explained the reasoning behind accepting the proposal on the table. He said:

We wanted a settlement to get us on the road to development . . . we wanted to work for development . . . to double our assets . . . to turn education into a business . . . and to focus on empowering our marae (Mana, no. 8, Feb-April, 1995).

With this Heads of agreement, the Tainui Trust then ran a postal vote to obtain mandate to legitimate the agreement for Tainui. Dissenters, were vocal in opposing the ratification of that agreement because they believed amongst other things¹⁹⁶ it negated their own hapu and iwi claims to tracks

¹⁹³ Previously the Labour led Treaty of Waitangi settlement negotiator - Richard Prebble - had given the iwi a 'take or leave it' settlement amounting to \$9 million. Tainui effectively told the Government to stick it.

¹⁹⁴ 1.2 million acres of land was confiscated in the 1800s from Tainui.

¹⁹⁵ In this agreement, though giving up the DOC claims, in lieu Tainui were given a permanent appointment on the Waikato Conservancy Board.

¹⁹⁶ "Maori factions opposed to the Raupatu settlement claim . . . banded together in an attempt to stop the deal from going through. Answering a call by activist Eva Rickard, Te Mana Ha o Waikato, Te Toitutanga and other groups met at Raglan on Wednesday to map out their strategy. . . . The group's main concern was how 242 people decided the future of more than 20,000 Tainui Maori Trust Board beneficiaries when a vote gave Tainui principal negotiator Bob Mahuta the mandate to sign a deal with the Crown . . . Under the deal

of land stolen specifically from them (Durie, 1998). Pare Hopa, of Te Mana Ha o Waikato, even accused the Trust board of manipulation and deceit. However, the postal vote reinforced the Trust's actions and consequently, the Tainui settlement was signed by Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu and Prime Minister Jim Bolger in May of 1995. Another important development towards the end of 1994 was the fiscal envelope debate discussed earlier. Of concern for other Maori interest groups¹⁹⁷ was that both the Tainui and Ngai Tahu Claims were inclusive in the envisaged \$1 billion cap indicated by the fiscal envelope. In effect, other tribal claimants were concerned that their due right of process was being hamstrung by fiscal boundaries that were ever diminishing.

The culmination of events in 1995 reflected Maori reaction to the fiscal envelope, especially from those who felt disconnected or under represented in settlement decision-making processes. Early indications that this would become a 'year of occupations', was sign posted in January when Te Ahi Kaa members stormed Television New Zealand, in protest against the recent reduction in air time for Maori programming. The barricading/blockading of the main highway into Wanganui from Wellington on Waitangi weekend, further exasperated interracial relationships as calls for recognition of Maori grievances were pushed home. Waitangi Day celebrations left the country in racial disharmony, as evidence of physical abuse by Maori against crown representatives,¹⁹⁸ received a lot of attention from media sources. Nearing the end of February, Moutoa gardens and Taumaranui Police Station were occupied as whanau, hapu and iwi Maori contested the validity of legal ownership of property assumed to be the responsibility of non-Maori. Nationally, the occupation of Moutoa gardens also known as Pakaitore Marae, developed many similar features to that of Bastion Point and its occupation in the 1970s. First, internal tribal/hapu debate continued during the occupation about this type of action. Two key factions appeared - river Maori and those based in the city of Wanganui. Second, both occupations experienced

signed by Tainui, all rights under Article 2 of the Treaty were signed away" (Wanganui Chronicle December, 30th 1994).

¹⁹⁷ Te Ahi Kaa and so on.

¹⁹⁸ Tame Iti enacts a 'Tuhoe tikanga', by spitting on the whenua as the Governor General passed him by. Media turned this into a frenzy of savagery attack on the Crown representative - stating that he had spat on the person in question. Maori also contested against Maori as to the intent and meaning of that event.

the loss of a child. Third, like bees to honey, the Maori protest movement and an array of government relationship facilitators came to work, to postulate, to debate, to support and to challenge the intentions of those who were occupying the gardens. Much like Bastion Point, the emotions ran high on both sides of the argument.

In the North Island, Moutoa and Taumaranui occupations generated an atmosphere of discontent as a ground swell of occupations followed. From Tuhoe activists moving into Taneatua railway station and Te Roopu a Te Pohutu's taking over of Whakarewarewa's tourist based Rotowhio marae¹⁹⁹ to the east, with Taranaki Maori occupying Patea courtrooms to the west. Likewise, Whaawhaakia's occupation of Huntly's Coalcorp and Te Toitutanga's protest on the Waikato University marae in the central zone. Auckland's Tamaaki Girls College occupation, Kaipara's notice of eviction to their local district council and Kaitia's airport plus Takahue occupations in the northern regions, left a very clear message to Government that Maori would not be passive recipients of grievance settlements. Their concerns needed to be respected. Likewise, accountability issues surfaces as Maori within iwi, hapu and whanau, also contested mandate issues regarding those negotiating on their behalf. Both the 'Whaawhaakia' and 'Te Toitutanga' incidents attest to such a fact.²⁰⁰ Tauwi/Pakeha responsiveness to these occupations, were diverse. On the one hand supportive calls for recognition of indigenous rights were advocated while on the other, cries of reverse racism and unity without separatism seemed to be the flavour of the day (Wanganui Chronicle, 1995).

One of the highlights of 1996 was the completion of the Taranaki Report in June and its recognition of injustice and suffering by Maori who were denied their rights during the land wars of the 1860s. Both the Whakatohea settlement²⁰¹ negotiations in October followed by the Ngai Tahu \$170 million settlement, were extremely difficult to conclude amidst claims of 'selling out' or 'favouritism'. Having responsible negotiators,

¹⁹⁹ Poata-Smith, E. He Pokeke Uenuki i Tu Ai: The Evolution of Contemporary Maori Protest. 97 - 116 (in Spoonley et al, 1996).

²⁰⁰ But as at Orakei, the occupation was proof that Maori who are not themselves involved in decision-making either with their own people or with the Crown will not be inclined to show infinite patience, or even respect for law (Listener May 13-19, 1995: 129).

who actively sought to communicate with one another, saw these settlements reach finality. Likewise, in terms of the push for iwi social services,²⁰² Ngati Ruanui in South Taranaki and the Tainui iwi Social Services were officially sanctioned by Margaret Bazley of the Children Young Persons and their Families service (CYP's) while, numerous others were beginning to consider such actions. Te Korowai Aroha²⁰³ and other informed Maori social service workers/educators at the coal face of the Welfare delivery system, began to actively campaign in their own iwi against moves to take over CYP's family contractual obligations to provide social services to children and their whanau. Reasons for their actions were again linked to concerns about 'inadequate funding so therefore every likelihood to fail'.

In 1997 there was an increase in Maori participation in health, education and the social services. Initiatives galore emerged which left Maori contesting for limited funding resources. That 'Bazley driven Iwi social services' dilemma left Ngati Kahungunu people in split camps about the viability of meeting the contractual obligations within a specific 'limited economic out lay'. The question was not about whether or not the expertise existed in iwi Maori response to whanau, hapu and iwi needs, but it was strictly a business point about sustainable financial support to ensure the success of the venture into social services. The Maori Television debacle also shook Maori confidence, not only in terms of dealing with Pakeha people but also provided a reality check concerning the behaviour of Maori on Maori.

In 1998, Maoridom lost several key activists of Kaupapa Maori.²⁰⁴ If Mana magazine articles are anything to go by, while Maoridom mourned the

²⁰¹ A \$40 million package based on raupatu - land confiscation.

²⁰² Margaret Bazley contracted to Maori consultants, the task of getting iwi Maori to take on board social services functions of the Department of Social Welfare. She had envisaged at least eight iwi social services to be up and running by mid 1997.

²⁰³ A Maori consultancy service dealing with Marriage guidance issues and decolonisation training

²⁰⁴ Matiu Rata and Eva Rickard both passed away.

loss of these advocates of taha Maori, the people resources appear to be limitless as new leadership abilities are displayed by Maori of all generations. The 1997/8 occupation of part of Waikaremoana displayed that Maori were prepared to revisit occupation as one method of redressing the tactic that Statutory Governments used of 'not involving Maori in decision making processes'. A peaceful resolution eventuated as parties got together to plan for the future. In summary, occupations and settlements, though the most obvious form of protest, had varied success in the 1990s. The return of whenua in settlement packages or making a point about consultation with local iwi, were advanced by strong resolve to make things right. The efforts of significant Maori and Pakeha, who were prepared to listen to each other, and back up arrived at solutions made this 1991-1998 time period a place of 'resolution with conditions'.

Inner or outer circles . . .

In terms of Maori dealing with Maori, the most significant issue to surface in this time period was the urban and iwi Maori debate. Central to this debate has been the point about representation and therefore allocation of Maori fisheries profit to all Maori. The Urban Maori Authorities had successfully been recognised in the High Court as recipients under Te Tiriti O Waitangi of the fisheries putea. However, iwi Maori took the case to the Privy Court of Appeal in England and the ruling was reversed with the following proviso: that iwi Maori needed to sit down and be inclusive in their decision making processes with Urban Maori Authorities about the allocation of fisheries benefits to all Maori. In essence, the judges said it was not the place of a court (Western based) to rule on a point of order that Maori in dialogue with one another should make. While the 1980s saw an influx of successful litigation in the courts of the land, this was indeed a sober reminder that Maori tino rangatiratanga invoked processes that need not be validated by Pakeha law. To reach this point of understanding cost Maori millions of dollars in legal fees.

Arguments revolve around identifying who is Maori and of those who is more deserving. A case in point were some of the problems that several iwi Maori had when setting up iwi registers. In Kahungunu the 1997 Heretaunga Taiwhenua elections were fraught with difficulties as Taurahere Maori who lived in the Ngati Kahungunu rohe received more political recognition than those Tangata Whenua who lived outside the iwi rohe. The Ngai Tahu register at its conception did not include spouses. This created dilemmas. When spouses were included likewise other types of dilemmas arose. For instance, in Kahungunu, a spouse could vote. This meant that if a Maori married a Fijian Indian, then that spouse could legitimately stake a claim to voting powers in decision making on iwi matters.

The issue of blue bloods and a class analysis contests the pitfall that Maori people get into when they belittle those who might not speak te reo, have limited knowledge of tikanga and kawa Maori and are unable to visualise the whanau ties through whakapapa with Marae and other Maori. The effort to claim one's Maoriness is not built on any simple criteria or check list. Its complexities reinforce the impact of colonisation on Maori through the ages and stresses the need to create all embracing social policies that bear with those who carry burdens of identity loss. This aspect of blue blood has often been portrayed in bestowed titles on Kaumatua. These have to be earned, and often go to those who are servants not front runners of power merchants. The ahua of these kaumatua reflect those qualities of services and love for all, yet, some also suffer from pride, selfishness and self advancement over collective wellbeing. The diverse realities of Maori continue to make this a prominent issue as relationships are established across different whanau, hapu and iwi.

The final issue is encompassed in the following statement; all Maori, or specific Maori. This debate reflects the strains between Kotahitanga, Maoritanga, and Iwitanga. In 1998 new iwi formations have surfaced (Kereama hapu/iwi), in political circles the value of having a critical mass has been acknowledged (the Maori tight five), while still many of our

rangatahi continue their search for identity. Many of the events in this time period, reflect a growing surge in iwi based decision making. The search for Maori political unity has been expressed throughout the ages, and likewise in this time period, it had its advocates. The Maori Congress was an attempt to consolidate Maori political power in a fashion so it could fit the bill with the other big players - Government and the financial/business sector. While it acknowledged the mana of each iwi, its proponents saw value in joining together for the benefit of all Maori. Ngai Tahu's withdrawal from that forum, illustrated a different strategy of negotiating with the Crown. This involved iwi to Crown and could be viewed as a specific iwi strategy, where iwi tino rangatiratanga rights override general Maori rights. In conclusion, these debates are ongoing and continue to impinge on long term planning for Maori who have yet to link with their whanau.

'The light of selflessness and tohatoha meet ...'

The challenge put forward by the material in this historical analysis is that patterns can be changed. A call from one indigenous speaker was to seek the death of a tribe to find the life of a nation. The intention about coming together and getting past some of the barriers to Maori self determination holds a lot of promise, especially for those Maori who continue to reside at the powerless, cold face of poverty and need. Whether Maori are prepared to widen their horizons, is a challenge that many in Chapters Five, Six and Seven of this thesis have operationalised.

Concluding comment - a summary of Chapter Four

Chapter Three discussed the effects of colonisation and settlement which saw Tangata Whenua systematically stripped of their resources and cultural esteem. It also pinpointed the rapid change in focus of Te Tiriti O Waitangi from being a founding social policy contract between Tangata Whenua/Maori and Tauwi/Crown of New Zealand society to a 'dust gathering nullity'. Maori protests anchored their arguments on its articles but still, cross-cultural relationships patterns saw Tangata Whenua

shuffled into poverty and political powerlessness. In this chapter, the politics of Maori social policy development in Aotearoa (from 1900 to present day), moved out of passive dependent mode, into a range of independent and interdependent activities. Consequently, the following key development stages were identified: monoculturalism, multiculturalism, biculturalism and tino rangatiratanga. The first two stages, 'monoculturalism'²⁰⁵ and multiculturalism'²⁰⁶ were both hybrids of Western civilisations efforts to subjugate or justify Pakeha/Tauwi advantage and oppression over Tangata Whenua. Biculturalism strengthened as Te Tiriti O Waitangi rejuvenated itself. However, it also discovered that Maori were much further along the track in terms of being bicultural. One of the key themes underpinning this stage was the way in which biculturalism promoted independence and increased knowledge. Finally, Te tino rangatiratanga reflects a phase of development that reinforced postmodernism philosophies of movement away from centralist government monitored or run social services to regional and local body control of those same services. The need to coordinate, facilitate and communicate suggests that though independence was important, interdependency or the sharing of responsibilities involved being an active participant in reaching outcomes within a supportive environment.

These developmental stages will be now be briefly analysed by using the 'Bi-Polity' analysis framework with its five identifiable relationship patterns between Tangata Whenua and State. In addition, a summation of the move from dependency in the early 1900s to independency [early 1970s to late 1980s] and finally the facilitation of interdependency in the mid 1990s, will be identified at the end of this summary.

²⁰⁵ A monocultural perspective gave no leeway to other views of perceiving reality.

²⁰⁶ In the context of New Zealand, multiculturalism perspectives tended to down play the Bi-Polity view espoused by Te Tiriti O Waitangi, which effectively nullified Maori Treaty claims. Maori were considered one part of the ethnic minority of Aotearoa, and this meant that Government were not required to consider Treaty rights above human rights for all New Zealand Citizens.

Five identifiable relationship patterns

Period Four: 1900 - 1950 Survival/underground - Cultural rebirth versus Cultural Consolidation. With Tauwi/Pakeha settlement of Aotearoa off the political agenda, the need for Government to communicate with Maori seemed trivial in light of mainstream New Zealand's excitement about contributing to international affairs. Displayed instead were overt examples of Tauwi/Pakeha cross cultural bullying also known as monoculturalism. Maori interest in the mechanics of introduced religions diversified into checking out the political spheres of Westminster democracy. As keen learners of its powers of persuasion and control, some Maori benefited but the majority experienced dependency on the State in all their affairs. A slight variation to this pattern of 'Elites dealing with Elites' through inducements and rewards, sprang forth in this time period. Investing in new leadership structures such as the Maori Councils, and Young Maori Party, was seen by Tauwi/Pakeha as a beneficial move to mold and control the development of their indigenous wards. Throughout these 'Cultural Rebirth versus Cultural Consolidation' years, Government continually sought the voice of Tangata Whenua through their own 'pocket'²⁰⁷ men. Maori were also actively involved in communications of this nature^{208 209}.

'Paternalism', in this time period was based around turning Maori into 'brownskinned Pakeha'. This meant involvement by Government in determining the direction and focus of dealing with Maori welfare. No longer was it just a moral issue, which was the case prior to the 1900s. Now it was about getting the best returns for a society built on capitalism and consumerism. It was advantageous for Government to control the purse

²⁰⁷ Pocket men highlights those Maori who have been used by Government to validate Government approaches to the 'race' question.

²⁰⁸ For example, Ngata by-passed the MWEO to negotiate directly with the prime minister during World War II. He was quite influential with Mason, the Native Minister, who assisted in the demise of the Maori War Effort Organisation.

²⁰⁹ Government brought Tainui representatives to Wellington in 1945 to discuss and formulate this Act (Tainui papers, Hui Taumata, 1984).

strings and set the frame of reference on the 'Native question', to facilitate the development of lines of dependency for such things as funding, without really letting go of the control to determine outcomes. The Native Affairs was a prime vehicle to achieve this end throughout the 1900s until its demise in the 1990s. As the statement below outlines, Government saw it as their responsibility to 'improve' Maori:

In the early 1920s, long after responsible government had been established and resources fixed, the Pakeha government further legitimised itself by active attempts . . . to improve Maori economic status. (Pu ao-te-ata-tu, 1986: Appendix I:13).

Furthermore, this form of paternalism and assimilation coincided with making integration policies seem acceptable to Maori leaders especially in light of the various health epidemics that befell their people. This concept of integration appeased Tauwiwi/Pakeha observers of race relations in Aotearoa, because it emphasized change for Maori not Tauwiwi/Pakeha. Notably, that ethnocentric white cultural conspiracy of the 1800s was recycled in the early 1900s under the belief that the central reason for Maori failure to date was because of their own inabilities. Consequently, a responsible government would control the processes of Tangata Whenua emancipation. Tangata Whenua were expected to embrace Tauwiwi/Pakeha goodwill and become dependent on the State. As Fleras and Elliot (1992: 182) rightly state:

Under assimilation Maori-government relations reflected the one-people ideal. This approach clearly went on unabated until the end of World War II.

The way in which the MWEO was conveniently side stepped at the end of 1944 by Government, who then preceded to create their own response to Tangata Whenua suffering, illustrates paternalism in working mode. With all the consultation opportunities taken in that latter part of 1944/45, Tauwiwi/Pakeha could still not break out of their own culturally rigid paradigms that sought control of Maori people. Maori people were clearly giving messages at that time, about wanting to create their own support

agencies, based on cultural customs and traditions. However, Tauwiwi/Pakeha politicians and bureaucrats from Native Affairs, came up with the Maori Economic, Development and Advancement Act of 1945, that effectively re-anchored the vortex of political and economic control regarding Maori wellbeing back into Tauwiwi/Pakeha hands.

The key factor in the participation pattern was that Maori in organisations like the NZMC and MWEO were beginning comprehend and understand the synergy of Western systems used to obtain political, economic and social support. Herein, the roots of biculturalism for Tangata Whenua were fostered. TYMP were a prime illustration of Tangata Whenua capitalising on western knowledge and wisdom. One of the costs of such experiences was that Tauwiwi/Pakeha animosity towards Maori political activism grew. While embarking on cross-race wars was out, institutional racism effectively harnessed and promoted Tauwiwi/Pakeha ignorance about Maori paradigms for interacting with others. The NZMC were often viewed as government puppets by their own people and stirrers by the white majority. Yet the grounding its members received in the multi-dimensional world of Tauwiwi/Pakeha politics was invaluable and gave Maori a foothold in the halls of decision-making affecting Tangata Whenua. The NZMC was a prime example of establishing a partnership between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi/Pakeha. Not so obvious were the hidden agendas of each interacting party. For Tangata Whenua, it raised the profile and presence of 'the native question', in the political environment of their Treaty partners. Tauwiwi/Pakeha had constructed this appendage in the hope of accelerating Maori assimilation, to advance the social control of Maori to become Pakeha. However, Maori driven aspirations for a parallel Maori parliament and chieftain council, while quashed in the late 1890s, were not forgotten. To quell the natives so to speak, Government came up with its own interpretation of what Maori needed in the form of legislation - the New Zealand Council Act of 1900. Maori turned this on its head and minutes of its first meeting highlight that Treaty grievances appeared to be a high priority. Government reaction

was predicable and funds were cut. Still partnership/parallel development initiatives were recognizable in this time period.

The MWEO has often been challenged as an army centered initiative, however it was all about recognising Maori customs and traditions in the formulation of appropriate structures to deal with Maori well being. It provides an illustration of autonomy in these two decades. More importantly, it worked to the ire of Tauwiwi/Pakeha in the Native Affairs. The difficulties of movements in this vein, were that Maori were not all on the kaupapa of kotahitanga. A key characteristic of traditional Maori society that permeated into this century was the 'survival instinct of many formations' over 'the one and only' phenomenon. So Maori were not locked into one pattern of development. Consequently, spokespeople were often not only at logger heads with Tauwiwi/Pakeha, but also with other Maori, be they their own or from other iwi settings. It is hardly surprising to find Maori seeking advantage at someone else's loss. Though colonisation lumped Maori together as the oppressed, they were far from being a unified homogeneous cultural body.

Period Five: 1951 - 1970 Myths and Legends. One of the key development from 1951 to 1970, was the Hunn Report. It gave off a range of contradictory directions. Though it stressed the role of Government in the links to overall accountability with a range of Maori initiatives, it also supported the development of parallel systems where minor levels of autonomy could be practiced. The end goal was to create a truly bicultural nation built around Pakeha values, beliefs and ways with a sprinkling of Maori/Tangata Whenua culture. Acknowledgement of diversity, difference and worth of Maori culture, though stressed, seemed to be overridden by a conscious push for 'masterly' treasures inherent in dominant Pakeha societal patterns. The MWWL; NZMC; NZMW; MT and the Maori Affairs Department all cavorted in and out of all of those five race-relations patterns. As well, these groups were all tied into the infrastructure of dominant Pakeha society by legislation. Often their existence paralleled the political aspirations of Pakeha men in power. So it would be

true to state that they all owe their beginnings to processes associated with consociationalism. The experiences of the Maori Trustees reflects strongly that Paternalistic pattern whereby all Maori Trustee boards and their subsidiaries were legally accountable to the Minister of Maori Affairs. The Maori Affairs Department could not shake off that paternalistic robe nor could it disassociate itself from the corridors of political power where its own 'Pakeha' Maori Affairs Minister resided. A plus for those five movements/organisations was that Maori had all these various places to develop skills and an awareness to successfully participate in the halls of power. The MWWL, NZMC and to a lesser extent the NZMW organisations created an air of partnership and exhibited elements of parallel development, but often without any substantial political clout. This was due in part to the funding connections they had with Pakeha governments less than committed to securing the wellbeing of their Maori Treaty partners. Often these organisations were portrayed as sincere efforts by government to support the autonomous resurgence of mana Maori motuhake. But in reality, such autonomy was impossible within the system. On the other hand, Nga Tamatoa was all about working outside the system for Maori autonomy. Peeling back the intentions of Nga Tamatoa one is introduced to kaupapa Maori where Maori theories, philosophies and struggle were the foundation for continued struggle against Pakeha/Tauwi oppression. Nga Tamatoa was the radical arm to a budding grass roots movement that sought reclamation of mana a iwi. The falling rolls in the MWWL, NZMW, and NZMC reflected this change in energy from government initiated forums for Maori development back to traditional Maori-Friendly support and advocacy organisations.

Once again, in these two decades, there was a strong attitudinal belief in racial superiority held by those in power and expressed in a range of settings that limited the development of inter race relations and reinforced reductivism and blaming.

It must be stated that MWWL leaders developed expertise in negotiating face to face with Tauwi/Pakeha politicians, that reflects elements of

consociationalism (Welch, 1994). But the overall pattern was one of developing a parallel organisation that could fill more appropriately the needs expressed by Tangata Whenua. In 1957, Whina Cooper (then president of the MWWL) echoed to government the following statement:

Our people are calling for the retention of their culture - indeed for the incorporation of these in the total culture of New Zealand.

Likewise, the MWWL's Dominion Executive report (1958) stressed that:

... leaders of the time, both Maori and Pakeha, fought for the opportunity to give the Maori Women of New Zealand a united voice in National Affairs, and we have now arrived at the time when we must take stock of the situation (MS Papers, 1396 Folder 3)

Though it was set up under the 'Participation in the halls of power' cross cultural interrelationship pattern, Government involvement in its appointments,²¹⁰ legislative foundation and funding reflected elements of that 'consocializational' pattern. Some Maori were quick to utilise this State created political vehicle to restate long held grievances and concerns regarding the assimilationist behaviour of their Treaty partners, invoking a parallel/partnership pattern. Others, painted the NZMC as Maori captured by the State, working for the State, and repositioning for pecuniary advantage their own whanau into government circles of decision making and power, thus making it appear 'consocialisational' by nature. While not altogether untrue, the flipside to its workings was that even when Government was unhappy with the direction NZMC took and withdrew, reduced or delayed funding, of their own volition NZMC members continued to act as Tangata Whenua watch dogs of Government policies, procedures, and processes that were detrimental to Tangata Whenua well being. In their first report presented on the 7th of April, 1964, this watch dog tendency was ratified:

²¹⁰ Hanan made it absolutely clear at the inaugural meeting who he wanted in key positions on the council, i.e Sir Turi Carroll as president; Henry Ngata as vice president; Norman

The council is also happy to cooperate with the Department of Maori Affairs, although this does not mean that we will be simply a rubber stamp for government proposals (MS Papers 1396 100 MWWL)

So on the one hand, they were upskilling themselves on Taiuiwi/Pakeha political protocol, while on the other, informing Maori communities of options to take in the political arena of Taiuiwi/Pakeha to remedy long held grievances based on broken Treaty promises. Such actions support the view that a combination of 'Participation in the halls of power; Partnership/or parallel development; and Autonomy parallel development patterns were used by the NZMC to push the cause of Maori tino rangatiratanga.

Period Six: 1971 - 1990 Attack and Parry, Coming out - our home fires burn brightly. Case One: 'Activism in the 1970s and impact in the 1980s', in this multidimensional case study it was obvious that iwi Maori, Nga Tamatoa and Te Ahi Kaa sought recognition for Maori autonomy. The Tainui Iwi Board, actively pursued establishing relationships with the State, albeit through face to face relationships with significant others in Wellington. This was accomplished by maintaining a physical presence in Government parliamentary chambers. The end goals centre on having a sustainable economic base with the State. Maori communities supported in principle moving towards an autonomous state. Maori individuals were also prominent in developing their own political skills. Participation in the halls of power became their focus to secure Maori political clout to benefit all Maori.

In Case Two: 'A Stately Affair', again, those items in this case study support Government's strategy to pass over to Maori responsibility to care for their own needy. The four inter race relationship patterns (participation in the halls of power; partnership/or parallel development, paternalism and consociationalism) were used here to move the onus of responsibility

Perry as associate secretary. In that same meeting on the 28/29 of June 1962, Carroll was elected president but it was the council's choice not Hanan.

from central government (in this case, Maori Affairs) to iwi Maori bodies and other groups.

Case Three: 'Hui a iwi, and white back pat/lash', provided space in the national terrain for Maori to encourage Maori. Most of their efforts (Tainui/Ngai Tahu and so on) are about moving towards a state of autonomy. There are some Pakeha who support the partnership/parallel development pattern, while others hold strongly to paternalism and false promises of equity based on common ground from being part of all humanity. Hui Taumata prompted separation for development purposes and held autonomy as the key prize to work towards.

In Period Seven: 1991 to the present Different Heights, the notion of consociationalism seemed to be a very tactful strategy to advance one's kaupapa. Urban and Maori iwi leaders such as June Jackson, John Tamihere, Tipene O'Regan, Robert Mahuta, and others effectively used person to person contact to develop relationships with Bolger and other parliamentarians to get their outcomes delivered. Paternalism, continued in covert ways, for example in the distribution of funds to Maori Education, Health and Social Service initiatives; the Crown continued to dictate criteria and desired outcomes. Participation in the halls of power, was displayed by the Electoral Reforms. The MMP environment has delivered on several accounts in that Maori were able to use the political system to seek appropriate changes to existing social and economic policies to support the advancement of those unemployed. As well, the increased numbers of Maori Ministers of Parliament has created a sense of ownership for Maoridom of once quite a foreign environment. Having over Thirteen Maori Ministers in Parliament has strengthened the view that working within the Treaty framework or the system so to speak is okay. Autonomy, has been a goal that Maori whanau, hapu and iwi continue to strive for. Autonomy in this sense is about being decision makers, correlating with a range of significant others, and understanding the role of interdependency that stresses team work across the cultural spectrum. Finally, autonomy was about creating new options, that place

Maori at the centre not periphery of the vortex of change and development.

The facilitation of dependency, independency and interdependency.

In the 1900 - 1950 time period, monoculturalism reinforced Maori dependency on the State, especially after Maori experienced the full brunt of 'paternalistic and assimilative maps of action' that minimised and marginalised the contribution of Tangata Whenua in developing New Zealand's Nationhood. These monocultural perceptions meant that Maori were unlikely to advance in their decision making if the status quo remained. Perceptions feeding those beliefs have been summarised as follows:

1900-1950: A Tauiwī/Pakeha perception of inter race development:

- The egalitarian ethos which stated that all was well in Zion.
- Tauiwī/Pakeha prejudices that suggested Maori were not abstract thinking.
- Tauiwī/Pakeha beliefs that Maori were inferior to them.
- Tauiwī/Pakeha outright dislike for Maori or things Maori - racism.
- The benevolence and fear issue - Maori were viewed as a health risk to Tauiwī/Pakeha when in fact Maori were infected by Tauiwī/Pakeha.
- A capitalistic/individualised driven society challenged communal collectively and responsibility.
- Integration policies became a soft word for assimilation and paternalism.
- Unable to rely on the Government even though the Government believed it was the parent responsible for its indigenous people.
- The white New Zealand policy which was reflected in the 'Yellow scare' and racism.
- Maori were given access to perceived not real power.
- No funding reflected a dependency on Government support for generated initiatives.
- State Socialism from the cradle to the grave.

1900-1950: A Tangata Whenua perception of inter race development:

- Serious economic depression as Tangata Whenua reeled from attacks on their mana whenua.
- Inferiority complex taken on board by Maori, that they were less than Tauiwī/Pakeha.
- Maori experienced cultural disorganisation as the whanau, hapu and iwi social entities came under attack from the nuclear family paradigm.

- The pauperisation of Tangata Whenua.
- Moral declension - Decline or deviation due to temperance, gambling, adultery and thriftlessness.
- Loss of tribal leadership left Maori struggling to deal with new cultural configurations.

In 1951 -1970, multiculturalism, biculturalism and the rise of independency saw Tangata Whenua move away from ignorance to a state of knowing. Maori became more aware of their bicultural attributes and the diverse realities of Tauwiwi. For Tauwiwi, it was about acknowledging the ethnic background of every New Zealander and establishing a positive future, even though the past was difficult. For Maori it was about justice and the effects of colonisation on Maori. A healing protocol demanded the following as prerequisites:

- Maori were acknowledging that Tangata Whenua culture was by nature, dynamic and evolving.
- New Leadership.
- Cultural selves not lost completely.
- Prophecy is part of Maori culture.
- Cultural renaissance.
- Adaptation and Survival.

1951-1970: A Tauwiwi/Pakeha perception of inter race development:

- A promoted belief that Maori were incapable of dealing with increased involvement in international spheres of cross nation negotiations.
- Another belief that the money markets and international trends were out of synchronisation with the collective communal even communistic tendencies displayed in the Maori ethos and life style and therefore out of bounds to Maori.
- Paternalism continued to influence political, economic and social decisions.
- Maori still experiencing a lot more ill health and disease in comparison to Pakeha.
- Secrecy rather than transparency in the development of policies affecting Maori wellbeing was promoted.
- Individuality was viewed as a paramount core principle that was needed for advancement in the civilisation stakes.
- Tribalism was no longer fashionable (Walker, 1987b).
- The 19th century Tauwiwi approach to 'civilise the savages', through assimilation policies which marginalised Maori values, institutions, and language, were rehashed under the term integration.

- Pakeha contended that they were not innately superior to Maori but their actions and behaviour seemed to reinforce this very principle they denied.
- The use of 'Hori' to stereotype Maori added to the war of words between the races.
- The agenda setting and political processes were still Pakeha dominated.
- State institutions failed to provide learning environments to ensure Maori had some sense of success and participation in the evolving society of Aotearoa.
- Protectionism was used in the past to justify government involvement in Maori Affairs. However, in these two decades, protectionism appeared to limit and even impinged on Maori rights under Te Tiriti O Waitangi.

1951-1970: A Tangata Whenua perception of inter race development:

- Urbanisation broke traditional whanau support structures and poverty of the soul, body and mind were the resultant outcomes.
- Feeling responsible for and defending the ignorance of Pakeha acquaintances, friends, representatives meant that Maori ended up fighting Pakeha battles.
- Enjoying the spoils of modernisation and civilisation meant that some Maori became the 'back floggers' of their own people. If I can do it so can you.
- Not being the majority meant that the bulk of Maori people were excluded from positions of power and status in regional and national organisations.
- The use of 'Honky' to stereotype Pakeha was nothing but one-upmanship in the war of words between the races.
- The author's mother was labelled 'an at risk parent' by district nurses because of the number of children she had, the economic status of the whanau, being Maori, and the fact that the author's father was out working in the shearing sheds most of the week. What these nurses didn't consider was the whanau and hahi/church support available.

Approximately three decades from 1971 to 1998 have been characterised by varying degrees of 'dependency, independency and interdependency' across the cultural spectrum. Maori and Pakeha are having to readjust relationship lines to deal with changing power structures. The illustrations of Tainui and Ngai Tahu corporations suggest that some Maori have economic aspirations for their iwi, hapu and whanau. For the likes of Tuhoe and Ngatiporou an investment in western educational pursuits has born dividends with many iwi, hapu and whanau members in the higher institutions of learning. Ngati Raukawa's push for Wananga

Maori illustrates the emphasis on developing parallel institution of learning that incorporate Maori tikanga, ritenga, matauranga and kawa.

1971-1998: A Tauiwi/Pakeha perception of inter race development:

- We have no culture, what is New Zealand culture.
- We don't relate to the old world - Mother England and so on.
- Why can't Maori just leave the past in the past.
- We need to participate in development of New Zealand with Maori and other minority groups.

1971-1998: A Maori/Tangata Whenua perception of inter race development:

- I'm a New Zealander first.
- I'm Tuhoe or Ngati Kahungunu first.
- Lets all get together and work this out.
- We have our right to self determination.
- I don't know my roots.
- I'll never take a step backwards.
- Those past ills need redressing now.
- Lets upgrade, tidy up our own back yard first.

In conclusion, the facilitation of those phases of development have not been a uniform experience. Some are further along the track than others. What this historical analysis has provided is that there have been noticeable patterns of cross cultural interactions that have impacted on the formation of Maori social policy either sponsored by whanau, hapu and iwi or through statutory or local body agencies. The feature of interaction in the 1990s reflects a strong surge of pro-Maori development, that has benefited from settlement claims that have reinstated an economic power base for their whanau, hapu and iwi to provide clout for decisions they need to make about their own wellbeing. This has not been with teething problems, but displays the efforts of Maori to reclaim their rights to participate as equal partners with non-Maori.

*Part III: Ki te whai ao ki te ao marama,
tihei mauri ora*

(Analytic perceptions)

Prelude to Chapters Five, Six and Seven:

Chapters One (on The politics of Maori research) and Two (Ko te ao tawhito o nga tupuna Maori . . . the roots of Maori social policy) in Part One - Te wairua Maori, of this thesis set about detailing the parameters influencing the acquisition of Maori knowledge, research and learning within the cultural parameters of Aotearoa. A research framework with theoretical and conceptual foundations was explored, claimed and validated. The key outcome from these two ventures into the research and theoretical dimension of Maori culture was that Maori also had bodies of knowledge and wisdom underpinning Maori wellbeing, and more particularly for this thesis, Maori social policy development. Chapters Three and Four have provided an indepth historical backbone to this thesis. It has been one of the tenets throughout that historical patterns are evident in the past, that they do influence the present and can impact on the future. In combination, these chapters set the scene for the analysis of data on current social policy initiatives and situates this within a historical context. It is also important to point out that the historical data gathered was not done for the express purpose of analysing the interview data. History and the stories it shares is an indepth analysis in its own right. In regards to this thesis, Chapters Five, Six and Seven bring the historical, conceptual threads of the 'Politics of Maori social policy development' together within the contemporary context of social service delivery in Aotearoa.

Part three of this thesis entitled 'Ki te whai Ao ki te Ao marama, tihei mauri ora', moves onto analysing the interview, historical and diary data.. In Section one of this prelude entitled, 'Whakatika' or to make right, the politics of Maori social policy development expressed in the various data sources will be evaluated using three analysis frameworks. These have been outlined as follows:

- Chapter Five: Contemporary State imperatives - is analysed using a 'Bi-Polity' analytic framework, already developed in the prelude to

Chapters Three and Four. These patterns are used to critique the role and function of the State in responding to Maori wellbeing.

- Chapter Six: Maori strategies and aspirations regarding the politics of Maori social policy development - All forms of data will be analysed using the 'three life giving principles of Maori wellbeing - wairuatanga, whakapapa, tikanga me kawa' (developed in Chapter three) to understand the strategies and aspirations of Maori in their efforts to respond to Maori welfare concerns.
- Chapter Seven: Challenges and outcomes - uses a 'many rivers analysis' framework to comprehend the best outcomes for Maori and the barriers that tend to hinder such outcomes. This framework is discussed fully in 'Whakatika'.

Section two 'Hauora' or the breath of life, gives an introduction on each of the three Chapters in this analysis section.

Whakatika . . . analytic frameworks

Bi-Polity - Five patterns of relational engagement framework for Chapter Five.

In the previous historical analyses (Chapters Three and Four) the use of a 'Bi-Polity analysis framework was clarified. From its relational filters which determined the nature of inter race relationships, five patterns of engagement were identified: Consociationalisation, Paternalism, Participation, Partnership/Parallel development and Autonomy. These same analytic tools will be used to comprehend the dynamic interrelationships between Maori and the State identified in the data collected.

The three life giving principles of Maori wellbeing analytic framework for Chapter Six.

Maori strategies and aspirations are evaluated using a three pronged analysis based on three life giving principles identified in Chapter two. These principles were identified as 'wairuatanga', 'whakapapa' and 'tikanga me kawa' (for further information on these refer to chapter two).

A 'Many rivers analytic framework for Chapter Seven.

In the korero, 'He iwi kee, He iwi kee, Titiro mai!' (Salmond, 1991), a third fundamental analysis component emerges that reflects assumptions of cultural differentiation. The dilemma of hierarchialisation of cultural difference derived from equating power and prestige with attained levels of cultural development,¹ created stereotypes. These in turn established winners and losers as the macro world view paradigms of Tangata Whenua and Taiwi collided. The author uses a 'many rivers analysis' to deal with the various Maori development outcomes that have been discussed in the interview data.

The metaphorical use of 'rivers' delineates clearly the persuasive nature of those debates which at one end of the spectrum are anchored in the colonial drive for universal totality explanations, while at the other end notions of localisation and difference emerge. Ultimately these positions and others along the analysis continuum of cultural development, provide reasons for cultural uniqueness, diversity and sameness. At the same time, Walsh (1993) contends that this has created an environment that is accepting of difference and challenging of old world Western eurocentric philosophies. Ponter (1989: 12) has this to say about cultural development. It involves combining and capitalising on:

¹Are measurements of cultural development universally accepted? What one might see as cultural development others might see as subjugation.

. . . those social processes which have as their objective improvements in life-sustenance, self esteem and freedom.

He then talks about the 'centredness' of knowledge in the eurocentric quadrant, and how this has effectively created an imbalance in the way the world has been named. In other words, the visions, experiences, world views, with associated knowledge of the world, from the so called 'others', be they the unheard, oppressed and/or indigenous, have historically not been seen as a main contributor to the well being of society because of the dominance of eurocentric perceptions. Moreover, since the 1950s that situation has changed drastically with the failure of mass industrialism to address environmental safety, and the emergence of political voices from those outside the Western Eurocentric rim.² The conceptual legitimization structure of this 'many rivers analysis' can be signposted under six key propositions.

Six key propositions of a 'many rivers' analytic framework

Culture bound realities.

There are universal characteristics inherent in the way rivers form and flow to the sea. Yet still, there are many different patterns. For example, the Mississippi river not only contains various life forms different to the Tukituki river in Hastings Aotearoa, but the Mississippi is much larger and sedimentary. Each river sings the history of its human cultural co-inhabitants. For instance, the Tukituki awa/river to Ngati kahungunu - the resident iwi/nation in the wider Heretaunga area viewed it as a place of mana, a living entity in its own right. It gave forth food resources to that iwi, it provided the environment for growth and development, it gave birth to stories about life and death, of love and hate. Its pathways were negotiated for daily transport or used strategically in times of war. In

² Mandela from South Africa, Sivanadan from Sri Lanka, Frantz Fanon in the States, Friere of the Americas. In Aotearoa the writings of Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Moana and Syd Jackson, Linda Tuhiwai Smith all add weight to other world views outside the western eurocentric rim.

relation to world views, proposition one espouses the belief that there are many views in existence, and these provide explanations of realities that are culturally bound.³

Power relationships and flexibility

The categorisation and prioritisation processes determining the use and value of rivers has often led to different treatment protocols, without clearly identifying the underlying reasons and agenda of those in positions of power who make key decisions.

Correspondingly, any attempt to establish a hierarchical order through categorisation and prioritisation of these distinctive entities or differing world views, runs the danger of ethnocentrism on the one hand, cultural relativism⁴ on the other. Proposition two proposes that instead of seeking hierarchical order, of greater significance is understanding the elements that propagate these world views. One would ultimately be drawn into observing and critiquing the signs of the times, notions of power, control and survival, and the propensity of those world views to be flexible in the face of changing environments.⁵

Threats to indigenocentricity

River pathways are susceptible to change through external forces.⁶ One illustration was the 1931 Napier earthquake. The Tukituki entry to the sea was drastically altered. Likewise, proposition three reflects the observation that indigenous world views have often been affected by the external

³Culturally bound is of similar quirk to ethnocentrism, however, without the negativism of being the one and only. But espousing the belief that each culture provides one view only of the total reality of the human experience in this world.

⁴Cultural relativism reflects a perspective that advocates that all cultures are of equal worth, that none is better than the other, that they all have a place under the sun. (Sissons, 1992)

⁵In Aotearoa, the introduction of firearms, the written word, Christianity, Westminster justice and law are all prime examples of changing environments

⁶On a recent trip back to Waimarama in Hawkes Bay it was obvious that one stream's route to the sea had changed significantly. On inquiring how that came about, apparently a log blocking the original route had created the change.

forces, such as nature. In the case of Tangata Whenua world views, these were tied to many seafaring exploits which meant that isolation from other parts of the world continued to have a major impact on their direction towards cultural development. Threats to indigenocentricity⁷ or the power and ability to further adapt, grow, mature and develop ones own birthright in a global area faced many barriers as explicated in this proposition.

Inter-race struggle

A river can be abused in numerous ways. For example, through pollution,⁸ the introduction of non native fish species⁹ or plant life, even managed water systems.¹⁰ Moreover, in terms of differing world views, proposition four contends that indigenous cultural world view paradigms have historically been abused by Western eurocentric ones which sought to assimilate and at times completely annihilate indigenous people through the weapons of colonisation, imperialism and modernisation. Oliver (1988) in summing up the exploits of early settler governments in Aotearoa, said that they used the twin tools of war and law to acquire ownership over resources that previously were part of the stewardship of Tangata Whenua. Another case in point has been the tendency of western Eurocentric 'movers and shakers', to actively subjugate, oppress, exert dominion over and minimise the worth of indigenous cultural knowledge, wisdom and experience in key aspects such as the art of

⁷ Indigenocentricity combines the ahi kaa concept of authentic connection of a native populus to a particular part of mother earth with evolution inside a culturally bound reality. Nature, outside visitors etc, challenged that safety zone and left indigenous occupants reeling with few reference points to allow them to adapt, change and develop in response to those external foreign stimuli.

⁸For example, industrial or human waste emptied directly into streams, rivers, lakes and seas. Pollution of underground water tables happens often through such things as spray seepage.

⁹The introduction of the catfish into certain water ways throughout New Zealand has led to the extinction of native fish species.

¹⁰The Whanganui river has become a visually murky, muddy river, yet prior to the dam system being introduced, it was well known as a crystal clear river. The managed water system in place has meant that the river flow has dropped significantly and altered the traditional characteristics of the river.

healing and support, i.e the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907. Another way was through the introduction of guns in the late 1700s and early 1800s which dramatically mutated the power relationships between iwi, hapu and whanau in Aotearoa.

All Cultures have their own sophistication.

In observing the origins of rivers, one is often introduced to an interconnected network of glacier formations, lakes, tributaries and streams that are the life line to a central river entity.

In similar vein, proposition five, highlights that the blue print for each world view is energised by a combination of cultural knowledge, wisdom and experience developed and formed over time, the influence of significant key actors such as theorists leaders academics revolutionaries, natural or catastrophic changing events, and interaction with other world views.

Therefore, cultural totality, is the sum total of all these interconnected dimensions. For example, cultural totality for pre-contact Tangata Whenua has been best expressed in the 'Ko Au' model (see Chapter Two)

Change and Development.

Rivers appear to be at the vortex of numerous expansion and progressive development projects. It is this development which is illuminated in proposition six. The transformation and survival of these differing cultural entities, hinge on their ability to make and shape the visions of their members in ways compatible with the historical contextual time settings they exist in. Foremost, in reaching their developmental goals, is responsiveness to their own cultural well-being. This 'many rivers' analysis recognises that these culturally based world views provide legitimisation, validation, and establish an authoritative perception of the world for groups of people. Finally, it is used to understand more fully Maori efforts towards self determination and self control.

In Summary, these three analysis components of 'Bi-Polity', 'three life giving principles of wellbeing' and the 'many rivers' combine to explicate and unravel the truths inherent in the interview data on the politics of Maori social policy development.

Hauora . . . Chapter abstracts

The key task here, is to signpost and provide an introduction of the three Chapters in Part III of this thesis.

Chapter Five entitled 'Contemporary State imperatives':

Analyses the politics of Maori social policy by exploring the way in which the State has influenced, hindered, shaped, controlled and assisted in the politics of Maori social policy development in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The 'Bi-Polity' analysis framework with its five patterns of engagement are used to connect the historical realities with interview findings.

Chapter Six headed 'Maori strategies and aspirations regarding the politics of social policy development'

Concentrates on the dreams and visions of self determination held by Maori movers and shakers. More importantly, the strategic options utilised to make those aspirations a reality are also explored. The 'three pronged life giving principles of wellbeing' explained in Chapter two, provides a theoretical and philosophical platform from which to analyse the data collected.

Chapter Seven simply headed 'Challenges and Outcomes'

Looks at the politics of Maori social policy development from the interviewees eyes, by using a 'many rivers' analysis approach. There are eight components to this analysis. Four specifically relate to the challenges or barriers that confronted these people that were interviewed. These were identified as: culture bond realities, power relationships, threats to indigenocentrism and inter race struggle. The remainder influenced the manifestation of specific outcomes to respond to Maori needs and these

were identified as follows: Flexibility, all cultures have their own sophistication, change and development.

Each of the chapters conclude internally with a section entitled 'Nga tukutuku enei' in which a summary of key points from the analysis is revisited. Furthermore, these Chapters give insight into specific initiatives driven by people who not only 'talked the talk' but 'walked the walk' as well. As the whakatauki below suggests, these analyses are about the respondents providing a form of self examination to support others development.

Hokia ki nga maunga kia purea koe e nga hau
Tawhirimatea - one should know oneself and one's own
traditions before presuming to tell other people about
theirs (Brougham and Reed, 1963: 91).

Chapter Five: Contemporary State imperatives

A key area of analysis throughout the literature review and also in the interview/hui sequences of this research, centered around the impact and influence of the State in defining and also responding to Maori social policy development. Subsequently, the title of this chapter 'Contemporary State imperatives' lays open and orders discussion and debate, about the various ways in which the State has influenced, hindered, shaped, controlled and assisted in the politics of Maori social policy development in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

It was a Maori world during the initial contact period where Maori institutions, philosophies, values and belief controlled/determined the interaction with non-Maori. Historical data did produce instances where Tangata Whenua established mutually beneficial relationships with prominent Tauwi visitors to obtain new technology, new knowledge, increased resources and more influence. An obvious outcome for Maori at that time was 'strengthened self autonomy'. Formalising race relations between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi, led to the signing of New Zealand's foundation contract, Te Tiriti O Waitangi. Though signed in a dynamic contextual environment,¹ it did have the potential to usher in a 'bi-polity' arrangement between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi in Aotearoa/New Zealand that recognised Maori autonomy and supported inter-race development.

However, the advent of Pakeha/Tauwi settlement followed by Western Eurocentric political, economic and social power consolidation in the latter nineteenth Century, appeared to be a turning point, from Maori self autonomy to Maori dependency on the State. Of notable concern were the immediate ills that surfaced. Maori ended up landless and were treated as

¹ Made up of different key personalities who promoted their own agenda, and had to deal with contextual circumstances unique for that time period.

serfs in their own country. Again, Maori leaders entered into a range of reciprocal relationships with the State to improve their lot.²

Even in the 1900s, with Tauwi/Pakeha settlement of Aotearoa off the political agenda, and the need for Government to communicate with Maori, this seemed trivial in light of mainstream New Zealand's excitement about contributing to international affairs.

Contemporary historical illustrations also displayed a range of strategic manoeuvres by Maori to enhance beneficial outcome for their whanau. Even with, Tauwi/Pakeha cross cultural bullying of Maori, there were monumental efforts to re-secure Maori autonomy within a changing national and international environment. Central to all these situations was the role and function of the State. For it was the State that embodied those philosophies of Western civilisation, determined who got resources, and became the source of attention that Maori activists fought against.

During the course of this investigation, five strategic patterns supported by the State to either hinder and/or assist Tangata Whenua/Tauwi cross cultural interrelationship development have been identified. These patterns have been named Consociationalism, Paternalism, Participation in the halls of power, Partnership and/or Parallel development and finally Autonomy. In each pattern, the State's influence has had a major impact on determining accessibility to resources needed for Maori wellbeing. These five strategic conceptual patterns will be used as tools of analysis to order and make sense of the historical, hui proceedings and interview data collated about the role and function of Western European governance structures on Maori social policy development.³

Furthermore, the depth of this analysis recognises the impact of three realities. First, that the State wanted and supported certain types of Maori

² Maori leaders were using every strategy at their disposal to secure 'a place in the sun for their own'.

³ Maori social policy development has as its main aim the enhancement and promotion of positive Maori wellbeing.

social policy development which deviated significantly from contractual arrangements and philosophical principles inherent in Te Tiriti O Waitangi. Subsequently, State driven initiatives that addressed Maori wellbeing tended to emphasise Pakeha/Tauiwi paternalistic tendencies as well as sectarian Maori elite interests. The second reality, placed weight on the way Maori interpreted and responded to State imperatives. Even with universal condemnation about State programmes of assimilation and cultural re-engineering,⁴ Maori opinion, experience and interpretation of the State's role in dealing with inter-race relationships and representing all New Zealanders fairly, remained controversial, diverse and dynamic.⁵ Finally, the third point to remember is that while New Zealand's colonial and recent past, provided ample illustrations of the State as an oppressive, at times subjugating parent when dealing with Maori matters, positive Maori social policy outcomes involving both races albeit at different levels of engagement, also occurred.

In summary, the aim of this chapter is to bring these three realities together using the five patterns of Tangata Whenua/Tauiwi cross cultural interrelationship in a critical and informed way. To begin, section one contains a brief overall historical data analysis (Nga ara rau) based on information and illustrations gathered through the historical literature review incorporating all those five patterns. Section two entitled 'Nga ara hou', breaks down each pattern by completing an analysis of interview data (Nga ara hou) from the six case studies underpinning this research. Incorporated within this analysis will be excerpts from a personal diary kept by the researcher and which document the interpretations of the data collected throughout the research process from a range of sources, such as hui proceedings. Section three named 'Nga tukutuku enei', provides

⁴ The 'Brown skinned Pakeha syndrome' effectively moved Maori into denial mode of their own ethnic/cultural origins as Maori. So effective was this re-engineering of cultural identity, that Maori tried to be pseudo white. Pencil lips, a non-Maori name, a light shade of skin colour and a Pakeha girlfriend were entry requirements that made re-engineering a positive experience.

⁵ Depicts again the diverse realities from which Maori emerged.

concluding remarks and observations by the researcher on State imperatives.

Nga ara rau

The key function of this section is to briefly provide a definition and illustrations/examples of each pattern from the historical data used to underpin this research.

Consociationalisation

Consociationalism was a term used by commissioners from 'The Royal Commission on Social Policy', in their 1988 report. In simplicity, it reflects a pattern where dominating elite's communicate with subjugated elite's to work out self interests above those of the masses. This pattern centered around the process of using personality and providing small favours as a way of drawing together different groups of people.⁶

In terms of consociationalisation, during the initial contact historical phase, Te Pahi's well recorded relationship with Governor King of New South Wales in 1805, seemed to be self serving for both parties.⁷ After Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840), consociationalisation strategies became an art form. One of its earliest proponents during the mid and latter 19th Century was none other than Governor George Grey, who used his personal charm,⁸ small monetary grants and official titles as gifts, to obtain the support of Tangata Whenua elite⁹ for his native policies.¹⁰ Disguising

⁶ This idea of using one's contacts would not have been so much of an issue had there been no inducements or rewards attached that others missed out on. In like fashion, some Maori rangatira were quick to seize such opportunities that promoted the welfare and wellbeing of their own whanau and hapu above others. Capitalising on these personal relationships meant they were able to acquire favours at the expense of others not so fortunate.

⁷ It gave Governor King a base to expand colonisation in New Zealand and provided Te Pahi with direct access to muskets, food and other western technology.

⁸ Grey and others of this bent tended to rely on their personalities to move things to benefit themselves. Tangata Whenua elites were seen as being easily swayed with flattery and gifts: "responsive to a mixture of chiding and candy (Ward, 1967: 154)".

⁹ Te Wherowhero and Te Heuheu were early targets and beneficiaries of this type of approach.

or maintaining hidden agenda's that were self serving appear to be another major component of this pattern.¹¹ Likewise, the end goal in mind of these manipulators who tended to play people off against each other,¹² was to:

. . . reduce the tribes to acquiescent beggars on the fringes of the estate (Waterson, 1969).

Certain elements of Ngata's political efforts during the 1930s were perceived to be self serving for his own iwi, Ngatiporou (Butterworth & Young, 1990). In like manner, the Maori fisheries commissioners (1992-1998) have also been accused of establishing relationships with the State that advantaged their personal individual wellbeing¹³ and that of their whanau, hapu or iwi (Walker, 1994).

Paternalism

The mission of this 'Paternalism' pattern reflects a determination by Government to act in a parental fashion, thus reducing Maori to a position of inferiority as a child. Consequently, the State's role as a parent figure involved monitoring, influencing, limiting or hindering, shaping or controlling, even protecting and nurturing Maori social policy development as the child matured to adulthood.

On reading excerpts from Joseph Bank's journal during his visit to Aotearoa with Cook in 1769, paternalism influenced many of his scientific

¹⁰ During Grey's first office as Governor (1845 - 1853), this pattern worked to consolidate support from Maori rangatira for British government and settlement.

¹¹ For example, in 1865 Firth (an Auckland miller and entrepreneur) began negotiations with a Ngati Haua chief called Wiremu Tamehana for the lease of tribal lands but his ulterior motive was that of land acquisition. On the one hand he was friendly with the natives but on the other he was a member of the 'Direct Purchase Association' whose prime object was to destroy tribal ownership.

¹² In 1859 Governor Browne met with Te Ati Awa and convinced a minor chief called Teira to sell tribal land despite the fact that their paramount chief - Wiremu Kingi, had remained obstinately opposed to 'sending land out to sea'. In the 1941-45 period, the Maori War Effort Organisation lost out to a Tainui supported initiative that latter became known as the Maori Economic and Development Act. A 1990s illustration of this tendency was the way that Children Young Persons and their families service played Maori social service providers off against each other for funding.

¹³ Infact, their commissioner fees, used as confirmation of personal welfare accumulation appeared to be quite astronomical in lay working persons terms and income.

observations. By the 1860s stereotypical views relegated Maori to being 'less than Pakeha' and justified a range of resource grabbing exercises by non Maori. Maori cultural incompetence was an effective justification tool used by Pakeha/Tauwiwi management and expertise to take control of Maori wellbeing. At the same time churches embarked on a parental crusade to save the soul of these 'lost heathen children'.

In the mid 1900s, that paternalistic pattern underpinned accountability structures of Maori Trustee boards, their subsidiaries and other statutory bodies, namely the Department of Maori Affairs Department.¹⁴ Furthermore, paternalistic attitudes led to misunderstanding about land grievances and Bastion Point, incited the ire of liberal Pakeha Tauwiwi and Tangata Whenua who marched side by side in the 1981 demonstrations against the Springbok tour; prompted an environment of contestation and inequitable systems of support that led to the writing of Puaoteatatu. In the 1990s the fiscal envelope fiasco clearly depicted the belief that Maori needed to be 'helped' through difficult processes. This attitudinal inference continues to influence certain quarters of the State and public policy decision makers. One might ask, how can these things be connected - an illegal land occupation at Bastion Point, the issue of racism in the domestic politics of South Africa, institutional racism in State departments and efforts to obtain full and final settlement of Treaty grievances - the contention throughout this thesis is that the attitudes of those in positions of power with paternalistic tendencies did impact on the range of circumstances outlined. Finally, Paternalism has also shown itself in constructive ways as well. Progressive development, a term often used in sports management, has also been reflected in the history of race relationships in Aotearoa.¹⁵

¹⁴ This Department could not shake off that paternalistic robe nor could it disassociate itself from the corridors of political power where its own 'Pakeha' Maori Affairs Minister resided. An added feature in the early and mid 1900s was that its staff were predominantly Pakeha/Tauwiwi.

¹⁵ Tauwiwi support for the Young Maori Party facilitated the inclusion of potential young Maori leadership within Pakeha systems of political power. In the 1990s the term sibling

Participation in the halls of power

The key factor in this pattern is that Maori were developing competency in drawing on the synergy of Western systems to obtain political, economic and social support for their own aspirations. Herein, the roots of biculturalism for Tangata Whenua were strengthened. In terms of historical evidence supporting this pattern, Maori have participated in cultural development exchanges from first contact. Their experience and expertise in navigation and the art of seafaring meant that by 1840, many had circumvented the globe. Both examples given need to be weighed up against the commercial considerations of traders and colonisers who wanted insider information about the tradable resources available in Aotearoa. Right up until the 1860s Maori provided essential food crops for Taiwi colonies in Aotearoa and Australia. However, as soon as Taiwi merchants and farmers arrived, they took control of those essential services. Maori like their non-Maori counterparts, have also served and sacrificed in all international war duties that this country has been participated in.

Interestingly enough, the State used every means to conscript Maori into national war units, but after service had been completed, was very slow to provide Maori compensatory cover in the form of land allocations and rehabilitation into mainstream New Zealand Society. In every level of the working professional and business enterprise sectors of society, including those cultural/art interest, Maori people have contributed to the overall wellbeing of New Zealand. Yet, Maori are overly represented in prisons, poor health and welfare statistics (Durie, 1994), are often targeted by negative media coverage when holding political power positions (Dominion, 1995), and as in the case of the Palmerston North City Council

support more than paternal support, was noted in the setting up of the Maori fisheries commission and legalising the outcomes of the Ngai Tahu Settlement.

elections of 1998 usually poorly represented in the politics arena locally, regionally and nationally.¹⁶

Partnership/Parallel development

This pattern was built on working together and recognising the value of separate though parallel ways of achieving workable solutions. Te Tiriti O Waitangi established partnership/parallel development protocol between Maori and non-Maori in Aotearoa. However, immediately after its signing the British Crown emissaries, then settler governments followed by the State, up until the early 1980s orchestrated their own perception of partnership which basically meant the propagation of a monocultural society.

During World War Two, with support from the State, the Maori War Effort Organisation demonstrated that parallel development was possible. Throughout the 1980s Labour continued to use the principles of Te Tiriti O Waitangi as leverage to consult with Maori communities, and to formalise partnership experiences.¹⁷ In the voluntary sector the women's refuge movement developed parallel constitutions, one for Maori women and the other for Tauwiwi. This partnership experience also occurred for the New Zealand Association of Social Workers at a Hui in 1986 at Turangawaewae with the formation of a Tangata Whenua caucus. In contemporary times, the 1998/99 new scholarships being offered to Maori tertiary students to move into the health and science fields resulted from partnership negotiations between the Health sector, Academic sector and key Maori interest groups, for example iwi.

Autonomy

Autonomy or Tino Rangatiratanga infers a pattern that is built on self determination and empowerment. Prior to contact, illustrations of

¹⁶ The exception was the last MMP elections, but these coming up will indicate whether Maori representation holds, improves or is reduced.

¹⁷ For example, the development of the Waitangi Tribunal commission.

autonomy were evident in all aspects of Maori development. However, by the latter part of the 1800s, both Parihaka and Maunga Pohatu were illustrations of Maori using isolation to maintain autonomy in the face of assimilation tactics by Tauwi/Pakeha.¹⁸ The rise of the Ratana movement, the rise and development of iwi authorities, the acknowledgement of Maori knowledge and wisdom, a belief in Maori being controllers of their own destinies, all contribute to this pattern.

In the 1980s Maori providers of health and those supporting community development often experienced the following organisational trauma: that their funding ran out, they had poor facilities to work from and were expected to carry out large amounts of voluntary or so called non-paid work. With increased awareness of Te Tiriti O Waitangi, development of Te Kohanga Reo, Te Reo Taurawhiri, Kura Kaupapa, and Wanaanga Maori, Maori have moved a step closer towards being autonomous. In many ways, this has been limited movement because of the lack of real economic resources. The Waitangi Tribunal settlements over land and fisheries with Ngati Whatua, Tainui, Ngai Tahu and so on, have provided certain iwi bodies with the economic flexibility to strive for better responsive support mechanisms for their iwi. Autonomous urban Maori authorities have also attempted to redress Maori concerns in the urban settings. The State has supported these developments, though continues to control the purse strings for welfare, health and education support contracts, as the funders of these ventures.

Conclusion to Nga ara rau

The 1980s and 1990s will be remembered for the way in which the State transformed from one of totally dictating Maori social policy development through to supporting the rise of parallel systems where minor levels of

¹⁸ Though unsuccessful at that time, these movements were gathering points for Maori who wanted to maintain their cultural identities.

autonomy could be practised.¹⁹ Maori centered health/social services appear to encapsulate a respect of expertise across cultures as in the case of the Maori mental health units that function amidst the multi cultural mental health experts. The State in recognising this fact, has provided funding to respond to diverse Maori realities. So while there appears to be support for autonomous Maori centered services likewise hospital boards/CHEs have been apportioned funding earmarked for Maori who choose to use their services.

Nga ara hou

Each pattern is now observed and analysed through the eyes of those people interviewed in the six case studies. Material from the researcher's diary, accounts of hui proceedings and meetings will also be discussed here.

Consociationalisation

June Jackson, C.E.O for the Manukau Urban Maori Authority, was the only respondent who acknowledged that she personally used this pattern to advance the wellbeing of those under her stewardship. For her, there were positive lessons to draw from this strategic pattern. She had a direct line to a range of government Ministers in Wellington, and openly supported the value of such relationships. From her perspective these connections made up a legitimate part of her wider support networks to assist Maori who were struggling in the urban environment of South Auckland. Rather than creating a reciprocity of favours between elite's, she saw her involvement with the State, as a place that Maori had a right to participate in. On one occasion June was asked to be a member of a Government task

¹⁹ The Maori Women's Welfare League, New Zealand Maori Council, New Zealand Maori Wardens, Maori Trusts and Maori Affairs Department all cavorted in and out of all those five race-relations patterns. As well, these groups were all tied into the infra structure of dominant Pakeha society by legislation. Often their existence paralleled the political aspirations of Pakeha men in power. So it would be true to state that they all owe their beginnings to processes associated with consociationalism.

force, and actively set about to claim that space by power dressing. For June Jackson, the message was simple - through power dressing.²⁰

. . . you know I was saying [to Pakeha on that task force] that this is one Maori that knows your [Pakeha] world better than you.

Consociationalisation was also considered a barrier to Maori development and wellbeing that government and Maori elite's promoted for self serving reasons. June Jackson identified that one of these barriers to Maori wellbeing centered around Maori elite's who were enjoying the benefits of that pattern at the expense of Maori in need.²¹

This point was carried on by comments made in an interview with Janice Kuka of Te Puna Hauora in Tauranga. She noted that during the initial establishment of this agency in the Tauranga Hospital environment, the initiative was attack by colonised Maori who feared the loss of their own personal power base, which they had exercised unrestrained for years with statutory and local Pakeha dominated boards and committees. As she comments:

. . . once the unit was set up there was a back lash. And the people [Maori] started to say 'we don't want it now'. 'Its not what we said we wanted'. And I believe they thought they were going to be disempowered and not have a direct relationship with the powers that be. At a staffing level, a lot of our staff [Maori] were colonised, and they thought they were going to lose their personal power that they had built up over the years, where they could dictate what should happen and what should not happen. So there was a huge backlash against us. It was I believe just through the belief in the kaupapa in which we set up that it succeeded because the backlash continued for about two to three years. We have been flicking elements of it now 6 years on but its not as strong.

²⁰ She attended 50 odd hui and wore 50 different outfits while a sitting member of that task force. This came about as a result of the early impressions she received from a Pakeha/Tauwi colleague on that task force who used power dressing to assume control.

²¹ June Jackson pointed out that Maori 'fat cats' continued to receive a range of benefits even though they did not need them.

Janice Kuka continued to identify this phenomenon by linking it to the difference between personal as distinct from community mandated power to act on behalf of whanau, hapu and iwi:

[Accumulating] personal power, had been going on for a long time within these institutions, where groupings of Maori or individual Maori have had personal power given to them by Pakeha. And when we [Te Puna Hauora] set up, they knew that those days were gone. Because eventually, this collective Maori people would start having a strong say on how things would happen here now. I suppose they saw their individual power base slipping away. So you get all those range of people, trying to create obstacles to stop you . . . a lot of our own iwi started to attack us as well, because [to them we were] taking away their power base. They only wanted to negotiate with the hospital.

Ngahiwi Tomoana, then chairperson for Te Taiwhenua O Heretaunga, was scathing of this tactical ploy used by Rangatira of Kahungunu, who on the one hand went about establishing an iwi runanganui to co-ordinate the development of Ngati Kahungunu yet as he put it sold out the mana of the iwi and:

. . . snuggled up to the kawatanga [Government] model of iwi development.

Allayna Watene, Manager of Health Development in this Taiwhenua, also reinforced this tendency of Government sponsored Maori efforts to infiltrate and dominate Iwi development.

. . . Now the Whakapumau mahi committee decided [unnamed]²² wasn't doing the job adequately and they advertised the Mana Enterprises co-ordinators job and I applied for it through the paper like others and was successful in my appointment. Now 18 members of that board were the people that interviewed me and my understanding was that they weren't Maori Affairs people, they were Ngati Kahungunu people, and that I was being

²² I have placed [unnamed] in several quotes to maintain the anonymity of those spoken about in the interviews. Refer to Chapter One to see the protocol that was followed where respondents/interviewees were given the first right of edit. Maintaining the anonymity of those interviewed was not an issue.

employed by the Whakapumau mahi committee which was part of Te Runanga nui o Ngatikahungunu. So when I got my notice that I had been successful, I was at the time working as an accounts supervisors at Nelson Freezing works, or Tomoana Freezing works and I refused to hand in my notice at the Tomoana Freezing works until I had a job description and a contract with the Runanganui to say what my job was and who I was answerable to. It turned out I had to write up my job description myself. They gave the job of doing that to [a person from the Hastings Maori affairs office] who was an assistant director to [the Hastings Maori Affairs director] and who was sitting on the interview panel at the time I applied for the job. He didn't come up with anything so I wrote up the job description and they adopted it, and essentially I became an employee of the Runanganui which had no legal entity. So when I moved into the department of Maori Affairs, they knew that I wasn't one of them, that I didn't have the same privileges, if that's what you call it that they had as public servants, and that I was answerable to the people.

And the funny thing was that [unnamed], his desk was put right next to my desk. And yet he never advised me of what had happened prior, but what I did have was the support of Numea August and Tamihana Nuku. They were both on the Whakapumau mahi. And so they guided me until I got my bearings, understood the kaupapa and set up a programme I guess. But one thing I wanted to do and I eventually did, was I wanted to move out of Maori Affairs. I wanted Kahungunu to know that they had their own iwi organisation, that we weren't part of Maori Affairs. And so that didn't happen, I started in that job about May, June of 87 and I had found out that there were some empty administration offices down in Orchard Road, they used to be the Hawkes Bay Farmers Meat Company, it was their administration building and [it had been placed] into receivership. So I approached the property developer responsible to the receivers and asked if they would allow us to move in there. So the following August 1988 I moved out of the Maori Affairs offices and moved into Orchard Road and Dave Stone who was my contemporary but a Maori Affairs Officer with his staff who were all Maori Affairs but working for the Runanga nui. They wanted to move with me but they didn't. So I moved on my own with my receptionist and we moved into that building. And I got threatened by [Blank] who was on the Whakapumau mahi. He was very much in with the Maori Affairs, his brother [Blanked] was a member of the board of Maori Affairs and also the Chairman of the subcommittee of the board of Maori

Affairs for Mana Enterprises. So [Blacked] was in control of the Mana kaupapa throughout the country. So it was in these circumstances that the Runanganui and Taiwhenua entities emerged out of the Hastings Maori Affairs office.

But I believe that we as people have always longed for our own self determination and for me when I heard it, it was music to my ears, but when you got in there you found that you were just a pawn or a prop or a crutch for the department. Not the department in Central government but the department in the regional offices.

Maori who had benefited for years in this 'elite to elite' relationship often ended up in dual roles and as in Allayna's illustration, tended to inhibit Iwi tino rangatiratanga. Although the other case studies were not specific about this particular pattern, both 'He Kamaka Oranga and Ngati Koata' were the result of establishing working relationships with State or agency decision makers who provided either the funding (Regional Health Authorities) or were instrumental in actioning the implementation of Te Tiriti O Waitangi partnership responsibilities within their own organisational management and policy structures. Te Whanau O Waipareira, in keeping with its proactive business and tikanga accountability approach, recognised consociationalism as a barrier to healthy relationships between urban Maori and iwi Maori. During the interviewing sequence in 1996, this agency had two cases in progress against what they perceived to be 'Maori elitism', which marginalised urban Maori in crises. In conclusion, this pattern held many negative connotations for Maori, but a closer inspection of this phenomenon re-emphasises that moralistic leverage accompanying its usage can benefit Maori people and does have a place in Maori strategic planning. However, on more than one occasion the attraction to - you scratch my back and I'll scratch your's - has meant that Maori in need have been left to fight for the so called 'bread crumbs', while certain others have continued living lavishly on the 'fat of the lamb'. Herein is the injustice that consociationalisation brings. At the same time, Allayna Watene's previous comment also highlights the resistance efforts of Maori to this pattern of engagement.

Paternalism

Paternalism has been a State pattern that has dominated much of the relationship building between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi in Aotearoa. All case studies commented on this pattern of engagement and for organisational reasons their responses have been categorised into four dimensions, identified as follows: the spiritual, economic, social, and political dimensions. Illustrations of both the negative and positive attributes have been given for each dimension.

One noticeable feature arising out of the spiritual dimension, was the function of churches as change agents who moulded whanau Maori into western civilisation. This provided the State with the moral justification to continue assimilation policies. In an interesting twist of fate, the churches were also responsible for creating learning environments from which Maori developed skills to question and challenge Pakeha/Tauwi subjugation²³ of their culture.

Taotahi Pihema's own life story was based on the positive influences of religion. His personal accounts with the Methodist church evinced the grip that western religions took on various marae and accompanying new traditions which impacted on whanau, hapu and iwi. As he mentioned:

Then I went to theological college. I undertook training in the Methodist ministry. My father was a Methodist minister, my grandfather was a Methodist minister, four of my father's brothers were Methodist ministers. You get a lot of families who were priestly families, within their areas, ours was the priestly family. Tainui was basically the stronghold for Methodism, particularly with the Kingitanga, until recent arrivals like the Mormon church, which has got a big grip with our people there. And they brought people from all over New Zealand down to Temple View.

Then while I was a theological college, I flatted and boarded with David Lange for four years, cause he's from a

²³ Te Aute, Hato Petera, Hato Paora, Tipene, Church College of New Zealand, Queen Victoria, Saint Josephs were the breeding ground of current Maori leaders.

very strong Methodist family, and we went to the same bible class, and Sunday school, Young adults meetings and dances together. We went to each others weddings.

Whilst I was at theological college, I attended Auckland University and did philosophy, psychology, Maori and education, because it was encouraged by theological college, to do academic studies. Similar to the Presbyterians . . . It was running at the same time, so that you get your undergraduate degree and if you want to do any post graduate studies after that [you can]. So the church nurtured me from the time I left the rural situation of Whatawhata to go into Hamilton. And in a lot of ways I owe a lot to the church for their education, for providing me with the opportunity, even [though] the ministry wasn't my calling, but Dad wanted me to do that, and I promised I would . . .

Ngahiwi Tomoana from Te Taiwhenua O Heretaunga, could relate to the church-Marae specific environments yet implied that while Waipatu marae was Anglican, his whanau were constantly being exposed to the colonisation processes through multi-contact with a range of churches.

I also was brought up on the marae. That was important. Because we were part of everything that happened. Tangi, hui, birthdays, christening. We were brought up as Anglicans. We were basically an Anglican marae. So we had the church there. Every Sunday [morning] we had the bell ringing in our ears every . . . We had Brethren Sunday school teachers, we had Catholic teachers for our culture, we called the Maori Kura group. And we had the Anglican Lintel next door.

Whaea Aroha Beal of Te Puna Hauora in Tauranga felt that Christianity had had a detrimental influence on Maori whanau, hapu and iwi in the Bay of Plenty. She saw that historically these religious bodies were significant colonising institutions, in collusion with the State, that used paternalistic principles to lead key whanau Maori away from their responsibilities within Maori communities. For instance, young whanau members were sent off to religious boarding schools such as Te Atue, Hato Paora, cultured up in the ways of the Pakeha/Tauiwi, and then sent back to convert other family members. As she argues:

I think that that was a deliberate ploy, I always felt that that was a deliberate policy on the part of the early missionaries, that came to the country, that colonised us.

Because they came and they targeted those families. I know they did in our area. And kicked those families out and sent them all to school, [that is] Te Aute. I'm just speaking from my own experience, because all our grandfather and all his brothers went to it. And they ended up in the land court . . . But I reckon it was a deliberate ploy on the part of the early colonisers, to go amongst iwi and target those families and send them away to those missionary schools. And colonise them . . . Christianity was one of the biggest colonising influences on our people. We say we are one people. There's neither Maori nor Pakeha. But we are one. I mean that's a Christian philosophy that devastated us. We gave away a lot of our lives.

Most of the arguments supporting this perspective provide illustrations in contemporary times of Kaumatua and Kuia who had become steeped in religious rhetoric and found it nearly impossible to decipher Maori tikanga from implanted Christian values and beliefs. In many ways the spiritual dimension provided the moral fibre for change to occur within a world where the spiritual dictated the physical and social dimensions of humanity.

The economic dimension was plagued with examples of the Government maintaining control over funds that left Maori in the passenger's and not driver's seat. June Jackson, in speaking about Hui Taumata (1984) stressed that Maori wanted to be in charge of their own destinies, to move into the driver's seat.²⁴ From another perspective, Allan Hippolite used decisions made in the Maori Land Court to back up Ngati Koata's Tangata Whenua status in Nelson.²⁵ Naida Pou of He Kamaka Oranga, defined a paternalistic situation that she was actively changing. Over the years hospital institutions in Tamaki Makaurau/Auckland, had responded to Maori health needs in Auckland by providing value added services to

²⁴ June Jackson said, ". . . And of course in 1986 the spin offs from the Taumata conference that they had in 1984 where Maori people were demanding some autonomy to be able to do the things they wanted . . . to have real money."

²⁵ To some, this illustrated how the State began to dominate legal processes to define traditional ownership of Maori land. Others, felt that an outside arbiter was required to settle iwi boundary matters. In economic terms, iwi Maori continued in contentious mode with one another and the State remained a key contributor in defining Maori relationships to land, and other Pakeha/Tauwi deemed assets such as fisheries and so on.

existing mainstream homogenous services. Paternalistic attitudes reinforced these knee jerk responses because when financial constraints were realised, these same 'clip on' services were just as quickly 'clipped off' in fund saving pursuits.

Within the social dimension, State sponsored urbanisation²⁶ plans were influential in creating major dislocation problems for Maori who moved out of traditional lands and tikanga into Pakeha/Tauwi dominated time and space. Accompanying this shift was the difficulty of having to deal with negative cross cultural stereotyping. June Jackson was especially irate with the way in which non Maori in power positions began to redefine what they considered a Maori person to be based on their own stereotypical impressions. Glenis Tierney of He Kamaka Oranga identified a similar situation in the hospital:

. . . And that's the sort of attitude that pervades this place. You know . . . our previous policy analyst . . . he'd run around the hospital and they use to question him all the time on his business of being there. And so those sort of attitudes are still pervasive . . . and its a very Pakeha organisation [Hospital] . . . they're not use to having Maoris in suits or . . . having Maoris at a corporate or management level and they still relegate our role to [cultural/clip on] ceremonial things.

Hohepa Waru,²⁷ Taotahi Pihema (Te Whanau O Waipareira) and Ngahiwi Tomoana (of Te Taiwhenua O Heretaunga) experienced negative and positive outcomes after coming into contact with a monocultural paternalistic education system during their socialisation and development. Ngahiwi Tomoana's feelings of being 'lost at university' or culturally alienated made his early departure and failure in that setting seem to be a

²⁶ Incorporated in this pattern was the strategy embarked on by Government to urbanize Maori into a ready made labour force for a thriving Pakeha dominated industrial sector. John Tamihere held no punches when he argued that this dislocation created a 'them and us' and a 'have and have not' mentality that effectively robbed Maori of their ability to think. This theme of urbanisation was a common discussion point amongst most respondents.

²⁷ He experienced first hand in his own education the flaws of a paternalistic attitude that permeated through mainstream education. The outcome was a turbulent sensation of self, not system failure.

norm for Maori. Taotahi expressed thanks for the opportunities accorded to him through his education from both worlds.

From a political point of view, John Tamihere C.E.O for Te Whanau O Waipareira saw that historically this pattern of engagement was responsible for the loss of dynamic leadership in Maori circles during crucial development periods for Maori. Janice Kuka (Te Puna Hauora) also pointed out that Maori were not only being lured away from tikanga Maori by an assortment of personal wealth incentives but that they also ended up becoming 'agents of the State' left with the task of advancing monoculturalism. Another characteristic evident in this dimension was the way that government continued to change the rules. This has meant that some iwi have had to deal with continual changes in the boundaries determining cross cultural engagement. Ngahiwi Tomoana explains this phenomenon by stating that:

We've stumbled into . . . things. We have stumbled into our fishing business, we have stumbled into our health contracts, we've stumbled into our ETSA things . . . we have been looking that far ahead we haven't seen the old judder bars, until we've been kicking them. And the government keeps changing the rules too. They keep chucking in more judder bars and hurdles and stuff. But if we had a clear path, clear sight and our vision [then] they [the State] . . . would become dependent on us to deliver [the appropriate services].

A diary entry taken during a homevisit with Ema Jacob (Co-ordinator of Ngati Raukawa social services) about her battles with Community Funding Agency (CFA) - a branch of the Department of Social Welfare, vivifies this point even further:

Often the rules have changed to suit their (CFA) purposes. Often she has presented papers to clarify Ngati Raukawa's position on social service delivery to their people but these have not been taken seriously.

Both John Bradley²⁸ (Massey Lecturer) and Ema Jacob argued that decentralisation of Statutory bodies²⁹ reduced markedly the ability of iwi to engage with the Crown/State in any meaningful way. Connie Hana of Waipareira contested that because Maori initiatives were locked into mainstream funding, the State still controlled the direction and form of Maori development. Taotahi Pihema went further to argue that hard ball paternalistic tactics of the State also left Maori organisations with either very little detail about their rights and alternatives for funding or gave contradictory/false information. This also appeared as a tool which kept Maori in the dark. June Jackson (MUMA) and Allayna Watene (Heretaunga) held nothing back when commenting about the effectiveness of State sponsored/set up Maori agencies. For June Jackson, these Statutory Maori agencies³⁰ were:

. . . quite incompetent really and were hardly in the position of monitoring us and telling us how to do thing from Wellington.

For Allayna Watene, while Maori Affairs staff were keen to participate in iwi development, this could have well been viewed as a take over bid. Maori Affairs staff believed they were in a better position to decide for their iwi, hapu and whanau on the type of governance structures for iwi.³¹

²⁸ This point was made clear at a lecture John gave to the Master of Social Work Students during their on-campus course dated July the 10th, 1996. The lecture was titled 'Iwi Social Services and the State'. Note, John is a lecturer for the School of Social Policy and Social Department that was then known as the Department of Social Work and Social Policy, Massey University, Palmerston North.

²⁹ The use of outreach workers for CFA severely altered the way in which iwi could relate to the State. This regional/local worker was responsible for the allocation of CFA funding in localities. It took the heat off State head offices to account to iwi bodies, and placed these front line workers in the inevitable position of having to deal with frustrated iwi and agency organisations seeking funding. Note, the allocation of the overall budget for each locality was a decision already reached behind closed doors in head office. That figure was relayed to these outreach workers and it was their responsibility to distribute that putea out to not only iwi bodies but all other social service agencies vying for funding in that locality.

³⁰ Like the Maori Affairs department.

³¹ These governance structures were usually a replica of Pakeha systems they were exposed to in their departments.

Participation in the halls of power

As Maori acclimatised to Pakeha/Tauiwi political systems, processes and ideology, this particular pattern of capitalising on western knowledge and wisdom became more evident. The purpose of this section is to check out whether or not Tangata Whenua efforts to become self sustaining by using this pattern were assisted or hindered.

One of the key aspects that positively influenced Maori efforts towards self determination, involved Maori utilising the synergy of Western systems to obtain political, economic and social support for Maori driven initiatives. Allen Hippolite demonstrated this by pointing out that the Ngati Koata Trust was set up by Maori who understood the Government direction and political system of that time period. He states:

My opinion is as follows - the idea of the Trust was first formed when the Government was looking at providing funding to Maori for Maccess programmes and my father-in-law saw that it had potential for the teaching of some of our people who were . . . So the Trust was set up with a charter and an overall mandate to awahi those of the iwi who wished to come under its umbrella, with a view of fostering employment, culture, any aspect to do with the holistic wellbeing of our people.

Wayne Taylor (Ngati Koata Social Services), spent time describing the relational dynamics between the RHA (Regional Health Authority) and Maori providers. His point was that those Maori in the know, or familiar with Pakeha systems, were able to capitalise on what he termed "a window of opportunity". This led to a rise in Maori consultancy bodies acting as contractual agents whose main task was to liaise between iwi and the State on a range Maori health issues.

For Tangata Whenua, government influences may have initially set the boundaries for Maori self-determination but Maori organisations emerged from those circumstances with stronger resolve to take control. For

example, while the Manukau Maori Employment Authority arose because of a change in Government training and employment policies.³² June Jackson, Brian Joyce and other Maori training providers in Manukau were able to cut their political and philosophical teeth so to speak at the sharp edge of State and community development interaction. From a grass roots community development experiences emerged the Manukau Urban Maori Authority, now with seasoned campaigners for Maori development. As June Jackson argued, their social policy formulations for engagement with their Maori constituents required a thorough working knowledge of tikanga Pakeha and an in-depth understanding of tikanga Maori.³³ Participating in the corridors of power also gave Maori the opportunity to both use and support Pakeha in the overall strategy of meeting the health and welfare needs of Maori. In addition, Chris MacDonald of He Kamaka Oranga felt that interacting at the managerial decision making level created many Pakeha/Tauiwi service options for Maori that previously were closed to Maori whanau, hapu and iwi. It was also a great training ground for Maori health workers who could become an invaluable asset as Maori health providers expanded in the future.

I work with all the managers across all of the different services that we have, which in a nutshell is rehabilitation, we've got child and family programme, we've got home health care programmes, we've got public health, we've also got the diabetes centre . . . we've got oncology and we're starting . . . a new rehabilitation service . . . I'm committed, to see that Maori health status improves because we are a . . . huge organisation . . . four hospitals mental health and community health services. We have half a billion dollars worth of turnover per year . . . we've got seven thousand eight hundred staff . . . I mean we've got the leverage [as well as] access [to resources] that [haven't] been [available previously to] our people and just get them through, get them the heart valves that they need, get them the access to the waiting list, get health promotion programmes happening, get

³² This changes in training and employment saw the benefit of regionalising State sponsored training facilities for Maori. Consequently, centralisation was challenged and devolution of those responsibilities to communities was advocated.

³³ Based on personal experiences not text book learning.

more Maori who want to participate in health, you know nurses, doctors therapists and so forth, managers, get them into this health system . . . [you know that] the Maori Health Provider Sector is growing so you know where are they going to get their supply [of trained workers/experts] from. They need people with the skills, to be able to go and manage the health services or work the health services.

Bill Takarei a colleague of Chris MacDonald, believed that involving Pakeha/Tauwi in positive change of this nature was essential for long term success of Maori controlled and initiated welfare/health services. Part of that role was to facilitate that change was left on the shoulders of those in He Kamaka Oranga. However support from Pakeha decisionmakers in that agency made developmental contact of this nature possible. Ngahiwi Tomoana also recognised this same point when highlighting how the development of a Maori perspective in the Hastings City Council culture was prompted by Pakeha inquiries. Finally in Tauranga, Iwi Maori responded proactively to policy changes in the way funding was allocated to health providers by introducing iwi managed care.³⁴ The key point here is that Maori were in transition mode between adaptation (to Pakeha/Tauwi institutions of power and control) and cultural actualisation (reformatting the experience of colonisation with cultural resurgence/resistance). The principle underpinning these illustrations was that 'two way cultural exchange and interaction' in Pakeha/Tauwi corridors of power was positive for Maori.

However, there were far more illustrations of how this pattern inhibited and hindered Maori tino rangatiratanga. From a spiritual perspective,

³⁴ Aroha Beal states that . . . in the Bay of Plenty we've got the most GPs, who have set up a private company called Prime Health. And they align with Etna insurance and Brierleys and they have got about 40 GPs who belong to the company. And so we asked Sir Ross at our last joint venture meeting what is happening to the . . . rest of the GPs that stand outside of Prime health. Now they are moving into another body called GMS Limited, and they are aligning with Waikato. These are the counter strategies that are going on now. And I guess for us, that's why we went for the iwi managed care [approach]. [However in this] managed care [approach] insurance companies plays a major role . . . [because] we also know what we're getting from the crown are capped budgets . . . and it's never enough. And so like these pakeha GPs that are forming alliances with different insurance companies, we [looked at setting up a relationship with an offshore insurance company as well] . . . already we are moving into the private sector and looking at what offshore alliances we can join up to.

Maori had taken on board and merged with their own spiritualism, much of the philosophies of Western Eurocentric religion. Janice Kuka, Aroha Beal, Ngahiwi Tomoana and Allayna Watene were all opinionated about the long terms effects on Maori wellbeing of Christianity. The church was a place of considerable colonisation in early and mid contact years, but in recent times, these people in places of worship have also become advocates for change that recognises diversity and difference amongst people in Aotearoa.

In eco-political³⁵ terms, even with Te Tiriti O Waitangi and its advancement of a bicultural legacy, Pakeha/Tauiwi continued to practice minimisation in the allocation of resources to Maori and also placed compartmentalisation above holistic views of wellbeing. These two points were aptly illustrated by Aroha Beal who explained how the Kohanga National Trust had approached Jenny Shipley (then the Minister of Health), with a proposal to obtain part funding from the State for their health insurance initiative with tamariki and their whanau who attended these pre-school language nests. Shipley, during that meeting, rejected providing economic support for Kohanga using a compartmentalisation rationale as her gauge for justifying her actions:

[Jenny Shipley basically] . . . told them to take a hike, because she said that they [The Trust] belonged in the education industry, not in the health. She wouldn't fund them.

Another inhibiting factor from the political dimension, already discussed in the pattern 'Paternalism', was the way in which Pakeha/Tauiwi frequently changed the rules or 'playing field' to retain political, economic and social power. Furthermore, Treaty partners would enter into self serving contracts with Maori who had their own hidden agenda. Overall, Maori needs were sacrifices for personal vendettas or personal gain.

³⁵ Eco-political reflects an acknowledge of the interconnectedness of the Maori world view - the human dimension of political development with the natural terrain (ecology).

Ngahiwi illustrates this vividly as he talked about interacting with the State as a client advocate.

. . . [As a Maori client advocate I was approached by the income support services who contracted me on a koha basis to monitor] their systems in terms of providership of benefits . . . service to customers, service to the tamariki [and] rangatahi through the Social Work system and also in the Income Recovery [section of this department]. So I worked in all of those areas monitoring their [this agency's] performance. Came out with a thing that you can't change [the behaviour or attitudes of] the staff, you have to get rid of them. [Second] that Maori in the system were bearing an unproportional share of service to [Maori] customers. They had to say no, and they had to say no nicely but they didn't have any discretion with the department to change the rules, to bend the rules, yet their supervisors [who were predominantly Pakeha] could. But they never gave their Maori workers that discretion. So with all those reports [I gave] and carrying on negotiating with . . . subsequent bosses, they saw in their wisdom to hire a cultural officer. So they hired, [Blank]. It didn't work, because [Blank] was part of the Kahungunu runanga nui and he was doing runanga stuff and not implementing all these findings. Yet the head of the Social Welfare used that as an excuse not to do anything . . . [His response to the cultural advisors focus on runanga business was simply] you [can] do anything [you want] . . . [just so long as] you keep these [Maori] staff [and their concerns] off my back. And that's what happened. [When this cultural advisor] was replaced by Eru Smith, he [Eru] started to make a change and then he got killed in a car accident. They never picked it up, and again because [there was] such a backlash from politicians from bending over backwards for Maori, such a backlash from Pakeha staff because it was their career and there was such a backlash from the local Pakeha community about Maori getting more and more of their money, they thought it was community money, that the department decided to do nothing.

While Pakeha in Hastings initiated contact with the Maori community to assist in formulating a Council position of Te Tiriti O Waitangi, what stood out for Ngahiwi Tomoana was the way in which they were disrespectful of tikanga Maori, yet demanded respect for tikanga Pakeha:

They laugh and joke during karakia, yet during their systems, they have an iron rule on what can happen and Maori don't have a place in them.

The view that Maori had 'no place in Pakeha systems', reflects another hindrance in terms of dealing with socio-political dimensional aspects of this engagement pattern. This fostered a belief and practice, contrary to Te Tiriti O Waitangi Article Three, that Maori had little or no rights to be inside Pakeha power institutions, actively enjoying agency privileges and societal membership benefits. So when Government benefit cutting occurred, Pakeha/Tauwiwi State agents ignored the pain and suffering of Maori people. Justification in the form of deficit theories placed the blame squarely on Maori for their own misery (Simon, 1991, 1986 Smith, 1996). At the same time functionalistic philosophies saw no problem with having a disadvantaged sector of society that just happened to be predominantly Maori. Therefore, deficit theory, individualisation and separation was not completely antithetical with strategies that looked at developing possible Maori and Pakeha alignment. Either approach successfully introduced Maori to assimilation which moved Maori towards 'being Pakeha'. Lengthy exposure to these prevailing perceptions meant that a whole generation of Maori did not know how to stand up to Pakeha power players. In essence, Maori had experienced colonisation of mind, body and soul which left some kaumatua unable to confront, discuss and debate issues of common interest with Pakeha.

. . . [what] we had to conquer were our kaumatua. I don't like to say that maliciously, but it was just they were a product of their times . . . what they did for us was marvellous as kids growing [but] what they couldn't do was eyeball Pakeha and talk to them (Ngahiwi Tomoana).

Breaking out of this socially engineered phenomenon which had been set up to restrict the actions and thoughts of Maori parents was to be an arduous task. But as Ngahiwi contends, the end product of pursuing this course of action left him with:

. . . no fear of Pakeha and Pakeha institutions, or Pakeha things. I can walk in and eyeball them and say we want

this . . . we want that . . . at the same time you have to work within [the system] sometimes, but the constructive damage I am talking about is get in there and reconstructing them [systems] so that Maori can cut through [the barriers] and get [a range of] services too.

Allayna Watene Health Manager for the Heretaunga Taiwhenua of Ngati Kahungunu, gave a prime example of Maori who after being part of a Pakeha institution also tended to change the rules to suit their purposes. In the mid and late 1980s two key forces emerged in the political spheres of Ngati Kahungunu - those who wanted to support and endorse whanau, hapu and iwi initiatives and those who wanted to dominate or control the nature of those processes. A policy change in relation to the administration of Mana Enterprises for Ngati Kahungunu Runanga nui appeared to be trivial but once contextualised its significance in terms of the different forces at work within whanau, hapu and iwi showed that Maori were quick learners of both good and bad attributes displayed by Pakeha/Tauiwi power brokers. Allayna saw this change in policy as a strategy by certain Kaumatua to seize funds that had been accumulated through transparent tikanga for non - transparent self serving purposes. John Tamihere, Connie Hana and Taotahi Pihama of Waipareira were just as scathing of the way that Statutory agencies used their own policies and regulations to limit opportunities to be responsive to Tangata Whenua needs. This was evident in the way that the Community Funding Agency arm of the Department of Social Welfare would not support an application by Waipareira as an iwi social service.

In conclusion, 'Participation in the halls of power' provided Maori with exposure to the policy infra structure of Western Eurocentric power institutions. The cost was a propensity to either fall victim of colonisation or suffer ostracism from mainstream New Zealand (inclusive of both Maori and Pakeha) and become labelled an activist or radical.

Partnership/Parallel development

Like the previous pattern, establishing a partnership between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi/Pakeha or supporting parallel development, drew its genesis from Te Tiriti O Waitangi. Partnership reflects a relationship between two parties with the express goal of working together within mutually agreed boundaries. Parallel development arises from a realisation that there are times when those in partnership need to deal with the issues they may confront in different ways. Mutual respect is fostered here with an acceptance that culturally different groups can still work together on the same kaupapa, even if their support structure, processes and protocols differ from each other. To fully comprehend the two arms to this pattern, discussion has been arranged in accordance with two common themes: Joint ventures with Pakeha; Pakeha and Maori responsiveness.

In 'joint ventures with Pakeha', Maori strategically positioned themselves as full partners with the State. For example, Aroha Beal of Te Puna Hauora, spoke of a health accord made between the Minister of Health representing the State and over 18 iwi Maori from the Bay of Plenty, that reflected 'full partnership'. She said:

. . . our vision [was] always towards tino rangatiratanga . . . [at a change in Government] Simon Upton came in then and . . . 18 iwi of the Bay of Plenty [wanted to meet] with [him] and he said yes [that he only wanted to see six of us], and Hohepa [one of our kaumatua] said 'Kao we are the other [Treaty] partner and we're coming with two buses [to see you in Wellington].' We ended up down there with two buses [and] so we put [forward] . . . signalled to him, this is where we expected our relationship to be with the crown under the new administration, and that's how we got to move alongside the RHA [in a joint venture as equal partners involved in funding of health initiatives in the Bay of Plenty].

This joint venture with the Regional Health Authority was named 'Tatau Pounamu' and oversaw the distribution of all funding allocations for the entire Bay of Plenty area. Partnership in this sense meant sharing

economic decision making processes, having equal representation on the board, and being accountable back to the Crown and those 18 plus iwi Maori.

The rise of the Maori Authority Purchasing Organisation (MAPO) was another illustration of partnership in action. As Glenyis Tierney (of Te Puna Hauora) explains:

Yes, and they [Maori] also have their own structures in place to deal with Maori health . . . [in this case] through MAPO. Government developed policy that Maori can purchase their own health care. And they've developed this structure in consultation with iwi, MAPO [The Maori Authority Purchasing Organisation]. And so they co-purchase services for [all] Maori in their region, [not just for specific] iwi [of that] region. So we've got Tainui and we've got Ngati Whatua. And there's also Taitokerau as well and they [MAPO] purchase Maori health for the northern region

He Kamaka Oranga as a Maori management consultancy arm within the infrastructure of the Auckland Community Health Enterprise, was also another illustration of creating a partnership between Maori communities and in this case local authorities. For Naida Pou (C.E.O) this Maori Management initiative was prompted by the fact that Auckland CHE's Maori client service base was significantly high and improved delivery of services to Maori was a smart business move.

Interestingly enough, Hohepa Waru's job in Waipareira with Maori youth was financed by the State, yet he pushed for limited contact with his funding body. In a sense, the State was a source of revenue for his position but he felt more accountable towards the Maori agency (Waipareira) he was seconded to and the Maori community it served. Connie Hana reported that Waipareira's Social Service Agency had a contrasting working relationship with State welfare agencies. This meant that though in contractual partnership with the State to deliver welfare services, conflicts arose regularly about interpreting policies and regulations to funding and appropriately support whanau Maori in need. Waipareira

social services also reflected a parallel development initiative because it had similar places of healing, like foster homes. What made these initiatives different to mainstream services was the way in which Maori values and beliefs were used as guiding practice and thinking principles to assess and respond to Maori unwellness. A final example of partnership/parallel development was the New Zealand Association of Social Work, whom Taotahi Pihama had had a long professional association with. The use of two parallel yet unified caucuses (one Tangata Whenua and one Tauwiwi) demonstrated a belief in the worth of diversity and a celebration of difference in world views needed for a people based professional body. It has been noticeable because Maori have not joined the association it has effectively limited the innovation possibilities from this body. In an attempt to increase its standing in social services, its Maori leadership has held various hui throughout Te Ika a Maui to promote Maori involvement in this professional body and increase its Maori membership.

Maori and Pakeha responsiveness to this pattern of engagement was mixed.³⁶ Establishing Te Puna Hauora in the Tauranga Hospital depicts this phenomenon quite clearly. It engendered a range of responses from all quarters. As Janice Kuka [a founding member of Te Puna Hauora] describes:

. . . we started from one clinic, to other consultants seeing the success [and] asking if they could set up [similar clinics to administer health support for Maori patients and their whanau] . . . so it grew . . . our greatest support for a while came from the specialist doctors, because they saw it [working - Maori attendance to their offices was pitiful, but these clinics were highly successful] . . . They initially said

³⁶ Aroha Beal noted another desire by Maori in this partnership/parallel development age. That desire to control and secure financial and resource assets worth billions of dollars had placed obvious strain on whanau, hapu and iwi structures in Maoridom. Subsequently, iwi Maori were and are in the justice courts of this country, squatting on land because of dissatisfaction, writing up constitutions, sending their posterity off to law and business schools, setting up iwi registers and connecting with knowledge of indigenous peoples, in order to prepare for pending battles over Tangata Whenua status. Government's attempts to reach final settlements, involving money and assets are big business for Maori.

'Yes we are saving lives, we feel we are saving lives'. So at a Pakeha political level they were our biggest supporters . . . a powerful group in the [hospital] organisation. [Even with this success at clinics and support from the specialists, people were opposed to us because] we were seen as setting up a separate system. So a lot of the Pakeha didn't like it, they feared it, and also Maori feared it but [those specialist consultants] kept saying 'No we believe we're saving lives down there. Maori people who we've never able to find are now turning up. And we [now have a] good follow up service. So [the establishment of Te Puna Hauora] was I believe, based on the success of the out patient clinics.

Up till about 2 years ago, that was okay, so we thought well yes that sits on the periphery of the complex. We're doing well, we're turning out bits and pieces, having a kaiawhina, having some involvement in policy now and again. Having some involvement in recruitment, having bits and pieces . . . but . . . we sat down and thought about where is it we want to go. Do we want to sit on the edge all the time and do a great job but in the long run most of our people are still going up to the main hospital. Most of our people still deal with all the resources over there. [Did we want to continue to] only deal with about 2% of our people overall . . . So we devised a plan [about how] we would get right into the system, but still not lose the essence, the mauri of who we were. And that was to set up groupings of our own kaupapa teams that would go into the main stream, into the hospital, into the wards. Who would belong to us, where responsible to us, sit under the kaupapa of [Te Puna Hauora and] had a collective contract with us. So we sold that idea to Pakeha management, and surprisingly they accepted it. I don't think they actually saw the huge implications of it. They just thought it might have a few Maori in the wards sprinkled around, carrying on what they've always done. But the difference was that they belonged to us. They don't belong to the Pakeha management. They were now under our kaupapa.

Many of the reasons that limited the use of these parallel developments hinged on 'ignorance and fear', two by products of colonisation. The notion of setting up a separate system, challenged cross-cultural stereotypes like this one³⁷ is identified by Janice Kuka when Te Puna

³⁷ 'Maori colonised to think that Maori health services are less than Pakeha health services.

Hauora tried to recruit Maori health workers already in main stream health services.

Well a lot of it is that they think they might lose their status if they come and work for something that they perceive as not being on par with Pakeha. They see it as having a limited life, that we'll burn out or that its unprofessional [and thus] substandard, . . . that the accountability structures are too hard [and] too harsh. They said that our expectations of workers is too high. They see that by remaining in mainstream they can get the best of both worlds . . .

In contrast, Janice Kuka also took time to look at the positive correlation of culture in recruitment of staff to Te Puna Hauora:

[on the other hand] a lot of our workers know when they come here that they won't get as much [money with us, had] they remained in mainstream, but they realise the conditions and the wairua and the rewards far out weigh anything else.

In response to the view that Maori would receive a 'less than proper service', Wanda Ormsby (a Kaupapa Maori nurse for Te Puna Hauora) found the transition from mainstream nursing to Kaupapa Maori nursing quite easy. A plus for her was being able to maintain nursing/health professionalism and also benefit from whanau support in a Pakeha setting. This parallel development initiative was about power sharing.

However, Pakeha were not going to drop the reigns of power without a fight. Aroha Beal spoke of numerous hui iwi Maori held to establish strategies to negotiate with the Crown and deal with such things as an 'Area Health Board' who had tried everything to forestall establishing a partnership relationship on Te Tiriti O Waitangi, with local Maori. Once the Kaupapa Maori nurses were in operation, Pakeha were still 'playing silly beggars' by not informing Maori patients of that option in the hospital. This fear of Te Puna Hauora continues to impact on care provided for Maori by non - Maori nursing staff who refuse to recognise the influence of culture in ill and good health. Amazingly enough, Pakeha still expected Maori to teach them about being 'Pakeha who deal with

Maori', while the shift in thinking has been for them to refer to Te Puna Hauora. Ngahiwi Tomoana from Heretaunga, saw the value for Maori in using Pakeha systems, but emphasised that partnership/parallel development did not infer that Maori would be teaching Pakeha about Maori tikanga. It was his view that Pakeha should look after and develop, even transform their own tikanga. Partnership in this context, understood that Maori had to work with Pakeha but could reconstruct that partnership relationship in ways that would be beneficial for Maori. Wanda Ormsby also mentioned that some Pakeha viewed kaupapa Maori as apartheid, and her frustration was that they didn't appear to even consider that this was an opportunity for Maori people to feel culturally safe and comfortable within a Pakeha/Tauwiwi setting.

Not all Pakeha responses were negative towards this move for partnership. Betty Mackay consolidated her own role within Te Puna Hauora as the 'decipherer of Tikanga Pakeha'. For example, at the policy level one of her tasks was to redefine the boundaries of health professionalism that was inclusive of Maori wisdom, knowledge and skills. Betty's place of focus also incorporates dealing with those things that Maori staff should not be wasting their time with, such as setting up the Hospitals cultural approach and the like. June Jackson of MUMA, explained that she had provided financial support for a Pakeha worker who was advocating for Maori coming in front of the parole board and caring for Maori people at his anchorage in Frankton, Hamilton. In her mind, this Pakeha gentleman was 'on the kaupapa'. Furthermore, June Jackson also gave credit where it was due:

What saved my sanity in those real tough days was the support and advise that I got from a lot of Pakeha people.

In conclusion, 'partnership/parallel development' between Maori and Pakeha/Tauwiwi, was an experiment that would continue to assist or hinder Maori wellbeing. More importantly, the outcomes was determined by the level of respect for self and others one had.

Autonomy

Autonomy as a pattern of engagement recognises the centralisation of Maori customs and traditions in the formulation of appropriate structures to deal with Maori wellbeing. A key characteristic of traditional Maori society that permeated into this century was the 'survival instinct of many formations' over 'the one and only' phenomenon.³⁸ Maori were not locked into one pattern of development. Though colonisation lumped Maori together as the oppressed in Aotearoa, their efforts to maintain a unique identity included efforts to become autonomous. This section observes the debates surrounding autonomy from an interviewee perspective.

One of the dangers of autonomy as it stands was expressed by John Tamihere, who took exception to the feudal way that New Zealand was carved up by early colonists and maintained by iwi Maori is the pursuit of control and economic power. These so called traditional boundaries have influenced many of the decisions and actions taken by iwi Maori under the guise of iwi autonomy. He argues:

I can't stand Ngai Tahu ngati'sm driven by Tipene O'Regan . . . We whakapapa to that man, he whakapapa's to me. So how dare he make my people, who through no fault of their own, through the relocation campaigns that happened in Christchurch, feel inadequate, and feel like Serbs in a Croatian territory. That's what's starting to creep through now. That will not be tolerated by the likes of myself and by brothers and sisters in our network up and down the country. Because that's contrary to everything that you and I know about our culture. And that's driven by greed and feudalism.

³⁸ This 'one and only' phenomenon was written about by John Bradley (1995). His reference was to the Television programme called 'The highlander' - The story line emphasised the conflicts between supernatural beings in their quest to be 'the one and only' to survive. Maori patterns for development are not the same, and its has been that diversity that has stood it in good stead in the face of colonisation, assimilation and integration policies of Settler and established Tauwi dominated Governments.

While very few of those interviewed considered themselves to be autonomous bodies there were illustrations in part of autonomous maintenance within their agency policies and procedural infrastructure. Ngahiwi Tomoana spoke of the 3 key principles of autonomy overseeing the allocation of fisheries putea to be given to Ngatikahungunu.

- 1) Shore hapu have primacy,
- 2) Need to accept responsibility to cater for inland hapu,
- 3) never to destroy the core base of that asset, so people will only get dividends.

In the Bay of Plenty, iwi Maori had formed a 'mana a iwi framework' named Te Whanau a Poutirirangi ora a papa, unconstitutional in Pakeha terms but deeply imbedded in tikanga and marae kawa of those iwi concerned. Aroha Beal spoke of its inception as a real live example of Maori autonomy in action. So while, Te Maimoa and Tatau Pounamu were set up to provide the bridge between two cultural realities, Te Whanau a Poutirirangiora a papa remained steeped in Maori lore.

June Jackson believed the spin off from Hui Taumata was that Maori began to advocate for some autonomy to be able to do things they wanted to control, to break the shackles of dependency, to free themselves from their colonial parent, Pakeha/Tauwiwi.

Nga Tukutuku enei

These five patterns of interaction with the State creative imperatives that dominated the nature and function of Maori efforts to become self sufficient and self sustaining. The overriding tendency of the State to dominate the direction of Maori 'self development' could be construed as a parent who has been unwilling to let go of the walking leash. Maori have under duress, tried many pathways to improve their own wellbeing. However, at times the options taken have been beneficial only to a few. These very points have been mirrored in the development of Maori social policy, be it pushed by the State or within constitutions/charters or mission statements of Maori agencies and organisations. A lack of generosity between the various parties (Maori/Maori, Maori/State,

State/Maori, Maori/Pakeha and Pakeha/Maori) involved in the development of Maori social policy continues to stifle efforts to redress Maori welfare concerns.

A final point was the fact that very few of those interviewed considered their agencies to be solely 'autonomous'. The terms interdependent and interdependency held more currency in debates about the levels of autonomy agencies/iwi bodies truly had when it came to resourcing their initiatives. A positive observation was that Maori were less inclined to exaggerate the nature of their agencies, when in reality their efforts to secure tino rangatiratanga were decisive and definitely on track towards Maori autonomy in the social services. That same influence could be seen in the various action plans which will be looked at fully in the next chapter.

In conclusion, the State imperatives were much like powerful anchors that kept the waka still. Once raised, the navigator took over the kaitiaki role of the waka. Likewise this has also been true of Maori efforts to be rulers of their own destiny. Maori held aspirations feature as the driving force behind the politics of Maori social policy. With this in mind, Chapter seven entitled 'Maori strategies and aspirations regarding the politics of Maori social policy development', studies what Maori expected and the 'working ethic (tikanga/kawa)' established by Maori to move these dreams/visions into reality.

Chapter Six:

Maori strategies and aspirations regarding the politics of Maori social policy development

While the last chapter focused on the role and function of the State in influencing the politics of Maori social policy development, the interview/hui and diary data¹ also provided a reflection of what Maori expected or wanted in terms of Maori social policy development. Those reflected expectations were underpinned by a Tangata Whenua centered infrastructure. This chapter explores in more detail those reflections and uses a Tangata Whenua centred (three pronged pre-contact life giving principles) analytic infrastructure introduced in Chapter Two, to make sense of the data under study.

The three life giving principles have been identified as: Wairuatanga, Whakapapa and Tikanga me Kawa. Outlined below is each principle and attached notions about Maori wellbeing (refer to Table Two at the end of Chapter Two).

- Wairuatanga: combining wellbeing notions of multidimensional, respect, balance and interaction.
- Whakapapa: combining wellbeing notions of order, interconnectedness, and survival.
- Tikanga me Kawa: combining wellbeing notions of consistency, holistic healing, constitutional order, social justice and social development.

Consequently, the title to chapter seven 'Maori strategies and aspirations regarding the politics of Maori social policy development', takes time to

¹ See Chapter One - The Politics of Maori research, which explains each type of 'data' source.

identify Maori aspirations and the strategic planning then embarked on to achieve those desired outcomes.

History supports the fact that Maori were active participants of cross cultural engagement with Tauwi and not passive respondents to inter-race development.² Therefore, these pre-contact principles have had a continued influence on the range and types of strategies Maori have considered in order to manifest some of their own wellbeing aspirations. Traditional and contemporary translations of these principles into practice have transformed, modified and developed over time to cope with an ever changing world.

This chapter has been divided into three sections, with the first two focusing on a detailed analysis of the thoughts, dreams and aspirations of Maori movers and shakers, displayed through historical data and from those interviewed. Section One, named 'Nga ara rau', uses illustrations from the historical analysis data to verify that Maori aspirations and strategic ploys have always been a part of inter-race relations between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi in Aotearoa. Section Two entitled, 'Nga ara hou' analyses Maori aspirations and strategies about Maori social policy development, directly from data accumulated during interviews, hui and from the researcher's diary. This is done using the three life giving principles as subheadings to order the analysis. The concluding section, 'Nga tukutuku enei', is used by the author to summarise the impact of these analyses on Maori social policy development for Tangata Whenua.

² Maori leaders promoted their aspirations and had a secure working knowledge of various strategies impacting on the political, social and economic realities of their known world. These strategies were engaged to obtain advantage for themselves and their own. As indicated in precontact times, they used karakia/incantations and so on, to access the spiritual dimension for support in their quests for life. Having 'Ariki' and various levels of 'Tohunga' in their midst also created a culturally relevant professional framework and these individuals acted as mediators/facilitators to ensure that their opportunities for their posterity were maximised.

Nga ara rau

Using these three life giving principles as a critical analytic framework, it is interesting to note that the relational/contact historical data displayed in Chapters Four and Five are full of illustrations concerning Maori aspirations and strategies to obtain these. As early as 1772³ Maori desires were about comprehending the advanced technology of these 'little Goblins' and acquiring new resources for the whanau and hapu. It was less about Maori maintaining or gaining sovereign rights of Aotearoa as this was already a foregone conclusion during that time period. In the early 1800s Ruatara's aspirations⁴ were described as self serving and based on proactive engagement with 'white' newcomers (Belich, 1996). Hongi Hika's revenge (utu) aspirations for his whanau led him to acquire muskets to carry out his desires.⁵ At the same time, he utilised whakapapa to bring other northern chiefs on board with his kaupapa. During the 1830s and onward, Maori activism against or for Pakeha/Tauwi intrusions/settlement, began to sign post a Tangata Whenua indigenous entity/sovereignty claim on the one hand and acceptance of new philosophies on the other. These mixed loyalties saw sections of Maoridom band together in isolation from Tauwi (Parihaka/Maungapohatu), to fight Tauwi (Tainui, Taranaki), to fight for Tauwi (NgatiKahungunu), to become Tauwi (Ngapuhi Mission schools/communities). Maori were active participants in either maintaining old traditional ways (Nga tikanga tawhito) or establishing new ones as in the case of whanau who took on board Christian values and beliefs. In essence, Maori were active in breaking down traditional

³ On Te Kuri's part, the strategy was simple: get friendly with du Fresne's company. For minor infringements on kawa and tikanga, seek compensation by taking resources, and finally, for major cultural slights, swiftly dispatch those guilty culprits and acquire their advanced technology (Horrocks, 1976).

⁴ Strategically, this translated into his sponsorship of European settlement in Aotearoa.

⁵ Lower eastern/central north island iwi were subjected to brutal reprisals by Ngapuhi for past inter-tribal grievances.

leadership structures under the guise that 'we are all equal in the sight of God'.

Te Tiriti O Waitangi (1840) is a prime example of a strategic ploy that was signed by large sections of Maoridom for quite diverse⁶ reasons. This document's partnership protocol between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi was to have established a range of bi-polity processes to benefit all. However, this did not eventuate but instead monocultural processes by the Crown and Settler governments left Maori destitute and ill.⁷ Throughout the 1841 to 1899 period, sovereignty claims by disinherited, dislocated and marginalised Maori, fuelled by their own first hand experiences of colonisation, assimilation and amelioration which left them landless, dependent on the State and struggling to maintain a distinctive cultural entity, continued to rise as this Pakeha/Tauwiwi legal and political system overrode Maori lore and tikanga.

Not all Maori aspirations have been based on developing the collective. Some have openly rejected a role in assisting those in need of welfare support, while others have resorted to trickery and deceit to obtain their aspirations (Walker, 1994 a, b). The efforts of Maori Trust Boards saw these Maori consolidate their own peripheral elitist power base which gave them direct access to Pakeha economic political and social privileges. An analysis of their aspirations might suggest that individualism and nepotism were very much alive amongst certain whanau and sectors of Maoridom. Looking at whakapapa in relational terms, the maintenance of Maori elitism was based on a history of 'back rubbing up to Pakeha'. Already described in Chapter Five as a 'consociationalisation pattern of engagement'.

⁶ Some did so for pecuniary advantage, others for safety reasons. Its signing also posed a reverse dilemma situation. What of those chiefs who did not sign the document. In many ways, their thoughts and aspirations were marginalised and they were left without any legitimate options for redress. They had different goals in mind that centered on maintaining tino rangatiratanga without Pakeha intervention.

⁷ Maori became ill physically, mentality, and spiritually. This was even more prevalent as Maori were asset stripped.

During the 1900 to 1950 time period, Maori aspirations were survival centered. This saw the rise of the Young Maori Party, and other National bodies⁸ to curb the effects of modernisation on Tangata Whenua. In the 1960s and early 1970s, young Maori activists, exposed to feminism, black conscientisation (for example, driven by Martin Luther King and Malcolm X) and individual/group self awareness development (in psychology and the social sciences), moved to reinstate the fact that oppression and subjugation were integral components of the monocultural mind set responsible for Tauwi dominated race relationships in Aotearoa. Their aspirations were clearly based on returning the sovereign power and control of New Zealand back into the hands of Tangata Whenua. Both Bastion Point and the Haka Taua incident in the late 1970s attest to that. In the early 1980s Maori sovereignty was written back into the spirit, hearts and minds of Maoridom by people such as Donna Awatere. As Maori people began to unanimously call on Government to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi, strategic moves were made to redress the loss of language, culture, land and other aspects inherent in the cultural psyche of Maori people. Who will ever forget the events of the mid and late 1980s where Maori using due process of Tauwi law, brought the machinery of State Corporations to an abrupt stop. By the 1990s, Maori iwi aspirations were given a much needed financial and assets boost. For example, the Ngai Tahu Treaty settlement of over \$120 million will assist in maintaining their iwi strategic economic plan that has so far been responsible for setting up fishing, whenua and tourist ventures to finance iwi development and recovery. At the same time it sign posted that iwi development had something good to offer the overall economy of New Zealand.

In conclusion, this historical analysis of wairuatanga, whakapapa and tikanga me kawa, reflected that Maori were in the business of dream building and that they did utilise a range of strategic options to realise these dreams.

⁸ For example, the MWWL (Maori Womens Welfare League); MWEO (Maori War Effort

Nga ara hou

The main purpose of this section is to analyse Maori aspirations and strategies about Maori social policy development. Feedback from the interviews showed that the participants had much to say about reasons for 'setting up shop', or promoting a particular approach to advance Maori wellbeing. To make sense of this feedback the section has been divided into three significant parts. Part I: looks in more detail at 'Wairuatanga' and encompasses the political, spiritual and philosophical spheres of social policy development. Part II: places 'Whakapapa' under scrutiny, emphasising the connectedness and relational environments that underpin Maori strategic social policy development. Part III: explores the way in which 'Tikanga me Kawa', translates those aspirations into workable strategies that impact on protocol, regulation and processes undertaken to deal with the politics of Maori social policy development.

Wairuatanga:

To truly comprehend the nature of wairuatanga it is important to remember the function of the spiritual dimension for Maori people. In the historical analysis chapter that covered the contact period of the 1800s Maori religious movements were in fact political expressions of redress concerning a rising list of grievances from broken Treaty promises. In Chapter two, it was shown that the spiritual dimension dominates all other spheres of reality. It is with these two points in mind that the life giving principle of wairuatanga is analysed. The first stage of this analysis identifies those aspirations of a philosophical and political nature that underpin wairuatanga. Stage two, then describes Maori strategic ploys used to deal with those aspirations.

Stage one: Wairuatanga/philosophical/political - aspirations

In terms of wairuatanga as a life giving principle, the 'centrality of whanau' and 'working collectively', are two key philosophical values underpinning the aspirations of those in Te Whanau O Waipareira.⁹ That first philosophical value of supporting whanau¹⁰ was also articulated by Wayne Taylor - temporary manager for Ngati Koata Social Services, as he explained the history of the Ngati Koata Trust, which was responsible for setting up a social services support network for this iwi. There were two reasons why this service was deemed necessary. Firstly, it would be responsible for caretaking the iwi. And secondly, in order to consolidate a sound economic foundation for iwi initiatives, people needed to be employed. Therefore, establishing an iwi social service created new job opportunities that were viewed as a means of economically empowering Ngati Koata whanau.

Aroha Beal from Tauranga provided a clear illustration of the second philosophical value emerging out of the Waipareira whakatauaki. A Rotorua child health initiative called Te Pu Ora, reinforced the importance of actively working together as a collective to enhance the advancement¹¹ of Maori self determination.

⁹ These have been identified in the agency's whakatauaki 'Kokiritia i roto i te Kotahitanga - progressively act in unity' (Te Whanau o Waipareira Trust - Social services 1996/97 Business Plan: 4).

¹⁰ Ann Stevens, the coordinator of Kaupapa Maori nursing for Te Puna Hauora, in answering the following question - when you say that this agency is built on kaupapa whats your definition of kaupapa Maori - also backed up the important role of being part of a wider whanau that also incorporated the natural and spiritual dimensions.

¹¹ Taotahi Pihama adds further insight about whanau and collectivity, under the 'kokiri' mentality of their whakatauaki. He states: "Kokiri is a very, very important process . . . its a collective approach to a whanau way of responding to the modern day social political cultural and educational advancement of our people. Kokiri also relates to . . . entering into successful relationships, with the community. You see on the outside there it says, serving your community. Waipareira Trust - serving your community . . . its outward looking - outreach into the community, outreach into the Maori community. [In this] Maori community, we represent about 54 to 56 numerous Maori organisations in Waitakere."

. . . in this structure its people involvement, its whanau hapu people involvement, right from the top . . . right through to the providers (of the service), its iwi driven.

In addition, Ruka Broughton from He Kamaka Oranga saw this tendency to 'gather in collectives' as a real strength in recognising the contribution of diversity and flexibility inherent in whanau to reach creative solutions to deal with whanau social ills. Likewise, Taotahi Pihama in explaining Te Waipareira's whakatauki, said that:

Even though there [is] diversity and differences within the group. Collectively we still go together. He aha te mea nui. Ko te kaupapa, ko te kaupapa ko te kaupapa kia ahau. E hara to te tangata.

Another well documented philosophical/political aspiration was that of accountability. Naida Pou of He Kamaka Oranga inferred that dialogue and consultation with iwi Maori and Maori in general, needed to be carried out either on their marae or in their environmental settings. This was critical for successful development of appropriate protocol to support Maori wellbeing. Ngahiwi Tomoana of Heretaunga, believed that accountability back to iwi Maori was all part of successful relationship building and that healthy sustainable relationships with Maori communities involved several things: being Maori, respecting Maori things, protocols and processes, meeting Maori in their places of engagement, being honest and accepting that credibility does not come easy. Naida Pou took this process of being accountable to Maori in her area quite seriously even when it exposed herself and her staff to the 'arrows' of discontent:

We have hui on the marae and He Kamaka Oranga is there and is subjected to support or abuse, which ever mood iwi Maori are in. This is dialogue. Credibility plays a big role. Developing relationships is a philosophy, one of the philosophies of He kamaka Oranga is you [have got to] develop relationships. If you don't develop relationships then you're going to push something up hill and it may be with a 3 pronged fork to start off with. But if you still don't develop your relationships, someone's going to reduce your fork to a tooth pick. So relationships are really important. Honesty is another powerful negotiating tool . .

. so [in terms of] iwi/Maori accountability, we're out in [our] community all the time.

For Allen Hippolite of Ngati Koata, accountability was not a clear cut aspiration to understand. It became problematic when leaders abused their authority and made things less transparent to those whom they represented.

Tino rangatiratanga was another central theme that coincided with the accountability/credibility phenomenon. Often referred to as self determination, tino rangatiratanga was also articulated by June Jackson of the Manukau Urban Maori Authority, while challenging the paternalistic tactics that Government health funders used on Maori rehabilitative health. Her catch cry was simple:

. . . put the responsibility back onto the [Maori] people who want it and [challenge the State to] stop interfering every inch of the way, just because we [Maori] have a different approach to rehabilitation.

This emphasis was again supported by most at a hui for Maori Social Services held in Rotorua at Apumoana marae in 1996.¹² In that same hui, one of the key note speakers - Pauline Kingi, a manager for Te Puni Kokiri continued this particular thematic aspiration by pointing out that in the pursuit of Maori development objectives, one needed to very clear about where one stood in terms of tino rangatiratanga.

John Tamihere's analysis of tino rangatiratanga examines succinctly the status of interrelationship dynamics between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi. It was his contention that colonisation had devastated Maori people to the point where Maori had been 'robbed of their ability to think'. His pro Maori response contended that:

. . . it's quite clear we [Maori] can be more efficient and more effective. [in order to do this] . . . we want them [Pakeha] out of our world.

¹² In Rotorua on June 6th 1996, at Apumoana Marae - sponsored by the New Zealand Council of Social Services.

These aspirations of tino rangatiratanga have been provided with renewed vigour from debates surrounding Te Tiriti O Waitangi. Ngahiwi Tomoana explained that this Treaty was used to create space for Maori in non - Maori dominated social services because the Crown/State, was a 'partner not superior' to Tangata Whenua:

. . . we used the Taiwhenua as a vehicle to start infiltrating all these [Pakeha] systems . . . slowly poking in the Treaty and getting the Treaty spikes into those areas that have been totally Pakeha domains.

Consequently, a true indication of tino rangatiratanga in action was when Maori whanau effectively responded to their own ills. Ngahiwi Tomoana went a step further by explaining that strengthening one's tino rangatiratanga was all about a change in attitude reflected in actions. He put it this way:

We are not going to back track at all. So we are going to [make] sure that every inch we are going to go forward . . . is going to be a consolidated inch . . . I fear no Pakeha and I fear no Maori systems in our development.

Janice Kuka from Te Puna Hauora provided further clarity about the realities of tino rangatiratanga. In hiring Maori kaupapa nurses and other agency workers, though not strong in te reo Maori language or even exposed on a regular basis to kaupapa Maori:

. . . their hearts were pumping in the kaupapa.

Clint Lovett (a colleague of Janice) saw that this self determination, or autonomy would be built on tikanga Maori.

. . . Our vision is to be autonomous, to determine for ourselves how we should run our Maori health service within the Tauranga Moana area. [Our vision is] based on Maori tikanga and a philosophy that whanau, hapu and iwi are most important.

Allayna Watene of Heretaunga, also expressed a desire for her iwi in Hawkes Bay to be autonomous or in her words 'self reliant and self sustaining'. The objectives for the New Zealand Council of Social Services

sponsored Maori Social Services hui emphasised that breaking this cycle of welfare dependency and achieving wellbeing within Maoridom would only occur through Maori participation and promotion of Maori self determination. This could only eventuate if Maori moved from an ambulance type mentality to a cultural safety one, which advocated for social services provided by Maori for Maori.

With tino rangatiratanga and accountability there were a range of other interconnected aspirations covered by the respondents. John Tamihere's philosophical aspirations that spurred him on to action gravitated around the importance of maintaining dignity, advocating for transparency and being humble. Ngahiwi Tomoana believed that no one was indispensable and took this philosophical aspiration literally as he mused over the fact that should one Maori activist fall another would take his or her place. Bill Takarei of He Kamaka Oranga, in explaining the logo of his agency also backed up this cyclic philosophical aspiration.

. . . when one falls there is always another one to replace them . . . so its about sustainability, its about growth [and] re-growth.

The related/synonymous words of honesty and integrity appear more than once through the interviews and highlight the desire of those working with others to establish firm boundaries for engagement. To round off this stage, there are two further points to make. First, Ruka Broughton gives a poignant reminder of the role of 'belonging' in responding positively to Maori wellbeing needs:

. . . for me, my power base is home, my strength is home. A Kuia said to me . . . 'boy and I want you to go to the window and look out there' . . . [all I could see was a] little hill . . . she said 'you [can] climb all the mountains you want [to] but the mountain that gives you strength is that little hill [the one you can see out] there . . . So that's it for me! My strength . . . what I bring here . . . is me . . . whenever I have big issues at hand I always go home . . . [at the moment I am] just being blown about by the [life] winds [of] trials and tribulations (living outside his rohe) . . . but I believe I will be going home [to that little hill]

Second, with this notion of belonging also comes responsibility. As Naida Pou contends, this responsibility reinforces her belief that our people have a right to 'walk on our backs', to be carried by the expertise that we each have to offer. June Jackson saw these aspirations as a move towards a positive world where people could 'make things happen', where people needed to 'display strength and courage' when confronted by numerous challenges that inhibit the development of our own tino rangatiratanga. June Jackson saw the value in projecting positive wairua into strategic planning:

To me its cut and dry - if you believe, you'll do it.

In summary, these philosophical and political aspirations combined together to provide what Aroha Beal referred to as a 'philosophical perspective to hold on to'. This perspective provided the 'sense that justified certain activities' needed to respond appropriately to Maori welfare needs.

Stage two: Wairuatanga/philosophical/political - strategic ploys

This stage studies wairuatanga in terms of the various strategic ploys used, by those interviewed, to realise their aspirations. Aroha Beal spoke of developing a 'critical mass of informed Maori people' who understood their relationship with various key players in the health sector. This 'critical mass' would guide whanau, hapu and iwi development. For example, the formation of Te Whanau a Poutirirangiora a papa was about creating a Maori entity for political decision making. Naida Pou also supported this ploy and believed it was the task of these 'critical masses' to break the cycle of dependency:

. . . I went to a meeting with the general manager of Starship, and he and I work together really closely, but this is my aspiration, to him and to every hospital service . . . is that we Maori are going to be so well that we are going to mobilise and become a critical mass in our own wellness. So much so that we're going to be able to close all these hospitals down because we won't be using them. That's what I want. I want to do surgeons and doctors and nurses

out of jobs, because we won't be needing their services. Now I reckon we can achieve that, I really believe we're going to achieve that. I said to the general manager of Starship, you know what one of my dreams is to keep my mokopuna out of your service. And then the next dream is to do all of us out of a job because we don't need these services. That's what should be the aim of every service in Auckland Health Care . . . you know support health promotion in the community and work along side promotion and wellness.

John Tamihere spelt out another obvious ploy, and that was to ask Maori about their ideas and views. This consultation process was about being prepared to incorporate Maori ways of analysing, interpreting and creating a framework for healthy decision making.

Another ploy outlined in the feedback from Aroha Beal involved understanding the world of the Pakeha and being prepared for new developments:

But we also know that the needs of our people [are] horrendous, and so we have to watch what our other partners are up to. You've got to love your competitors [and] know what [they're] are up to. But the thing is we have got to move in a new direction. We have to explore other areas . . .

At the same time, she went on to say that this framework demanded that Maori needed to stand their ground, act as equals with Tauwiwi/Pakeha and literally do what Ngahiwi Tomoana suggested:

We have to go back to standing on our own mana. On our Peoples mana, on our Tupuna mana. He Taonga i tuku iho. And we shouldn't compromise the mana of our people . . .

Staff of Te Puna Hauora believed that having a sound understanding of 'mana' and 'tino rangatiratanga' was a position of strength, that allowed Maori to challenge oppressive systems. Allen Hippolite also confirmed the value of having a firm economic base, from which to launch an array of initiatives to respond to whanau, hapu and iwi concerns. A more specific illustration of creating a position of strength was echoed by Te Puna

Hauora as they used weekend retreats to target key decision makers to bring them on board with their Maori empowerment kaupapa. Once on board, Janice Kuka explained that Te Puna Hauora then took an active role in decisions about policies regarding recruitment, allocation of funding and so on, to meet the needs of Maori who chose to use this hospital service. In like kind, the end goal for Maori managers in He Kamaka Oranga, was to keep Maori people out of hospital, which meant providing an informed face in 'hospital management decision making' and being active participants in Maori community politics. As Bill Takarei mentioned, even though he knew he was Maori, the only way to affiliate with Maori is to be involved in Maori community development. June Jackson, and John Tamihere both echoed the need to 'put your money where your mouth is, to be doers of the word not just sayers/or hearers only'. Talking about Maori participation in meeting welfare needs was of little benefit unless action followed. It was also about recognising that dealing with matters in one's home turf was personal and needed a personal touch. Clint Lovett made no apologies for getting rid of staff with old monocultural perspectives and saw this as an appropriate strategy to meet Maori aspirations. More importantly it was based on Te Tiriti O Waitangi principles of partnership and participation. As he stated:

. . . what's happened is that when this hospital went through restructuring we had all those charge nurses. It was their domain, no one could get in . . . no one could do or make any changes of anything. The organisation slowly got rid of them. They made them early redundant, transferred them to other areas, put them on special projects. Once they're on special projects you know they're on their way out. Projects run out. And they've done that to quite a few. Especially the ones who were resistant to change.

If they're not on board with the kaupapa or with cultural safety issues, we'd head straight to . . . the management, 'you do something about this or else we'll kick up a stink'
 . . .

When we set up the kaupapa service in medical, the charge nurse there she was resistant to us going in there. She was resistant to everything. And so we said right . . .

we had a meeting with her, 'if you don't come on board with us its going to be harder for you to be around' . . . we actually told her that, but she carried on resisting, she thought she was safe. She thought she was secure. So we met with our CEO, the divisional manager, and said well we want something done about this, if she doesn't change, you know we'll do something about it. And so they eventually got rid of her because she didn't want to change. She kept fighting, so they got rid of her. And that's what's happened with most of these wards. There's still one or two left but they've seen what's happened to their colleagues so they had to change.

Some of the strategic ploys were all about mindshifting. For Naida Pou, it meant working in a way that reinforced the value of a Maori world view:

You know it doesn't matter what I do in this life, like I come to work and I know 'look hell I've got to a review with my CEO today, and I energise, I karakia, and I go into that office knowing that my ancestors are sitting on my shoulders, I never go alone . . . So I mean that's what energises me.

June Jackson warned of the dangers of being seduced by Pakeha inducements to meet one's aspirations. In the same token, she also pointed out that being seduced by traditional Maori tikanga was just as bad. The mind shifting needed, was to look for 'simple outcomes' while recognising that Pakeha were only Pakeha at the end of the day, not gifted wizards with magical powers that made reaching Maori aspirations impossible. This myth was blown to smithereens.

In conclusion, strategic ploys to deal with wairuatanga involved a myriad of pathways that made sense of the dreams our people had about meeting their welfare needs.

Whakapapa:

This concept continues to weave changing contemporary Maori perceptions of development within a traditional Maori conceptual construct. Therefore this analysis takes into account two key elements: these are connectedness and relational environments that underpin Maori strategic social policy development.

John Tamihere took time to explain that there were over three generations of Maori who had been bred in the city environment. His own experiences of growing up were about struggling with Tauwiwi, and carving out an urban Maori identity. This connectedness to West Auckland was further strengthened by the way that Waipareira established a council of Kaumatua (107 from an assortment of tribal backgrounds in total). These Kaumatua also became 'uncles and aunts', the extended whanau of many tamariki and rangatahi in the urban cities. This type of relational environment also meant that offspring were groomed to take up specific roles of development within this pseudo whanau¹³ community. In Tamihere's case:

[I then] went to Auckland University to do an arts degree to become a school teacher. Got the arts degree and went up to Kaitaia College [end of 1982] on my section . . . came back from my section . . . walked into another whanau meeting . . . we use to have heaps of whanau meetings around home . . . And then my great uncle stood up and just said "We're all dummies, he's the only one with school amongst us, we'll send him to law school and get our land back, from the coast", I finished law school in 1984.

Those years in the urban setting with Tagata Pasifika were not easy times for John Tamihere. His account of a situation at a public meeting illustrates an uneasy quite clear relational environment established between Maori and Tagata Pasifika¹⁴.

Well it goes like this, I said to this Samoan elder, he stood up at a big hui and there was myself on this stage and this Pakeha from the CYPs services. He said where is the pacific island representative up there. Well the Pakeha went all red and invited him up, and I stood up and said, you stay down there. Cause if I got up on a plane in Apia, true to Polynesian custom, I know where I stand, I stand behind you mister. Now sit down, all right, end of story, what's the problem.

¹³ The 'whangai' or adoption principle.

¹⁴ This was made available to complete schooling, though the proportion of funds earmarked for that purpose was about an eighth of the amount provided for Maori rangatahi.

So, even when I was at varsity we got the quota for Maori students at law upgraded, we got the marae on a priority building list because it had always been peeled back. We got as of right a representative on the University Students Association. Those [B] had done nothing for us. After we'd done all the hard work, they put their hand out. They use to try and use our rooms up at the university. I said, we fought for this without you. Once we had made all the waves, made all the action, you walk in and pick up the pieces. That only counts in Auckland and Wellington. Urban Maori in Auckland and Wellington know what I'm talking about. Because you've never had to fight in the streets in the 70's against them you see . . . [the] big brawls, and the passion and the intensity is still there, and I'll tell you this now, I aint ever going to take a back ward step ever again either.

Yet in recognition of the responsibilities facing Waipareira to help the wider West Auckland community,¹⁵ scholarships were provided for Tauwiwi (Tagata Pasifika and Pakeha) to assist in pursuits of excellence (sports, schooling, arts and so on).

Another point raised by all interviewees was the fact that whakapapa surrounded Maori with their history. Consequently, Taotahi Pihema was right to argue that relationships fostered through whanau whakapapa connections made such things as team work, professionalism, multi-skilled interactions, servicing and supporting, well known processes to Maori. For Clint Lovett, involvement in recruitment, policy development and providing a consolidated service within the hospital reflected the relational development and thus whakapapa between Maori and non - Maori in this part of the health and social service sectors. In this case, the conceptual construct of whakapapa had been built on the good works of some Pakeha who had willingly forged to develop a relationship with Tangata Whenua across the cultural divide. This led to strategic alliances and joint ventures that will be studied more comprehensively in Chapter eight. The power to act on behalf of others is also another fundamental component of whakapapa. In the case of the Heretaunga Taiwhenua,

¹⁵ 12% of the population in West Auckland are Maori and 88% are non-Maori.

whakapapa provided mandate or the right to represent Maori of Kahungunu in this particular rohe, Maori not of Kahungunu but living in this rohe, and Kahungunu of this rohe but living throughout the country and world. In recognition of Whakapapa and its powers of connection, Naida Pou emphasised such linkages between mother and child, were magnified to connect whanau to other whanau. She even went as far as to argue that these connections linked the living with their dead or with those still coming.¹⁶ Allen Hippolite spoke of the way that whakapapa connected Maori of today to their ancestors, whenua and larger social formations such as hapu and iwi. John Bradley, took this notion of whakapapa to explain its powers of re-strengthening kinship ties and responsibilities. The 'Matua Whangai' approach used by the State in child welfare services emphasised kinship responsibilities of extended whanau.

In summary, whakapapa as a life giving principle also provided the relationship cement, that acknowledged the threads which drew the various dimensions of reality together. The human and natural terrains were irrevocably connected to the spiritual spheres. In contemporary times, it supported the renegotiation of social formations of whanau to meet differing needs - see Joan Metge's (1995) analysis of whanau constructions or John Bradley's (1995) critique of the whanau social entity in traditional and contemporary times.

Tikanga me Kawa

'Tikanga me Kawa' identifies specific components of protocol, regulation and processes undertaken to deal with the Maori aspirations regarding the politics of Maori social policy development.

In terms of Maori centred institutions there was general agreement that the marae remained paramount in promoting tikanga and kawa Maori. Of this point, Ngahiwi Tomoana said:

¹⁶ Posterity - following generations

I also was brought up on the marae. That was important . . . because [it meant that we] were part of everything that happened . . . Tangi, hui, birthdays, christening.

The influence of marae protocol on interactions within and between Maori whanau and Tauwiwi, remind all, of the effects of a Maori cultural principles in action. An analysis of that cultural framework, displayed in contemporary and traditional processes will be advantageous in understanding Maori aspirations. One process that all interviewees spoke about evolved around the critical role of the 'hui', in decision making, healing and whanau development. For example, Ann Stevens from Tauranga, spoke of a situation where a hui was used to bring all parties (whanau, community, and staff) dealing with a very difficult Maori turoro (patient) together to discussion strategies for improving care provided. In dealing with a Kuia who was blind, Wanda Ormsby (a Kaupapa Maori nurse at Tauranga) pinpointed the value of whanau support which was forthcoming after gathering in 'hui' fashion with the Kuia and her whanau. Hui and decision making were synonymous with good community development practice for John Tamihere.

. . . we use to have heaps of whanau meetings [hui] around home.

Out of these whanau meetings/hui emerged all of the initiatives in West Auckland, namely Te Whanau O Waipareira, Hoani Waititi Marae and so on. In fact, as mentioned earlier, Tamihere's change in life occupation from teacher to lawyer was the topic of discussion and decision making at one of those whanau hui. The development of Kokiri by Tamaiti Reedy and Kara Puketapu in the 1970s/1980s was another illustration of capitalising on the hui-a-whanau notion.

June Jackson also reaffirmed the value of another process, which she felt was unique to Maori culture but at the same time emphasised the traditional tikanga surrounding it, had not remained fully intact during these modern times:

You know the only true thing for me that we've got left in terms of our culture . . . is the Tangi. That's something that solely belongs to us . . . in how we grieve . . . in how we sleep with our family member . . . all those sorts of things. To me that's all that we've got left. And even that has been tampered with by people who don't know any better.

. . . when we talk about our culture and our tikanga [we need to remember that] its been interfered . . . and tampered with to accommodate Tauwiwi. You know what are we talking about . . . Why are we always so accommodating.

John Tamihere expressed a view that in the urban setting Waipareira had under their umbrella of responsibility a number of urban marae. One would envisage that catering for a large cross section of iwi Maori would be problematic in terms of establishing standard tikanga and kawa. However, nga tikanga me nga kawa of each event was determined by the iwi of the whanau using that marae. Being able to celebrate difference which recognised the mana of each whanau made that ability to reset the kawa and tikanga on marae, in the urban setting a reality. Another point raised, centered on the formation of whanau to support the kaupapa of Maori development in urban settings. It was made possible through the advancement of informed consent and compassion across iwi lines by Maoridom. John Tamihere states:

. . . we've got 107 in the kaumatua ropu. The reality is that they're from every tribe but in light of our present solo driven parented families, they're still an uncle and an aunt and our kaupapa, our tikanga of whangai is still very prevalent. And so we don't need to force ugly people to stay together, we can have a look at our extended whakawhanaungatanga links and link our people quite nicely on the basis of informed consent and compassion. And you know I think 'what's the problem'. See some people say 'oh Waititi marae's got no kawa because it changes with, for instance in tangihana, it changes for who ever, where ever the papaku whakapapa's to. Well that's [all right, these people who don't like that situation], they can have that pristine view. Because they have the luxury of cementing their own kawa with their own mana whenua. But here if we want to rejoice in our Maoriness, the tangihana is one of the greatest shows of it, and why

build fifty-four different marae in Auckland and bus across town to the Ngatiporou one over there, when live and love my community here. And they're all from different tribes. And why can't I tolerate my mate from Ngapuhi, his kawa is very different to ours, and our people from on it from Ngatiporou. But at the end of the day, who cares. He should be allowed to rejoice in his Maoritanga and I should be able to share in it.

In contrast to June Jackson's concern about the watering down of tikanga surrounding 'Tangi', another important strategy to assist the realisation of Maori aspirations appears to be based around developing contemporary forms of tikanga and kawa. In other words, setting up new protocols with Pakeha/Tauiwi. Subsequently, at Te Puna Hauora, all negotiation processes between this unit and the Community Health Enterprise (CHE) management was inclusive of Maori tikanga. Approaching the cultural interface in this fashion could be termed a relationship building and sustaining exercise between Treaty partners. At the same time, 'tikanga' of this nature was not just about replicating or repeating¹⁷ Pakeha strategies. It involved the process of transforming ways of thinking, doing and feeling that left the cultural dimensions of Maori using the service intact. At the same time, these transformations also needed to respond in ways that were enhancing for Pakeha/Tauiwi. For example, the hospital environment has had a long history of being another bastion of monoculturalism, where perceptions of healing evolved around two facets: the separation of reality dimensions into specialities such as physical, mental, geriatric or child and family health; and dealing with 'individual' pain and suffering. Consequently, little relevance or consideration was given for cultural expressions of holistic healing or whanau pain and suffering.

The transformations advocated for at Tauranga Hospital recognised the wisdom of Western Eurocentric and Tangata Whenua healing processes.

¹⁷ Cindy Mokokoko reinforced this point: And like what Jan was saying before, not just repeating what Pakeha are doing . . . so I came back . . . and got stuck into setting up the [Maori] counselling service . . . from scratch.

In terms of providing a better service to Maori users, it was desired by both Te Puna Hauora and hospital management to encapsulate and utilise more affectively Maori wisdom and knowledge. For this to happen several Maori protocol, processes and regulatory practices (tikanga/kawa) were utilised. Huihui (gatherings) with kaumatua support, provided a two fold opportunity. First, these engagements allowed for dissemination of information to assist in the development of 'Maori critical masses'¹⁸ and second, it provided an avenue for direct input by Maori into the development of appropriate forms of health service for Maori.¹⁹ The end goal was to work alongside whanau Maori in order to establish a framework for the best possible quality service to Maori users of the hospital service. To do this required a 'core group of Maori insiders/facilitators' who had a vision and maintained links with their communities. Janice Kuka points this out:

Having some involvement in recruitment, [and other] bits and pieces . . . we'd covered disparities . . . So we sat down and thought about where is it we wanted to go. Do we want to sit on the edge all the time and do a great job but in the long run most of our people are still going up to the main hospital . . . So we devised a plan where we would get right into the system, but still not lose the essence, the mauri of who we were. And that was to set up groupings of our own kaupapa teams that would go into the mainstream, into the hospital, into the wards. Who would belong to us, were responsible to us, sit under the kaupapa of us, had a contract with us, that is collective an Maori. So we sold that idea to the Pakeha management, and surprisingly they accepted it. I don't think they actually saw the huge implications of it. They just thought it might have a few Maori in the wards sprinkled around, carrying on what they've always done. But the difference was that [these Maori workers would now belong] to us . . . [and] would be under our kaupapa.

That's the different part to that connectiveness I suppose back to the whanau, and the hapu and the iwi. We must

¹⁸An attempt to move uninformed masses into positions of informity. An important step in community development.

¹⁹ Akin to 'patient empowerment' where the users of the service were actively involved in the development of services at their disposal.

work along side our people who work out in the community. You aren't better or more professional than they are. So we encourage that [linking back] and so we set up training packages, we set up relationships [with our people]. Very important to us is our relationships with each other [our whanau, hapu, iwi, taurahere whom we service]. Strong relationships with turoro and their family, strong relationships with the whanau, strong relationships with all the hapu and whanau workers [is essential].

In order for these transformations to take place, another strategic process which she also suggested facetiously was to:

... be [come] chewing gum in their [Tauwi/Pakeha] hair,
[so] they can't get you out.

Janice Kuka then went on to point out that dealing within the developmental spheres of this contemporary 'tikanga and kawa' environment, reinforced the need for both Maori and non Maori health practitioners to be respectful of each other and enter into negotiations with a desire to dialogue for solutions.

Another common theme regarding 'tikanga and kawa' centered around the fact that all Social Service delivery agencies used Te Tiriti O Waitangi as a protocol pattern for establishing relationship with Maori communities. Central Government criteria for funding did not devolve entire responsibility of delivering support for Maori from Tauwi agencies. As in the case of He Kamaka Oranga and Te Puna Hauora, the parent bodies (Northern Health and Western Bay Health) for these Maori initiatives were also drawing funding for Maori health. Maori diverse realities (iwi Maori, urban Maori, pan Maori, bicultural and mainstream Maori)²⁰ meant that Maori were users of a range of services provided by iwi, urban Maori authorities, local statutory agencies, and the voluntary/private sectors of social services in New Zealand. Te Puna Hauora was one effort by Maori working within a system to cater for Maori

²⁰ Refer to Figure Three at the end of the prelude for Chapters Three and Four. Diagrammatically depicted are these diverse realities.

needs with funding allocated to CHE for Maori health. It was not taking Maori funding already earmarked for services facilitated iwi Maori, but instead created another form of 'by Maori for Maori' supportive service within the Tauranga hospital setting.

Finally, dealing with different cultural protocol, regulation and processes by nature requires a certain amount of personal integrity and preparedness. Through the interview data, references are made regularly about what were considered desirable characteristics of Maori advocates involved at the interface between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi. Some of these were adaptability, being prepared to fill a variety of roles, dealing with tense negotiations with Pakeha decisionmakers, having a clear picture of iwi politics, competence in te reo, having an in-depth understanding of manaakitanga-caring, whakatohatoha-sharing, drawing strength from 'korero a kui ma koro ma', and gone through a 'decolonisation' process. On the other hand, there were many involved in supporting/helping our people that displayed 'a heart for the work' but were not competent speakers of te reo, struggled with whakapapa and had been trained in Pakeha/Tauwiwi dominated places of learning. There was however, one particular character qualification that surfaced continually throughout the interviews: love the people. Having a combination of some of the other characteristics will assist you in that effort, but without aroha for those whom you work with, little headway is possible.

In concluding this part on 'Nga tikanga me nga kawa', Clint Lovett provides a sobering thought:

Well I suppose its all about whakawhanaungatanga really and how we treat Maori people. If you have that base [of] manaakitanga, aroha all those sorts of things, [and] as a Maori person . . . you know where you come from, who you are [and] what your whakapapa is. If you believe in the values that were instilled by your kaumatua . . . and you have a vision for . . . Maori to achieve things [then that is] a philosophy that we try to instil in our staff. And if you do know where you come from you'll take that philosophy with you into your everyday lives when you're working with our patients, our turoro. You know

that's all about whakawhanaungatanga, manaakitanga and aroha and all those sorts of things. It carries on through. And if you know all of the various tapu laws and that side of things you'll carry those things through with you too, [in] to how you relate to a kaumatua and kuia, how you will mihi to them, how you serve their kai out, how you would undress them, wash them, feed them and all those sorts of things.

Nga tukutuku enei

This chapter concentrated on two key aims: first, to provided a detailed analysis of the thoughts, dreams and aspirations of Maori movers and shakers in Aotearoa; and second to analyse the strategic ploys used to make these aspirations a reality. The analysis framework developed in Chapter Two, comprised of three life giving principles identified as 'wairuatanga', 'whakapapa' and 'tikanga me kawa'. Indeed, the data revealed that traditional and contemporary translations of those principles into practice did facilitate the re-emergence of old and emergence of new ways of coping with Maori social policy development.

Knowing this to be the case, six central themes have surfaced here. First, Maori aspirations appear to challenge all forms of inhibiting 'paternalistic/assimilationist' power relationships which stifle efforts to develop Maori social policy based on Maori principles of well being. Second, Maori and non Maori are required to shoulder responsibility for progressively taking on board Treaty of Waitangi instigated power relationships. Third, these reconstituted power relationships are essential in establishing credible cross cultural and intra cultural work protocol. Subsequently, the elements of partnership, participation, parallel development and various levels of autonomy strategically format that work protocol. The task of responding in a mana enhancing fashion across this cultural divide between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi, necessitates a belief in coming together to dialogue and negotiate with solutions. With this in mind, the fourth theme comprises of key values and principles that need to be fostered in order to make those aspirations a reality and the dialogue worthwhile. Some of these values and principles are universal to

relationship building for all mankind, such as accountability, transparency, dignity, humility, love, self reliance, respect, adaptability, a critical analysis. There are also some culture-specific values and principles that strategically inform the politics of Maori social policy development. For instance, mana, whanau, whakapapa, wairuatanga, tikanga/kawa, utu, huihui, whakatauki and so on. Key actors with a desire for positive change and development in inter cultural exchanges, will practice tikanga/kawa built on a combination of those values and principles espoused. The fifth theme, of this chapter was that Maori expected quality support. The cultural ingredient needed to be accounted for in all responses to Maori wellbeing. Finally, the sixth theme, is a direct challenge to the statement, 'out with the old and in with the new'. 'Ka pu te ruha ka hao te rangatahi', has at times been used as evidence to back up that statement by using the metaphor of 'old nets being replaced by new nets'. In other words, discarding the old ways for new ones or inferring that the older generation have little to offer the young generation. However on closer inspection, that whakatauki promotes the enhancement and future progression of generations now and in the future with the wisdom of the past, the end product is the improvement of the generations yet to come with support from those already here.

In conclusion, Maori expectations expressed in this Chapter, now are aligned to the material of Chapter Seven, entitled 'Challenges and Outcomes'. The focus in Chapter Seven is on what actually happened as a result of those aspirations and strategies. This means providing space to critically analyse the various barriers/challenges Maori confronted and the range of initiatives/outcomes depicting the action-arm part of Maori Social Policy development. As June Jackson candidly put it:

I applaud any of the good things that our people have achieved right across the board. There is no place for envy, there is no place for jealousy, there is only a place to get on with it.

Chapter Seven

Challenges and Outcomes

In each whanau there are people who are often labelled as the 'shakers' and 'movers'. For instance, in cross cultural marriages it could be said that the couples who are potential 'shakers and movers' provide the controversy, challenge one's comfort zone and facilitate learning that extends social/intercultural boundaries. History is abound with 'shakers and movers' across the social, cultural, spiritual and political dimensions. Aotearoa has experienced this in the politics of Maori social policy development. The main emphasis of this Chapter is to explore the 'fruits of their labours'.¹ After analysing contemporary State imperatives, then looking at Maori aspirations and strategic planning regarding wellbeing, this third and final analysis Chapter checks out whether or not, the best outcomes for Maori social policy development are linked to Maori initiatives and Maori control. Subsequently, the two key purposes of this Chapter are: first, to provide insight about the challenges Maori face in their pursuits for self determination; and second, to understand more about the efforts, works, initiatives, innovations and projects that deal with welfare needs of Maori whanau, hapu and iwi. In other words, Maori social policy enacted in real life.

In terms of an evaluative framework, the 'Many rivers analysis' containing eight key themes developed in the prelude to these analysis chapters has been chosen. It provides a a means of interpreting the messages within both the historical and qualitative data gathered from the case studies of Maori communities in Aotearoa. There are two primary areas of examination that this evaluative framework promotes. The first prime area - 'Challenges', contains four key themes: culture bound realities, power relationships, threats to indigenocentricity and inter-race

¹ . . . wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them (Matthew 7: 20)

struggle. These themes address a range of challenges that Tangata Whenua experienced in their efforts to realise their aspirations and dreams about being in control of their own destinies. The second prime area - 'Outcomes experienced' comprises four interrelated themes: flexibility, all cultures have their own sophistication, change and development. An emphasis here is placed on reviewing these outcomes that respond to and deal with Maori social wellbeing. Those outcome patterns of servicing Maori whanau, hapu and iwi provide important clues about the likely thematic composition needed to promote positive forms of Maori social policy development which precedes real manifestations of social services.

Like the previous analysis Chapters, this one has been divided into three sections. Section one - Nga ara rau, provides a summary of the historical data accumulated along those two primary areas of inquisition. As stated, Section two - Nga ara hou, then does similarly with the interview data. Section three - Nga Tukutuku enei, brings together the key summary points emerging from this analysis, or in other words provides the '... ye shall know them' aspects underpinning Maori responsiveness toward making these principles of Maori social policy development a reality in terms of social service provisions to Maori communities.

Nga ara rau

Using historical evidence, the aim of this section involves probing into the make-up of evaluative themes that challenge Maori social policy development and those that summed up specific social service outcomes delivered to Maori whanau, hapu and iwi in Aotearoa. Culture bound realities, power relationships, threats to indigenocentricity and inter-race struggle, are displayed as four thematic challenges that have influenced and determined the direction of Maori social policy development in Aotearoa.

'Culture bound realities' illustrated in early contact times saw some Maori interpret the devastating effects of ill health on their own people as a punishment inflicted on them by the 'white man's superior God'. Being

'culturally bound' was evident in the post settlement phase, as Tauwi/Pakeha driven paternalism culminated in a cultural lock-out of Maori wisdom, knowledge and experience. This meant that Maori participation in the development of relevant forms of health, education, housing, justice approaches and so on for all citizens of Aotearoa, was at best marginal. In the works of the Young Maori Party, being culturally bound was an important position to take in order to support the survival of Maori knowledge, wisdom and experience. From the 1970s to present day, a proliferation of articles,² books³ and discussion experiences⁴ supported the exploration of one's own cultural roots, to contextualise being 'culturally bound'. Historical data from that same time period, such as the haka incident of 1979, Donna Awatere's exploration of Maori sovereignty in 1981, 'kill a white' sensationalism reported in the 1987, Ann Penn's experiences with tikanga Maori in 1993, John Carter's impersonation as Hone in 1995, Frank Haden's legitimated diatribes in the Dominion, showed how there was also a danger that myopic tendencies of those beholding to 'culture bound' perspectives would do so without respecting the cultural expressions of others. Culture bound arguments have also threatened to ostracise those Maori who feel uncomfortable in a traditional world that is not known to them. The 'Adam Parore' name pronunciation incident painted this dilemma well.⁵ However, in the same breath, Maori revitalisation projects have been successful where a stand was taken to maintain a tikanga in the face of open persecution from mainstream New Zealand society.⁶

² For example, Professor Mason and Chief Maori Land Court Judge Edward Durie.

³ Those edited or written by Witi Ihimaera, Jim Ritchie, John Patterson, Michael King, to name a few.

⁴ Lectures, wananga, whanau hui that focused on 'identity issues'.

⁵ The rolling of the r's and sounding of the vowels in Parore were stressed as a concern by Native speakers of te reo Maori. Hearing cricket commentators mispronounce Adam's name incorrectly, became even more significant when the Parore family rejected Maori correct pronunciation of that whanau name in favour of the commentators version.

⁶ Naida Pou's stand while working at Telecom as a telephonist. She would not retract using 'kia ora' as a welcoming gesture over the phone. This led to her sacking and consequent media coverage.

Another challenge to the development of social service initiatives for Maori, centred on the theme identified as 'power relationships'. This theme inferred an assortment of relational dynamics based on those who control others and those controlled by others. These dynamics brought to the surface the ugliness that went with setting up power relationships with others, such as Maori non-accountability, commercial individual opportunism, in-house fighting amongst whanau, hapu and iwi for limited resources, inter-iwi conflict, Pakeha control of Maori development, to name a few. Tangata Whenua entrepreneurs quick enough to detach themselves from their cultural responsibilities and obligations appeared to enjoy the fruits of capitalism while the majority began to fill the poor health and welfare statistics. This was best expressed in early contact times, by the actions of certain Ngapuhi rangatira who desired the establishment of mission schools in their back yards for pecuniary/political status benefits.⁷ Maori without resources were economically powerless in modern capitalistic terms. Politically, decision-making about Maori matters in the early 1900s was a paternalistic chore of non-Maori. Even the emergence of Maori district and Maori New Zealand councils in the early and mid 1900s, again appeared to be Clayton type initiatives that tended to re-emphasize Government's political power above iwi Maori autonomy. Again, in reference to these power relationship dynamics, there was also a positive side to the equation. Maori ingenuity and accommodation of other cultural realities into their own development seemed a reality. The Maori War Effort Organisation of the 1940s followed by runanga development in the 1980s reflects a shift in Maori thinking of iwi development which preceded many of the 'Te Tiriti O Waitangi' claims and their resolution. Likewise, Maori action in Western Courts of Justice,⁸ emphasized two things: a flexing of Te Tiriti O

⁷ Though others had valid enough reasons that took into account such things as survival, advancement of Kotahitanga amongst Maoridom and so on.

⁸ Court of Appeal ruling in 1998 regarding the term 'iwi' in relation to Maori Urban Authorities efforts to be legitimately recognised as a mandated equivalent to iwi Maori depicts another dimension to the intra cultural power struggles facing Maori.

Waitangi partnership power status and a last stand tactic against postcolonialism impinging further on Maori tino rangatiratanga.

The third thematic challenge addressing Maori wellbeing is described in the following statement: 'threats to Maori indigenocentricity'. Illustrations of this theme were first exposed in initial contact experiences between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi, where traditional iwi interrelationship patterns wilted under the impact of those in control of new war and food production technology. Tohungatanga became secondary to Christianity and Westminster forms of governance, reduced Tangata Whenua conceptual understanding to the status of 'mere primitive murmuring of a heathen uncivilised people'. Within the settlement post 1840 phase of development, these threats gave birth to negative stereotypical formations about being Maori. 'Tangi' processes involving mourning with whanau over a particular time period, were misunderstood by Tauwiwi/Pakeha and used as evidence to back up the stereotype that Maori were an 'unreliable and lazy' work force. The introduction in 1907 of the Tohunga Suppression Act, praised as an effort to increase the survival odds for Maori, did so at the expense of challenging whanau collective and replacing these with individualistic health services. In the latter 1800s through to the mid 1900s, a more obvious threat to indigenocentricity was displayed in the education of Maori through the 'Native and Public school systems'. Te Reo was outlawed in the hope of bringing the blessings of assimilation to Maori people. The impact severely affected processes associated with transferring cultural knowledge and wisdom to future generations. In the health sector (from the mid 1900s), exclusion of whanau from delivery suites, though an acceptable practice from a Tauwiwi/Pakeha perspective, left Maori in unsafe environments at crucial periods in the rhythms of their own cultural life cycles. The need to be with whanau, a tenet of Maori indigenocentricity, experienced a battering because its collectivism qualities were viewed as a form of 'beastly communism' which strengthened non-Maori resolve to stamp it out. Many of the historical events in the latter part of the 20th Century such as Kohanga Reo and so on, confirm a revitalisation of Maori self worth as a

contributing Te Tiriti O Waitangi partner. This revitalisation of Maori wisdom has had to contend with the many ills of urbanisation, gang affiliations, nepotism, self centredness, and limited access to resources. However, one of the products of indigenocentricity has been the development of contemporary tikanga Maori. Dealing with new situations, merging traditional with contemporary ways of doing things, facing up to the changing times of internet and postmodernity, and coping with the diverse realities of Maori ahua, has been far from easy to cope with. Knowing that the Auckland Warriors Maori logo in areroreo⁹ mode is owned by the National Rugby League of Australia along with teaching an English pop group called the 'Spice Girls' the haka - Ka Mate Ka Mate, Ka Ora Ka Ora, is challenging for traditionalists. Likewise, Maori initiatives with solid kaumatua support can be quite threatening for those still struggling with identity issues or lifestyle patterns that counter collectivism or whakawhanaungatanga. These aspects continue to threaten the indigenocentricity makeup of Maori and beg the question, 'is the change so far changed that Maori cultural impressions are not traditional Maori anymore?'

Inter-race struggles is another theme that has created a range of challenges to Maori self determination. Rigorous encounters for supremacy surfaced in Tasman and Cook's maiden voyages to Aotearoa and the consequent misunderstandings resulted in violent conflict. Inter-race struggles also led to a pioneer mentality of paternalism which foster animosity between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi. The State has tried on occasion to respond to Maori wellbeing through legislative means. The 'Maatua Whangai' approach, which placed an emphasis on customary adoption processes, in the early and mid 1980s, was partially successful in displaying the Government's commitment to biculturalism, espoused by Te Tiriti O Waitangi. However, Tauwiwi claims of owning this approach and their half hearted attempts to implement its philosophies, saw its early demise.

⁹ A defiant tongue gesture.

During this same time period, inter-race legal struggles intensified as Maori and Pakeha worked towards settlement of Te Tiriti O Waitangi claims in the latter 1980s and 1990s.

The next four themes have been instrumental in moving Maori social policy aspirations into real social service outcomes for Maori whanau, hapu and iwi. Flexibility, all cultures have their own sophistication, change and development,¹⁰ are instilled in the living history of Maori efforts to self determine their own outcomes. Atuwera (1830s), Kingitanga (1840s), Maori Battalion (1930/40s), Maori Wardens and Urban Maori organisations - Authorities (1950s), Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa and Wanaanga Maori (1980s), Te Korowai Aroha (1990s), Iwi authorities - runaanga (throughout contact), demonstrate that while the barriers to social policy development have been real, Maori have also been engaged in moving the boundaries to effect positive change and development for whanau, hapu and iwi Maori. One of the key ingredients for survival, though also considered a barrier at times, has been the difference between iwi Maori, urban Maori and the diverse realities of Maori in general. This point was demonstrated in the decline of the Maori War Effort Organisation where while one option was unceremoniously dumped by Tauwi government, another approach to Maori wellbeing was born in collusion with other sectors of Maoridom. For example, Tainui were involved in discussions with the State that led to the formulation of the 1945 Maori Economic Advance and Development act, which saw the emergence of Maori community workers as State employees. Experiences in the late 1990s suggest that this pattern is very much alive and kicking. The historical data supports the view that Maori do have a multiplicity of needs that span the dimensional realities of their world view. Taking into account those connections between the spiritual, physical and human dimensions becomes paramount when formulating social policies that deal with Maori wellbeing and development.

¹⁰ Refer to the prelude to Chapters Five, Six and Seven for further elaboration.

Nga ara hou

In this section the fieldwork data will now be evaluated using the 'many rivers analysis' that contextualised the historical material in 'Nga ara rau'. The four thematic barriers identified in the first primary area entitled 'Challenges', that hindered or impeded Maori social policy development, creates an invaluable source of understanding about the difficulties experienced by Tangata Whenua working in Maori social service initiatives or at the cutting edge of Maori development in contemporary times. These case studies provide another source of verification about the challenges described in the historical analysis.

The next task is to reflect on the 'outcomes' of Maori efforts to respond to 'Maori Social Policy' needs by identifying clearly the work being done in Maori communities. A comment made in the introduction to this Chapter, '... by their fruits ye shall know them', encapsulates the author's primary intention of studying the commonalities and differences espoused in the philosophies and actions of those 'movers and shakers' responsible for creating innovations to meet Maori wellbeing needs in these times.

Challenges ...

Culture bound realities

Some might not consider this theme of 'culture bound realities'¹¹ a challenge to 'self determination' because it also possesses inherent significant positive aspects as well. John Tamihere signalled this when he acknowledged the place of tikanga Maori in establishing culturally appropriate protocol which led to resolution in crisis situations affecting Maori. However, both June Jackson and John Tamihere were quick to point out that if tikanga led to 'maumau tima'¹² or 'puhaehae stuff'¹³

¹¹ 'Culture bound realities', describes a situation where a person's culture is influential in their responsiveness to others.

¹² Meaning 'time wasting or wasting time'. Within this context June Jackson was saying that if those who come to hui have no solutions then it's a waste of time.

which inhibited the welfare development and growth of Maori, then 'culture bound' protocol would not be adhered to. Dealing with issues in a culturally appropriate fashion did not mean there was licence to waste time and energy on cyclic arguments that bore no solutions. As June Jackson states:

. . . by the same token people can challenge. I have never been afraid of challenges. I have never been afraid of an alternative opinion, or a different option to what we're discussing. That has never been a problem, but quite often you have Maori challenging and they have no solution. Well I'm not interested in them - Maumau tima. Why are you challenging? If you're challenging then you must have a better way . . . a solution or something else to offer. But some Maori just challenge for challenge sake and have nothing constructive to offer. Well that's hoha for me, I don't want to be involved in that. I want to be involved in a positive world I want to be involved with people who can make things happen.

Hohepa Waru's experience at the first National Kura Kaupapa/Maori schools hui in Wanganui, where the 'cultural conditions'¹⁴ were that only Maori could be spoken throughout the hui displayed another challenge brought on by this 'culture bound' theme. Though not a competent Te Reo Maori speaker, but with his mandate to speak for and on behalf of Tamaki Makaurau as leverage, Hohepa and supporters were successful in adjusting the kawa of the hui to accommodate his presentation to whanau Maori in the English language. It would have been much easier to hand over the responsibility of speaking to another whanau member fluent in Te Reo. But the point raised here is the strategy that Maori sometimes use these cultural tenets as a means of withholding personal participation in developmental processes of whanau, hapu and iwi. To clarify this point even further, as a rangatahi Hohepa Waru made the following observation of team dynamics in the Waipareira Social services:

¹³ Puhahae - Cheeky, rubbish stuff. In this case, referring to 'game playing' or one-upmanship.

¹⁴ Of kawa/regulated protocol of that hui.

. . . we have ongoing . . . regular team gatherings, and most issues are raised in that arena. One of the down sides though it that, perhaps by virtue of the fact that we are Maori, some times our people won't participate for other reasons. Those reasons might be tuakana/teina reasons . . . there's the wahine/tane thing, that doesn't come up often which makes it an issue as far as I'm concerned. Because I'm aware that some of the women, particularly in this unit, for whatever reasons . . . won't speak out against the men. For that matter [they] sometimes won't [even] speak in front of men. There's also the question of the kaumatua/Rangatahi [relationships that inhibit whanau development]. . . those are [all] part of those unseen issues

. . .

In backing up that view, June Jackson also argued that some Maori used cultural tikanga as a crutch to stifle efforts to deal appropriately with Maori wellbeing issues. In her own words she explains:

. . . well I'm a very direct woman, I will say it how it is. Most people are not direct. We sort of skirt around the kaupapa and then we get very poetic in our korero and then eventually we talk about everything but the take (Purpose). But at the end of it it is resolved underneath 'Kia Tau Te Rangimarie'. Right, now I'm not being sarcastic. I am saying to you that that is the way people are more comfortable [with in Maoridom]. [However] my way is not very popular at all. People don't like being talked to directly. People don't like hearing the truth and even when they hear it they'll turn it around.

Connie Hana, also contended that there were some supporters of 'revitalising Maori culture' who made it known that they were above or 'better than' those Maori still struggling with identity issues. In her opinion, this 'better than thou attitude' left no room for compromise when dealing with complex issues affecting the diverse nature of Maori whanau, hapu and iwi. From Allen Hippolite's point of view this challenge about dealing with diverse Maori realities was obvious when comparing Nelson Maori interpretations of 'Maoriness' with someone brought up in Tuhoe. Another interesting angle to consider about this notion of Maori diverse realities was mentioned by William Takarei of He Kamaka Oranga. At times Maori individuals also chose to be 'different types of Maori' or in other words, a cultural chameleon when the occasion

or environment suited. For example, when at home one could claim Iwi Maori status or on returning to the urban setting could also affiliate to urban Maori groups, and the list goes on as circumstances dictated. Concerning this point, William Takarei remarks:

. . . I really only practice being a iwi based Maori when I go home on holidays . . . it's the only time I really practice you know being an iwi hapu Maori [when I'm involved in] home activities . . . the reality is that we work 99% of our time here in Auckland so we look for structures that will give us [that] cultural sustenance that we need . . . that's why I've affiliated with Hoani Waititi [Marae] . . . because it's there for urban Maori, and that's why to a certain extent I get behind their initiatives and the initiatives of Te Whanau O Waipareira, and I have an infinity with other urban based Maori initiatives.

June Jackson queried this ability to participate in Maori cultural activities, even though normal living activities of these same individuals were anything but 'cultural'. Each entity contained sets of acceptable behaviour and thought patterns attached to real roles. However, adjusting to those different types of roles was a difficult enough exercise that not all were competent at. In other words, being steeped in tikanga Maori was not necessarily the key prerequisite for seeing the larger macro picture nor was it wholly instrumental in refining the art of cross cultural communication. In essence, being 'culture bound' could also mean not being able to compromise or be flexible. From a positive point of reference, this phenomenon of being locked into particular patterns of viewing the world, made that same world a known environment.

Power relationships

While debate appears ongoing about Te Tiriti O Waitangi's status as a social policy contract or relational agreement between Maori and the Crown, the dynamics of 'power relationships' remain another significant thematic challenge to Maori self determination. Whanau at Te Puna Hauora, were clear about the pre 1980s power dynamics which saw Maori immersed by Pakeha/Tauiwai definitions of health, institutions, methods

of healing, Tauwiwi professionals and so on. In the post 1980s through to present day, the political activities of whanau members have been to establish initiatives for Maori turoro based on Maori practitioners in the health sector, tikanga Maori processes, as an independent infrastructure within a mainstream organisation. The overall goal identified by Ann Stevens was for Maori based health services to become a real option for Maori turoro leading to what Clint Lovett expressed as a stand alone Maori run hospital. Securing Maori representation and non Maori sympathisers into positions of power within, around and outside of the hospital setting has been used as a strategic ploy to move towards that objective. At the same time, non Maori agency approaches to Maori wellbeing have also improved. Concerns expressed by Janice Kuka in reorganising new relationship power patterns between all key actors,¹⁵ are best said in her own words:

I think part of it was about jealousies, that this group of people are going ahead [we in Te Puna Hauora], and I think some of it was personalities, just trying to pull things down . . . [Another issue was] personal power. [Some Maori had been endowed with] it for a long time within these institutions. It was given to them by pakeha. And when we [Te Puna Hauora] set up, they knew that those day were gone. Because eventually, this collective or Maori people would start having a strong say on how things would happen here now, in terms of Maori. I suppose they saw their individual power base slipping away. [So you get all those] people trying to place obstacles [in your way] and stop you.

'Collective mandate' challenged power structures based on 'consociationalisation'. Inter and intra iwi jealousies appeared to be another stalling block in acquiring appropriate power relationship structures to advance Maori control of responding to welfare needs. In the case of Te Puna Hauora, a history of inter iwi strife between Ngati Ranginui and Ngai Te Rangi made employing Maori nurses for Te Puna Hauora's kaupapa unit, a difficult chore. In Heretaunga, Allayna Watene

¹⁵ In this case the key actors involved were whanau of Te Puna Hauora, Tangata Whenua,

and Ngahiwi Tomoana's experiences with Te Runanganui o Ngati Kahungunu show numerous leadership struggles between Maori whanau for ascendancy in controlling the purse strings of this iwi. From their point of view, the financial demise of Te Runanganui o Ngati Kahungunu was the result of a culture of 'inflexibility' which clouded the lines of accountability for Kaumatua, lacked vision and expertise to deal with changing times and used whakapapa in a hierarchical egocentric power driven, somewhat idealistic individual fashion. Ngati Koata internal power games saw money earmarked for 'at risk whanau' sitting in a bank accumulating interest for the runanga while extended families struggled financially to provide safe haven for 'their rangatahi in conflict' with their immediate whanau.

Emma Jacobs, while strategising continually to cope with power plays and changing power relationships with CYPs in terms of meeting criteria for funding as an iwi Social Service provider, still spoke of how Ngati Raukawa had systematically progressed along a kaupapa outlined in 'Whakatupuranga rua mano'. This kaupapa set about changing the power relationships between hapu by utilising hapu resource people. Te Reo, education, health and welfare were advanced alongside clearly identifying the dynamics of each hapu. Increased hapu pride meant less opportunity for inappropriate services to Maori in their region and increased participation of hapu resource people in formulating the role of State and non State social service support.

Power relationship struggles in the larger urban environments were characterised by a unification across iwi lines of Maori efforts to respond to welfare needs facilitated by poor housing, unemployment and overall poverty. Urban environments contained a conglomeration of ethnic realities that became another post-settlement battle ground for Tangata Whenua in the cultural identity and Te Tiriti O Waitangi partnership

power stakes. John Tamihere's experiences of being Maori in the city reflects those struggles by Maori to become creators of their own destiny:

. . . when you are brought up in the city, you know you're a Maori, because everyone else just defines you as that. So when you've got dark blood in you that's the end of story. And so you don't even have to speak Maori, or be in a kapa haka group, or run around in a grass skirt. There is an identity issue rammed down your throat whether you like it or not. The next step is, well how does that identity relate itself to your Maoriness. How do you practice it. Well you play rugby league. More than likely your dad is into 8 ball or in a dart club, Mum more than likely fraternizes with housie, to get time out from dad and the kids, and the pub, and things like that. And our social organisation. Then what happens is that all of a sudden protocol takes place at the 8 ball club. This is when you learn your first steps for being Maori, and then next minute there's the whanau competition on Sundays. And we don't give a shit about what the council says where the parks are closed or not. When the whanau want to play, it happens. For instance, when Utu kura plays Motu karaka . . . they come out and they do business, after that they have a hui, and before the hui starts we have the karakia, we have the mihi, we rejoice in being Maori but what brought us together in terms of social organisation was the rugby league match. And that kept our whanau together, in ways traditionally which previously the papakainga and the marae did.

June Jackson came through the experiences of Maori urban motherhood supported by a companion competent in tikanga and kawa Maori. As rural/urban Maori Aroha Beal's cultural transference experiences were grounded around her Marae, hapu activities and iwi politics. Allan Hippolite and Allayna Watene drew their identities from involvement in whanau and hahi development. The point being made here is that while those interviewed may have travelled along different pathways towards 'being and feeling Maori', that recognition led to major changes in power relationships they formed from that time onward with other Maori and Tauwi in Aotearoa. John Tamihere describes a personal experience he had with this issue, while on a community panel:

Well it goes like this, I said to this Samoan elder, he stood up at a big hui and there was myself on this stage and this Pakeha from the CYPs services. He said where is the Pacific Island representative up there. Well the Pakeha went all red and invited him up, and I stood up and said na, you stay down there. Cause if I got up on a plan in Apia, true to Polynesian custom, I know where I stand, I stand behind you mister. Now sit down, alright, end of story, whats the problem . . . Urban Maori in Auckland and Wellington know what I'm talking about. Because you've never had to fight in the streets in the 70's against them [Tagata Pasifika] you see [in] big brawls, and the passion and the intensity is still there, and I'll tell you this now, I ain't ever going to take a back ward step ever again either.

The key factor here revolves around recognising that Tauwiwi/Pakeha continued to align Maori concerns with those from other minority ethnic groups. However, when one refers back to the 'Bi-Polity' analysis framework of Te Tiriti O Waitangi, Tauwiwi embraced all non Maori ethnic group concerns,¹⁶ separate from the contractual arrangements its representative, the Crown made with Tangata Whenua Maori. This meant that any lack of representation on select or community panels of other ethnic bodies was not a Tangata Whenua - Tauwiwi concern, but rather a Tauwiwi specific one. The most contentious power relationship experience has seen urban Maori pitted against iwi Maori for a stake in the riches from Maori fisheries. More will be said about urban versus Maori debate in the following theme, but of significance in terms of power relationships was the fact that Urban Maori Authorities were in for the long haul and challenged the mandate of iwi to meet the needs of those living outside their mana whenua boundaries. Naida Pou saw the value of both iwi and urban Maori support structures, but John Tamihere was skeptical of iwi Maori plans to redirect funds to their whanau residing in cities.

¹⁶ Upon signing Te Tiriti O Waitangi the Crown now represented all diverse realities of Tauwiwi, be they Irish, Welsh, Samoan, Cook Island and so on.

Threats to indigenocentricity

Threats to indigenocentricity created a number of challenges that needed addressing in order to advance Maori self determination in meeting welfare needs. While outside forces such as Christianity, the protestant work ethic and monocultural education continued to have a major impact on the cultural development pathways of Maori society, indigenocentricity maintained the view that Maori society had the power and ability to adapt, grow, mature and develop a Maori centred approach to deal with Maori wellbeing. The challenge has been for Maori to promote the valuable parts of Maori cultural wisdom and experience. Aroha Beal and whanau argued that it was essential for Maori to have a centred philosophy that was built on Maori values and beliefs. Furthermore, it would be these values and beliefs that would facilitate growth and development for Maori. Taotahi Pihama in responding to the question about what does Maori social policy comprise of, named some of these valued aspects of Maori society as 'whakawhanaungatanga, tikanga, taha wairua and taha tinana'. Later in the interview he also spoke of Maori tendencies to be inclusive of things in the present with the future and the past:

Tauwi walking to future, sometimes disclaiming the past . . . [Of Maori] we know our history, we know where we are, and we walk into the future taking those with us. Ana te rereke [the difference between that] The tauwi forget some of the history, but for us we take our history with us. History is on our marae, inside our marae, in our karakia. We're very mindful of our karakia, we pray for those who have an influence on us and some of our karakia we also acknowledge those people who laid the foundation for being.

When Government [the external force] introduced the Mana programme, Maori committed to developing along tikanga Maori lines [indigenocentrism], transparent processes workable policies, and accountable administration and management structures to enhance Maori wellbeing with integrity, were subjected to what June Jackson described as:

Maori humbug, Maori nonsense, hoha stuff. Non accountability, inconsistency, non performance . . . oh what is humbug. When they. . . do not practice what they preach. When they do not walk their talk . . . sometimes we've only got talkers . . . more talkers than doers.

As one unpacks some of these 'Maori humbug, nonsense and hoha things' the threats to indigenocentrism manifest themselves. For example, Connie Hana of Waipareira and June Jackson from Manukau, in discussing the role and function of kaumatua in Maori society provide both sides of the argument about the positive aspects of indigenocentrism and potential threats to its promotion in dealing with Maori well being. In setting up Te Whanau O Waipareira, Connie Hana explained that Kaumatua [Koroua and Kuia] became surrogate parents/grandparents to whanau in the city who had become isolated from their whanaunga in the rural sectors of New Zealand. Their key function was to provide manaakitanga and to awahi Maori who had been brought up and taught in a monocultural environment. June Jackson, believed that the creation of modern kaumatua has also left Maori quite vulnerable. In the revitalisation of Maori culture period in the early 1980s she states:

They created kaumatuas all over the place, and they gave mana to some people who did not deserve it and you had these people who suddenly had kaumatua status.

Many gained mana without a proven track record of service to whanau Maori and had limited understanding of the personal service required of them in the furtherance of healthy holistic life styles. In these times, age appeared to be the most important criteria for identifying Maori for those roles, yet in traditional times kaumatua were expected to comprehend and respond to 'in the public interest' issues. To be able to do this, they needed a solid grounding in tikanga of their whanau, hapu and later, in iwi politics. More than often, 'half pie practices' passed off as tikanga Maori, did nothing to advance Maori wellbeing.

Every interviewee talked about dealing with raruraru/problematic situations¹⁷ which undermined efforts to create workable solutions to meet Maori wellbeing concerns. For example, in Heretaunga Allayna Watene pointed to the Harbour Inn Affair and other instances where Maori using tikanga and traditional status misappropriated funds for their own purposes. She was also scathing of the role ex-Maori Affairs Staff played in leading Ngati Kahungunu into disarray. From her perspective, they were 'like wolves in sheep's clothing', 'lap dogs of the government', who were more concerned about maintaining their own bureaucratic power through 'keeping everyone in the dark or uninformed' and condoned milking the system without due consideration of the long term effects on Ngati Kahungunu people. Like June Jackson, Allyana also saw Maori attracted, even blinded by the 'big money'. Allayna Watene comments on this as follows:

There are crooks amongst our own . . . we blame pakeha [for all our ills], but in this transition period of becoming makers of our own destiny we have brown people doing the same thing [abusing Maori] and we have to flush them out.

To back up her claims she referred to financial wheeling and dealing at a strawberry farm, blacklisted crayfisherman, funding for forest nurseries and carrot farms that never existed. Corruption, distrust, petty jealousies, personality clashes, in house bickering, misappropriation of funds, to name a few, have made working in Maori development a high risk activity. Allen Hippolite saw the 'clever well to do Maori' get fatter while Maori in poverty got poorer. Both he and Wayne Taylor reinforced the view that nepotism practices remained a thorn in the side of Ngati Koata iwi development.

Another aspect of advancing indigenocentrism was associated with convincing Maori that Maori ways of healing and so on, were beneficial

¹⁷ The scenarios presented are at times challenging. However, it is important to note that the participants were given the opportunity to review their transcripts to delete what they

and up to a professional standard. Those at Te Puna Hauora have fought long and hard to establish that type of credibility. Once Maori users of that service understood that they were receiving access to expert consultants to assess their health status in clinics who were 'Maori user friendly', their attendance increased. June Jackson provides a warning about the other side of this argument:

The other issue though is that we have to be prepared for those Maoris who denigrate what we do anyway . . . because you get that as well . . . there are many Maori who undervalue what we do. I mean some times I also do that too. That's because I've had first hand experience with Maori rongoa. There are some Maoris I would never allow to mix anything for me. They smoke, they're unhygienic, they stink and they going to go and make my medicine? That will be the bloody day.

Finally, these threats to indigenocentricity were not just about money, physical resources or even one's status or station in life. These threats involved inhibiting ways of thinking that left some whanau feeling less than others because of their ethnicity and others feeling superior or better than others for the same reason. To counter these threats Naida Pou believed that Maori needed to be in key management roles within the wider social service communities to develop systems, policies and practices of a bridge building nature between the cultures without compromising tikanga Maori.

Inter-race struggles

The fourth challenge theme is 'inter-race struggles'. This incorporates adjusting to what Ngahiwi Tomoana described as an environment that saw a change from 'Maori to Pakeha dominated' environmental systems, processes and protocol. As a student at University in the early 1970s, Ngahiwi Tomoana and other students experienced first hand the impact of those inter-race struggle:

. . . this system [University] was unfamiliar to us . . . here we experienced isolation, and confronted unfriendly systems, unfriendly processes, unfriendly mechanisms, unfriendly classroom environments . . . [the whole atmosphere] was unfriendly . . . it wasn't surprising that we failed and left university with our confidence feeling jaded.

In the early stages of development for Te Puna Hauora, Janice Kuka and Cindy Mokomoko alluded to that fact that inter-race struggle was responsible for maintaining a 'gulf of misunderstanding' between Tangata Whenua and Tauwiwi. For example, a call for help from one specialist to Maori health workers at the Tauranga Hospital concerned about the lack of Maori patients fronting up to their appointments at his clinics manifested poor communication and lack of respect as an intrinsic part of this 'inter-race struggle' theme. Janice Kuka states:

We had strong support by one Pakeha consultant . . . Cause he was the one who said look you need to help me. I have a lot of Maori clientele, but they're not turning up to outpatients. He was a specialist, he was a consultant specialist in the medical ward where most of our people go into his wards and that's where most of the problems were occurring. They'd go home again with no supports and back in again with ever diminishing good health status. So we believe it was through just one Pakeha saying 'here's a problem, what can we do'. And we said we would research to find out the reasons why our people aren't coming into hospitals. [the nature of our feedback was] Because its so Pakeha, they [Pakeha] don't understand [us], there's been no communication . . . all the reasons why our people don't come into any kind of Pakeha organisations [is because its] not for them [they] don't feel they've been listened to, [the] place has a different wairua [and] that they weren't treated with respect. So we said well here are the reasons why our people said they won't come.

In explaining the rise of Te Whanau O Waipareira, John Tamihere talked about the ills of urbanisation and relocation that severely hampered Maori whanau dynamics. Part of the inter-race struggle was about challenging rationale that attacked, belittled or supported the rejection of relationship patterns fostered by whanau, hapu and iwi, that were inherently Maori.

Urban Maori responded by mandating organisations such as Waipareira, to defend Maori against Pakeha efforts to 'aggregate, consolidate and amalgamate' or assimilate Maori into becoming 'Brown skinned Pakeha'. One of the most obvious ways this was accomplished was by promoting whanau whanui [family networks].

Inter-race struggle, appeared to down play the worth of difference and instead pushed for standardisation of a 'national culture identity' that was dominated by non Maori values and beliefs. However, Betty Mackay provides an illustration of the complexities that are inherently part of the debates about difference. She explains as follows:

I sense that one of the things hugely different [between] Pakeha and Maoridom is that in Pakeha culture you're taught to be mobile. It doesn't actually matter where you live . . . the word exile has very little meaning for Pakeha [can set up house anywhere without any difficulty]. Whereas for Maoridom the word exile is probably the worst punishment you could dream up. One [Pakeha perception] is about location and other is about roots [Maori].

There are many other examples one could refer to, but the significant aspect is that these differences were never given due acknowledgement, and for the sake of expediency, Maori and Pakeha relationships were not built on trust and respect. Ann Stevens backs this up in a comment made about the distrust Maori have regarding Pakeha things:

. . . the experience that I've had with our people. I've learnt that they don't trust Pakeha - straight up . . . our kaumatua just distrust them because they feel that they've always been ripped off by them . . . They're just so paranoid of pakeha things, that they're going to lose all their money. And it just makes them so ill.

A noticable facet of 'inter-race struggle' was the engendered dependency of Maori on Pakeha systems of healing that still left Maori proportionally over represented in all negative health and welfare statistics. Ruka Broughton believed that one way of successfully dealing with dilemmas of this nature was to learn equally Pakeha things and taha Maori. In

contrast, John Tamihere's strategy to cope with the anger, hate and frustration of finding out about colonisation and its impact on Maori was twofold: first, to remember that Maori needed to be in the kaupapa of Maori development for the long haul. 'No woof and a bang, fly by nighters' but those that would be there right up until the eventide. For John Tamihere it meant that:

. . . every time the whanau jumps in the ring someone, we know we're going to be standing in the 15th round.

The second strategic element was about increasing Pakeha accountability as Te Tiriti O Waitangi partners. Using that boxing metaphor, he explains:

What they don't know is what condition they're going to be in [after the 15th round]. Now that's what it's all about, and one day when you hit them here, in their pocket, that's when they start to listen, that's when they start to understand. Then we start stressing them for a change. We can turn that microscope from us onto them. That's when they'll start to sort their act out. And we'll be insistent on that.

Aroha Beal also used Te Tiriti O Waitangi as the blue print to base all inter-race issues on. Her point about 'Iwi accreditation' of general practitioner services reinforced the view that Maori legitimately had the right to decide which services (General Practitioner and so on) should deliver to Maori.

Summary of four thematic challenges

These four thematic challenges (Culture bound realities; power relationships; threats to indigenocentricity; inter-race struggles) Maori confronted in efforts to establish a 'Maori controlled response to Maori wellbeing needs', displayed four key facets: first, Maori energies were being sapped by those things that did not take into account a collective responsibility towards the welfare of whanau hapu and iwi; second, Maori development in the 1990s demanded that Maori be honest with each other and intrepid in the face of changes to tikanga and kawa to advance Maori wellbeing; third, there was also an issue about how best to advance Maori

development. Did this involve a focus on iwi Maori or urban Maori. What about a combination of both? These were some of the struggles that emerged concerning Maori becoming the architects of their own future and destiny. Fourth and finally, separate and autonomous Maori development had little to do with demarcation of time out for Maori from Pakeha things, but more to do with acknowledging that Maori had a lot of in-house cleaning up to do. This proposition argued that Pakeha/Tauiwi responsibilities towards developing 'bicultural' practices was not diminished and did not need to be determined by Maori initiatives.

Outcomes experienced . . .

Called 'Outcomes experienced', the beginning of this section revisits two thematic strengths inherent in Maori pursuits towards self determination. These themes are identified as 'flexibility and all cultures have their own sophistication'. This will then be followed by an exploration of social service provisions/initiatives by Maori for Maori under the twofold thematic umbrella of 'change and development'.

Flexibility

That first theme of 'flexibility', continues to impact on Maori pursuits towards self determination. On the one hand it validates processes concerned with 'arriving at a solution' to social problems. In other words, reconciliation for the purpose of healing meant that 'no door was completely closed to negotiation and compromise'. Naida Pou explained that the history surrounding the establishment of He Kamaka Oranga, was about capitalising on this theme. Her responsibilities in He Kamaka Oranga, were to make sure that Maori communities of Tamaki Makaurau had worthwhile Maori health options available to them from within the public health sector. Previously, Maori health workers of the Auckland Community Health Enterprise were isolated from one another, misunderstood because of their community focused commitments and viewed as a 'tag on service' that simply disappeared when Hospital fiscal crises arose. He Kamaka Oranga was about using managerial power

infrastructure reforms to advance Maori interests in Public Health. It meant providing access for Maori to political opportunities at the coal face of decision/policy making in agencies dealing with health. Another facet of 'flexibility', was that its implementation was influenced by the human resource composition of working parties, whanau services and so on, involved in the kaupapa at hand. Connie Hana pointed this out when describing the outcomes associated with 'Kokiri and Maatua Whangai' Maori Affairs programmes of the 1970s and 1980s. As she states:

I think the reason why the Kokiri initiative worked had a lot to do with the mixture of talented people who believed in the kaupapa and came to work together. There was no doubt about it because we did have cultural workers, or cultural officers. People like Bub Wehi and them. Most of our cultural officers were older . . . [and] were well known [in the community] . . . [and had a solid working] knowledge of the reo and tikanga maori and all that. And they had their mana in their own right.

On the other hand, this same flexibility, had the potential to leave whanau, hapu and iwi struggling with services espousing tikanga but in fact practicing very much like their Pakeha/Tauwi equivalents. Having a service with a Maori name, with Maori concepts in its vision statement, did not make it 'Maori centred' or 'Maori friendly'. As Ngahiwi Tomoana and Allayna Watene contended, the influence of 'colonised Maori' who took on the behavioural characteristics and institutional structures of their Pakeha/Tauwi predecessors, virtually moved Maori communities away from their roots and did nothing more than replace incompetent Pakeha/Tauwi services with incompetent Maori ones. In the case of whanau in Te Puna Hauora, it wasn't about compromise, but rather it had to do with being willing enough to use peripheral vision when merging Maori values with Pakeha ones to develop culturally appropriate and safe services for Maori in need of support. In the case of Ngati Koata, 'flexibility' surrounding their social services was all about survival as an agency by meeting funding criteria and providing an immediate legitimate and culturally appropriate response to users of their service.

All cultures have their own sophistication

Of importance here is the argument that Maori cultural tenets are made up of sophisticated systems of values, beliefs, principles, theories and living experiences that reflect an indigenous world view capable of offering valued light and knowledge about meeting 'welfare needs' of not only Maori but other represented cultures living in New Zealand. Subsequently, it has been the contention of this thesis that Maori cultural sophistication needs to be an intricate part of any attempts by Maori to develop Maori centred services. Key components arising from an analysis of this second theme, have been listed as follows: Leadership/role models, Networking, Kaupapa Maori and Diversity.

In relation to the component 'Leadership/role models, for Ema Jacob, much of the key principles, values and beliefs underpinning the Ngati Raukawa Social Services development could be put down to a group of iwi leaders who were 'forward thinkers and dreamers'. Ruka Broughton used several illustrations of Maori involved in military action, to back up this view that Maori were thinkers, strategic planners and astute tacticians. In politics he saw people like Te Rangi Hiroa, Apirana Ngata and others, epitomising this ability to think across cultures because they understood Pakeha systems, processes, knowledge and behaviour yet held on strongly to their own tikanga Maori. In the case of development surrounding the Manukau Urban Maori Authority, June Jackson's role models were as she put it, men of integrity, also steeped in tikanga Maori, who gave constructive advice and were true to the kaupapa of Maori development:

One was from Tuwharetoa - his name was Bo Rapiti, two were from the north - one was a man by the name of John Sarrage another one was Tom Waru, and the other one was my husband . . . Rua Kupa always supported me, even though he was a Tainui man. Rua came here many times, every time I lifted the receiver Rua would come. Those men clearly had a great impact on my life. I did the mahi they did the awahi. They believed in the kaupapa and when it came to the Maori side of things they were always there to help, always.

Having role models/leaders with integrity appeared to be a prerequisite for many of those spoken to. Ruka Broughton felt that this value of integrity was often missing from professed role models for Maori. A lack of this quality put in jeopardy many of the good works Maori were involved in to meet their welfare concerns appropriately. Allayna Watene also experienced being supported by Maori Kaumatua who were interested in developing her leadership qualities. It left a long term impression on her about being 'honest and forthright', maintaining a spiritual base and capitalising on personal skills and talents to achieve credibility for Maori initiatives. Ngahiwi Tomoana emphasized that his role models or movers/shakers were not only Maori activists who were not afraid to put their bodies, souls and emotions on the line but also Maori women who were in his mind the keepers of the 'Maori welfare advancement fire'. For him this very fact:

. . . was illustrated in the Whakatu [and] Tomoana [Freezing Works] closure that Wahine [Maori] held the whanau together while the men were at a loss when they were turfed out of their jobs. They didn't know where to go. The women went right to the whanau to make sure they were safe. The women went to the Social Welfare and signed themselves [up for the benefit]. The women went to the food banks and got the food. The women went to the Labour Department and enrolled their husbands' for work. The women went looking for their husbands' jobs because their husbands were fixed in the area of work.

He also addressed the debate about the mantel of leadership being 'ascribed' through whakapapa as distinct from 'acquired' through learning pursuits. Ngahiwi Tomoana's argument was that not all leaders were born into those leadership roles.

But like Pakeha, they [leaders] have to be trained to [be of worth to us], not there by right, not there by whakapapa. They have to be trained to walk [well in their fields of expertise]. And although whakapapa has an important role, I see it as a different role, it has a kaitiaki role, not a management role. How many good whakapapa people have we seen leading the All Blacks . . . We have whakapapa kaitiaki [and we have] leaders [who are other people]. The people who have dreamed and we have

those who do the hard slog . . . So where we are getting mixed up now is that we think whakapapa gets you into top jobs and that is where the confusion has been . . . those from Ariki lines aren't always the best to do the eyeball to eyeball scrapping stuff that our leaders are required to do.

Ruka Broughton sums up that Maori cultural sophistication in leadership terms, saw 'many called but few chosen' for what was to become a steep learning curve, as Maori fought to control the experience of development by the people and for the people (by Maori for Maori), instead of it being directed by Central Government. While it appears that a lot of the younger potential leaders tend to be pushed forward into the fire, sometimes without due consideration for appropriate cultural support from Kaumatua, that birthing experience has been responsible for a torrid yet solid apprenticeship for those desiring to advocate for and on behalf of their own Maori communities in crises.

The next component of the theme 'all cultures have their own sophistication' is 'networking'. Another word for networking is whakapapa in its broadest sense. For example, making/strengthening connections with your whanau, whanaunga or even surrogate community for support. Networking in the urban environment was crucial to Maori wellbeing because of Maori separation from marae and whenua. In affirmation of this point, Chris MacDonald recalls that:

. . . when I moved into the city I affiliated myself with Hoani Waititi marae and Peter Sharples, and because I was of Ngati Kahungunu descent of course I joined a kapahaka group [again based around iwi connections]

Naida Pou saw networking as an essential skill in Maori circles that transformed contacts with people into meaningful relationships that provided long term whanau support. John Tamihere also viewed whanau networking as a way of bringing resource people together to deal with common problems, barriers and development of initiatives to advance the welfare of the communities in question. The emergence of 'Te Whanau O Waipareira', was a prime example of the power these networks had in generating positive development for urban Maori. Connie Hana gave real

life illustrations of the power of networking when assisting Maori rangatahi involved in drugs and reeling from the 'broken home syndrome'. As she put it, the philosophy for networking was:

... If we don't have the expert here [already in the social services at Waipareira] , we can find the expert out there [in our community].

Taotahi Pihama saw no problems with non Maori resource people and services as part of the network support structure for Maori:

It would be fair to say that we cover from cradle to the grave in terms of social services that we offer. And if we don't have residence for them, we find whanau - the networks of whanau, and other people within the area that we can link them up to. And if all avenues have been exhausted then we go to the other existing agencies, like the Salvation Army, or the Methodist and Anglican missions.

From another point of view, Te Puna Hauora reemphasized that community networking processes also provided credibility in terms of increasing patronage of their services offered to Maori whanau, hapu and iwi. By word of mouth, whanau speaking to whanau, demands for Maori controlled services increased, especially when they realised that the service brought together health expertise and tikanga Maori in a comprehensive culturally meaningful manner. In this rural/urban setting of Tauranga, networking was also about developing working relationships between hospital and Maori communities providing health support, that was mana enhancing. For Wanda Ormsby, this mana enhancing networking relationship was a progressive step towards utilising the energies of both the mainstream hospital resources with Maori community resources. The end goal was to support Maori people in their efforts to determine their own good health status:

... we have this wonderful followup when they [Maori Turoro] go home. We've got the team of Ann and Val and Bridget [now we've got the diabetic nurse educator] which is really good, who can follow up our patients in the community. We've got all our hapu and health workers out there, we've got the marae based clinics, that have

been set up and they're educating our people out there. You know teaching them how to look after themselves, so that when they come in they won't be so sick, they're not going to wait until they're on deaths door, you know.

In this theme 'all cultures have their own sophistication' the next component to be covered is 'Kaupapa Maori'. Cindy Mokokoko emphasizes that Kaupapa Maori is about Maori ways of working with Maori. It involves actively using tikanga/kawa in all facets of the service delivery framework. Furthermore, Ann Stevens identifies that Kaupapa Maori was about understanding healing from a holistic perspective. Clint Lovett, in referring to Te Puna Hauora's Kaupapa Maori nurses initiative, went on to point out that knowing and understanding the function of Kaupapa Maori in healing, advanced one's own abilities to participate in the social service processes that were relevant for Maori people:

. . . its all about whakawhanaungatanga . . . how we treat Maori people . . . manaakitanga . . . aroha, all those sorts of things and if you have that base as a Maori person . . . if you know where you come from . . . who you are what your whakapapa is . . . if you believe in the values that were instilled by your kaumatua etc . . . and you have a vision for Maori to achieve . . . [again] that's all about whakawhanaungatanga, manaakitanga and aroha and all those sorts of things. It carries on through. And if you know all of the various tapu laws and that side of things you'll carry those things through with you too, and [ultimately it will help you] relate to a kaumatua and kuia. As a nurse you will know how you to mihi to them, how you serve their kai out, how you would undress them, wash them, feed them and all those sorts of things . . . It comes down to simple things like [knowing about tikanga surrounding the use of] linen [or tikanga about] the have stuff they wear and the stuff they lie on . . . and the stuff they eat with . . . those sort of things, separating those all out as well. If they're aware of those things, if they've got that tikanga behind them . . . that's why with our nurses now, we've had to hold wananga for them to understand those things.

Connie Hana expressed the view that Kaupapa Maori was also about making their social services user friendly for Maori. The function of

whakawhanaungatanga in this sense meant that everyone was received warmly:

. . . whether you were off the street, whether you were rich or poor or whatever, all were made to feel welcome.

The overall sense one gets from this analysis of 'Kaupapa Maori' is that Maori ways of responding to wellbeing are important and do appear to work. However, the liberal use of Maori concepts, to justify actions still needs further clarification. Every single interviewee at some time during their interviews referred to those ingredients that make up Kaupapa Maori, for example, 'whanau, awhi, manaakitanga, wairuatanga' and so on. The point being made is that those terms while generally meaning the same thing, in reality had a variety of expressions. Connie Hana talked briefly about Te Whanau O Waipareira's Social Service mission statement which defined the following values of 'manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, awhinatanga', and so forth. She provided an illustration of how her service would respond to Maori whanau needing support.

. . . we have people . . . who . . . I must admit come in here as a last resort . . . really stressed out. We just awhi them or whatever. I mean just the other day we had a couple in here. Real domestic . . . fighting over their baby. "But you promised you'd give me the baby when the baby was born", this poor guy said to his ex-partner . . . [but when] she had the baby, she changed her mind. I mean . . . we could feel the anguish . . . in his voice when he came in . . . how upset he was. To awhi and manaaki these people, involved looking after, trying to help them through their mamae.

Part of the task for Maori practitioners/policy makers in the social service delivery terrain is to be prepared to get past the view that 'we just awhi them or whatever' and be clear about what we actually mean by those cultural tenets in our practice. For example, some might literally take awhi to mean 'care' or manaaki to mean 'bless', but in the situation given by Connie Hana, these concepts reflect a model of practice that involves dealing with mamae [pain] in a way that could effectively be repeated if a similar situation arises. Taotahi Pihama adjusts a whakatauaki to

emphasize the impact of Kaupapa Maori on Maori pursuits for continued overall wellbeing:

He aha te mea nui. Ko te kaupapa, ko te kaupapa ko te kaupapa ki a ahau. E hara to te tangata. Kaupapa Maori is something that is a development of where Maori people are at . . . like if you go to a Kaumatua and they say 'Anei te tikanga mo tatou, hei kaupapa Maori tatou, e noho tatou i aro tera mana. Me haere koe ki te tihi tangata. Kaore i te tino mohio ki tana reo me nga tikanga, engari te mohio te whakaaro whanaungatanga. So kaupapa Maori is 'oh we are a whanau' though we might not knowing too much about what whakapapa is. You go to some of our tamariki and kaupapa Maori is waiata, is toi whakaari, is taa moko, its those sorts of outward things. Engari kaupapa maori ki roto i te reo. Mohio tatou ki tera mea, tika koe ki roto i te reo. Ka matau koe i nga tikanga me koro, Kui ma me o ratou taonga. Ki ahau, ko te kaupapa Maori - its not set in concrete, its something that is changing like Maori society is changing. Finally, Kaupapa Maori is about wanting to be accountable for what you do in the name of [whanau, hapu, iwi Maori].

The final component of the theme 'all cultures have their own sophistication' is 'diversity'. Daphne Ropiha reflects on this component when talking about the different types of relationships she has with her own whanau:

. . . I operate outside [away from] the rest of my extended whanau. So when I went home for my cousin's son's tangi . . . it was about 5 or 6 in the morning and I knew we had to get up, and I could hear one of my nannies talking to my cousin and she was going, "Oh is that your cousin [referring to me] there, wake her up". And he goes "no no you can't do that, cause she's the Minister of Health". They thought I was the Minister of Health . . . I jumped out of bed and I said I'm not the Minister of Health . . . they just looked at me like 'yes you are' . . . and it was really clear that they saw me differently . . . and though we were whanau, they still treated me differently . . . on observation they also operated differently to me as well, . . . they survived through different means. You know most of them are on a social welfare benefit and yet they have their own houses, they've got big families, happy kids, all their kids speak Maori, they have a range of experiences, they're full on in Maori things, they know their land, they know their tikanga, they know how to do all these things

that I myself can't, yet when they look at me, they think I'm better. And its because we operate differently.

Maori have been exposed to a range of different upbringings. In the case of Aroha Beal and Naida Pou, their lives revolved around a marae specific, whenua based and tikanga relative Maori socialisation experience. The effects of those experiences consistently embellished the level of tikanga Maori in the agencies they were part of. In Aroha Beal's case, although she held status as a kuia in Te Puna Hauora, much of her energies focused on 'hapu and iwi politics'. At the same time she displayed a hunger and thirst for new knowledge, as shown by her attendance at workshops and gaining higher educational qualifications. Naida Pou's commitment to her own Marae saw her actively engaged in a range of initiatives such as teaching te reo Maori and so on. The likes of June Jackson and Connie Hana, though in the same age cohort, reflect differing experiences with urbanisation and postcolonisation. June Jackson walked the path of motherhood, with an assortment of 'working class' fill in jobs. Participation and involvement in community politics saw her become an advocate for urban Maori efforts to maintain integrity and become self sufficient. Connie Hana's movement into the social services was a career choice which meant a close association with Government sponsored Maori efforts to support Maori. For example, she was a welfare officer for Maori Affairs and was also a member of the Maori Womens Welfare Movement. In contrast to June Jackson's perspective of Maori Affairs, Connie Hana recalls the impact of people like Kara Puketapu in moving Maori boundaries of thinking away from dependency on the welfare state towards self determination. The remaining Maori interviewees, all aged between their late 20s and mid 40s, can be placed into two main philosophical categories. The first category contained those espousing Maori tino rangatiratanga and autonomous Maori development. For example, John Tamihere, Taotahi Pihama, Ngahiwi Tomoana, Janice Kuka, Cindy Mokokoko and Clint Lovett. Their developmental pathways towards tino rangatiratanga were based on membership of such things as Marae, Kapa Haka groups, Maori sports groups, whanau development initiatives, university action groups,

national protest groups, iwi management groups and so on. All these respondents could draw from 'decolonisation' experiences, had achieved in Western Eurocentric education, and could personally relate to experiences of cross cultural negativity. The second category was based on recognition of partnership and biculturalism. Chris MacDonald, Wayne Taylor, Daphne Ropiha, Ruka Broughton, Allen Hippolite and Bill Takarei have been placed here. Government or private sector working experiences, accomplishments in academic circles, urban based, active in pursuit of Treaty rights within work environments, dealing with 'cultural identity' issues and a desire to reconnect with 'good Maori tikanga' have been key aspects of those in this category.

Two key points about these demarcations need to be stated: first, that the separation line is obviously thin and second that while those categories exist, within those categories are a range of contestation debates in progress. Recognition of these differences reinforce the argument that 'diversity' is a significant component of the theme 'all cultures have their own sophistication'. As Taotahi Pihama summarises in his analysis of Te Whanau O Waipareira's philosophy 'Kokiritia ki roto i te kotahitanga - progressively act together in unity', the depth of diversity has been one of the strengths Maori people can draw from, in the quest to respond appropriately to Maori welfare needs:

So the philosophy creates an image that we are collectively going together. Even though there is diversity and differences within the group. Collectively we still go together. Being responsible for that goal of collectively going together, but knowing that one is allowed to practice one's maori what ever that may be, reinforces the place of diverse views of Maori Kaupapa. It allows that diversity to exist.

Maori efforts (whether State sponsored or not) to become self governing are reflective of Maori diverse realities currently existent in Aotearoa. Some of these services have been dominated by self serving, paternalistic, dependency-generating, non-collectivist ideologies and practices, that encourage a 'bottom of the cliff' ambulance type responsiveness to Maori

pain and suffering. There have also been success stories where Maori endeavours to create services that are Maori centred, Maori friendly and Maori controlled, have provided positive changes in attitudes and behaviour of those communities they service. Maori have also begun to enter into social service delivery by offering mainstream society support options, therefore strengthening the claim that Maori approaches to wellbeing can be 'transportable' across the cultural divide and that Maori do have positive solutions to offer non Maori suffering the ills of welfare dependency in New Zealand. With these contextual strands in mind, the next two themes of 'change and development' are looked at to provide insight into the make up of Maori social service initiatives created to deal specifically with Maori welfare concerns. The task of this section is to evaluate those service outcomes alongside the notion of Maori autonomy [by Maori for Maori]. A breakdown of each of these themes into specific components with illustrations from the research data will lead into an analysis of those initiatives, concluding with a commentary of the services in relation to the notion of Maori autonomy (by Maori for Maori).

Change

Maori attitudinal changes are essential for the emancipation of Maori. John Tamihere clearly identified that though under resourced the main aim at Te Whanau O Waipareira was to facilitate attitudinal changes supporting the belief that 'Maori can do' rather than 'Maori can't do', thus shifting the onus of responsibility back onto Maori communities to enact their own tino rangatiratanga. In support of this direction, Connie Hana went on to explain that in the early 1980s, Kara Puketapu challenged Maori Affairs community workers to change their approach of working with Maori communities. This change reemphasized the role of community involvement and decision making. From her point of view, healthy changes began to occur as Maori communities took time to gather, discuss/debate and decide the type of development they needed to embark on. The attitudinal change of 'being involved' led to the emancipation of Maori communities residing in urban settings, such as West Auckland:

[Kara Puketapu] asked the [Maori Affairs community units] to help, he also had meeting with the . . . Waipareira Community . . . he said "hey you know your community better than any body else, don't let the Maori Affairs People and any other Government department come out there, like we use to in the old days, and tell you that you've got a housing problem, or you've got a education problem, because Government departmental head offices in Wellington, who held statistics showed that Maori had a problem in those particular areas and had developed policies from Wellington governing funding to deal with those problems" . . . in fact that entire approach was also part of the problem . . . Kara made us aware of that and how we had become an inherent part of that problem. He then pointed out that while Maori communities believed that those Government identified problems did exist, these were not the priority problems in their communities.

The development of kokiri units saw the responsibility of deciding how to use the money on Maori wellbeing being left up to Maori communities, not central Government. Maori communities became more aware of what was happening with the funding agencies and all that. In our case, here in West Auckland, we became much stronger as a group. I'll never forget the first hui on the 2nd of June 1982, we called the beginning of the 'Unity Management meetings'. That meeting was held at Hoani Waititi Marae. Whenever anybody brought up a topic and talked about it, there was very little said about each of the decisions they reached. Everybody seemed to be too shy and they would sit there, and everybody would agree. Nobody would participate in any discussions or questions. However, I can clearly remember about a year later. Oh everybody had something to say. You know everybody was just becoming so much more vocal. They had a lot to say, and I thought 'Gosh you know' and then it got to the stage where a lot of people would get up and start really hammering things and getting angry, and I thought 'I don't know if this is very healthy', but somebody told me it was a very healthy development. Because the Maori people in the community were coming from everywhere to participate in discussions about their development and wellbeing. It got to the stage where that Cafe at Ratanui house was just full right out into the foyer. And people who had any take at all would come. That was the place to air it. It was an open public forum of the people of West Auckland concerned with ensuring that facilities and resources were better utilised for the benefit of the Maori community.

Janice Kuka, in speaking about the emergence of Te Puna Hauora, linked that development to a rise in overall Maori conscientization throughout Aotearoa about Te Tiriti O Waitangi rights and what they were not getting in terms of health service delivery. Consequently, the initial liberal devolutionary influence of a two term Labour Government with their health reforms in the 1980s, plus 'pushes from Maori people', culminated in a demand by the early 1990s for a change in management approaches, that left health services in a state of internal turmoil and confusion. It was Janice Kuka's belief that it was:

. . . through this [State of turmoil and confusion in the hospital organisation] that we were able to make a lot of changes. We arrived at the right time when Pakeha were confused, when government was going through a lot of reforms and when this organisation didn't know who was leading them.

Change can be quite unsettling, especially when people are comfortable and have an order to things, even if these processes, systems, service people and policies that provide that security are in fact reinforcing a continuance of user dependency. Daphne Ropiha took time to respond to this phenomenon because some of those in opposition to the Manukau Urban Maori Authority's development initiatives promoting Maori self determination, were in fact Maori themselves:

. . . and when you're trying to change a big thing you can imagine the opposition against it is huge . . . and not just from non-maori . . . the ones that are pointing the finger or jumping up and down like that are Maori and so maybe we're not educating them well enough before we make the change . . . So the barriers are not just money, the barriers aren't just location, its in Maori thinking, its inherent . . . that's where changes need to occur our thinking.

Naida Pou was also quite clear about the difficulties organisations faced when change was demanded of them. Like in the case of Te Puna Hauora, Pakeha support had the ability to facilitate positive changes. As she put it:

. . . nobody likes change . . . we habitually become attached, almost addicted to the comfort zone of the day, even

though its wrong we continue to carry on up that path. And that's where hospital services were at. Services were carrying on up that path, even though they knew that there were a high number of Maori women who were not attending outpatient clinics. It was easier to blame the victim than to look at their service. Blame the victim in terms of 'well we've got this good service here, its not our fault if the Maori women don't want to utilise our services, its their fault for not coming'. The fact that these Maori women needed to catch at least ten buses to get to the clinic, the fact that their appointment was at the same time their mokopuna were coming out of kohanga reo, or the kids are getting back from school, the fact that its a scary place to come to and was not user friendly. The fact that its white on white on white. You get to the place and it has white walls, you get inside and everythings white. Even the doctor that comes to see you, he's got a white coat on and he's white, or she's white, so its white on white on white . . . a scary place. Who wants to catch ten buses to get to a scary place. And so part of the struggle has been to get the organisation to reflect . . . saying to the organisation, you have a responsibility to your Maori consumers too and it is your responsibility to change certain aspects of your environment to look after Maori consumers if you really are serious about wanting Maori consumers to continue coming to your service.

In connection with Maori aspirations or dreams of being proactive about developing mana enhancing activities for Maori people, June Jackson reminds us all, that while establishing mana enhancing relationships with Pakeha is an important ingredient in facilitating positive change, the main responsibility to move the boundaries of thinking about Maori wellbeing still rested with Maori. Her contention has been that when involved in emancipatory change:

. . . you have to be incredibly strong. And have the courage of your convictions, because you get slaughtered on the way. And you've got to have the courage and the strength to rise above it.

Development

Some of the actual outcomes of those changes will now be observed as the theme 'development' is studied. The primary direction of all initiatives

covered in the interview sequence expressed a 'by Maori for Maori' characteristic.

Te Whanau a Waipareira has established a national and international reputation for being at the cutting edge of Urban Maori development. John Tamihere explained that Waipareira:

. . . were technically insolvent in 1991. We are freehold absolutely today. We've got a \$7 million asset base freehold with an \$8 million turn over . . . in three years time from the base of plain hard work, we will be a huge player in this regions economy.

In direct response to welfare concerns by their community, Te Whanau O Waipareira provides a full health service with subsidised care, mobile dentist facility, sponsors sports development and recreation, has a social service agency managing a range of initiatives for youth at risk, rehabilitation places for those returning from incarceration and so on. The education support unit was initially fully subsidised by Te Whanau O Waipareira, and has only been recently receiving funding from the Ministry of Education. The principle of tino rangatiratanga supported by hui-a-ropu, saw the development evolve from grass roots involvement as Maori in urban settings found their voices and began to participate in shaping culturally appropriate responses to their welfare needs. In summing up this development principle of tino rangatiratanga used by Te Whanau O Waipareira, Taotahi Pihama contends that:

Waipareira is at the tino rangatiratanga end of development, because, one - Waipareira makes its own decisions, two - Waipareira does not get any hand outs and three - Waipareira proactively plans its financial, social, cultural and educational strategies around [whanau development and participation].

Connie Hana also stressed that whanau development and participation reflected a history of community development and facilitated the emergence of Maori initiatives in West Auckland to deal with their needs.

The development of the Manukau Urban Maori Authority (MUMA) arose out of what was called the Manukau Maori Employment Authority, which handled Government grants to assist Maori in employment endeavours. A parallel theme inherent in June Jackson's experiences as the head of this organisation was that development involved 'decision making'. Instead of chasing the 'training dollars', this organisation decided to maintain a business focus. As Daphne Ropiha explains:

MUMA's made up of a range of business units that are autonomous . . . we don't get any government money.

On quick perusal one might argue that this body has no social service arms to it. A closer inspection of the services provided suggests otherwise. MUMA runs a funeral home which had direct involvement with well over 350 Maori whanau, a credit union of 2000 people and a sports gym membership list of over 1500 whanau members. A cafe is well patronised by those same whanau who have invested interests in the credit union and gym facilities. As June Jackson put it:

. . . you see we provide the social services in a way but [our whanau] pay. Its a user pays approach. When you come and use our gym you pay and you meet your whanau there . . . you use our credit union and you save, that's a benefit.

In He Kamaka Oranga, one of the characteristics underpinning development in this agency was the capitalisation of 'young Maori minds', well educated in the Pakeha world, comfortable with management and policy processes, with diverse whanau experiences, and displaying a desire to advance the bicultural responsibilities of this Pakeha/Tauiwi agency they were a part of. He Kamaka Oranga emerged in combination with Maori promoting bicultural working practices within the agency, the development atmosphere generated by recognition of 'Te Tiriti O Waitangi' in public health legislation and the support of Pakeha corporate leadership that responded to the fact that Maori were the next substantial client users of the Auckland CHE services besides Pakeha. The purpose of He Kamaka Oranga is to deal with management systems that inhibit Maori

development. Naida Pou explains both the positioning of He Kamaka Oranga and the development approach it has taken at the corporate level:

. . . setting up He Kamaka Oranga, we secured a contract, it was an organisation change contract and it is a contract at the corporate level because we knew that if we were going to make some fundamental changes for maori wellness we had to ensure that we were a fundamental part of the administrative infrastructure of the CHE . . . He Kamaka Oranga has proven beyond the shadow of a doubt that tikanga doesn't have to be compromised in the commerical world . . . There are ways and words that one can use that can apply Maori tikanga and still have efficiency gains. You know you can still have efficiency, as a matter of fact, the more you apply tikanga in the long term the better the efficiency gains. It is in the interest of CHE and everybody [Health providers], to have healthy Maori. And so therefore . . . we applied tikanga in policy, because we are experts in that field at a corporate level, and so those who are also in the corporate levels that make decisions wouldn't dare make a decision that might offend Maori because He Kamaka Oranga is at the same level of management as they are. We can now shoot missiles if need be eyeball to eyeball . . . [because] we're on an equal playing field and noone can move the goal posts because noone knows where the goal posts should be except us, in terms of Maori. So they're really cooperative, they have a desire to improve these services and to improve their services for their high Maori clientele and we're the ones that tell them how to do it.

Development of Te Puna Hauora, started with the task of improving outpatient services for Maori and coincided with nationwide whanau, hapu and iwi Maori development of the 1980s where Maori communities were wanting a say in the decision making about public health. One of the key facets of this development was the way in which Maori working within a Pakeha/Tauwiwi system ideologically¹⁸ and physically organised

¹⁸ In this context 'ideologically organised' refers to the mind and heart work embarked on to understand that the hospital was also being funded by the State to supply a culturally appropriate service for Maori - and that as workers in that environment it was their responsibility to ensure that the hospital provided those services for whanau, hapu and iwi Maori. While some might argue that Maori development initiatives would be disadvantaged by focusing within a system for change, these workers did not disconnect themselves from their responsibilities to their communities of origin.

themselves to provide culturally appropriate support for Maori users of that service. The influence of Maori pro-activism amongst young Maori professionals working in the hospital as social workers who were well versed in Pakeha knowledge and processes yet continued to be strong advocates of 'being Maori'. Moreover a medical consultant specialist's interests in reaching Maori that did not attend his clinics and support from Hospital management, created an environment for development to occur. Changing the atmosphere and tikanga of outpatient clinics to be whanau friendly, saw a turn around of attendance of Maori patient statistics from 25-30% to 99.9-100%. Development continued to incorporate a 'Kaupapa Maori Nurses' initiative where Maori patients were given choices about being looked after on ward in a professional fashion by Maori nurses under the guidance of Te Puna Hauora. Maori specific counselling services and home help follow up have also been established. Te Arahou, a strategic plan formulated by Te Puna Hauora has signposted a shift into service teams to concentrate on areas of concern such as the drug/alcohol, women, children, surgical, mental health, medical, and elderly fields. Te Puna Hauora is committed to whanau, hapu and iwi Maori development at all levels of interaction. From keeping a continuous support link for whanau in strife by maintaining their connections with hapu health workers throughout their hospitalisation at one end, to advocating in political circles for a health accord with the State at the other end, illustrates this development approach.

In the case of Te Taiwhenua O Heretaunga, Ngahiwi Tomoana expressed the view that economic development came before social development for this body. Allayna Watene identified another part of the philosophy underpinning Te Taiwhenua O Heretaunga, and that was not to dominate or control but support and endorse Maori initiatives in their area. This coincides with Ngahiwi Tomoana's point about walking a tight rope between meeting hapu concerns and maintaining the agency philosophy to provide for all Maori residing in Heretaunga. Having achieved an economic base some of the social concerns were now being addressed. This agency operates a health arm, youth workers and sports coordinators

[subsidised by different government departments] and has acted in a negotiators role for the development of iwi Maori social services with the Department of Social Welfare. The strength of its development plan are echoed in the comments made by Allayna Watene:

The main focus of my mahi is trying to develop a solid economic base so that [we in Heretaunga] can be self reliant . . . [not having to go] cap in hand to Government [for a hand out], but at the same time [Te Taiwhenua O Heretaunga] wants to be a preferred contract party to Government social services.

We [also] want to be in a position where we are on firm ground or an island that can haul in those people that are drowning or adrift. A stable core . . . that while we acknowledge that other cultures can contribute to the delivery of all forms of services . . . the [actual] control of management should be given back to [Maori].

For Allen Hippolite Ngati Koata Trust started with whanau getting together. Furthermore, the principle movers and shakers of the Ngati Koata social Trust's services were Maori women who had invested interests in the continued wellbeing of their offspring. Wayne Taylor explained that:

. . . the Trust has actually been [since around] 1950 and its constitution states that its first responsibility is to 'caretake the iwi'; and its second is to try through its own development to establish a sound economic resource base for the iwi and provide opportunities with regard to employment, to facilitate the empowerment and development of iwi, to preserve the culture of and for the iwi and to also to act as Kaitiaki of local lands and other resources.

In order to meet those responsibilities, Ngati Koata Trust has been built around a portfolio development approach. Wayne Taylor identified three key portfolios: fisheries, health, and social services. The health and social services portfolio has developed the following initiatives to respond to iwi needs: an alcohol and drug treatment arm; a youth employment and training scheme; an iwi Maori social service; and a general counselling service.

Nga Tukutuku enei

In this chapter, the 'Many rivers analysis' framework has been used to identify and assess the challenges confronted and outcomes achieved by contemporary Maori initiatives set up to deal with Maori wellbeing. In the prime area of 'Challenges', an analysis of the four key themes - culture bound realities, power relationships, threats to indigenocentricity and inter-race struggle - displayed several features. One of these features was the importance of using lessons from 'history' in more effective mana enhancing ways. 'Being Maori' is okay, and so too is improving the welfare of Maori. Another feature to emerge from this analysis is that Maori perspectives are valuable and do add to the overall understanding of humanity. Often when faced with difficulties, people tend to get side tracked by 'mind/power games' which minimises the worth of interdependency and cross cultural synergy. Displaying sincerity, generosity and acknowledging that others have a contribution to make to their own wellbeing have been identified as important components of a success approach to improving Maori wellbeing. Within the second prime area - 'Outcomes experienced' - comprises of four interrelated themes: flexibility, all cultures have their own sophistication, change and development, the following additional concepts of aroha, manaakitanga, whakawhanaungatanga and tino rangatiratanga were added to that approach.

These eight themes of the 'Many rivers, much like taniko patterns have been woven, 'step by step' and gone from strength to strength, as Maori communities have shown their commitment by becoming involved in developing 'by Maori for Maori' social service initiatives to meet their welfare needs. Like any developmental process, all the respondents engaged in dealing with the contextualisation of Maori social policy development experienced a range of challenges. Yet still celebrated 'being Maori' and having social services that reflected 'Maori tikanga' based on Maori cultural wisdom and experiences.

Part IV: Te kawa whakamutunga
The Substance . . .

Chapter Eight

Conclusion . . . an offering of hope

A key aspect of the ethical struggles inherent in this thesis have been mirrored by movement between providing an overall analysis of Maori social policy development on the one hand, and a personalisation¹ of Maori wellbeing, on the other. Subsequently, this conclusion reflects a combination of both of these approaches. This final summation begins with a return to the central research questions that initially captured my imagination and interest about Maori social policy. These questions were to provide me with what some call that 'fire in the belly' type of focus which guided the research I embarked on towards resolution. The next part of this summation looks at my contribution to the research arena (see Table Five at the end of this chapter). An overview of what are considered to be five main characteristics of Maori social policy arising out of the thesis will commence that contribution. In association with those main characteristics I also identify five parallel principles to consider when analysing, creating, establishing Maori social policy. These key characteristics and underpinning principles promote five significant goals which the thesis has explored. My concluding thoughts are two fold: first, there is an issue and a challenge for future investment and research to understand the nature and function of Maori social policy in practice; and finally, I present a positional statement regarding the current state of affairs surrounding Maori social policy.

Returning to the research questions

In discussing the key findings of this research there are two important propositions to bring to the attention of the reader. First of all, Maori development though influenced by Western Eurocentric theoretical,

¹ Personalisation in this context refers to my own personal experiences and also the experiences of those whom I interviewed.

political and practical manifestations, can trace its own genesis to Maori cultural experiences, expressions, philosophical thought and development spanning well over a thousand years. Next, that so called 'fire in the belly' or heightened desire to gain an in-depth understanding of a particular area of Maori development, recognised that Maori theoretical explanations were of worth and subsequently, Maori perceptions of the world which centered around the interrelationship of spirituality, humanity and nature, gave conceptual cement for exploration of those theoretical understandings. These propositions were a reference point in this thesis that legitimated an exploration of Maori social policy development with the central inquiry evolving around 'what is Maori social policy?' Was Maori social policy determined and defined by what the State had done in response to 'the Maori/Native question'. To what extent were Maori people responsible for the establishment of ground rules to advance their own wellbeing? The impact and analysis of these questions and dilemmas highlighted three different purposes of Maori social policy. First, Maori social policy efforts by the State throughout much of the contact history, appeared to be paternalistic by nature and consequently was imposed on, at and to Maori. In outcome terms, Maori dependency on the State rose as expressions of tino rangatiratanga abated. The next purpose was displayed during the 'bicultural age of the early/mid 1980s', where partnership approaches saw Maori social policy being created with Maori input. A third somewhat contrasting purpose, viewed Maori social policy as a Maori centered responsibility based on 'by Maori for Maori'. Full recognition of Maori tino rangatiratanga rejected those 'on, at, to or with' approaches that maintained levels of dependency on 'others' outside Maori culture. The findings of this thesis are reflected in the next section on the five key characteristics of Maori social policy.

Five key characteristics of Maori Social Policy

These characteristics with accompanying key principles and projected goals indicate the nature of Maori social policy and responsiveness to Maori wellbeing from a Maori centred perspective. The five characteristics are:

History is an integral part of Maori social policy, Maori conceptual frameworks are a critical part of Maori social policy, Maori methods of practice, Maori participation/ownership and integrated policies. Each characteristic will now be explained.

History is an integral part of Maori social policy

Marsden's (in King, 1992) contention was that the past was just as important as the present or future when formulations for Maori wellbeing were being sought. Ihimaera (1993: 3) also viewed the role of the past as paramount when attempting to set things right for the future:

. . . we owe that much to our past. We certainly owe it to the present. Unless we set things right we have no future.

With these two perspectives in mind, Maori social policy development can not be divorced from cross cultural race relationship patterns evident in the contact/relational history of Aotearoa between Tangata Whenua and Tauwi. These earlier patterns displayed a systematic process of subjugation by Pakeha/Tauwi over Maori/Tangata Whenua in all aspects of living and interaction even though Te Tiriti O Waitangi guaranteed Maori autonomy, dual citizenship and spiritual freedom. From the onset of contact under the spirit of Te Tiriti O Waitangi, historical data showed how Maori institutions, ways of learning, behavioural norms, spiritual endeavours, leadership structures, trade processes, socialisation experiences and culturally appropriate social grouping were vigorously attacked by 'Native policies' of monocultural Governments, representing the interests of the Pakeha/Tauwi majority.

Maori responsiveness throughout contact history in the form of development philosophies, included open warfare, separatism, isolationism, biculturalism, tu tangata, kokiritia, tino rangatiratanga, whakawhanaungatanga, kotahitanga, Maoritanga and iwitanga. This knowledge, wisdom and experience of the past has left contemporary Maori and Pakeha with clearer pathways for future development. The historical Chapters Three and Four of this thesis demonstrated the

changing approaches towards Maori wellbeing and welfare and the inconsistencies upon which Maori social policies were grafted. The development of 'five key patterns of engagement': consociationalisation, participation, partnership/parallel development and autonomy; provides the observer of Maori social policy with an analysis framework to comprehend the interlocking roles of cross cultural responses to Maori welfare needs on the one hand and 'by Maori for Maori' responsiveness on the other.

Though often assimilative in aim, if not frankly oppressive, the lessons learnt from history have created the fabric of experience from which the threads of contemporary Maori social policy can be drawn.

Maori conceptual frameworks are a critical part of Maori social policy

It has been one of the contentions in this thesis that historically Government attempts to redress the 'Native question' often reflected a conflict between Maori philosophies on the one hand and imposed monocultural policy frameworks on the other. This characteristic addresses the conceptual level of Maori social policy by referring to Sir Apirana Ngata's 'E tipu e rea'², which stressed that Maori futures should encompass the values, beliefs and concepts derived from earlier generations. From my perspective, I would argue that Ngata was advocating 'Maori conceptual frameworks' that were relevant to understanding the dynamics of modern Maori wellbeing. In summing up the 1980s, Witi Ihimaera (1993) wrote:

There has been no other decade quite like the 1980s, for these were the years in which Maori people once again stood up, spoke out and refused to sit down until they had

² E tipu e rea, mo nga ra o tou ao. Ko to ringa ki nga rakau a te pakeha, hei ara mo te tinana. Ko to ngakau ki nga taonga, a o tupuna maori, hei tikitiki mo to mahunga. A ko to wairua ki to atua, nana nei nga mea katoa. Grow up oh tender youth, in the days of your generation. Your hand grasping the tools of the Pakeha, for your physical well-being. Your heart to the treasures of your ancestors, as a plume for your head. And your mind to god, the creator of all things.

their say . . . we found our voice in the 1980s. We wanted to tell our stories. We wanted to set things right.

However, in the 1990s while attention remained focused on Treaty Settlement negotiations, another progressive step was taken in the theoretical plane. Maori philosophical expressions of the 1970s and 1980s were now used in the 1990s, to re-establish or develop Maori conceptual/theoretical matter used to legitimate and validate cultural wisdom and knowledge about human nature and development. Maori theorists, Maori research explorers, whanau hapu and iwi Maori, have at some time addressed Maori conceptual knowledge with the view to formulating a range of interesting theoretical frameworks, models of practice, analytical concoctions, tikanga and kawa, in order to comprehend the nature of the research data gathered, or to validate/legitimate their own practices used to deal with Maori welfare concerns in a consistent informed fashion. Mason Durie's (1994a) 'whare tapa wha' Maori health model, Danny Keenan's (1994) 'Mana theory' to understand the rigours of iwi history, John Bradley's (1995 unpublished) 'Niho taniwha framework for whanau, hapu and iwi development', Arohia Durie's (in Green, 1994) Tino Rangatiratanga theory of the State, Paraire Huata's (1997 unpublished) 'powhiri model of social work practice', Te Uru Karaka Kohanga Reo policies of interaction, and Ruwhiu whanau tikanga, all illustrate this determination by Maori to qualify their own theoretical and practical knowledge to deal with Maori wellbeing.

In returning to the question, 'where is the place of Maori theoretical explanations in the formulation of Maori social policy', the three life giving principles of Maori wellbeing formulated in Chapters Three and Four, along with theoretical paradigms underpinning Maori social policy and Maori wellbeing (Table Three), do provide explanations about healing and suffering experienced by whanau, hapu and iwi Maori. There are three implications of this. First, Maori can learn much from Maori centred approaches to management of social service cases. The statements 'you know it's the Maori way - or it's because we're Maori', so often used when describing successful social service ventures in Maori communities, can be

conceptualised. Once conceptualised, theories can be developed to explain what occurred, then these can be tested and scrutinised so that same responsive behaviour can be repeated under similar circumstances and conditions, to assist Maori in strife. Second, social work and social policy attempts to understand the many threads of Maori social policy are still very much in infancy mode. We have borrowed from other disciplines like anthropology, education, health, history, psychology and philosophy to explain our own actions. The challenge now is for Maori practitioners in social work and social policy to be proactive in developing a Maori theoretical framework relevant to Maori social policy and Maori social work/social service practice. Third, like other theoretical explanations about human behaviour and development, Maori theories hold hope for national/international communities insofar as the insights these offer are transferrable across the cultural spectrum. In conclusion, Maori conceptual frameworks, while generally afforded lesser recognition, remain important for the successful formulation of Maori social policies. The task is to develop them further and that in turn is a task for Maori.

Maori methods of practice

This characteristic of taking into account 'Maori methods of practice' reflects the need to incorporate Maori tikanga and kawa in all phases of Maori social policy development, establishment and implementation. Tauwiwi/Pakeha staff of the Auckland Community Health Enterprise used 'victim blaming' to justify why Maori were not using their service clinics. Little thought was given about the cultural inappropriateness of a 'Western Eurocentric' medical model of health in relation to Maori perceptions of illness and wellbeing.

In contrast, Te Puna Hauora's kaupapa Maori nursing service concentrates on delivery of support to Maori using tikanga familiar to Maori turoro. For example, to get clients to attend specialist clinics in Tauranga, whanau at Te Puna Hauora allowed patients to bring their extended whanau in to be seen by the specialists, had kai facilities made available to whanau, used

Maori art, music, Maori personnel and established a whare to accommodate whanau visiting their loved ones in hospital. This was done to counter the 'image of monocultural sterile hospitals' and recognised the need to be inclusive of Maori tikanga to improve services to Maori communities.

Likewise, Naida Pou stressed, she wanted Maori policy analysts working for 'He Kamaka Oranga', to 'feel' the needs of Maori users of hospital services, instead of just sitting in an office dreaming these up. This meant actively using tikanga Maori to engage with users of the services.

Use of 'hui a ropu', 'powhiri', 'karakia' and so on, are some of the methods that should be manifested in different levels of Maori social policy formulation. The 'hui consultation process' may seem like a long drawn out process, but its value in terms of hearing the voice of the people and obtaining mandate to act for Maori entities is invaluable and worth the time demands. Another illustration of Maori methods of practice, is amply illustrated in the practice of dealing with different types of mana. For example, the 1998 urban Maori versus iwi Maori debate contains mana tangata, mana ake, mana whenua, mana maori, mana moana elements that mirror the interdimensional aspects one needs to consider when formulating Maori social policy. As mentioned in Chapter Two - Figure One, mana is the conceptual cement that ties the Maori conceptual world together. In practical terms, mana manifests itself throughout all Maori processes/mechanics of formulating Maori social policy.

Maori participation/ownership

Another important characteristic of Maori social policy is that Maori should be in the 'drivers seat', or in other words, be involved and in control of the development and implementation of Maori policy including economic policy. Not a pawn on a chess board but one of the master players in the game. Historical evidence in the form of 'Matua Whangai' as a bicultural response pushed by statutory agencies in the 1980s had limited success because although it was a Maori process it was claimed as a Government initiative. Its demise in the 1980s was not a surprise. On

the other hand, the 'Kohanga Reo' movement demanded Maori participation and ownership, right from the onset so after Hui Taumata in 1984, these language nests thrived as Maori communities enacted their tino rangatiratanga to safe guard the transfer of 'te reo Maori' to those future leaders of Maoridom. Non-Maori involvement in Maori social policy is not discounted, but, in the end must be supportive rather than controlling of Maori. The task for non-Maori is to work out what they might be able to offer to advance the efforts of Maori engaged in Maori social policy formulations. This characteristic of Maori social policy emphasizes the 'by Maori for Maori' theme more than any other. For Maori social policy to be 'by and for the people', the emphasis is on acknowledging that Maori communities also have a right to experience their own growth and to shoulder the responsibility of their people.

Integrated policies

In 'Te Puawaitanga o te ihi me te wehi', found at the beginning of Part I - Te wairua Maori, a portrayal of the cyclic³ nature of Maori development was given. From Papatuanuku with the naming of our maunga, awa, whenua, moana, back to Te Ra and Ranginui, the expression with which my father wanted to leave the reader was based on the characteristic of Maori social policy, where all things are inter-connected. In Chapter Two and Chapter Six the interrelationship between the dimensions of a Maori world view expressed this type of integrated scenario.

Maori social policy is about integrated policies. People or the humanity dimension are irrevocably connected to the Natural dimension. It was about establishing a healthy balance between the various dimensions of reality. This means that Maori social policies by and for Maori people, need to incorporate a response to water, land, the forests and so on. In terms of a Maori environmental context, the framework of Rangi and Papa, provides

³ This does not mean that Maori are going around in circles and getting nowhere. It does emphasise the way in which the past, present and future are interconnected when addressing Maori wellbeing.

the whakapapa that entwines the human elements with all living, non living, and spiritual entities that make up a Maori universe (Marsden, in King, 1992).

The introduction of the 'many rivers' analysis (prelude to Chapters Five, Six and Seven) pinpoints this cultural reality as being valid and legitimate. Integrated policies are also about interlinking Maori wellbeing with the economic, political, and spiritual dimensions of reality. Consequently, Maori social policy that does not take into account the need for integrated policies becomes policy directed on, at, to and with Maori, not 'by Maori for Maori'.

Maori social policy development that expresses these five characteristics will more than likely, engender autonomy, self determinism and self sufficiency and redress years of dependency on the State. At the same time, this approach reinforces the view that Maori can find answers and solutions to social ills, and that taking control does not involve forgetting about the past nor separating oneself from the other elements that make up reality, nor for that matter being Maori.

Five key principles of Maori Social Policy

In parallel with these five characteristics, five key principles for Maori social policy also flow through this thesis. These principles are identified as: continuity, cultural integrity, cultural relevance. tino rangatiratanga, integration/balance.

Continuity

The principle of continuity challenges Western Eurocentric tendencies to discard customary knowledge as irrelevant to Maori social policy. Continuity is embodied in the following whakatauki which emphasizes the interconnection patterns between growth, regrowth, change and adaptation based on continuation of development that views the past, present and future in a cyclic interrelated not lineal fashion:

He puawaitanga no te harakeke; he rito whakaki nga wharuarua - The flax flowers; new shoots fill the empty gaps (Metge, 1995: 290).

The thesis title of 'Te puawaitanga o te ihi me te wehi', likewise reinforces the position that Maori wellbeing is influenced positively as healing and support recognises how the past is not lost nor discarded when deciding the future. Metge's (1995) analysis of the whanau in modern times parallels the view advocated throughout this thesis that 'new growth from old' was indeed realistic and possible when viewing Maori social policy from a 'by Maori for Maori' perspective.

Maori wisdom and understanding has not altogether become null and void because of advances in the technological international world of development. This principle of continuity recognises the prime elements of change, adaptation, growth and development to address Maori wellbeing in this modern era and locates Maori wellbeing along a continuum of time.

Cultural integrity

In Chapter Seven the principle of cultural integrity where 'Maori wanted to be Maori', was advocated. In other words, Maori wanted to enjoy the benefits of understanding the development of Maori social policy without becoming pseudo Maori⁴. This principle of cultural integrity not only strengthens June Jackson's call for honesty, sincerity and respect in all dealings that involve Maori progressive development but also emphasised that Maori theories, institutions, belief systems and conceptual intelligencia do contain worthwhile and important contributions to deal with historical pain inherent in Maori/Tangata Whenua - Pakeha/Tauwiwi race relationships, displayed in Chapter Five.

⁴ Those unattached to whenua, whanau, cultural values and so on. This label came up in supervision with Meihana Durie (17th of December, 1998).

Cultural relevance

The principle of cultural relevance addresses the need for Maori social policy to make sense for Maori people. In other words, all practices/methodologies used to transfer the formation of Maori social policy from the conceptual phase to practical development and implementation, should be relevant or known to Maori people. Like in the case of the hui celebrating Maori graduates academic achievements at Massey University, Maori whanau attending would expect elements of tikanga Maori to accompany the protocol of that event. This principle of cultural relevance in relation to Maori social policy development was an open challenge for Maori to deliver the goods using Maori means.

Tino rangatiratanga

The principle of tino rangatiratanga, did not reject non-Maori knowledge and wisdom, but instead stressed that Maori institutions of stewardship, leadership, decisionmaking and conflict resolution were paramount in the development of contemporary Maori social policy. The value of understanding the inter-relationships between Maori perceptions of reality placed a premium on the root social organisation of Maori society, the whanau. Exercising tino rangatiratanga in this social context was about respecting and understanding the roles and functions of all members, and exercising aroha, manaakitanga, and kaitiakitanga. Tino rangatiratanga therefore reflected a move towards autonomy by providing service support for others.

Integration/balance

This principle of integration and balance is built on the point mentioned in the previous principle about all dimensions of reality being interconnected. Subsequently, the evidence portrayed throughout this thesis about Maori wellbeing reinforces Rose Pere's (1982) octopus/wheke depiction of that interconnectedness. Not only are there many parts/arms to consider regarding Maori wellbeing, but, as explained to me by my

father, the wheke was a creature that once set upon, gave up easily. Maori wellbeing was also easily disturbed and required an integrated, balanced, and concerted effort to maintain. In my interview with Ann Stevens, while describing her mahi, she emphasized the fact that when you work with Maori you have to consider all the other issues that go along with that responsibility:

[in working with Maori turoro] . . . you've got the land, the water ways, environmental things, conservationist things as well.

Maori social policy development incorporates this type of multilevel interrelational analysis.

Five key goals of Maori Social Policy

It is possible to identify key goals which arise from the five principles for Maori social policy as well as from the defining characteristics: the promotion of Maori wellbeing at all levels; the promotion of Maori identity; the promotion of self-management; the promotion of development; and finally the promotion of generosity.

The promotion of Maori Wellbeing at all levels:

In Chapter Two the philosophical development of the philosophical framework named 'Tikitiki o Rangi - esoteric lore' displayed three life giving principles which impacted on the way that Maori in traditional times were able to respond to social wellness demands (see Table Two). It is my contention that those life giving principles continue to impact on contemporary efforts to deal with Maori wellbeing. The promotion of Maori wellbeing at all levels has two central aspects to consider. The first aspect is that Maori wellbeing requires definition. In this thesis, the following notions have contributed to a macro definition of Maori wellbeing. In relation to the first life giving principle of wairuatanga notions of respect, balance, and multidimensionalism are identified. The second life giving principle of whakapapa introduces the notions of interaction, interconnectedness, growth, and survival. Tikanga me Kawa,

the third life giving principle displays the notions of consistency, holistic healing, constitutional order and social justice, and social development. These three life giving principles are drawn together by the conceptual adhesive of mana (see Figure One - Chapter Two). The second aspect is that promoting Maori wellbeing involves dealing with individual human pain and suffering at one level, whanau mokemoke at another, communities, society and ideologies at the other. In other words, a systemic approach that incorporates dealing with micro, meso and macro levels of engagement in dealing with Maori wellbeing is required. Policies and good intentions mean little if there is no food on the table, no love nor compassion. The promotion of Maori wellbeing at all levels should be the foremost goal of anyone contemplating developing Maori social policy.

The promotion of Maori identity

The promotion of Maori identity can only effectively occur when Maori are given open access to Maori institutions of cultural transference. This means providing access for Maori to 'te reo Maori', to their whenua, marae, whanau and all other places containing Maori knowledge and wisdom. I look back over my own development and place a premium on this goal because being Maori for me meant having lots of brothers, sisters and cousins, uncles and aunties. It was about whakawhanaungatanga. It has kept our whanau relatively sane and healthy. This also meant that establishing friendships was a known process. These benefits of collective responsibility are parts of Maori identity which need to be promoted when sifting through possible solutions to deal with Maori wellbeing.

The promotion of self-management

Maori social policy needs to promote self-management. Gone are the days of the early 1900s where Government controlled development saw Maori stripped of opportunities to be self sufficient. All the case studies of this thesis progressed because someone decided that 'self management', by Maori for Maori was of uttermost importance. With Te Tiriti O Waitangi settlements and 'Maori fisheries' benefits available, the need to develop

systems of accountability, deal with mandating issues, consolidate appropriate and culturally relevant expertise and continue to be positive about 'being Maori', demands a high level of trust between whanau, hapu and iwi. Self management is about fostering confidence, respect and systems of accountability which recognise 'the Maori way of doing things' and emphasises the benefits of 'being Maori'.

The promotion of Development

Maori are not isolated from the experiences and wisdom of global knowledge. Development involves tapping into those learned lessons and experiences of humanity. This goal does not promote a ghettoised approach to Maori social policy development. Maori development encompasses all efforts to become interdependent, albeit in economic, social, spiritual, physical, mental or cultural terms. As Durie (1998: 240) concludes:

Maori want to advance, as Maori and as citizens of the world.

The promotion of generosity

The promotion of generosity emphasizes that Maori social policy should be influenced by the spirit of giving and receiving at all levels of engagement. My parents were strong advocates of this goal which looked at life from an optimistic position that favoured the belief that there is inherent good in all people. Generosity should flavour the way in which Maori deal with their own whanau, hapu and iwi. Likewise when Maori are dealing with other Maori as portrayed in the urban Maori versus iwi Maori debate surrounding the 'fisheries putea', the spirit of generosity has a significant place in positive outcomes. This coincides with Maori dealings with the State. But the same is also true in reverse. The State should also demonstrate a spirit of generosity towards Maori efforts to become self sustaining (refer to Chapter Five). The overall effect of this goal re-emphasizes a genuine effort to assist in healing and support between Maori and Pakeha. This goal also aligns itself with a range of

traditional processes three are identified here to illustrate the promotion of generosity: whakatohatoha (wealth distribution), manaakitanga (blessing others through service) and utu (display of reciprocity). These traditional processes along with many others significantly influence Maori responses to modern day Maori welfare concerns.

My concluding thoughts

Future research

The wero/challenge of this thesis for future research on Maori social policy is to continue to build the stepping stones towards full comprehension of Maori social policy in terms of whanau, hapu and iwi development. One area of concern that requires further exploration is the inter-relationship between Maori social policy and Maori economic policy where sustainability, consolidation, growth and change are ever impacting on Maori wellbeing. I end with a positional statement.

A positional statement

*It is a time of excitement, discovery and initiative . . .
and Maori are not doing too badly
in responding to
modern day
Maori wellbeing concerns.*

Table Five: An outline of my contribution to Maori social policy development.

Maori social policy development framework	
<i>Key components</i>	<i>Issues addressed in this thesis. Note: still in development mode.</i>
<p>Five key characteristics</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. History is an integral part of Maori social Policy. 2. Maori conceptual frameworks are a critical part of Maori social policy. 3. Maori methods of practice. 4. Maori participation/ownership. 5. Integrated policies 	<p>Specific elements Notions of Maori wellbeing addressed. Possible indicators for social policy development. Maori social policy theoretical propositions</p>
<p>Five key principles</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Continuity. 2. Cultural integrity. 3. Cultural relevance. 4. Tino rangatiratanga. 5. Integration/balance. 	<p>Specific elements Notions of Maori wellbeing addressed. Possible indicators for social policy development. Maori social policy theoretical propositions</p>
<p>Five key goals</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The promotion of Maori wellbeing at all levels. 2. The promotion of Maori identity. 3. The promotion of self-management. 4. The promotion of development. 5. The promotion of generosity. 	<p>Specific elements Notions of Maori wellbeing addressed. Possible indicators for social policy development. Maori social policy theoretical propositions</p>

Haere, hoe atu, whai atu te maramatanga

Tihei mauri ora, Tihei mauri mate. Me tu wiriwiri te tangata ki te taha wairua. I nga iwi o te motu, uakina ki te hoari o te pai ki nga taonga i tuku iho. Kia mataara, kia maia, kia niwha, kia toa, kia manawanui. Me huri tinana wairua tatou inaianei, hei huarahi mo te iwi Maori me te katoa. He wa moemoea, he wa matakite, he wa titiro, he wa whakatohatoha, he wa kia kaha ki te mahi i nga taonga uaua. Ko tenei te wero mo enei mahi:

Te manu e kai ana te miro nana te ngahere, te manu e kai ana te matauranga Maori nana te ao.

Ka piti hono tatai hono, te hunga mate ki a ratou te hunga mate. Ka piti hono tatai hono, te hunga ora ki a tatou te hunga ora, tena koutou, tena koutou, tena ra tatou katoa, huri noa.

No nga kaumatua o te whanau, Pirihī Te Ohakī Ruwhiū, Manehere Neho, Ruanui (Sonny)

Birch

Appendicies

Appendix One: An information sheet outlining the research to potential interviewees.

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

(Project Title)

Tangata Whenua (Indigenous) Development and Policy Implications

Researcher:

Kia ora koutou, My name is *Leland Ariel Ruwhiu*, and my tribal affiliations are Ngati Porou, Ngati Kahungunu and Nga Puhi. My partner Nicole Ursula Haeata is of Ngati Kahungunu and Rangitane descent. We have five tamā riki. I am a lecturer in the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at Massey University, in Manawatu. Currently, I am midway through my Phd. Noreira, Tena Koutou Tena Koutou Tena ra Tatou katoa.

Contacting Researcher:

Work: Postal - Social Policy and Social Work Department, Massey University, Phone number (06) 3569099 Ext. 4303 or leave a message at Ext. 5222 - Direct line (06) 3504303.

Home: Postal - 16 Matamau Street, Palmerston North, Phone number (06) 3580425.

Description of the research project:

This research project will study the relationships between social policy and Maori development, to better understand Maori efforts to establish appropriate patterns in social policy to meet the needs of their own people.

Objectives:

The objectives of this research with regard to Maori Development and Social Policy have been listed as follows:

To describe the processes of Maori Social Policy formation and decision making.

To develop Maori research methodology appropriate to the project.

To enhance an understanding of the relationship between Maori development and social policy, by identifying key factors, themes, principles and patterns inherent in Maori social policy formation and decision making.

Methodology of the project:

Participants will be invited to participate in the study and subject to agreement, will be interviewed in order to obtain their view on Maori development and/or social policy.

Hui relevant to the study will be attended in order to gain wider understanding of the issues and to speak to participants directly. When a formal interview is conducted then formal oral consent will be obtained.

Oral consent will be sought from participants and hui organisers.

Time:

Based on the duration of the hui. Arranged in consultation with individual participants.

The participants can expect the following from the researcher:

That the researcher will:

- orally discuss the research project to hui organisers and participants prior to the actual research is carried out, when and where necessary.
- make every effort to inform the hui organisers and participants of the potential for harm if they should participate.
- seek to obtain oral consent for hui organisers and participants when and where necessary.

If you take part in the study, you have the right to:

- refuse to answer any particular question and to withdraw your material from the study at any time.
- decline participating in the research during the validation process [when I send notes or transcripts of the interview or hui attended], if you so wish to have your contribution withdrawn from the data.
- decline participating after viewing a draft copy of the final report.
- provide information on the understanding that, unless prior oral consent has been obtained, confidentiality will be strictly observed.
- to receive a copy of the final report and where necessary, seek from the researcher some form of reciprocity - i.e called back to hui on the kaupapa in question.

Appendix Two: The indepth, semi-structured interview schedule

General information:

From the interviewee

Age, Gender, Iwi, Schooling, Work record, Family details, Level of Reo, Interests.

About the Agency

Who set it up? Why was it set up? Numbers in the agency employed. Demographic characteristics. Funding arrangements and organisational structure. Who are your clients? Business driven or people driven entity?

Kaupapa Maori:

What are your agency philosophies?

How is your agency built on Kaupapa Maori?

How has this been translated into your long and short term objectives, into your mission statement, into the legal contracts and incorporated into your strategic plans?

Your interface with - the State, other Maori, Tauwi.

What is the nature of your relationship with the state, other maori, tauwi?

Is your relationship to those others formalised or not?

Describe the conditions under which those relationship are advanced.

Policy into practice:

What types of social service programmes are offered by your agency?

What is your capacity to deliver these services?

To what extent are your programmes determined by the environment your agency exists in?

Social Policy formation development and evaluation in the Agency:

How does your agency go about making decisions?

Who makes the decisions?

How do you evaluate your outcomes?

How is Social policy made in the agency?

What structures are in place for the formulation or implementation of Social Policy?

Do you have an understanding of Maori Social Policy or is it Social Policy with a Maori focus?

Do you see a distinction made between social policy, public policy, health policy, resource based policy? Explain?

Visions and Aspirations:

What are your own views on Maori social policy?

What do you want for Maori in your area?

Whats your vision for Maori in Aotearoa?

A response to my contribution:

He Ngakau Maori - Maori diverse realities/bicultural.

Tikitiki o rangi - a Maori social policy conceptual framework.

Appendix Three: Examples of Archival data storage.

Diary entry

Thursday 6th June, 1996:

Attended a hui honohononga iwi at Apumoana Marae in Rotorua, Whakarewarewa. Sponsored by NZ Council of Social Services (NZCOSS)

People responsible for organising this Hui - Moke Couch, Manu Vercoe - 909 Kotuku Street 06-8762351 or wk 06-8782451, Rose McLean - Whangarei, Terry Gosset - Auckland, Kiwa Hutchen - ChCh., Dianne Patuwai - ChCh., Te Kenehi Teira - Palmerston North, Judith Karaitiana - 404 Huia pl. Ph. 06-8785287, Kathy Kireka 1232 Cunningham Cresc - 06 8784526.

History surrounding this hui:

In recognition of its treaty partnership, NZCOSS made a nation-wide appeal for an autonomous Maori Caucus to organize a National Maori Hui in 1996 - this hui honohononga iwi is the result. Supported by the Minister of Social Welfare.

Note taking entry from records/books/journal and so on.

Coffey, A. and Atkinson, P. (1996) **Making sense of qualitative research: complementary research strategies.** Sage, California, U.S.A.

Pg. 26:

Coding is a process which links concepts with data.

Pg. 27:

The important analytic work lies in establishing and thinking about such linkages, not in the mundane processes of coding.

Appendix Four: Colour coding - Organisation of 'Historical/interview data' for data analysis. The colours will be declared in written form.

Chapter Six - State imperatives have limited, hindered, shaped, changed, controlled the politics of Maori social policy development. Colour - Pink.

1-- 5: The five patterns of cross cultural interrelationships (From Data egs. , history chapter, theory drives the points)

No. 1: Consociationalism	
No. 2: Paternalism	
No. 3: Participation in the Corridors of Power	
No. 4: Partnership/parallel development	
No. 5: Autonomy	

Chapter Seven - Maori strategies and aspirations regarding the politics of Maori social policy development. Colour - Green.

1 - 3: Life giving principles (From Data egs. and history chapter)

Name/Place:					
Wairuatanga		Whakapapa		Tikanga me kawa	
Pg		Pg		Pg	

Chapter Eight - Best outcomes for Maori social policy development are linked to Maori initiatives and Maori control - the many rivers analysis/Diverse realities. Colour - Blue.

A - D: Diverse realities

- A. Iwitangai/whanau
- B. Maoritanga
- C. Bicultural
- D. One New Zealand.

1 - 8: Many rivers analysis

- 1. Culture bound realities
- 2. Power relationships
- 3. Flexibility
- 5 Inter-race struggle
- 6 All cultures have their own sophistication
- 7 Change
- 8 Development

No. 1: Culture bound realities		
No. 2: Power relationships		
No. 3: Flexibility		
No. 4: Threats to indigenocentricity		
No. 5: Inter-race struggle		
No. 6: All Cultures have their own sophistication		
No. 7: Change		
No. 8: Development		

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Errata

- p. iii Line 3 add 'Aunty Huia' after 'John Bradley'
- p. iv Line 8 replace 'Raiha' with 'Aunty Raiha Ruwhiu'
Line 9 replace 'Hurbert' with 'Hubert'
- p. v Line 25 replace 'Hororera' with 'Horoera'
- p. viii Line 25 replace 'storys' with 'stories'
- p. ix Line 1 replace 'under standing' with 'understanding'
- p. xiii Line 1 replace '175.' with '175)'
Change Page number '119' to '118'
Change Page number '121' to '119'
- p. 1 para 2 line 5 'manufacture' is replaced by 'manufactured'.
- p. 2 para 5 line 5 replace 'westerb' with 'Western'
- p. 4 para 3 line 9 'place' should be 'places'
- p. 5 Line 20 replace 'Chapter Nine' with 'Chapter Eight'
Footnote 1 line 3 replace 'were I' with 'where I'
- p. 13 para 4 line 4 replace 'mataharia' with 'Mataharia'
- p. 17 delete (Shields, 1991: xiii)
- p. 45 para 1 line 3 replace 'these researcher' with 'these researchers'
- p. 64 para 1 line 1 replace '(in Smith, 1994)' with '(in Smith, Wineholst & Acker, 1994)'
- p. 65 quote line 1 replace 'Codes' with 'Code'
- p. 69 para 1 line 6 replace 'Daphine' with 'Daphne'

- p. 70 para 3 line 2 replace 'to Nelson for present' with 'to Nelson to present'
- p. 71 Line 11 replace 'Number' with 'A number of'
- p. 104 Line 27 replace occasions with occasions.
- p. 115 para 1 line 4 replace 'harassing' with 'harnessing'
- p. 121 in Figure Two - replace 'Wairua' in coloured box with 'Whakapapa'.
- p. 128 Footnote 5 line 1 replace 'view' with 'viewed'
- p. 143 para 2 line 3 replace 'heiress' with 'heiresses'
- p. 220 Footnote 3 line 1 replace 'Stat.' with 'State.'
- p. 223 Footnote 5 line 1 replace 'inevi' with 'inevitable'
- p. 224 para 1 line 2 replace 'maturanga' with 'maatauranga'
- p. 231 para 2 line 13 replace 'harness' with 'harnessed'
para 2 line 24 replace 'Tangata' with 'Tangata Whenua'
- p. 232 para 1 line 2 single example is given for a plural generalisation
para 1 line 3, 3 aspirations has an 's' missing
para 1 last line missing apostrophe
para 2 unnecessary comma after Department
- p. 234 para 1 line 1 principles (sp)
- p. 239 para 2 line 12 replace 'childre's' with 'children's'
- p. 240 para 3 line 3 replace 'content' with 'contend'
- p. 243 para 1 line 6 whose = who's
para 2 line 1 replace 'Fo' with 'For'
- p. 253 para 1 line 7 replace 'eventuate' with 'eventually'

- p. 266 Footnote 81 line 2 replace 'accoun' with 'accountable'
- p. 267 Footnote 84 line 2 replace 'withdraw' with 'withdrew'
- p. 273 Footnote 111 line 5 replace 'inevi' with 'inevitable'
- p. 274 para 1 line 2 replace 'exuberant' with 'exorbitant'
- p. 278 quote lines 1/2, replace 'New Zealander' with 'New Zealanders'
- p. 295 para 1 line 4 replace 'Qutoa' with 'Quota'
- p. 318 3rd line from the bottom of page, change 'with' to 'without'
- p. 319 3rd line in heading, change 'Anaytic' to 'Analytic'
- p. 321 2nd line from the bottom of page, change 'interrrelationships' to 'interrelationships'
- p. 339 para 3 line 4 replace 'attack' with 'attacked'
- p. 345 quote line 6 replace 'is' with 'it'
- p. 348 quote line 2 replace 'thing' with 'things'
- p. 358 para 1 line 12 replace 'effective' with 'effectively'
- p. 373 para 3 line 5 add 'be' between 'to' and 'very'
- p. 377 second quote line 4 delete 'are'
- p. 379 second quote line 2 delete 'to'
- p. 389 para 1 line 1 replace 'provided' with 'provide'
- p. 395 line 7 replace 'wiltered' with 'wilted'
- p. 396 line 9 replace 'areroreo' with 'arerorero'

p. 402 quote line 8 replace 'day' with 'days'

p. 405 quote line 6 replace 'plan' with 'plane'

para 1 line 2 replace 'ethic' with 'ethnic'

p. 409 quote line 8 second 'they' replace with 'they're'

p. 419 second quote line 13 delete the second 'you'

p. 421 first quote line 9 replace 'knowing' with 'know'

p. 439 line 3 after 'consociationalisation,' add 'paternalism'

References

p. 472 add the following 'Durie, M.H (1996). Characteristics of Maori Health Research. Palmerston North: Massey University, Te Pumanawa Hauora.