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**RAUKAWA SOCIAL SERVICES: ORIGINS AND FUTURE
DIRECTIONS**

"Waiho ma te Iwi e whakarite. Kei a ratou te kaha ki te hapai ake i a
ratou ki te Ao Marama".

"Leave it to the Iwi to decide, for only they can take themselves into
the future"

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degree of

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DEDICATION

To Rona Amelia Broughton, nee Wallace (toku kuia), Margaret Te Ruihi Walsh, nee Broughton (toku mama), Rahira O'tuangu Walsh (taku teina), Amokura Hariata Amiria Tapiata (taku tamahine). To the women who have and still continue to influence me, and to the women who will continue to address the challenges faced by whanau, hapu and iwi.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the origins and the future development of Raukawa Social Services, an initiative by the iwi of Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga. It examines the contributions and influences that have led to the development of Raukawa Social Services, the issues the Service has had to face and challenges for the future. The development is situated within the context of hapu and iwi and therefore much of the debate focuses upon where the Service is most appropriately sited: iwi, hapu, or a mixture of both. The current devolution of social services in Aotearoa/New Zealand is associated with the devolution of services to iwi and therefore this thesis also addresses the iwi-State relationship as it pertains to Raukawa Social Services. The use of qualitative methods guided by the principles of kaupapa Maori research, as well as the use of the theoretical orientation of the critical tradition has influenced this work.

The stories of nine individuals and three hapu groups who are from Ngati Raukawa with strong connections to their whanau, hapu and iwi organisation (Te Runanga o Raukawa and/or Raukawa Social Services) highlight the issues from their perspective. The findings reveal the importance of strengthening the relationship between iwi and hapu, the need to clearly identify the kind of service best suited to the needs of the hapu and iwi of Ngati Raukawa and whether such needs are inclusive of a relationship with the State. Unanimous support was expressed for the continuation of positive preventative initiatives as a means of dealing with social service issues within Ngati Raukawa. This can make the relationship between the iwi and the State a difficult one, with funding narrowly channelled towards interventionist methods. The challenge for the Service is to work creatively within the contracts offered to meet both the needs of the State and the hapu of Ngati Raukawa.

The recommendations advocate the importance of the hapu-iwi relationship and the concern that there needs to be strategic planning to ensure both of these structures are working together towards a healthier future. It is argued that Raukawa Social Services needs to look at the current structure that they work within and ask if it is the most effective, or whether other structures might more effectively meet the needs of hapu. In looking at a possible relationship with the State there was a belief that any negotiations should not occur at the expense of tino rangatiratanga and Ngati Raukawatanga.

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The approval and support that Te Runanga o Raukawa, and in particular Raukawa Social Services gave me to undertake this research provided access to people and information that I believe would not have occurred otherwise. I hope that their faith in me has been justified. Te Runanga o Raukawa also played a critical role in the appointment of one of my supervisors and in the approval of the others. They appointed Professor Whatarangi Winiata who they felt complimented Professor Mason Durie and Associate Robyn Munford.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Why did I undertake this study?

The aim of this thesis is to look at a particular initiative within iwi development and to see how it is placed within the hapu/iwi structure, as well as the wider community. A study of the social area reflects my background as a social worker and community worker, the trends of social and economic development that were reflected in iwi development from 1984 onwards and the proactive aim that Ngati Raukawa has of revitalising its people.

When the idea of looking at this topic first arose, my initial reaction was that the research would provide an opportunity to document the foundations and origins of Raukawa Social Services, thus assisting Raukawa Social Services to be in a powerful position in any future negotiations with government agencies. The Raukawa Social Services Committee were looking for some assessment and reflection on the Service to date. While Raukawa Social Services felt that it had developed a solid foundation amongst the hapu and iwi of Ngati Raukawa, the shroud of secrecy that often surrounds such work, when lifted, may well reveal something different. The use of individual and hapu interviews would not only provide vital information about how the Service is perceived in the wider community but also enable knowledge and information about the Service to be disseminated amongst the people.

An initial premise leading into this research was the importance of the relationship between the iwi organisation and the State but involvement with the Social Services Committee and Te Runanga o Raukawa, would reveal the potency and strength of the hapu voice in affairs that directly affect them. This topic offered the opportunity for all sorts of relationships to be discussed: iwi and hapu, iwi and the State and hapu and the State. The question of where social services were most appropriately sited and what kind of service should be offered is relevant to these discussions.

Discussions of this nature could lead to a number of challenges that may need to be considered by the current Service. Hapu representation on the Social Services Committee is one means of receiving feedback from the community about the Service but this research offers another opportunity for members of the community to have their say. Such comments are welcomed as an opportunity to either consolidate the current Service or to look at ideas for change.

The title of this thesis offers two reasons for undertaking this study. The first is in the translation of the whakatauki, being "Leave it to the iwi to decide, for only they can take themselves into the future". For too long, others have made decisions on behalf of iwi and that needs to change. Ngati Raukawa offers some ideas and strategies for change which have been developed by themselves. For several decades Ngati Raukawa, in conjunction with other iwi have consolidated their ideas for development. If the State seriously believed that development for Maori is best sited within the structures of whanau, hapu and iwi, then it needs to be acknowledged by the appropriate channelling of resources.

The second reason contained within the title, for undertaking this study, is the focus on Raukawa Social Services, its development and its future directions. Iwi can produce positive change for their people and Raukawa Social Services is one such initiative that has the potential to contribute towards this process, for the well-being of the people of Ngati Raukawa.

The Research Journey

It is important within the context of this thesis that my story is told, in order to gain an understanding of why I am researching in this area. Jones (1992), Mead (1996) and Selby (1996), all talk about the importance of writing themselves into the text, or of using their own voice. This is particularly important for me as I am not a bystander to this particular research but am an integral part of this iwi, the hapu and the committee community being researched. By including myself in the text I do not wish to appear whakahihi, as may be perceived by some Maori audiences (Smith: 1994) but believe that it is critical in discussing who is given permission to undertake such research and then to write about it. Hopefully Te Runanga o Raukawa are confident that I will deal with the information in a sensitive manner, with a clear understanding of my

commitment to uphold the mana of those who have participated in the research, as well as the mana of those involved with the Raukawa Social Services Committee and the iwi. There is also an awareness that undertaking this research offers an opportunity for several journeys to occur; my own in terms of re-linking with my hapu and iwi and that of the development of Raukawa Social Services. Iwi throughout the country are slowly realising that research can have positive results for them. Te Runanga o Raukawa have a sufficiently strong base, in terms of the kaupapa, committed membership and a tried and tested pedagogy to allow research to occur. They are very clear about the guidelines necessary within this research and have ensured that these were being adhered to (Mead: 1996). Mead (p182) clarifies with: "The position of self protection has enabled Maori people to reclaim past knowledge and place it in a contemporary context".

My Journey

While we were living in Tonga, my mother was told that her kuia was ill and we therefore returned to live in Otaki, New Zealand. I did not know much about being Maori but I was told that we were from Otaki and that my mum had grown up in Te Horo. My mother had been a whangai to her kuia, who was a very influential person in our lives. Childhood memories are full of occasions at her house in Te Waka Road, Te Horo, helping Koro to drive his old model T-Ford down to the Ye Olde Pumpkin store to get the supplies.

As an adolescent, I started asking questions about who I was and exactly how I was connected. By this time I was receiving an Otaki-Porirua Scholarship, so I became aware that I was from Ngati Raukawa and Ngarauru and that my Ngati Raukawa hapu were Ngati Wehiwehi and Ngati Kauwhata. I was no longer living in Otaki at this time but holidays and weekends were spent there. Somehow I have felt drawn back to Ngati Raukawa time and time again.

As a Probation Officer working in Levin in the late 1980's, I once again had the opportunity to return to work in the Ngati Raukawa area. This was a sad time with so many Ngati Raukawa young people coming before the courts but through this work there was also an opportunity for me to

meet many whanau from the hapu and iwi of Ngati Raukawa and to look for alternative ways to work with these people.

As a social worker, I worked primarily with Maori, in as proactive a manner as possible. In the social work community, I soon became known, as a social worker, as a Maori from Ngati Raukawa and Ngarauru and as a woman who stood up for all of those issues.

My next job in social work was as a Student Unit Supervisor at the Department of Social Welfare. This unit was a Maori student unit and offered a further opportunity to work and network with Maori agencies in the community. During this time, I was approached by Whatakaraka Davis and Mason Durie, to see if I would be interested in being on the Raukawa Social Services Committee of Te Runanga o Raukawa. Whatakaraka Davis was one of my kaumatua from Ngati Wehiwehi and said that he would nominate me from that hapu. Mason Durie, of Ngati Kauwhata (another of my affiliated iwi of Ngati Raukawa) said that he would support the nomination.

This was an opportunity for me to strengthen my links with my hapu and iwi and to offer something back in an area in which I was really interested. It fascinated me, that despite feeling I did not have strong ties to my iwi, that there were still people keeping an eye on me and encouraging me when the time was right to return. I felt really privileged to have been asked.

This began a journey for me into an area that I had a passion to work with. Puketapu (1994, p161) claims that for the lucky ones, their journey is guided by mentors but for most it is more often a journey of trial and error. My mentors have kept an eye on me from afar and guided me at key times and occasions. I have been left on occasion to make mistakes, to sink or swim but there have also been people who have always been there, have always been supportive, even if support meant telling me off.

The Raukawa Social Services Committee had been in operation for a couple of years by the time I started attending meetings and they were in the process of piloting a service. I had a kuia, Aunty Kawa Kereama, who used to say to me, "When you go into any new job or venture, spend a good deal of time with your ears open and your mouth shut". I would

remember these words as I did not want to put a foot wrong, as understanding and working within an iwi organisation was very different from any other organisation with which I had worked.

Committee members in those early days, were a wonderful representation of kaumatua and young people, mainly women and with a wide range of skills. When the first chairperson resigned, I was approached to take the chair, a position which I have maintained since 1994. By this time the Service was well established and the focus of the Service was consolidation and diversification into areas of a proactive preventative nature. Development of such a service has taken some time to operate smoothly and there is constant uncertainty due to a lack of finance, about its ability to survive from one year to the next. The dilemmas and challenges that this new development faces on a daily basis made me interested in looking at how the group began and what their future prospects were within an iwi organisation. The hapu-iwi interface, the iwi-State interface and the role of the Committee are particular areas of interest.

My journey has now moved me on to working as a Maori woman academic in the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at Massey University. Postgraduate study has led me to an interest in researching the development and future aspirations of Raukawa Social Services. I am conscious however in undertaking this work, that there are expectations from my own whanau, hapu and iwi, to produce tangible benefits for the people, rather than doing to Maori what so many other (Pakeha) academics have done previously (Mead: 1996, p55). Research in this area is an opportunity for me to "research back" and "write back" about my own (Smith: 1994, Mead: 1996, Sorrenson: 1996.). In turn this means writing for several audiences: the Raukawa Social Services Committee and Te Runanga o Raukawa, those who were interviewed, those in the wider iwi and those from the university fraternity. The ideas of these different groups may clash on occasion and as Mead (1996, p119) states, as Maori women academics, "Our struggles are to find the emancipatory spaces within such an intersection and then develop those spaces for others".

My journey is not at an end, as working for whanau, hapu and iwi, is a lifelong journey. This is just one contribution along the way.

Research Questions

This research will address what has contributed to, or influenced the development of Raukawa Social Services, what some of the difficulties are that they have had to deal with along the way as well as some of the challenges that they foresee in the future. Raukawa Social Services has evolved within an iwi organisation and the appropriateness of this is assessed as well as looking at other options, like the development of social services in hapu, or a mixture of both. Finally the research also addresses the response to an iwi-State relationship, if and how that should occur for the iwi of Ngati Raukawa, within the field of social services.

Key Concepts - Definitions

There are a number of key concepts that are used consistently throughout this thesis that need defining and explaining. Among these are whanau, hapu and iwi, inextricably linked and yet quite distinct in their own right.

Whanau, Hapu and Iwi, distinctly Maori Institutions

Iwi and hapu are founded on whakapapa (genealogy) and they are named after ancestors; each has a central meeting place and, to varying degrees, iwi and hapu are land-based (Winiata: 1988, p793).

The concept of whanau, hapu and iwi are central to the iwi of Ngati Raukawa. Their structures are complex but each is an integral part of the other. Knowledge of whanau, hapu and iwi enables the reader to have an understanding of the basic social units in a Maori tribal structure, as well as to appreciate these concepts as central to this thesis. While an awareness of the importance of whanau, hapu and iwi may present Ngati Raukawa as rather insular in their outlook, the strength of these structures also allows them to have relationships with other hapu and other iwi.

Te Wananga o Raukawa in their Maramataka (1992, p13) emphasises the lack of attention that New Zealand society pays to finding out a Maori person's hapu or iwi and say: " It is then, quite remarkable and significant that after decades of denial hapu and iwi continue to be major operating units in Maoridom".

Whanau

The whanau is the smallest basic unit of social organisation. There are many descriptions for whanau in a traditional and modern day context. One such usage applies to relatives (whanaunga) connected by descent (whakapapa) and sometimes by marriage, often deriving from a common ancestor (tipuna) and comprising a number of generations (kaumatua, matua and mokopuna) (Metge: 1995). Te Pumanawa Hauora (1996) would describe this whanau as "whakapapa based whanau" and Metge (1995, p61) as "the whanau which comes first to mind". It is this whanau that have been identified as a vehicle for Maori development and it is this description of whanau that is used within the context of this work.

Over time, whanau have changed shape, effected by the colonisation of the British policy maker, the introduction of disease, alienation from land, a changing socio-economic climate and a gradual loss of political control and authority. More recently urbanisation and government assimilation policies have all contributed to a further undermining of tribal structures and the whanau (Te Pumanawa Hauora: 1996, pp 2-3).

For most Maori today the reality is that whanau is generally a household or a whamere comprising of Mum, Dad and the children living in the house, though there are often strong links with other whanau members, with whanau occasions bringing them together. There is now a concerted effort by some Maori to return to the extended notion of whanau. Hekia Parata at the conference Te Ara Ahu Whakamua(1994) emphasised the importance of the whanau by stating:

...I firmly believe that the whanau is the way we distinguish ourselves socially, that is the basic building block of our culture and that its restoration and strength will establish the foundation we need to survive and flourish as a nation (cited in Te Pumanawa Hauora: 1996, p4).

In some instances there is a choice about involvement with whakapapa-based whanau but there are also situations of obligation and others of no choice. These are most vividly seen on occasions such as tangihanga. There are whanau who still have strong links to their marae and their hapu, whanau who have become disconnected from their hapu

connections and are actively seeking ways of reconnecting and further whanau who choose to have nothing to do with their marae, hapu or iwi. Durie (1995a) describes such a range of whanau as typical of diverse Maori realities.

It is this complex range of whanau that social service settings confront. Raukawa Social Services has a strong commitment to working with whanau, recognising that that might mean a different commitment to different people. Whanau has the potential to be a strong vibrant social organisation integrally linked to the past, to the present and to the future. Selby (1994, p144) describes her whanau in this way.

I belong to several whanau which change and develop and have adapted to the invasion and colonisation of iwi Maori. Whanau, hapu and iwi retain their essential elements of being Maori but belong in the present and the future.

Te Pumanawa Hauora (1996, p30) state, "Whanau are a potential source of identity, enablement and resources. In order for the whanau structure to reach that potential, the structure itself must be nurtured".

Hapu

As whanau grow over the generations, they could amalgamate to form into a hapu. Hapu do not develop as a matter of course, in fact they can wax and wane, as can any other social structure. A hapu will evolve if the combination of whanau has the numbers, a leader with specific qualities, adequate resources and traditionally the fighting capacity to defend the independence of the hapu (Walker: 1990, Metge: 1995).¹

We have emerged from a tradition in which hapu and iwi planning and management was implicit in all we did. Our haputanga and the associated whanaungatanga (intra-hapu) was vital to the existence of the individual. We clung to our hapu and we lived by its rules because to not do so was dangerous; survival for the individual or whanau was more likely within the hapu than outside (Te Wananga o Raukawa Maramataka: 1992, p13).

¹ Metge (1995,p317) suggests that hapu were the key organisational group in Maori society until the mid-19th century, and the Treaty of Waitangi talks about negotiations with hapu not iwi.

Hapu are still seen as one of the principal forms of Maori organisation and while all are at different stages of development, some are currently asserting their role as decision-makers of their own affairs. This smaller unit is definitely able to focus inwards on the particular needs of its people and attests to being the unit best able to do this.

Many others within Maoridom, who are themselves often searching for their own identity may not have a strong relationship with their hapu, knowing more generally that they come from the "iwi". Within rohe there is the tendency for individuals to identify themselves with hapu rather than iwi but this may well change if they travel outside of the territory in which they reside.

Iwi

Iwi are a combination of hapu that Walker (1990) describes as the largest effective political grouping and Crocker (1993) as the territorial identity. Hapu were believed to be autonomous but in times of defence, hapu were known to unite as an iwi to protect territory.

Today iwi could still be seen as the protectors of territory and their resources. Iwi organisations (of which there may be several) play the role of looking at the bigger issues while hapu deal with their day to day issues. In a general sense iwi can be used to describe a large number of people with whakapapa/descent connections (Metge: 1995). In today's society it is not uncommon for people to belong to or whakapapa to several iwi. Crocker (1993, p1) says that:

The status of iwi carries with it a certain mana, which is different from hapu. Also, increasingly iwi status matters because officially iwi have been recognised as a unit of Maori society associated with a certain territory, holding tino rangatiratanga over that territory; they are therefore considered representatives large enough for government to deal with and allocate resources to.

Te Ohu Kaimoana Fisheries Commission (1997, p34) have recently had to devise a definition of iwi in order to look at the allocation of fisheries assets. They describe an iwi as having:

- shared descent from tipuna;

- hapu;
- marae;
- belonging historically to a takiwa; and
- an existence traditionally acknowledged by other iwi.

This is the debate being discussed within hapu and iwi, as well as by Maori organisations and Maori urban authorities. Government is now being challenged to look at several options rather than only one and iwi are now finding that their modern battlefield is negotiating with the Crown.

Iwi organisations today are making choices about the structure of their organisation. There can also be iwi within iwi. This refers to hapu which have grown into iwi but maintain their strong alliances with their iwi matua. They wish to make their own decisions and may at some stage slowly withdraw from some of the activities of the iwi matua in order to legitimate their own. For the purposes of this thesis the term "affiliated iwi" will be used to describe these iwi, though it should be noted that the Constitution of Te Runanga o Raukawa describes its constituents as hapu².

Every person who has connections with whanau, will also have connections with a hapu and an iwi. Sadly, many people have lost such connections and there is a concerted drive from various iwi around the country to reassert their whanaungatanga, haputanga and iwitanga. This is central to the rebuilding of a group of people who want to make a more substantive and positive contribution to the society of tomorrow. A lot of work still needs to be done, policies need to be developed and programmes implemented that will attract individuals back within the whanau, hapu and iwi structures. Individuals need good reasons to be drawn into giving their time, talents, energy, resources, memories and loyalties to their hapu and iwi (Te Wananga o Raukawa Maramataka: 1992,1.10).

² Ngati Kauwhata and Ngati Tukorehe have always had strong affiliations with Ngati Raukawa but are also iwi in their own right.

Social Services

Social Services are described in: *The Guidelines for Providers for Education and Training in Social Services* (1997, 1.10) within the social welfare context and is seen to have two major perspectives: service delivery and developmental:

The service delivery approach responds to the day-to-day needs which arise in the lives of people...It includes preventative, remedial and rehabilitation services through which people receive assistance to meet personal needs... The developmental approach accepts that present structures do not meet many of the needs of the community. The methods used in a developmental approach enable communities, groups and individuals to define their own needs and establish their autonomy and access to resources.

These definitions incorporate what Raukawa Social Services offers. The current youth kaimahi focus on preventative programmes which the other kaimahi link into, as well as offering programmes of their own. They also link into other initiatives offered by organisations in the iwi, for example; Rangatahi Hui. Currently the contracts with the Community Funding Agency (CFA) and the New Zealand Children and Young Persons and their Families Services (NZCYPFS) offer a small portion of funding for prevention work but primarily the rest of the contract is remedial and rehabilitative in nature.³

While this describes the current service provision, the Social Services Committee has always been of the opinion that the current services offered to Maori in the wider community are not sufficient to meet iwi needs and that alternative structures like Raukawa Social Services need to be offered, need to be resourced and need to be given the opportunity to provide practice that is appropriate to their context. Instead, funding is minimal, constantly being reviewed and cut back and the outputs expected are very restrictive. In addition contracts are hard won and are often only for a limited period of time. Because Raukawa Social Services

³ Structural changes in the Department of Social Welfare have resulted in a number of names changes, some of which will be seen in this thesis. The Department of Social Welfare is the umbrella organisation for a number of business units. Those that will be referred to in this thesis will be the Community Funding Agency (CFA) and the New Zealand Children and Young Persons and their Families Service (NZCYPFS). The Families portion of the NZCYPFS title is a recent addition (1996) so that there may also be times when NZCYP/ CYPS is used.

has provided a service for a number of years, which included developing a relationship with the local Children and Young Person Service (CYPS), Raukawa Social Services has often been cited as a model by CYPS with written articles citing the Ngati Raukawa iwi model. Other iwi have become aware of the Ngati Raukawa developments and have followed their progress with interest. Raukawa Social Services has debated with and challenged the State at various stages of their development. Currently they refrain from becoming an "approved" iwi social service (approved in the eyes of the Department of Social Welfare, not the iwi), because they are concerned about the lack of opportunity to negotiate their own needs, concerned about the lack of resourcing and above all are determined that their own autonomy will be maintained. Raukawa Social Services now recognises that they need to be in positions of decision-making within State departments and intend in the future to take up any opportunities in national forums.

When Raukawa Social Services began, social services covered the broad base of the welfare of Ngati Raukawa people and those who resided within their rohe. There was always a strong desire to establish a relationship with the Department of Social Welfare. This has led to some within the Committee believing that the definition of social services for Te Runanga o Raukawa has become too narrow and consequently limiting. To that end the Committee have recently looked towards stronger ties with other Te Runanga o Raukawa Committees and to the possibility of obtaining contracts from other areas, like adolescent health and domestic violence.

Iwi Social Services

Te Runanga o Raukawa is an iwi organisation representing Ngati Raukawa. The Raukawa Social Services Committee is one of the Runanga's committees set up to provide services to the iwi. They are a social service as defined above, their primary focus being the well-being of the people of Ngati Raukawa and others who wish to use their Service and who reside in their rohe. The April Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988, p449) describes social well-being as:

...dignity and self-determination; participation and belonging; development of potential; distribution of resources; tolerance and respect for cultural diversity.

Whanau, hapu and iwi have the right to define what well-being means for them and what kind of iwi social services they would like to provide. This may be an integrated service offering general information, education, advice, support, advocacy and community development training services, or a service at a hapu level where the focus is generally centred at a marae, with the people of that hapu, or a specialised iwi service offering services to individual iwi members (Bradley: 1996, p4).

The Children and Young Person's and their Families Act (CYP&F Act: 1989, Section 396), broadly defines an iwi social service as; "...an incorporated body (established by an iwi) approved by the Director General as an iwi social service". An approved iwi social service will then be, "capable of exercising or performing powers, duties and functions conferred or imposed under the Act (Section 397, CYP&F Act, 1989).

The two definitions of iwi social services are at the centre of the debate between iwi and the State. However the reality is that iwi have limited options if they contract to the Department of Social Welfare. Raukawa Social Services believe that the Objects and Principles of the Children and Young Persons & their Families Act (See Appendix One) offer whanau, hapu and iwi the right to services which respect their cultural perspective but the difficulty lies in negotiating what that means to the department and to the iwi social service.

Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga

Ngati Raukawa originated in the Waikato and while some migrated south, others remained in Waikato. Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga are those that migrated south to join Te Rauparaha and Waitohi. This is more fully explained in chapter three, the chapter on Ngati Raukawa history. The map on page 17 shows the geographical boundaries of Ngati Raukawa as they are today.⁴ The designation Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga is used in

⁴ Treaty of Waitangi claims in this area use the 1840 boundaries which are larger than the territory described here.

this thesis when required for clarity, otherwise, Ngati Raukawa is used to refer to Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga.

Format of the Thesis

When weaving a kete, the kind of flax, the kind of kete and the weaver, all contribute to a kete which is exciting, usable, versatile and unique. Thought and preparation is required before the weaving begins. Such has been the case with regards to presenting this thesis. In attempting to consider all of the different interest groups connected with this work (including me), what appears to be the most simple decision has been the hardest.

This work is not a linear piece and therefore topics have not been easy to separate. They are all interwoven. It is important to note therefore, that like the strands that contribute to making a kete, each makes an important contribution towards the completed product. I have therefore looked for textual and colour combinations to enhance, to lead into, or lead on from previous thoughts in deciding the format of this thesis. The product at the end is distinctly mine, as while others have contributed to the making, I am the one who has had to choose which material to use, weave it in my own distinct way and complete the final taonga. Along the way I have learned things of old and new, which will help me and others who come to weave their next kete, in a different way.⁵

Chapter one describes why this topic and why I was interested in researching in this area. It also discusses key concepts central to the thesis, clarifies words that are used regularly throughout the thesis, offers a variety of interpretations which highlight the confusion that arises when one party uses one definition and another uses a different definition.

⁵ The analogy of weaving a kete, has much relevance to this thesis. I began to learn to weave at Aorangi marae (Ngati Kauwhata). The kuia of that marae was Margaret Skipper, and I had met her through Taranaki wananga, but found later that we were connected through Ngati Kauwhata. She was also one of the kuia on the Raukawa Social Services committee, when I first started, and would awahi and tautoko me and others all the time. When she died suddenly several years ago, it was a sad loss indeed. When I approached Taumata Renata to interview her, she reminded me that she had met me before at Aunt Margaret Skipper's place when we had all been weaving harakeke. For Taumata Renata, my relationship with Margaret Skipper was one of a number of factors which led to her agreeing to be interviewed. The weaving together of all these strands, and relationships with people are always with you, always looking over you.

Chapter two provides a background to the topic with a review of the literature surrounding the social, political and economic context of iwi development. There is a particular focus on the inter-relationship between iwi and the State, as well as how the period 1984 onwards led to a re-emphasis on and a revitalisation of iwi, an organisational structure and identity to be developed for iwi Maori. This chapter therefore discusses key events and key documents that were occurring at a wider societal level, that would affect Maori, iwi and, with reference to this thesis, Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga.

Chapter three situates Ngati Raukawa within this debate. It is presented in two parts, the first is the historical migration and the second the current Ngati Raukawa initiatives within a framework of hapu and iwi development. An historical overview, outlines some of the key people, key events, key trends, key connections and key initiatives which make up what Ngati Raukawa is today. The migratory history leading up to this century, is included as a part of my journey towards a clearer understanding of my own iwi but the historical trends also contribute towards what I believe are key characteristics about the way in which Ngati Raukawa operates today. Writing about history offers an opportunity to "write back". The more current initiatives in part two are all still evident today and are part of this particular iwi development. One such initiative is Te Runanga o Raukawa and Raukawa Social Services, the particular focus of this thesis.

Chapter four offers the theoretical foundations which underpin this thesis topic, that being critical theory. Critical theory exposes the reality of power relationships that exist within our society and the way in which the dominant society maintains these power relationships. The work of critical theorist, Fay (1987) is used to develop a theoretical framework in which to analyse relationships within New Zealand society and in particular with Ngati Raukawa. In addition a discussion of emancipatory models provides a background to initiatives that have been developed by Ngati Raukawa in order to take back control of their lives, whereby they are much more critical contributors to their whanau, hapu, iwi and mainstream society.

Chapter five explores the methodologies used in this research. The dichotomy of traditional western models of research within an iwi

structure certainly requires considerable analysis. The qualitative methods used in this research are open-ended interviews, participant observation and archival document analysis. This is coupled with Kaupapa Maori research which is about utilising methods that are appropriate to the cultural context.

Chapter six looks at the journey of undertaking research in an iwi environment. My journey is an integral part of looking at this research process: looking at moving from being researched, to being a researcher, at the learning that also occurs outside of the interview and the mechanisms in which individual, hapu and iwi retain control of the research process, to the point where the role of the researcher moves towards being a facilitator of a process.

Chapters seven and eight are the chapters that document and analyse the research findings. These are the chapters in which those interviewed tell their stories. They are written within themes that emerged as the interviews progressed and as the data was analysed. These interviews have assumed a considerable focus in this thesis, which is in some way explained by the fact that nine individuals and three hapu were interviewed, because all of those interviewed have been intricately involved in the activities of their hapu and iwi and because their perception of events is important and deserves to be affirmed. It is hoped that the stories in this research will provide stimulus and challenge for others to consider how they perceive the issue of social services within an iwi context and to work towards social change in order to achieve the aspirations of the hapu and the iwi.

Chapter seven starts with iwi development and the themes cover the importance of hapu as an entity in their own right, the hapu-iwi relationship, the disparities perceived between hapu from the north and hapu from the south, the importance of whakapapa in strengthening our links and the relationship between iwi and the State. An awareness of the issues identified within these themes are a foundation to the development of any service and any negotiations with the State.

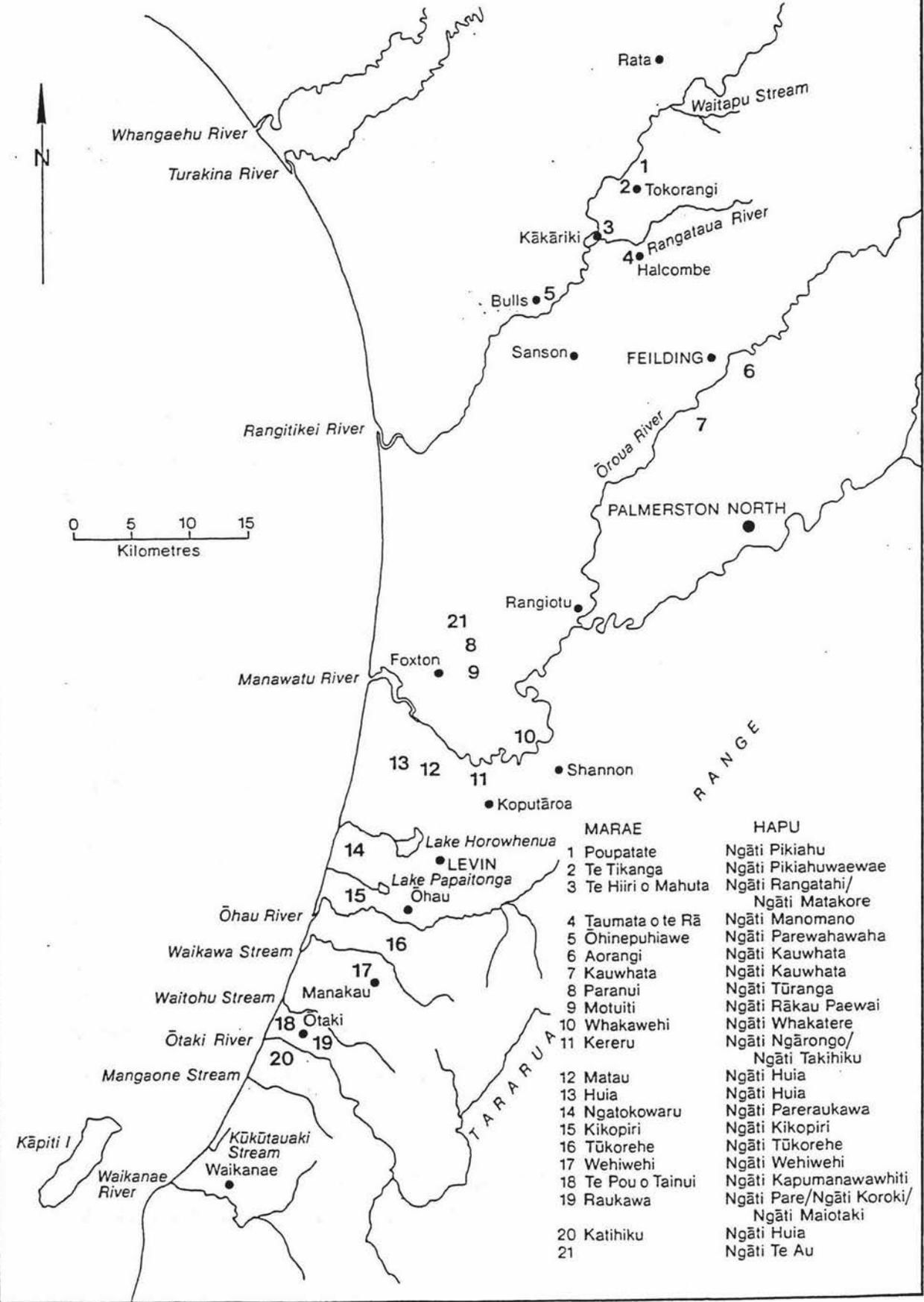
Chapter eight specifically examines iwi social services, in this case Raukawa Social Services. Those interviewed reflect their knowledge of the Service and offer their critique about whether a service is most

appropriately placed within an iwi organisation like Te Runanga o Raukawa, or at a hapu level, or whether there are different tasks for each of these groups. Several case studies are utilised at this point in order to highlight an example of the work undertaken by the kaimahi of the Service.

Chapter nine concludes the thesis by summarising the main points that have become evident while undertaking this research. These provide an opportunity to look at the implications of the research findings, the strengths and limitations of the research questions and findings and areas for further research at a variety of different levels. It is hoped that some of the findings will serve to benefit future directions of the Service, further relationships with the State but most importantly strengthen possible options within hapu, within iwi and between hapu and iwi.

NGĀ MARAE E PIRI TONU ANA I NGĀTI RAUKAWA KI TE TONGA

Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua
 Mai i Mīria te Kakara ki Kūkūtauaki
 (ko te rohe pōtae o Ngāti Raukawa)



MARAE	HAPU
1 Poupatate	Ngāti Pīkiahū
2 Te Tikanga	Ngāti Pīkiahūwae
3 Te Hiiri o Mahuta	Ngāti Rangatahi/ Ngāti Matakore
4 Taumata o te Rā	Ngāti Manomano
5 Ōhinepuhiawe	Ngāti Parewahawaha
6 Aorangi	Ngāti Kauwhata
7 Kauwhata	Ngāti Kauwhata
8 Parānui	Ngāti Tūranga
9 Motuiti	Ngāti Rākau Paewai
10 Whakawehi	Ngāti Whakaterē
11 Kereru	Ngāti Ngārongo/ Ngāti Takihiku
12 Matau	Ngāti Huia
13 Huia	Ngāti Huia
14 Ngatokowaru	Ngāti Pareraukawa
15 Kīkopiri	Ngāti Kīkopiri
16 Tūkorehe	Ngāti Tūkorehe
17 Wehiwehi	Ngāti Wehiwehi
18 Te Pou o Tainui	Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti
19 Raukawa	Ngāti Pare/Ngāti Koroki/ Ngāti Maiotaki
20 Katihiku	Ngāti Huia
21	Ngāti Te Au

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF IWI DEVELOPMENT- A LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter looks specifically at the time period from 1984 until the present day. The particular strands or aho that will provide a focus for this chapter are:

1. The State.
2. The Decade of Maori Development.
3. Iwi Development.
4. From a Welfare State to a Welfare Society

This period saw the implementation of changes in our society that impacted on Maori development, iwi development and Welfare development. It is important to see how each of these areas developed, in their own right, as well as how these strands may have been woven together and at times overlapped.

The decade of Maori development-so called after the Hui Taumata in 1984, was characterised by debates about how the economic rationalisation of a market driven economy would effect Maori people, who at the same time were finding their voice, speaking out and looking for positive alternatives in which to enhance and empower their people.

Iwi development in particular found a new potency in this period. Iwi remained sceptical of the restructuring by the State and the implications for Maori. In the past, policies and practices had left them feeling completely marginalised from society but they were now excited at the new focus on iwi which provided an opportunity for development, in a way not previously offered. This change of direction ensured that iwi self-development lay with iwi and they were eager to grasp this opportunity.

The particular aspect of iwi development which is canvassed in this thesis is welfare development. Maori have always made up a sizeable portion of

the clients within the welfare system and therefore in order to break the cycle dependency, it is paramount that iwi look towards positive change within this arena.

The decade beginning 1984 saw a proliferation of writing which identified the ineffective ways in which the State had handled Maori, how institutional racism was evident at all levels and how this had served to perpetuate oppression. Evidence of such racism became public in this decade and there were demands for improvement and redress. Attempts to do so within State organisations generally met with little success and iwi challenged for the opportunity to have their mokopuna returned to them and for them to be appropriately resourced to develop means and ways of helping their own. Iwi moved to develop their own services, with or without the State.

Kelsey and O'Brien (1995, p1) state, that to the present day Maori remain as "the most economically, politically and culturally marginalised, in their own country". Maori and iwi, such as Ngati Raukawa are determined that strategies need to be put into place to ensure that by the year 2000, the tide of negativity will have turned. Iwi look forward to once again being in control of their resources, the most important of those being their people.

Unuhia i te rito o te harakeke,
kei hea koe e te komako e ko, whakatairangitia
Rere ki uta, rere ki tai,
kii mai ki ahau, he aha te mea nui o tenei ao,
maku e kii atu
he tangata, he tangata, he tangata.¹

1. The State

Aotearoa/New Zealand² prides itself on the notion of being a democratic society and yet in less than a decade it would move from being a "bastion

¹ This is a whakatauki or proverb by Kingi Ihaka which likens the peeling back of the flax bush to reveal the core or the centre, where the most important thing can be found. What then is the most important thing in the world? It is people, it is people, it is people. The rito is often described as the baby or the child which is protected by the leaves either side of it which are the matua, the parents. The focus on people as a resource is one that is also talked about in Whakatupuranga Rua Mano that will be addressed in the chapter three.

² Aotearoa/New Zealand or Aotearoa or New Zealand are all used in this thesis in recognition of our bicultural society.

of welfare interventionism to a liberal reformers paradise" (Kelsey: 1993, p350). The decade 1984-1994 would be marked by dramatic shifts in thinking by those in power. The decade would be remembered as the era of Rogernomics, the era of deregulation of the market and an era of Maori/iwi development. Those supporters of economic fundamentalism would see the changes made in New Zealand, as a success story, with the model being proclaimed around the globe. There would also be critics of this much heralded recovery of New Zealand's economy, who would suggest that New Zealand was in a much more fragile position than the supporters would be prepared to concede (Kelsey: 1995).

Leading up to the election of the Labour Party in 1984, the National government had been burdened by subsidising farmers and manufacturers, as well as a multitude of welfare programmes. The government faced an economic crisis which led to considerable fiscal pressure. Demand for welfare services due to increasing unemployment was evident and there was a strong suggestion that the economy needed to be restructured and the State's functions redefined. The Labour Government was described by Rudd (1994, p244) as having, "the political courage to keep interest groups at arm's length and take electorally unpopular but necessary measures to reduce State spending". This point is supported by other commentators (Kelsey: 1993, 1995, Kelsey and O'Brien: 1995).

Post election, 1984, saw dramatic changes in the State sector, with any State activity capable of a commercial function being changed into corporations or sold to the private sector. Within the State sector there was a stronger move towards fiscal responsibility of services, which found government social service agencies facing conflict between government policies of fiscal restraint and being a good employer. CEO's (Chief Executive Officers) were often appointed on fixed term contracts, for managerial skills rather than their experience in the particular sector. While they reportedly had full authority and power, the State Services Commission, backed by government, played an increasingly directive role. The workers found themselves doing more work with fewer resources, found positions being devolved and found the gap between the public and the Public Service widening, with politicians removing themselves from any responsibility for inadequacies that were evident in the State sector.

Qualities of professionalism, loyalty, innovation, integrity and commitment to public well-being were being subordinated to the goals of efficiency and managerialism under the corporate model (Kelsey: 1995, p142).

It can be argued that the State was reducing its involvement in the provision of services. Government spending on welfare was reduced, while population figures and the demands on welfare services increased. Such a drive for competitiveness, saw many jobs in the State sector lost, with little sympathy or help from the State (St John: 1994). Welfare was increasingly seen to be the responsibility of individuals, families and communities. As Maori comprised a large number of those requiring welfare assistance or social services, there was a big push towards the devolution of some government function to Maori/iwi authorities. Maori had mixed reactions of enthusiasm and scepticism to this prospect. Issues were raised by the wider community as to the readiness of Maori people to accept such responsibility and it was argued that the diversity of the Maori population and the various stages of development that they were at was not acknowledged. However iwi such as Ngati Raukawa had strong iwi organisations, for example; Raukawa Marae Trustees, Raukawa District Council and Te Runanga o Raukawa, that felt prepared to commence negotiations and partnerships with the Crown.

The changes required that State agencies work within the understandings of the Treaty (Durie: 1988). This required a complete change of attitude and practice within the Public Service in order for agencies to become sensitive to both Treaty and Maori issues. This did not occur easily and complications in relationships arose when trying to create a new relationship with iwi as well as respond to the economic restructuring happening at the same time. The State was encouraged to establish relationships with Maori/iwi but found themselves constrained fiscally in terms of being able to operationalise many of these ideas.

It was during this period that Ngati Raukawa and other related iwi in its region, attempted to develop a partnership with the Department of Social Welfare. The documents which resulted from this initiative, provided guidance for the establishment of Raukawa Social Services and as such is commented on, by several of those interviewed for this research.

Fourth Labour Government (1984)

Prior to the 1984 elections, there was considerable disillusionment accumulating with the economic and political policies of the last fifteen years. There had been a rising tide of unemployment, a fall in the standard of living and an increasing disparity between the rich and the poor (Baretta-Herman: 1994). In addition, the view that New Zealand was the biggest melting pot of multi-racial harmony, was seriously challenged by Maori activists who were vocally stating the opposite. Evidence to the contrary included the oppressive treatment that Maori had in fact faced for nearly 150 years, with the colonisers very much still in evidence. The consequence of oppressive policies found Maori featuring disproportionately in the negative statistics of our society. The illusion of being one big happy family, was shattered.

There was also growing support from the Treasury of monetarist economic change. Such policies emphasised the responsibility of the individuals and community for their welfare needs, rather than State responsibility. Such policies were driven by Rogernomics. The Labour Party rejected a legacy of supporting the underdog and the working class through progressive social legislation and focused on "restructuring" policies based on principles of "free-market deregulation and individual responsibility" (Baretta-Herman: 1994, p xviii).

The Fourth Labour Government is described by a number of writers, James (1992), Kelsey (1993), Rudd (1994), Henare (1994) and Kelsey and O'Brien (1995), as being radical in their thinking, a party which had the political courage to initiate dramatic changes and to ride with the consequences of its changes. As James (1992, p111) said, "In that mentality above everything else the Labour Government showed its origins". Kelsey and O'Brien (1995) felt that the election of the Labour Party would turn the country upside down, as they advanced on a strategy and programme of economic and social reform.

Treasury continued to encourage the new Labour Government with its monetary policies of social and economic reform. This process was furthered with the introduction of the State Sector Act 1988 and the Public Finance Act 1989. The process of change in the State sector was labelled as restructuring with the four principles being regionalisation,

decentralisation, devolution and partnership with the community (Baretta-Herman: 1994). Much rode on the definitions of these concepts as while many thought there was a greater opportunity to be in more control of the needs and wants of the people at a local level, the Crown was moving away from the provision of services but retaining control of agencies and organisations by way of regulatory and control functions at head offices in Wellington (Culpitt: 1995).

Maori had been strong supporters of the Labour Party for many decades and were initially prepared to work with them when they entered Parliament in 1984. However, "...as the implications of Rogernomics became clearer, they were forced to take the offensive" (Kelsey: 1993, p361). With the erosion of the Welfare State Maori found themselves faced with a poverty trap, with further oppression perpetuated by being marginalised economically and isolated politically from decision-making.

The Fourth Labour Government served two terms in government before being ousted by the National Party in 1990. By the time of the 1990 elections, there was considerable backlash against the extreme structural adjustment that had been wrought on New Zealand society. The re-election of National however brought no relief from such radical change, as they further pushed the monetarist policies of economic rationalism.

Restructuring: Devolution, Decentralisation and Regionalisation

State restructuring was a preoccupation of the Labour government of 1984-1990. Departments became Ministries where policy and practice were clearly divided and it was claimed agencies were restructured into efficient, effective and more responsive agencies for the public. The State purposely moved away from the provision of services by selling them to State Owned Enterprises (SOE's), to the private sector or it contracted them to the community (Martin: 1991, Durie: 1994c).

Baretta-Herman (1994) stated that restructuring was governed by four principles.

- Decentralisation refers to a delegation of power, authority and responsibility, from a national level to a local or regional level but the ultimate responsibility remains at the national level (Kelsey: 1995).

- Regionalisation is an administrative structure that is permitted to operate in different locations without substantial change in the hierarchical authority structure (Baretta-Herman: 1994).
- Partnership in this instance has government thinking that the provision of social services is a joint responsibility between the government and the community, the community meaning voluntary groups, community groups and iwi authorities. A partnership with the community includes an expectation of decision-making as well as the provision of services (Baretta-Herman: 1994, p66).
- Devolution is about the transfer of power, authority and responsibility from a national level to the community. This involves the transfer of primary responsibility in terms of programme design, funding, implementation and evaluation. Levett, Keelan and McCellan cited in Boston (1991b, p65) described devolution as:

...an act of government to share decision-making in some function with affected citizens...It is not a movement of decentralisation where by decision-making is shifted from head office to district office.

Supporters of devolution believed:

1. That decision-making would occur closer to those affected.
2. That government involvement would be confined to a small range of functions.
3. That a much more democratic process of decision-making would occur with people participating directly.
4. That bottom up decision-making would occur more often, with decisions being made locally and being fed directly back to the community (Martin: 1991, p268).

Durie (1988, p38) however reported that the Royal Commission of Social Policy (RCSP) had six major concerns about devolution and possible increasing public participation.

1. The checks and balances in communities are not always evident and may need supplementing by legislation.
2. Accountability mechanisms in communities have not been tested. Conflict between public and private activities may exist.

3. A means of electing representatives on local bodies and equity in their decision-making are not well developed. Youth, women and Maori interests are examples of people who may not be well served.
4. Reduced economies of scale could introduce inefficiencies, including making it more difficult to recruit specialist staff.
5. Not all local bodies are ready to cope with the levels of decision-making envisaged.
6. The motivation for devolution is often not clear and it is not obvious to what extent power will actually be devolved from central government.

Documents produced outlined how devolution to the community would take place. However, decentralisation was most likely the best description of what occurred with power and authority still being maintained by the decision-makers in Wellington (O'Reilly and Wood: 1991, Kelsey: 1993). The voluntary and private sector was left to deliver the services, using partnerships to describe the relationship. The devolution model occurred in different ways across agencies but similar features included; drawing clear guidelines, contracts for delivery of services, accountability for resources and sanctions by withdrawing funding (Kelsey: 1995). Kelsey (1993, p80) felt that the devolution policy hypnotised people with words such as community empowerment, responsiveness, accountability and consumer control and had them feeling really excited about a possible transfer of power, as well as the responsibility.

Those who believed the positive excitement of devolution to communities, were quickly left to grapple with few resources and a sink or swim attitude from the State. Not only did the State avoid its responsibilities but continued to maintain economic and political power. Such attitudes led to the divisions in society becoming more visible. Kelsey (1993: p95) stated, "Neither practicality, human suffering, nor popular opinion had been allowed to get in the way", of the government restructuring strategies.

Maori and iwi were prime targets for restructuring, with government devolving its responsibilities to iwi authorities. Kelsey and O'Brien (1995, p9) saw the effects that devolution had for Maori/iwi in this way:

The structural adjustment policies of devolution and decentralisation promised Maori greater control over their own lives and an opportunity for autonomy in designing, implementing and evaluating social development programmes. In practice, some responsibility for providing services was devolved to the tribes, while the government retained authority over the basic policy decisions and the allocation of funds. At the same time, the economic policies of the past decade continued to ravage Maori society and create greater dependency and need.

Much of Maori society continued to rely heavily on the State and Maori sceptically wondered how devolution might bring about any change in this situation. As New Zealand historically had a reputation for being one of the bastions of welfarism, it was also felt that it would be a difficult task to dismantle the Welfare State (Kelsey: 1993). Eventually the economy dictated the direction that the country would head. The Department of Social Welfare was one of the many State departments affected by restructuring, with depleted funding and constant restructuring, all towards supposed increased efficiency. The Department eventually separated into a number of separate businesses; the Social Policy Agency situated at Head office, the Children and Young Persons Service for practice, the Community Funding Agency for the distribution of funding to community agencies involved in non-governmental outputs.

In terms of welfare services, the major State agency, the Children and Young Persons and their Families Service, became focused on the care and protection or youth justice in working with children and young people. Statutory agencies felt the dramatic changes implemented by the State Sector Act 1988 and the Public Finance Act, 1989. Funding was received from Treasury after an agency had been contracted to meet agreed outputs.

The only challenge to this relentless restructuring within Department of Social Welfare (DSW) was by way of the Department's commitment to biculturalism, which had arisen out of the 1988 Puaoteata report. The Department, heavily criticised for the monocultural and institutionally racist way in which it had dealt with Maori children, was grappling with constraints of restructuring and the need to address its relationship with iwi/Maori.

Despite this challenge to the DSW and to other State services to address Treaty and Maori issues, the devolutionary process still advanced at a rapid pace, with relatively little up-roar. James (1986) described the 1984-1994 decade as a quiet revolution in which violence did not occur but nevertheless where an overthrow of institutions and holders of power did occur.

2. The Decade of Maori Development

In a decade which would be remembered for turning the State sector upside down, there would also be a focus on Maori development. Maori development is an ongoing process that does not begin or end with a given time period but the Hui Taumata (1984) launched a decade of Maori development in which government and Maori alike looked for some positive initiatives to assist Maori. This particular decade is seen as a part of a continuing voyage (Durie: 1994c, Gardiner: 1994), with the focus on iwi development as an important step towards social, cultural, political and economic prosperity.

Durie (1994c, p5) saw six themes emerging from this hui, to be focused on as a part of the decade of Maori development.

1. Treaty of Waitangi.
2. Tino rangatiratanga.
3. Iwi development.
4. Economic self-reliance.
5. Social equity.
6. Cultural advancement.³

This decade was a time of immense change in the country as a whole but for Maori it was a time to focus on positive solutions. Koro Wetere (1994: p13) said; "We must be participators, instigators, negotiating a position for iwi in all areas of society". The Hui Taumata (1984) certainly produced a lot of enthusiasm for Maori to focus on their own destinies, that is, Maori solutions to Maori problems. Such were the visions in 1984, which Walker (1990) said did not occur in a vacuum but were a response to ongoing

³ Durie provides a framework which looks at the implications, structures and processes on each of these themes. He states that these themes are not the only ones to emerge in this decade, but were consistent enough to bring about change in policy, legislation and to redirect Maori energies towards new visions.

themes such as those expressed by Eva Rickard and the Raglan Land Claim, Whina Cooper and the Land March, Bastion Point and other areas of dispute. All had a vision of tino rangatiratanga, that is, taking control of our own destiny.

The decade of Maori development expected that iwi and hapu had more opportunity of achieving economic self-sufficiency, improving social well-being and therefore having less dependency on the State. Not an easy task to achieve but Durie (1994a, p2) commented:

...the decade has witnessed the emerging of innovative strategies in both political and economic fields and has been associated with a renewed determination by Maori to retain tribal structures and culture while at the same time embracing the challenges of a global economy.

Some of the policy changes during this period favoured Maori, while some Maori claimed that the changes were slow in coming. There was also a growing confidence in Maori recovery and a feeling that if any of the policies were to go against Maori, there would be an uproar. There was also a genuine acknowledgement of the Maori as tangata whenua and the inclusion of the Treaty of Waitangi in policy in the social development area (Kelsey and O'Brien: 1995).

Kelsey (1993, p243) believes that there are now two forces within Maoridom; one which focuses its energy on securing change through policy reforms, for example, the Courts and the Waitangi Tribunal and the other continues to challenge the colonial state. This force challenges the power base of colonial New Zealand, using parallel agencies based on kaupapa Maori.

Despite the gains and air of positivism which occurred for Maori in this decade, there was also concern about the increasing disparities between Maori and Pakeha and within the Maori population. Love (1994, p25) commented at the Hui Whakapumau (1994):

A trend which has emerged during the decade has been one of increasing social stratification of Maori. Some Maori are improving their social and economic status but the vast majority, under the current system, are destined to be at the very bottom of the economic social scale in the foreseeable future.

The decade of Maori development was one of celebration for Maori with some advances being made but also a decade of concerns, with an increasing number of Maori issues needing to be addressed. Durie (1994b, p151) commented:

Privatisation masqueraded as tino rangatiratanga (tribal authority and self-determination); biculturalism was confused with partnership; and devolution merely created the illusion of self-determination. While a call for a decade of Maori development had come from Maori leaders at the Hui Taumata, the actual prescription bore more of the stamp of Government, while the right to dispense had been assumed by the bureaucracy. Missing was Maori control and Maori ownership.

The next decade is one where our confidence can grow. Our thrust must be urgent, decisive and uncompromising. If Maori do not lead the change process, nothing will happen, what is good for Maori is good for New Zealand (Love: 1994, p27).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe rocked many pakeha people and excited many Maori in 1990 when he addressed Queen Elizabeth II and the nation at the Waitangi Day celebrations.

Some of us come here to remember what our tupuna said on this ground; that the Treaty was a contract between two people. But since the signing of that Treaty 150 years ago I want to remind our partners that you have marginalised us. You have not honoured the Treaty. We have not honoured each other in the promises we made on the sacred ground (cited in Henare: 1994, p45).⁴

Bishop Vercoe was perceived by government to be a "respectable" Maori voice. He confused and shocked government representatives when he, like the protesters on the sidelines, expressed an opinion that the Treaty after 150 years had still not been appropriately addressed. He took this opportunity to remind the Treaty partner of this fact. He asked what there was to celebrate, if you were Maori and believed that the Treaty of Waitangi had not been honoured?

⁴ As a part of the Anglican church Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe has been involved in addressing the bicultural development within the church. The book *Te Kaupapa Tikanga Rua Bicultural Development* (1986) outlines the Anglican Churches response to this.

The statement made at Waitangi that day, acknowledged that the Treaty of Waitangi was an essential cornerstone of New Zealand's development (Love: 1994). The Treaty had outlined the relationship between the tangata whenua and the Crown but the relationship needed considerable negotiation and re-negotiation in order to ensure the inherent rights of Maori and to ensure that the Treaty remains the cornerstone for the development of relationships between two people.

The 1877 Prendergast judgement that the Treaty of Waitangi was a "simple nullity" (Durie: 1994a, Smith: 1994) represented the general response from the New Zealand pakeha population until the 1970's. Little was seen in legislation, in policy, or in the wider public arena, that reflected the Treaty of Waitangi. Walker (1990) believes that the Treaty first started appearing again in the 1970's, a decade marked by the resurgence of Maori activism, much of which centred around the Treaty. Smith (1994: p113) said that the 1970s-80s were marked by "strong images in the consciousness raising of the nation". Durie (1994a) commented however that the revival was just another phase in the long journey of Maori discovery.

The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 legislated for the development of the Waitangi Tribunal, which highlighted Treaty issues to the wider public and led towards an acknowledgement that the Treaty was an important part of contemporary New Zealand. Durie (1994a) believed that the Treaty of Waitangi Act allowed the Treaty to be recognised as a signpost for contemporary New Zealand. While some people agree with Durie, there are others who are of the opinion that the Treaty is an archaic document of no relevance to contemporary society. Bain (1997, p1) quoted that Rajen Prasad, the Race Relations Conciliator signalled grave concerns when he reported to the Parliament's Justice and Law Reform Select Committee. He said "...danger signs were seen in divisions in race relations and an increasing number of people who felt New Zealand should put cultural differences and the Treaty of Waitangi aside to become one nation" This situation is further complicated because people do not have a clear understanding of the Treaty and how it could be applied in contemporary society. We may well say that such a perspective derives from one of ignorance but the State has also positioned itself similarly, by not acknowledging the importance of the Treaty from a constitutional perspective.

The National government of 1975-1984, dismissed the revitalisation of such discussion as belonging to people they labelled as "radicals". This reaction simply served to intensify Maori grievances and demands for change, with an increasing pressure group demanding that the Treaty be addressed. The Labour Party, leading up to the 1984, election promised to honour the Treaty of Waitangi and to set into motion a means of settling outstanding grievances (Kelsey: 1995). Labour won the election but Maori became disappointed at what they perceived were false promises with regards to the Treaty, particularly in discussing the constitutional application of the Treaty.

The heyday of the Treaty was from 1984-1987 with the Treaty of Waitangi

home ownership and health reflect the lack of regard for the Treaty in the development of social policies (cited in Henare: 1994, pp 66-67).

Kelsey (1993, 1995) stated that a current Pakeha perspective believes New Zealand is a state of post-colonial independence but a Treaty perspective sees Aotearoa/New Zealand as still occupied by a colonial power, that has usurped the tino rangatiratanga of iwi and hapu.

During the decade 1984-1994, Maori claims to the Waitangi Tribunal, initially focused on a Treaty rights approach, concerning land and physical resources. After a time however, a needs approach, concerned with the perception that Maori warranted special conditions because of the disparities between Maori and non-Maori began to appear (Durie: 1994a). The second approach pertains specifically to the social and economic needs of Maori. This approach reinforced an expectation that the Treaty should be included in social and economic policies, as well as State Service agencies. Social Service agencies were told to address the Treaty and Maori issues in both their policies and practices. The Treaty of Waitangi began to appear in many "Mission statements". Some departments even grappled with the question of what the inclusion of the Treaty in their Mission statement meant to their agency in terms of policy and practice. Again a lack of a clear understanding about the concepts used, made this a difficult quagmire to wade through and avoidance by many more meant that lip-service was paid to addressing the relevance of the Treaty in their agency.

Obviously, the interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi and its application to contemporary economic and social policies is an evolving process. Confusion continues to reign amongst many New Zealanders. O'Reilly and Wood (1991), believe that a comprehensive policy framework is lacking to guide operation for the public sector. The National Maori Congress may well say that since this time period, frameworks have been developed to look at the resolution of various cases, particularly in the sale of Crown assets, for example, Railcorp and Forestry Corp.

Maori have never lost their passion about the Treaty and it is not surprising that in the decade of Maori development it became a central focus, both in terms of iwi and their tino rangatiratanga, as well as iwi

relationships with the Crown (Durie: 1994a). Maori saw the Treaty of Waitangi as pivotal to any policy debate around social and economic development which allowed Maori to exercise sovereignty and self-determination over their lives and their lands.

For some Maori, this meant sovereign authority over the entire country; for others, it meant complete Maori independence from the colonial state; for the more moderate, it still required co-existent and co-operative politics of equal status within one nation. There was vigorous debate over the relationship between tribes and urban Maori and over the economic models to be pursued. But these involved variations within a generally agreed theme: Maori had to exercise control over their own. (Kelsey, 1995, p343).

Durie (1996a, p191) saw the relevance of the Treaty and the status of tangata whenua in today's society, as something which successive governments have had to grapple with. While a lot still remains to be done, Durie is optimistic that the paternalism and assimilative policies seen previously are dwindling and there is now a greater recognition of Treaty of Waitangi claims and the rights of tangata whenua. Change has not come easily but there is a desire to move beyond the injustices of the past and on to more positive developments.

Tino rangatiratanga

Iwi and hapu were guaranteed tino rangatiratanga under article two of the Treaty of Waitangi . This article gave to the chiefs, hapu and all the people of New Zealand the full chieftainship of their lands, villages and their taonga (possessions) (Project Waitangi: 1990). The tribes were to have full authority of their resources; physical and human. Tino rangatiratanga is therefore an opportunity for iwi and hapu to have the power to control their lives and for them to have the right and freedom to be Maori (Durie: 1995b).

Tino rangatiratanga is not a new concept that has suddenly appeared in Maori society but is a concept which along with kotahitanga has been a unifying and strengthening theme since 1840 and the emergence of the kotahitanga movements like Te Kotahitanga, Kingitanga and National Maori Congress. All have been affected by the aspirations of Maori autonomy and self government (Cox: 1993). Successive governments have

refused to consider any adjustment of a kawanatanga focus or thoughts of Maori autonomy or even semi-dependence but Maori have never surrendered the fact that it might be able to occur (Durie: 1995b, Kirikiri & O'Regan: 1988). Government has refused to entertain the possibility of a Maori constitutional dimension which might threaten the sovereignty of Parliament. This led to an escalation in calls for tino rangatiratanga in places like Pakaitore Wanganui and other similar places where land occupations occurred with Maori talking about absolute Maori control.

Durie (1995b, p46) identifies the two aspects of tino rangatiratanga as being how "control and authority is distributed within Maori society and then the way in which Maori and the Crown share power". He rightly suggests that Maori need to reach agreement about decision making within Maori society and for the Crown to then agree on constitutional arrangements which enhance both parties. The first point is particularly relevant in Maori society today, with the arguments raised by Maori who believe that the decision-making body should derive from an iwi perspective, or others like Shane Jones (1994) who believe that the appropriate way to deal with the current issues that Maori face is best organised in regional groupings co-ordinated with a national institution. Kelsey (1993), Jones(1994) and Durie (1995b) all raise concerns at the effect that this debate has on Maoridom, with a division maintaining the current power structure rather than being a united force challenging it. As Kelsey (1993: p363) states; "The danger to the State and capital lies in organised-not necessarily violent-Maori resistance". Despite the distinction between iwi rights and the rights of a more generic Maori community, the two are not incompatible.

On behalf of the National Maori Congress Durie (1995b, p47) presented a paper titled *Tino Rangatiratanga: Maori Self-Determination* that suggested three principles to guide tino rangatiratanga in a modern society.

1. Nga Matatini Maori-the principle of Maori diversity, recognises that Maori live in many diverse realities, some being closely linked to their marae their hapu and to their iwi, others with strong connections to pan-Maori organisations and still others that are quite alienated from Maori networks and society.
2. Whakakotahi- the principle of Maori Unity, acknowledges the potential for solidarity in the Maori community, based on a shared sense of belonging and a common destiny.

3. Mana Motuhake Maori- the principle of autonomy and control, which acknowledges that Maori are no longer prepared to let others decide policies for them, or to make key decisions on their behalf but want to determine their own futures, control their own resources and develop their own political structures.

This concept is central to this whole thesis. Ngati Raukawa believe that they were guaranteed tino rangatiratanga under Article two of the Treaty of Waitangi and are prepared to insist that they should be able to have control of their own destinies and the control of the decision-making that affects the lives of their whanau, hapu and iwi. Raukawa Social Services want the right to develop approaches that are particular to their hapu and iwi and which evolve from tikanga Maori as well as good practice. Much of this is about the desire to focus on prevention rather than the current practices of the State which focus squarely on intervention and dealing with crisis. The State still treads wearily in any dealings with iwi, unprepared to give away total control and still dictating what they think is best for iwi.

Hui Taumata (1984)

This summit was held to look at Maori development after the government's much heralded Economic Summit in 1984. The Economic Summit Conference had expressed concerns about the widening gap between Maori and Pakeha in society with particular worries that if the situation worsened, there was a real possibility that explosive racial tension might occur. Maori leaders were called together to look at the situation of Maori within Aotearoa/New Zealand society with the hope of coming up with positive recommendations for change. Durie (1994c, p4) outlined the four objectives of this hui as being:

- to reach an understanding of the nature and extent of the economic problems facing New Zealand as they affect Maori people;
- to examine the strength and weaknesses of the Maori people in the current position;
- to discuss policies for Maori equality in the economic and social life of New Zealand;
- to obtain commitment to advancing Maori interests.

The hui talked about the failure of past policies to improve the socio-economic position of Maori and the need to develop policies and practices with a more positive focus or direction for the future. The weaknesses of the Maori people were therefore seen to be a state of dependency and deprivation and the strengths were seen to be the people, their land and their resources (Henare: 1994). Henare described the solutions as "based on a framework of Maori self determination and Maori control; using the strengths derived from the Maori cultural base" (ibid: p31). Changes suggested Maori needed to move towards greater control of their destiny rather than others making decisions on their behalf.

The hui built on the mood of energy, optimism and consensus, espoused at the Economic Summit and worked towards active Maori participation in the country's future and a commitment to change. The hui therefore looked towards the development of a blue-print for Maori economic development, recognising that any development which focused on economic recovery in Maori communities, also needed to focus on social and cultural development, as they could not be dealt with in isolation from each other (Kelsey: 1993, Henare: 1994).

Love (1994: p29) stated that the philosophy behind the hui was to determine whether iwi would be responsive and supportive of 'radical change' in how Maori could participate in Maori society. This meant moving from a position of social subordination (with social and economic policies that had maintained oppression) to a position of being in control of their own destiny.

The government saw the hui as successful, in that the hui participants endorsed Koro Wetere's call for a Maori renaissance, a decade of Maori development and the establishment of a Maori Economic Development Commission to initiate the recommendations of the conference (Kelsey: 1993). Concern was expressed that while the attention of the politicians had been gained, the hui may also have been captured by the designers and supporters of the free market economy.

Maori however appeared to be filled with optimism at the potential and positivism of the recommendations. As Durie (1994c, p5) stated:

Maori solutions to Maori problems. Both the lack of confidence in the capacity of the State to offer positive solutions and a desire to capitalise on existing Maori structures and values, combined to inject a sense of independence and renewed commitment to alternate approaches. Significantly, a sound economic base was seen as a crucial step towards achieving any real political autonomy or even cultural survival.

A decade after the Hui Taumata, Irihapeti Ramsden (1994, p198) offered this criticism in hindsight, which left us wondering whether in fact much change had occurred.

Although some progress toward Maori control or Maori matters has been achieved, the full vision of the Hui Taumata of 1984 to enable Maori to bridge the social and economic gaps between Maori and others has not been realised and in fact could not have been because there had never been a history of powerful groups willingly giving real power to the less powerful.

The Hui Taumata exuded enthusiasm at a new decade of social and economic change. While positive initiatives like Tu Tangata and Kohanga Reo were not new to Maori society, this hui provided fresh approaches to the reduction of dependency on the State, by focusing on positive development rather than continuing to wallow in a deficit model.

The decision to take more control of the people's own destiny within Ngati Raukawa had in fact occurred over a decade earlier with the development of the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano programme (1975). This led to a number of further positive initiatives. Ngati Raukawa and the other iwi who were a part of this initiative, had recognised the plight of their iwi and the need for more active involvement in the mainstream of society, while also not losing the importance of who they were and where they were from. The designers of this initiative wanted to provide a much more positive future for their mokopuna. This philosophy permeated into further developments, one of which was Raukawa Social Services.

The Demise of the Department of Maori Affairs

The Hui Taumata (1984) has been described by some as the beginning of the economic drive within Maoridom. Others said however that developments within the Department of Maori Affairs, like the Tu

Tangata programme that included kokiri skills training, maatua whangai, kohanga reo, women's wananga and business training had commenced prior to this time (Smith: 1994). The Department of Maori Affairs was the government Department which represented Maori needs for decades. Other government departments in turn were absolved from having to attend to Maori needs. Some felt it was important to have a specific Department which focused on the needs of Maori, while others were supporters of mainstreaming believing that all social service agencies should be responsible for assisting Maori.

The Department of Maori Affairs spent much of its time involved with financial assistance programmes like those already cited and these were not always seen to be competent (Palmer: 1992). Successive governments had not quite known how to deal with the Department of Maori Affairs, or how in fact to effectively articulate a clear Maori Affairs policy (Jones: 1994). In addition initiatives like the Hawaiian Loan affair received negative press from the media, which served to be one of the nails in the coffin for the Department. The government was committed to State sector reform and was unsure what to do with what they saw as a somewhat erratic Department, so used restructuring to rectify this.

The Hui Taumata 1984, called for economic independence in the target areas of welfare dependency, education and target spending. More significantly was the call for iwi to be in control of their own economic and social initiatives. The development of iwi structures was seen as a move towards self-determination and the restructuring of Maori Affairs as a part of the government's devolution policies.

The first of several ministerial reviews into the roles and functions of the Department of Maori Affairs occurred in 1985, with one of the key outcomes being, "to shift from a Department servicing a dependent people to that of a corporation facilitating their development" (Kirikiri & O'Regan: 1988: p117).

Within the Maori community there was vigorous debate about the effectiveness of the Department of Maori Affairs. Some had concerns about professionalism and accountability believing that change was needed but not wanting the Department to disappear all together, as they had concerns about the ability of other State departments to service Maori

communities appropriately (O'Rielly and Wood: 1991, Palmer: 1992). There was concern about the lack of interaction between mainstream departments and Maori communities, which meant a lack of good advice about Maori issues and therefore a total lack of Maori involvement in the development of policy or programmes that might benefit Maori.

In 1986, the government produced a document *Te Tirohanga Rangapu*. The ideas proposed were: to establish a Ministry of Maori Policy; to establish a partnership with iwi organisations in the development and operation of policies; to improve government departments' response to Maori issues; to transfer programmes to other departments and to phase out the Department of Maori Affairs (*Te Urupare Rangapu*, 1988: p4). Two months were given for people to look at this paper and make submissions. Understandably, there was considerable protest and criticism about the lack of consultation with iwi before-hand. The submissions presented definitely opposed the phasing out of the Department of Maori Affairs, though it acknowledged that the Department needed change. Major concerns centred around the loss of funding and operational responsibility from Maori hands and the ability of a new policy unit to influence mainstream departments.

Te Urupare Rangapu/Partnership Perspective's in 1988, was the government's response to the submissions from the first document. Instead of recommending the disestablishment of Maori Affairs, it suggested restructuring the Department over a period of time, leading towards the establishment of a Ministry of Maori Affairs to provide a perspective in policy making (*Manatu Maori*) and the Iwi Transition Agency (*Te Tira Ahu Iwi*), whose responsibility was to strengthen the operational base of the iwi and transfer the department's programmes to iwi authorities (*Te Urupare Rangapu: ibid*, p23). This agency was purposely described as a transition agency, as it was anticipated that after five years this organisation would have achieved its objectives.⁵ Palmer (1992) felt that the two documents contributed considerably towards giving iwi "legal personality" and that they were very innovative as a focus on iwi development was a complete reversal of previous intentions by governments.

⁵ *Manatu Maori* and *Te Tira Ahu Iwi* eventually merged after the release of *Ka Awatea* (1990) to become *Te Puni Kokiri*.

Maori were in two minds about the dismantling of the Department of Maori Affairs and they were not totally supportive of resources and functions being returned to iwi. Iwi were being supported by the Crown to play a more substantial role in the development of their own people in the delivery of programmes and services. Te Runanga o Raukawa would be one iwi, which was able to benefit from such changes. For Te Runanga o Raukawa however, it was not about the replication of services but an opportunity for iwi to develop strategies (if they hadn't already) for their future social and economic development. Devolving to iwi occurred but this did not necessarily involve equitable resourcing, with much of the power and control still being held by Crown agencies .

The preferred vehicle between 1984-1994 was iwi development (Durie: 1994c, p9) moving away from a "we are all one people" mentality of collectivity. There was a renewed emphasis towards tribal development and partnerships between iwi and the Crown, with a more responsive public sector and iwi delivery systems being advocated. The role of the State decreased and iwi pushed for greater autonomy and more active roles.

Such moves towards tribal development swept through government and the State sector, with policy development reflecting the importance of establishing roles with whanau, hapu and iwi. Maori were empowered on the basis of iwi affiliation. As Tipene O'Regan stated (Kirikiri and O'Regan: 1988, pxi) tino rangatiratanga was about Maori control of Maori assets and therefore devolution needed to be to a tribal authority, where the accountability was to the people.

The National party initially spoke out against tribally based development, advocating "one nation one law" but by the time of their National Party conference in 1989, they announced the establishment of, "a process of direct negotiation between representatives of the Crown and the tribes to settle legitimate claims of compensation for improper land seizures on realistic terms that the nation could afford" (Kelsey: 1993, p237). National were held to their promises when re-elected into power. Not only did they speed up the whole restructuring process begun by Labour but they moved rapidly towards the privatisation of Crown assets and addressed the Maori affairs issue, as Maori were no longer prepared to be sidelined.

The demise of the Department of Maori Affairs is often seen as a result of the Hui Taumata (1984) and the government's desire to honour the aspirations of Maori but Kelsey, cited in Smith (1993: p363) argues that: "Maori Affairs was one more victim of the Rogernomics formula of separating and where possible privatising government departments".

Runanga-a-Iwi Act (1990)

The Runanga Iwi Bill was introduced in 1989 and finally became law in August 1990. Its intention was to define the basis of a relationship between the Crown and iwi (Mahuta: 1994). The government, as a part of its devolution process, saw this Act as a means of further clarifying its stance on Maori affairs, continuing to address its responsibility to the Treaty of Waitangi and making clear who it was that they would be negotiating with by attempting to define this somewhat nebulous structure called iwi.

The intent of the Act, was to assist iwi in any negotiations with both national and local authorities, with some of the legislation that was appearing at the time, supporting the notion of needing to negotiate, or recognise iwi, for example: Resource Management Act, Children and Young Persons and their Families Act (CYP & F Act). Palmer (1992,p97), felt that if the legislation had survived the 1990 elections, Maoridom would have been revitalised, with positive long term results for Maori. He had this to say, "This whole effort was designed to take the concept of rangatiratanga in the Treaty seriously". Maori however were a bit more sceptical.

The main purpose of the Runanga-a-Iwi Act, was to identify the essential characteristics of an iwi, outlined in the Act as "descent from a tipuna; existence of hapu, marae; belonging historically to a takiwa (territory) and having an existence traditionally acknowledged by other iwi" (O'Rielly and Wood: 1991, p325).

The submission prior to the Act being passed felt the legislation had little to do with the exercise of rangatiratanga and everything to do with the government exercising kawanatanga (O'Rielly and Wood, *ibid*). Maori were divided by the approach that the government was suggesting. The

particular crux of the dissension centred around the ability of the Crown to legislate and legally define what an iwi should be.

The incorporation of Runanga or tribal corporate bodies provided a single voice with which government could negotiate and channel funds to an iwi body for the provision of services (O'Rielly and Wood: 1991, Jones: 1994, Smith: 1994). Maori themselves were expected to decide who should be recognised as an iwi and who should be an authoritative voice for the people. Jones (1994) states, that this caused great debate amongst iwi, as groups competed to confirm their existence as iwi by way of geographical boundaries that overlapped between iwi groups, by membership when people generally belonged to several iwi and by representation with certain bodies like Trust Boards trying to state that they represented the iwi, when iwi stated that they did not. Government would not devolve services to iwi that had not passed the criteria stated within the legislation.

Te Runanga o Raukawa came into being prior to the Runanga-a-Iwi legislation being developed, though its representation in the early days included several iwi and other iwi organisations. With the development of Te Runanga o Raukawa, the Raukawa Marae Trustees were able to transfer some of their responsibilities to the Runanga and with the revitalisation of iwi, the other iwi involved in the Runanga eventually pulled away to develop their own iwi structures. A constitutional change in 1991 led to the membership within Te Runanga o Raukawa being representatives from the 24 hapu of Ngati Raukawa.⁶

All the developments that occurred for Ngati Raukawa also happened in the same time period in which the Runanga-a-Iwi Act was devised, though this does not necessarily mean that the Act pre-empted the changes within Te Runanga o Raukawa. What the changes did mean for Te Runanga o Raukawa however prepared them to cater for any devolution of services in order to represent the affairs of its hapu.

The Runanga-a-Iwi Act was repealed by the National Government. The Minister of Maori Affairs Winston Peters commissioned a report which

⁶ The Constitution of Te Runanga o Raukawa still includes the other iwi that it has had strong alliances with in its membership, but all have since formed their own iwi organisations.

Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988)

Another document which enabled Maori to have a voice about the fairness and justness of society in which they lived, was through the nation-wide community consultation that occurred with the Royal Commission on Social Policy (RCSP). This commission was to address: "The Labour government's intention to develop a policy which would meet the objectives of "equality" within its manifesto" (Henare: 1994, p35).

The research results provided guiding principles for social policy reform but the five volume comprehensive report suffered in its writing, due to being requested earlier than originally planned.

The findings stated clearly the responsibility for social service delivery and funding belonged to the State (Baretta-Herman: 1994) and the need to link economic and social policies rather than dealing with them separately (Henare: 1994). Poverty, found mainly amongst the Maori population, was also highlighted as an issue, as it was felt that unless the State took some responsibility in this area, then the gap would widen even further between the Maori and non-Maori.

However, most of the findings of the Royal Commission on Social Policy were on the whole rejected by the Labour Party, as they continued to devolve responsibilities in the welfare arena back to community, thus continuing their strategy of economic and social reform. One of the few results of the Royal Commission on Social Policy, that the government did take action on, was the government's more overt responsibility to the application of the Treaty of Waitangi in social policy areas. While the application of these changes occurred in a somewhat ad hoc manner they occurred slowly in education, employment, housing, health and welfare. (Durie: 1996b). Such changes would in turn find agencies having to look at their relationship not only with Maori but more particularly with iwi.

3. Iwi Development

The effects of colonisation and urbanisation have dramatically effected the traditional Maori structures of whanau, hapu and iwi. Several decades ago Maori were thought to be a facing extinction with the Crown seeing its responsibility to "smooth the pillow of a dying race" (Durie: 1996a,

base. "Maori demands increasingly centred on tino-rangatiratanga-the constitutional authority of the tribes to exercise independent political, legal and economic, as well as cultural power". The self-determination of iwi gained ground as a result of this focus on iwi development, both by the Crown and by the hapu and iwi themselves.

Criticism from within the Maori community at the resurgence of iwi initially came from Maori organisations that had traditionally represented the Maori voice and from the Maori urban groups, who felt that they offered a legitimate voice for Maori. Groups such as Te Whanau o Waipareira Trust made a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, with regards to social services, on the basis that they wanted recognition as a partner in a Treaty sense, with the right to negotiate for resources in the same way as iwi (Durie: 1995b). The debate may never have arisen if there had not been a refocus on the Treaty and on iwi development. The debate reflected the diversity of modern Maori, with the Crown needing to consider how it would develop working partnerships with all these groups. Maybe it is not so much one or the other but how all of these structures can best meet the needs of Maori people.

Iwi development, has also led to comments of separate or parallel development. A number of iwi are currently negotiating for the opportunity to offer a range of services which focus on the particular needs of their people. They not only see this as their right but also believe that what has previously been offered to Maori in the whole range of social services (justice, health, welfare, education) has not benefited Maori families. They have suffered the effects of oppressive policies, effectively leaving a large portion of the welfare population to be Maori, dependent on the State. Iwi now aspire to offer different services, or similar services from a tikanga Maori base, which is appropriately resourced in the first instance by the Crown.

Successful initiatives are already evident in education with the development of Kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Maori and a number of tribal Wananga (Te Wananga o Raukawa being one of these). Iwi initiatives are now appearing, particularly in health, justice and welfare, where services are alternatives to those offered in the mainstream. These have not evolved easily, as contracts with the Crown have often been accompanied by strenuous systems of accountability and the expectation that the

Crown defines the service. Many iwi on the other hand maintain that they need to decide the parameters of their organisation, based on the philosophy laid down by the hapu and iwi. As Smith (1994, p1) states: "What may be transferred to iwi, to whom and how iwi are to be held accountable, are all contested issues between iwi and government".

Durie (1995b) claims, that such new projects have also attracted criticism and a comparison to apartheid. Sadly such criticism has failed to recognise the oppressive state that Maori have had to contend with for over 150 years and the negative impact that has had on the people, which is duly reflected in their life situations today. The recognised failure of welfare bureaucracy to attend to the needs of Maori people and the State's move out of welfare provision, could be the very reason why the Crown is currently investigating contracts with iwi. The full implication of applying the principles and objectives of the Children Young Persons & their Families Act and the successful establishment of iwi social services, is still being tested, particularly when the fiscal constraints of various pieces of legislation are felt, the restructuring imposed by the government continues and a resurfacing of homogeneity rather than diversity in the Crown's dealings with Maori is evident. "The pattern of welfare administration and social policy that iwi development will require is unique in that *tino rangatiratanga* established the principle of iwi sovereignty" (Culpitt: 1995, p 239).

A focus on iwi development is an attempt by iwi to take control of their own destiny. Smith (1994) sees that iwi development concerns the basic issues of power and control. The creation of alternative social and economic options is an attempt to reduce the gap, all too evident between Maori and non-Maori. Iwi have also emerged as a political power (National Maori Congress and in their own right) and are no longer prepared to stand back and wait but are moving forward with confidence, a confidence that Love (1994, p24) believes has meant "institutions at central and local government (have had) to listen much more carefully to Maori aspirations". Whether through Raupatu claims, Tribunal claims, contracts with the Crown, or rejuvenation and development amongst the iwi themselves, hapu and iwi politics are gathering strength, with iwi being consulted on a whole range of issues. Whanau, hapu and iwi are after all the holders of ahi kaa, meaning they sustain and keep the home fires burning.

Iwi and hapu development is the focus of this thesis and in particular the development of a particular iwi initiative within Ngati Raukawa; Raukawa Social Services. While the theme of social services has always been of particular interest to Ngati Raukawa, as is evidenced in some of its developments, the 1980s onwards witnessed progressive development leading to the establishment of Raukawa Social Services. Many of the issues highlighted in this discussion, are issues that Raukawa Social Services and the iwi of Ngati Raukawa have had to address. Iwi development does not start and finish in any one time period but is continuous (Mahuta: 1994). At times it slows down and at others it moves ahead like a galloping horse. Ngati Raukawa as a part of the confederation,⁷ have had a plan of social and economic development since 1975, with Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. The concepts and ideas of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano and subsequent papers that have been developed for Ngati Raukawa and the associated iwi, have continued to focus on the positive future that such developments can and will provide for its people.

National Maori Congress

The National Maori Congress was founded at Turangawaewae on the 14th July 1990 (Cox: 1993, p140). While representatives of many Maori groups attended the hui leading up to the establishment of Congress the organisation operated under the mandate of the iwi at a regional or waka level. Cox (ibid) stated that there was some urgency to establish the National Maori Congress in 1990 for two reasons. Firstly; it was an election year and the development of a national body could assist to consolidate the Maori position with regards to key policy decisions by providing a cohesive and comprehensive restatement of iwi concerns. Secondly; there was likely to be an impact from the Runanga Iwi legislation with iwi being asked to conform to State instituted structures in order for funding to flow. There was considerable potential for conflict at a time when those developing the idea of the National Maori Congress felt it was important for iwi to unite. The National Maori Congress therefore attempted "to provide a National forum for iwi to address

⁷ The use of the word confederation is used to describe an alliance between Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toa, and Te Ati Awa, which will be expanded on in the History section, but which also still has relevance to a number of the iwi initiatives of today.

cultural and political issues within tikanga Maori and formulate policy recommendations to government" (Walker: 1994, p179) (Walker: 1992, Kelsey: 1993). Cox (1993, p142) stated: "Where iwi voices spoke individually they might have little impact; collectively, however, considerable political influence could accrue."

Durie (1994a), believed the formation of the National Maori Congress indicated the need by Maori to focus on parallel iwi development, rather than a mainstream approach where a Maori perspective and people were incorporated into government departments. Such an organisation would be "pro-Maori, as opposed to being anti-Government" (Cox: 1993, p146). It was the experience that all too often government departments were incapable of change from their western-eurocentric perspectives and practices. The two principles of the National Maori Congress constitution were kotahitanga and tino rangatiratanga (which recognised the importance of being both united as well as autonomous and independent (Durie: 1995b). In addition to these two principles there was almost unanimous approval for the Treaty of Waitangi to be incorporated as central to the aspirations of iwi in any relationship between the iwi and the Crown.

This forum provided iwi with the opportunity to choose their own path including an appropriate process of exercising tino rangatiratanga. A task force established to determine the parameters in which the Congress would operate, recommend that the National Maori Congress have four objectives: the advancement of all Maori people, the exercise by each iwi, of tino rangatiratanga, the provision of a national forum for iwi representatives to address economic, cultural, social, cultural and political issues within Tikanga Maori, and the promotion of constitutional legislative arrangements that enable Maori people to control their own right to development and self determination (Cox: 1993, p157).⁸

Congress developed a structural model equating themselves with the structure of parliament, where Congress equates its President with the Governor General, the Congress Assembly with Parliament, its Executive with Cabinet and its Officers with Ministers (Kelsey: 1993). Congress (maybe naively) assumed that the State would respond favourably to this

⁸ Cox outlines the objectives and the principles recommended by the task force on page 157 of his book.

suggestion of a parliamentary relationship between the two bodies, by voluntarily sharing its power with those they had historically oppressed. The government was not receptive but played down a decision on such a relationship by side-tracking members of Congress through representation in other areas. Iwi and hapu were left a long way from securing acceptance of their constitutional self-determination, with government suggesting that there was no future in a Maori parliament or in a separate legal system (Durie: 1995b). Symbolic gestures were made towards power sharing but a totally new political structure was not seen as viable to either the State or the international market place (which largely excluded Maori) (Kelsey: 1993, p93).

When Maori through the National Maori Congress demanded that the rights of iwi and hapu to exercise independent political, legal, economic and cultural authority be recognised, government was no longer receptive to the idea of establishing a relationship (Kelsey: *ibid*). National Maori Congress continued to meet at regular intervals to discuss issues relevant to Maori development but they have a lower profile today and if we question the sincerity of the Crown to form a meaningful relationship with iwi or an organisation that represents iwi, one may wonder at the effectiveness of this forum long term. Currently they appear to play a low key role rather than a key decision-making role on behalf of Maoridom.

Nonetheless such an organisation is seen as important to Ngati Raukawa who are very much centred on the development of their hapu and iwi. They have therefore had extensive involvement in the development of the National Maori Congress, believing in the importance of iwi in the political arena of decision-making and of Maori development occurring through the iwi structure. Whatarangi Winiata acting on behalf of the Raukawa Trustees, has offered a model of constitutional change. This model was adapted by the Anglican Church in their constitutional reform. It is one of a number of models proposed to the National Maori Congress and taken to different parts of the country to be discussed by other iwi. See Appendix two for the constitutional model proposed by Whatarangi Winiata.

Iwi-State relationships

The last two decades have seen a strengthening of iwi structures and a recognition of this structure by the State. Diversity amongst iwi, led Kawharu to comment that only a "...few iwi have the experience, skills and background to undertake the role now expected of them" (cited in O'Rielly and Wood: 1991, p327). This comment may not reflect the range of different iwi and the increasing number of iwi who are acquiring the skills, as a consequence of revitalisation.

... the relationship between Maori and government...has evolved from one based on dependency, paternalism and control to one grounded on the principles of development, partnership and self determination (Fleras cited in Culpitt: 1995, p255).

A critical factor for iwi was the maintenance of their tino rangatiratanga and looking for strategies to ensure that this concept was at the core of their development. The diverse realities of Maori make this exceedingly difficult, with urbanisation and deliberate policies of moving people away from marae, resulting in more people living away from their iwi boundaries. At the same time there is also some movement back to iwi boundaries and a recognition of needing to develop oneself within the parameters of whanau, hapu and iwi. All are factors that need to be taken into account in any negotiations with the State.

Most of the legislation and policies that are evolving from the State make reference to the primary relationship between iwi and the State being to the iwi group that is resident within its own iwi boundaries and that any relationships thereafter are secondary, or need to be negotiated with the mana whenua. This has created much debate within the Maori community and the State, as different Maori groups seek to be more involved in the decision making process that effects the groups of people with whom they are working. Many of these issues cannot be ignored when looking at iwi development, though this particular thesis concentrates on an iwi which resides within its own iwi boundaries (though not entirely exempt from boundary issues with other iwi as well).

While iwi have felt positive about aspects of devolution, they have also recognised that this might easily mask an attempt by the State to off-load its responsibilities at a cheaper cost. Some iwi have jumped into a

relationship with the State, because of their deep concern to be responsible for the future development of their people. They are now feeling the constraints attached to their relationship with the State and are returning to clarify for themselves what they are capable of doing, what their iwi vision is and question whether that in any way aligns with a relationship with the State.

Love, at the Hui Whakapumau (1994) challenged Maori to be even more driven about their future destinies, as there would be a strong emphasis on individual responsibility in health, education, employment and old age. Maori will be doubly affected by any social, political and economic changes that occur to our society in the future. If the disparities are to be narrowed in any way the concerns expressed by Maori and others need urgent attention. Vasil cited in Culpitt (1995, p269) felt that the Pakeha majority should:

...stop blaming the Maori for most of their problems and treating them as lesser beings who are essentially incorrigible and incapable of becoming partners in a modern and prosperous New Zealand. They have to stop thinking of themselves as the only civilised people and the Maori as only a defeated and subjugated minority. It is time the Pakeha accepted the Maori as the tangata whenua and accorded them their due dignity and mana.

Iwi development provides an exciting future for Maori people, with many interesting initiatives starting to appear, as well as passionate and visionary people to drive these initiatives. While iwi development may not be the answer for all Maori, a growing number of iwi are prepared to take responsibility for themselves and to prioritise the needs of the whanau, hapu and iwi in terms of developing a plan for their iwi future. Mahuta (1994: p89) recognises that there is more than one route in which to look at Maori development but strongly supports iwi as a vehicle for development. He had this to say:

...it is really to suggest to the present and any future governments that the future of this country is inextricably bound to the future well-being of Maori people. The State has failed miserably both in its policies and in its implementation programmes to redistribute benefits to its Maori clients. In my experience, the iwi vehicle still holds promise as the most effective way of ensuring interaction between Maori and the State. I accept that for the urban areas particularly, other vehicles might be required. Suffice to say the

iwi has survived, endured and flourished despite the continued onslaughts of the State.

The Department of Social Welfare was one government department that continued to grapple with the idea of a State-iwi relationship. With a history that labels them as a monocultural, institutionally racist welfare system, this relationship always proved to be difficult from the start. Many iwi felt that the notion of partnership was not evident as the Department started from the premise that they were bound by legislation and policy, while iwi stated that there needed to be flexibility by both parties in the establishment of a partnership. Iwi felt hampered by policy, let alone a hesitant attitude from departmental members to devolve responsibility to iwi. Iwi certainly reject welfare policies that have been based on an implicit attitude of assimilation (Culpitt: 1995) and are instead wanting to develop their own unique agencies based firmly on the tikanga of the hapu and the iwi, as well as principles of good practice.

A parallel social service system served to redress some of the cultural imbalances and to reinforce the iwi rather than perpetuate welfare dependency for Maori people. As iwi become stronger players in the provision of social services, it is going to be important that they and the State are clear about the relationship they wish to establish. For Ngati Raukawa the most critical issue is establishing a firm grounding of who they are and what the aspirations of their hapu are, before they get into negotiations with anyone else. This enables them to be clear about their iwitanga, haputanga and tino rangatiratanga and the importance of maintaining these in any negotiations with others. It can be argued that it is going to be critical in the future for iwi to be prepared and ready as important players in purchasing services to create new patterns of service delivery that will lead to well-being for the people of that iwi.

4. From a Welfare State to a Welfare Society

From the 1930's to the 1970's, Aotearoa/New Zealand was seen as a prosperous Welfare State, where there was low unemployment, relatively secure markets for agricultural products and a programme of industry assistance and protection. Full employment was the norm with the Welfare State providing a secondary line of support. There was an extensive range of social and economic services provided in health,

education, housing and income support available to all on the basis of need. Aotearoa/New Zealand enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in the world (Kelsey and O'Brien: 1995). However, it can be argued that there was an element of mythology about New Zealand's claim to lead the world as a Welfare State, as these benefits were not reflected in the Maori community, whose living conditions were hidden within this generalisation of the wonderful New Zealand society.

By the 1970's concerns were being expressed about whether the Welfare State could be afforded and sustained. Unemployment had returned and the Welfare State was seen to encourage dependency on State services and benefits which some, felt could be more appropriately met by the family or the community, with the State role being to offer minimal provision to the really needy. Pressure on income support and social services led to weaknesses in the welfare system being exposed such that the Welfare State was no longer meeting its objective and politicians from both parties pushed for radical change (James: 1986).

A welfare society model rejects collective responsibility and focuses on individual and community responsibility with the State providing services only as a last resort, services that could not be offered by other services. This model found support with the economic ideologies being espoused under Rogernomics. Baretta-Herman described the model as having a better fit with the "monetarist policies in Western societies and the efforts to curtail State welfare expenditure" (1994: pp 8-9). This was the government's opportunity to devolve some of the State's responsibilities for providing care and financial support to those in need to family and voluntary agencies in the community, including iwi.

The Welfare State had not been a "universal panacea", to groups such as Maori, women and to the disabled and such groups voiced their issues and demanded change. Free market liberals demanded that the individual freedom to choose services they wanted and from whom, needed to be reinstated (Kelsey and O'Brien: 1995). The new Labour government freed up the private sector and corporatised, privatised and restructured the State sector.

The Welfare State was expected to prove more difficult to dismantle, however changes were instituted in a piecemeal fashion, which meant that

by the time the National party returned to power in 1990, the Welfare State was being dismantled and replaced by a welfare society (Kelsey: 1993). The dismantling of the Welfare State has continued unabated, the transformation being so dramatic that Barretta-Herman (1994, pxvi) commented, "Kiwi's can now boast the dubious honour that they led the world in both the creating and dismantling of the Welfare State". The mechanism for ensuring this would occur was restructuring and the effects of such changes in social services would be overwhelming.

In a country where welfare ideology had been so dominant, this might have been expected to provoke social instability and even rebellion. But such dissent as did occur was localised and focused on specific issues and policies (Kelsey: 1993, p354).

By 1990 Maori as a population were more dependent on State handouts than ever before. A move from a Welfare State to a welfare society had not provided a better quality of life for Maori. Relationships between the State and iwi had begun at this time but the immensity of the problem for Maori people would not be solved overnight and would require an injection of resources and support towards iwi initiatives, towards Maori initiatives and towards bettering the current State and voluntary provisions in order that more Maori could move away from their dependency on the State.

Department of Social Welfare

The Department of Social Welfare is the major organisation responsible for social service delivery in New Zealand. Maori as major recipients of this service have been the pawns in a department which has faced massive restructuring in the last decade and a half. These incessant changes negatively affect those working in the agency, as well as those who are serviced by the agency. Of concern is whether any of the restructuring within the Department has been of benefit for Maori people. Bradley (1995b: p9) comments:

During the last year Maori comprised 40-60% of the NZCYPS notifications for suspected child abuse and youth offending; and comprised 80% of the young people placed in state secure at Eponi. Furthermore, 80% of the child deaths subject to service practice reviews were Maori.

Historical development

A brief account of the historical development of this service and the effects of change that it has had to endure, offer clear reasons for the call by many Maori and iwi demanding the opportunity to develop alternative parallel services, particularly in the area of welfare services and explain why the Department (albeit struggling) is trying to develop relationships with local iwi.

With Raukawa Social Services currently negotiating with the Department to consider registration as an approved iwi social service, it is important to understand what has happened in the Department to lead to this current relationship.

- 1925 Child Welfare Act-Legislation which first looked at the welfare of Children in New Zealand was administered under a division of the Education Department.
- 1930-1970-The Welfare State which came into being, saw an expanding role in the State offering protection to its citizens, with the Welfare State being for the deserving. The voluntary sector played a secondary role in a society where the State was the dominant provider.
- 1972 saw the establishment of the Department of Social Welfare which amalgamated the old Child Welfare Division and the Social Security Department, with the emphasis now moving away from education and on to welfare.
- At this time the cracks in the Welfare State were starting to show and social issues started to increase in number. The Department of Social Welfare was under increasing pressure trying to cope with the array of social issues that were being presented to them.
- The 1974 Children and Young Persons Act saw DSW promoting the well-being of children and young persons, by assisting individuals, families and communities to overcome social problems and to foster co-operation amongst those working in the social work field. This legislation introduced the concept of paramountcy which talked

about the child's interest being the first consideration, over and above family. While there was good intent behind this principle it was used to remove children from families, into long term foster care or institutions. These children became lost from their families (Ellis: 1993, pp 14-15).

By the end of the 1970's there was an expectation of impending change. Baretta-Herman (1994) entitled the period of 1979-1982, as the turning point, highlighted by debates in the social services mainly emanating from Auckland, which centred on 1) a decentralised model to regionalise and, 2) the Human Rights Commission decision to look at the complaint instigated by ACORD⁹ into the treatment of young Maori in the Department's care. The ACORD complaint was the first of its kind to criticise the treatment of Maori in the care of DSW and led the Department to instigate its own review which came to be known as the Johnston Report.¹⁰ (1982). This report affirmed many of the issues central to ACORD's complaint and led the Department to work on what they described as innovative change, having been labelled as monocultural for the first time. This report also stated that Maori people were asking to take care of their own and recommended that this occur wherever practicable, with the appropriate transfer of resources (Baretta-Herman 1994).

Maatua Whangai

Leading into the decade 1984-1994, DSW and its workers started looking at possible options or alternative social service delivery systems to address the cultural issue. 1981 had seen the development of the Maatua Whangai programme.¹¹ This programme was described by Walker (1990) as one designed to take young Maori people out of the care of social welfare institutions and place them back in the care of their own tribal groups. This was the beginning of a departmental recognition of negotiating with iwi, mainly through Maatua Whangai officers. There

⁹ ACORD- Auckland Committee on Racial Discrimination.

¹⁰ The full title of this report is Current Practices and Procedures followed in Institutions of DSW in Auckland (1982).

¹¹ The concept of Maatua Whangai evolved from the Hui Whakatauirā (1981), which was held at the Waiwhetu Marae in Lower Hutt, and was an agreement between the Departments of Justice, Maori Affairs and Social Welfare. This programme resulted after Kara Puketapu circulated a paper called "Reform from within", introducing the concept of Maatua Whangai.

was however, considerable difference in the interpretation of this programme by different offices throughout the country, which led to accusations of mismanagement. Under such a cloud the Department moved away from specific Maatua Whangai workers to all workers incorporating Maatua Whangai principles into their work (Nixon & Levett: 1988, Baretta-Herman: 1994).

The Maatua Whangai programme had connections with the development of social services in Ngati Raukawa, as local departments attempted to create a relationship with local iwi, by hiring several Maatua Whangai officers in conjunction with the iwi. These positions originally caused much friction between the Department and the iwi, with completely different interpretations of what was required of the position. Later positions were more clearly defined and helped iwi have a clear understanding of how the Department worked. This proved beneficial as the worker returned to work for the iwi once their iwi social services were established, maintaining fruitful relationships with the Department. Fiscal constraints on the Department have not enabled this programme between the Department and the iwi to be furthered. The concept of Maatua Whangai is still very much alive in iwi environments but is one that is now sceptically spoken about in the environs of the Department of Social Welfare.

Puao-te-ata-tu (1986)

The 1984-1994 decade found Maori were advocating for a voice and role in the care of their children, with the Department knowing that they had to show some responsiveness in this respect. There was some scepticism that acceptance of these ideas would be supporting the dismantling of the Welfare State (Baretta-Herman: 1994). It was against this kind of backdrop that in 1986 the Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the DSW was appointed. The report presented by them was Puao-te-ata-tu.

Accompanying the presentation of Puao-te-ata-tu were the sweeping changes in the government sector and announcement for yet more reviews of the organisation. Puao-te-ata-tu grew out of mounting concerns at the injustices that were occurring for Maori within government agencies (Sorrenson: 1996). John Rangihau and the

ministerial advisory committee travelled the country talking with departmental clients *kanohi ki te kanohi*.¹² Their task was to find "the most appropriate means to achieve the goal of an approach which would meet the needs of Maori in policy, planning and service delivery in the Department of Social Welfare" (Te Punga: 1994, p12). The recommendations clearly indicated that the Department had not attended to the needs of Maori and that without change Maori would remain at the bottom of the economic ladder, increasingly requiring the services of government agencies.

The 13 recommendations became central to restructuring strategies in the Department and it was hoped that Maori views would be heard. Some changes occurred with some not enduring because of the rapidly changing Department. The document *Te Punga* (1994, p 13) stated that it led to a "heightened awareness throughout the Department of (Social Welfare) of the importance of the bicultural approach".

One of the most crucial recommendations as far as this thesis is concerned is the recommendation, "that the government should work through Maori tribal authorities to allocate funds for positive initiatives and outcomes...needs on Maori terms" (Culpitt: 1995, p257).

While *Puao-te-ata-tu* was in some ways smothered by the fiscal constraints of restructuring imposed on the Department, it served as a major document outlining the inappropriate role that the Department had had with Maori and offering some solutions. The document is still worthwhile, the key recommendations being as relevant now as when they were written, even though the DSW has since produced another document, *Te Punga: Our Bicultural Strategies for the Nineties* (1994).

Biculturalism

Biculturalism dominated activity in the Department in 1985-1986. Boston (1991a, p287) stated that "Biculturalism and power sharing with client groups was the guide to the Department's reorganisation," but Durie (1994b), was stronger in his belief that the Department was forced to reconsider its structures, programs and processes in relation to their

¹² *kanohi ki te kanohi*, meaning face to face.

Maori clients. Biculturalism had become the basis for Maori policy and became a part of Public Service ethos and promoted as the desirable goal.

At a parliamentary level there were hesitant expressions about the concept of biculturalism as "there was a concern that these initiatives were out of step with public opinion and would cause considerable political fallout" (O'Reilly and Wood: 1991, p341). However the issue of biculturalism, as a consequence of *Puao-te-ata-tu* (1986) and other documents, became a critical strategy in the Department at the time, one that they would continue to address at various intervals (thus Te Punga, 1994).

Biculturalism at this time was seen to be "the sharing of responsibility and authority for decisions with appropriate Maori people" (Baretta-Herman: 1994, p161). This statement adds confusion because who decides who are appropriate Maori people is a question that needs addressing, as well as what biculturalism means. Department staff were expected to fast track their learning about biculturalism, which led to a lot of antipathy amongst people who hadn't necessarily come to terms with their own cultural perspective let alone having to learn about a new one. In *Whaiora*, Durie (1994b) promotes the various interpretations of biculturalism .

For Maori the attitudes of many DSW staff served to affirm the image of a Department that was racist. More Maori staff were employed but as Baretta-Herman (1994, p139) described, they often felt that while they had been hired because being Maori was an asset, they were then expected to "leave their Maoriness at home". Within less than a decade most of the Maori staff employed in this era were no longer working for the Department. An attempt to incorporate Maori into the Department failed largely because of the monocultural nature of the agency. Unrealistic expectations in the hiring of skilled Maori staff who lacked other vital skills required for them to survive in a government agency which remained essentially monocultural.

On the surface the Department was struggling to appear more Maori friendly but Maori would say that nothing much had changed in terms of the institutions responsiveness to the Maori situation. Louise Waaka (1988) (Rankin, Booth, Borrie & Waaka: 1998, p102) participating in a panel discussion at the New Zealand Institute in Public Administration Conference summed up her opinion of the bicultural impact on the

Department of Social Welfare and the outcomes that it had for Maori people in this way:

The bicultural incentive was strongly encouraged at all levels of the organisation and their enthusiasm is to be applauded. But what I believe has actually happened is, yet again, an illusion of power sharing. Biculturalism is not necessarily about power sharing and biculturalism, within DSW both in theory and practice, is still being defined by those who hold power. It has not been defined by the powerless who are recipients of the DSW services. Therefore, while the DSW is seen as one of the leading government departments in the new 'bicultural world', I wonder whether anything has really changed in the shift of power from the powerful to the powerless, from the power brokers to the 'client group', be they Maori or tauwiwi.

Maori were more concerned with "sharing the core benefits of an institution, rather than simply observing the cultural niceties" and in what Durie labels as the post-bicultural era, Maori moved towards Maori control over Maori resources (Durie: 1994a, p8).

The Children, Young Persons and their Families Act (1989)

During the construction of Puao-te-ata-tu (1986), the Commission was asked by the Minister of Social Welfare to recommend changes to the Children and Young Persons Act 1974. "The committee considered a substantial ideological change necessary if the Act were to adequately cater for Maori needs" (Puao-te-ata-tu: 1986, p29). The Committee did not propose specific recommendations but did suggest that a revision of the legislation should include principles of family and community involvement, a community process relevant to Maori and preventative initiatives.

During the formation of the Children and Young Person's and their Families Act (CYP & F Act), there had not initially been significant Maori input but people in Parliament asked that this perspective be considered, which led to a number of hui around the country and a redrafting of the legislation. This took into account the suggestions from Puao-te-ata-tu and the thoughts of the Maori community. Cockburn (1994, pp 90-91) stated that Maori predicted an:

...uproar if culturally appropriate definitions of family, whanau, hapu and iwi had not been included in the new legislation...It is unlikely that an indigenous culture could have influenced national legislation on such a scale anywhere else in the western world.

Cockburn (1994) and Bradley (1994, 1995a) hailed this piece of legislation as a dramatic shift in the direction of the provision of social services in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It replaced a welfare ideology that had not included a cultural perspective appropriate to those living in this country. The Act signalled a move away from a focus on the child as an individual, to a focus on the child within the context of families-whanau, hapu, iwi and family groups. (Sorrenson: 1996). For the first time in legislation of this kind, cultural concepts appropriate to Aotearoa/New Zealand were mentioned. Maori customary law appeared alongside western jurisprudence. "The Children Young Persons and their Families Act...frequently refers to whanau, hapu and iwi and acknowledges the rights that accompany those groupings in respect to children" (Durie: 1994a, p12).

The use of such concepts immediately connected with Maori communities, who felt that at long last there was legislation that acknowledged whanau, hapu and iwi. Durie (1994a), offered a note of caution however that the lack of definitions would leave the administering of the Act to the Department, while Bradley (1994) felt that despite this, the challenge was still there for those administering the Act to embrace a Maori view. Bradley (ibid) commented that the use of Maori terminology would invite both excitement and suspicion from Maori.

Critical to the Act was the process of whanau decision-making which saw the whanau of the child consulted and involved in any decision making that the Department made with regards to a child. There was enthusiasm for the active involvement of whanau but concern that many Maori whanau were in fact living in a state of poverty or dysfunction and may not be able to make a substantive contribution. This situation would create a definite tension between the intent of the Act and the reality of many Maori communities. The Department would not know whether to focus on resourcing the child or strengthening the whanau (Bradley: 1994).

The Act also made provisions for iwi to establish their own social services. Iwi saw this as an exciting opportunity to develop systems and programmes based on their own ideology, more often than not from a preventative perspective. Indeed some iwi were already well underway with these kinds of initiatives but saw this legislation as another mechanism of taking back the control of their own tamariki/children. Iwi could consider a relationship with a State department and be funded for the services they offered. It was some years before the specifics of iwi social service policy were developed and before iwi that were providing services would do so as a Child and Family Support Service, under section 396 and 403 of the Act.

Some things did not change however, as iwi attempting to develop a relationship with the State found the State was still making the decisions for the range of services that iwi could provide. It became evident to iwi that the partner was creating the rules and was not prepared to see that iwi may see social services from a completely different standpoint. Iwi did not see this as partnership. DSW claimed that the specific outputs that they are allocated from Treasury define what they can then offer and that it might be conceivable that some agencies would not be funded by them if they were not prepared to meet these specific outputs. Iwi saw this as limiting the notion of iwi having a say in the kind of service provision best suited for their people.

The Act therefore had two prongs of interest to iwi, one being the opportunity for iwi to develop their own services, the other stressing the need for personnel in the Department to be more aware of cultural issues, relevant to the people with whom they worked. In an agency where the workers are primarily Pakeha, operating from a western eurocentric perspective with clients that were primarily Maori and who to a lesser or greater extent operated from a Maori world view this would be fraught with difficulty. The question may well be asked whether all the policy and legislation in the world would bring about any substantial change. Bradley (1995a, p31):

Though the Act had provided a legislative mandate and the government had provided resources toward the establishment of the services, departmental staff prejudice and discrimination toward Maori had not changed greatly from a decade previously.

The additional debate around skills versus culture as identified in the Mason Report 1991, further compounded the attention that should have been given to the Department's need to address the issue of culture.

The Mason Report also foresaw the impact that fiscal policy had on the Act in the future. Cockburn (1994) stated that the fiscal year of 1993/94 had considerable effect on the Department and the provision of services. Child abuse cases increased but the appropriate funding and resourcing to address this issue were further constrained. He added that the Act had been generated in a very different historical/cultural context but that by 1993/94, there was real danger of the Act being inoperable (1994, p97). The current conditions constraining social workers to only working to designated outputs, found Cockburn fearing for the future of the CYPF Act.

Iwi Social Services

Iwi social services are something that DSW has been grappling with since the implementation of the CYPF Act. It appeared slow in determining the standards to authorise approved iwi and were criticised by Maori for this. While DSW could have looked at the issue of iwi social services from a number of different angles, they would choose to look as DSW entering into joint ventures with iwi.

Not only does the development of iwi social services meet the philosophy of devolution but also that of biculturalism, as it is interpreted within the Department of Social Welfare. Written material indicating a range of opinions on iwi social services is still relatively narrow, with Bradley (1995a, 1995b, 1996) presenting issues of which the DSW might need to be aware and the Department presenting documents offering all the positives about iwi developing their own service and the help that the Department can offer them. It is hoped that this thesis will be a further contribution to this debate, as much of the early material cites the success of developing relationships with iwi cited Raukawa Social Services as the example.¹³ It is of concern that Raukawa Social Services are currently still struggling in negotiations with the Department of Social Welfare and yet the Department have written about the positive relationship that has been

¹³ Page. G. (1995), Focus, NZCYPS bulletin (Issue 23 Jan/Feb 1995).

established. There are still regular tensions between the two parties and Raukawa Social Services see that any documentation espousing a positive relationship should be written by the iwi or at the very least, in partnership to present a collective view.

The Social Policy Agency of the Department of Social Welfare, Post Election briefing papers (1996), had a major strategic direction which focused on iwi social services, outlining the strategy, the vision, the implementation and the progress to date. At that time two iwi were approved iwi social services, Ngati Ruanui and Tainui. CYPFS are clear that they are offering a range of service outputs about the transfer of current core functions within the Department and if iwi wanted to undertake any work outside of these core functions, they could apply to be providers of these services with the Community Funding agency, which funds non-governmental outputs. The Department of Social Welfare sees that iwi social services would address deficiencies in the provision of social services for their own and they would also contribute to the strengthening of families and to reduced welfare dependency.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a backdrop from which to look now at the situation as it has affected Ngati Raukawa in the last decade and in particular the development of Raukawa Social Services. There are times when it is advantageous to look inward at the development of one's own iwi and there are also times when there is the need to situate the iwi within the wider context of key policies and developments that have happened at a given period of time. The discussion in this chapter has looked at the changing face of the State, which supported a focus on a decade of Maori development, in which iwi development was specifically addressed. In addition it has looked specifically at the move from a Welfare State to a welfare society. This chapter has also discussed the attempts made by the Department of Social Welfare to cope with both its bicultural obligations and the social effects of the continual economic restructuring. The points raised in this chapter provide a backdrop to those raised in the next chapter which documents the historical and contemporary context of Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORICAL AND CURRENT DEVELOPMENT OF NGATI RAUKAWA-KI-TE-TONGA

Introduction

This chapter focuses on Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga. It is divided into two parts. Part one tells of the historical migration of Ngati Raukawa and part two, looks at current initiatives within the iwi development of Ngati Raukawa. The historical migration begins with the origins of Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga and the journeys to the Manawatu, Horowhenua and Kapiti areas. The links between the iwi of Waikato as well as the alliances which are still relevant today, between Ngati Toarangatira,¹ Te Ati Awa and Ngati Raukawa are described. These three iwi were heavily influenced by the arrival of missionaries, by large land sales, and the increasing flow of settlers into the area. These have all had a dramatic impact on the iwi.

The historical migration is introduced with a discussion about why we should write about history. The writing of history enables people to understand our pasts, but assists us to see why and how certain themes are prevalent within the iwi today, the relationship between that iwi and its neighbours, and why it has aspirations to move in a particular direction of development. A discussion about Te Runanga o Raukawa and Raukawa Social Services can not be examined without firstly situating them within the historical context of the iwi.

Part two looks at the developments that have occurred with Ngati Raukawa, in the twentieth century, how Te Runanga o Raukawa evolved and the key influences that have provided direction for Raukawa Social Services. All of these initiatives are firmly hapu and/or iwi focused, many linking into each other or growing out of each other. All are projects which aspire to positively enhance the iwi and hapu of Ngati Raukawa.

Similar trends that arise in the development of most initiatives within Ngati Raukawa this century focus on: hapu and iwi development, positive

¹ Ngati Toarangatira is the name of the iwi and is used by their Runanga. Ngati Toa is a commonly used name to describe the same iwi. Both terms will be used in this thesis.

proactive change, tino rangatiratanga, and contribute to issues at a local (regional) national and international level. While a comparatively small iwi, its strength are its people. Initiatives to date, have shown that the people of Ngati Raukawa can be "movers and shakers" with one such initiative being the implementation of Iwi Social Services.

This thesis particularly focuses on Raukawa Social Services, which is a service under the umbrella of Te Runanga o Raukawa. The development, the objectives and the Runanga response to hapu will provide a framework in which to look at how Raukawa Social Services has evolved and developed, as well as some of the current issues that it faces within an iwi structure. Raukawa Social Services has a current, somewhat tenuous relationship with several state organisations and discussion focuses on these issues, including whether Raukawa Social Services should become a registered Iwi Social Service.

Why Write about History?

Learning the history of our ancestors teaches us much about ourselves (Royal: 1992, p10).

This quotation provides one of the reasons why it is important that this thesis includes a chapter on the history of Ngati Raukawa. It helps to put the Ngati Raukawa of today in context and to identify the different stages of transition that the iwi has undergone. Ngati Raukawa people have always taken risks, firstly in moving from the Maungatautari (Cambridge) area and settling in the Manawatu Horowhenua area, and then in being leaders in the development of the lower West Coast of the North Island.

Learning the history of our ancestors also carries a note of warning, as most written history about Ngati Raukawa and the tupuna Te Rauparaha, has until recently appeared very derogatory. Descendants of Ngati Raukawa have seen a number of early history books describe their tupuna as nothing but "noble savages" or "barbaric savages" (Royal: 1992, Walker: 1994).² Most of the written material that has been written about the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand is written by people who have a western eurocentric frame of thinking. As Soutar explains (1994: p29),

². Walker (1994a) Maori were objectified as savages, children of nature to be domesticated and tamed like the landscape. p101.

"The authorship of these earlier works was made up almost completely of non-Maori, male settlers whose views were determined by their intellectual, political and moral beliefs".

Sadly such written material is seen to have a certain recognised authority (Royal: 1992). It does not recognise the diversity of iwi and their different histories and traditions. In the course of attending hui within Ngati Raukawa over the past thirty years and in the oral communications that I have experienced over the course of looking at this topic, a very different perception of the history of Ngati Raukawa was gained. Such information included an iwi with a strong sense of who they were and where they came from, an iwi steeped in tikanga and ritenga and an iwi that had a positive attitude wanting to strive forward for the benefit of its people and those that lived with them. This iwi had also been greatly affected by colonisation. In conjunction with the iwi of the Confederation they are determined to create options for their people. This iwi is taking control of its history.

Maori researchers, historians, educationalists and social scientists (Te Awakotuku: 1991, Bishop and Glynn: 1992, Royal: 1994, Mead: 1996) now challenge the authority of people such as McDonald and O'Donnell (1929), Ramsden (1951), Simcox (1952) and Sorrenson (1967). These researchers believe that our history is unquestionably ours. Many Maori writers are starting to reclaim that right. Royal (1992, p15) emphasises that the tribal researcher cannot escape cultural reality and that all research must take cognisance of tribal reconstruction and redevelopment. Therefore in collating the historical information for this chapter, I have used several methods to collect the history of Ngati Raukawa; the written word, unpublished iwi information, booklets from marae openings, waiata, and oral conversations with key people in the iwi. This provides a more balanced view. It is important that in reclaiming our history that such writings do not further alienate the Maori/iwi that may already have a misconception of the truth about themselves.

Another of the misconceptions of yesteryear was that Maori were an homogenous group. As Royal (1992) suspects, in the past the history of Maori attempted to portray a situation where Maori were all the same in terms of their traditions and their history. Each iwi is quite unique and

their traditions often reflect the environment in which they resided. Their waiata, karakia, purakau and pakiwaitara reflect all of these.

Part I Historical Migration

Tainui Waka

"E kore e ngaro te kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea"³

The Tainui waka was one of the canoes that took part in the Great Migration from Hawaiki to Aotearoa. It was this waka that brought the tupuna from whom descend the iwi of Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toarangatira. The Tainui canoe called at several locations and finally settled at Kawhia on the west coast of the North Island.

The people prospered in Kawhia, with a number of iwi developing over time. They spread to populate the central portion of the North Island, around Maungatautari, now called Cambridge. As the population increased, so too did the tensions among the different iwi groups, which led initially to the migration south of Ngati Toarangatira, followed some time later by Ngati Raukawa. Strong alliances still remain between the Waikato people in the north and Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga.

Te Rauparaha and the migration south

Te Rauparaha was of Ngati Toarangatira descent from his father Werawera, and Ngati Raukawa from his mother Parekohatu. He had older siblings, but obtained the mana of Hapekituarangi the Ngati Raukawa chief, who on his death bed he was looking for someone to replace him and Te Rauparaha offered to take his place. He became known as "kaiwhakakapi, the bearer of the mana of Hapekituarangi" (Royal: 1994, p19). Te Rauparaha already exercised control over his own tribe Ngati Toarangatira, and now had some influence with Ngati Raukawa. The position for Te Rauparaha and Ngati Toarangatira in the Waikato was gradually declining, and Te Rauparaha decided to move his people south. He had already visited the area to the south with a Nga

³. A whakatauaki/proverb often connected with Ngati Raukawa it means, you will never be lost as you are a seed from Rangiatea. Rangiatea is a sacred place in Hawaiki, from which sacred soil was collected and brought on the great migration to Aotearoa.

Puhi war party along with Waka Nene, and had thought the area suitable for his people.

Before going south, he visited his Ngati Raukawa relatives in an attempt to persuade them to accompany him. Ngati Toarangatira and Ngati Raukawa are closely related by intermarriage (Carkeek: 1966). Te Rauparaha was hoping for their support but Ngati Raukawa decided to remain in the Maungatautari area. Ngati Toarangatira commenced their journey south in about 1819 (Royal: 1994),⁴ finally settling on Kapiti Island and along the Kapiti coast (Carkeek: 1966, Taumata o te ra Marae Committee: 1996). Te Rauparaha and the tribes that accompanied or followed after him, eventually occupied the land now known as Rangitikei, Manawatu, Horowhenua, Wellington and across the Cook Strait to the top of the South Island. The tangata whenua of the area settled by Ngati Toarangatira and their supporters were either overcome by conquest, chose to move on hearing of the arrival of Te Rauparaha, or were allowed to remain with the permission of Te Rauparaha or his followers. Te Rauparaha was described as a strategist whose authority was unchallenged in battle. Numerous accounts describe his many conquests (McDonald and O'Donnell: 1929, Ramsden: 1951, Burns: 1983, Royal: 1994). Off the battlefield he was equally tactical in his dealings with the Crown of the day and with the missionaries who moved into the area (Burns: 1983).

Ngati Raukawa and their migrations south

Some time after the Ngati Toarangatira migration to the south, word arrived at Maungatautari that they had been defeated and had perished. Subsequently, a Ngati Raukawa travelling party was despatched and found Ngati Toarangatira at Otaki, fit and well....the Ngati Raukawa party was preparing to go home when Te Rauparaha invited Ngati Raukawa to come south. This invitation was set aside politely by Ngati Raukawa, until Waitohi, a sister of Te Rauparaha, rose and challenged them: "Ngati Raukawa! Return to Maungatautari! Who of you will lead my barnacles to this land that we have cleared" (Royal 1994: p19)?

⁴. Royal, T. (1994). Royal offers full explanations of the various Hekenga that Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Toarangatira undertook in order to arrive into the Manawatu, Horowhenua, Wellington area.

Accounts state that Waitohi asked particularly for the hapu of Ngati Kauwhata, Ngati Wehiwehi, Werawera, Parewahawaha and Ngati Huia to return and the land that they would be given was outlined (Carkeek: 1966, Taumata o te Marae Committee: 1996). Waitohi, the older sister of Te Rauparaha, played a key role in many of Te Rauparaha's strategies and successful conquests. "Few major undertakings were entered into, it is said, without her advice and counsel" (Carkeek, 1966: p23). It is said that Waitohi had the mana to persuade Ngati Raukawa to move south because of her strong allegiances to her matriarchal line (MacDonald & O'Donnell: 1929, Taumata o te Ra Marae: 1996).

Te Ahu Karamu⁵ returned to Maungatautari and when the Ngati Raukawa people showed reluctance at the idea of moving, he had their houses burnt (Royal: 1994). Thus began the first of many Ngati Raukawa migrations, the three most notable being, Te Heke Whirinui, Te Heke Kariritahi, and Te Heke Mairaro (MacDonald & O'Donnell: 1929, Royal: 1994). On arrival Ngati Raukawa were granted the whole of the land from Waikanae north to the Whangaehu river.

Te Ati Awa

Another iwi that had strong alliances with Te Rauparaha and was persuaded to move south with Ngati Toa was a portion of the Te Ati Awa iwi from Taranaki. Waitohi allocated them the land around the Waikanae area, starting south of the Kukutauaki stream, where they still reside today, though some later moved on to Wellington and the Chatham Islands. Ngati Toarangatira retained Kapiti and also later occupied Mana Island, Porirua and Pukerua Bay (Carkeek: 1966).

There were the occasional disputes amongst these three iwi but they were also an indomitable force when protecting themselves or defeating other iwi. After the settlers arrived they continued to have strong alliances. The three iwi of Ngati Toarangatira, Te Ati Awa and Ngati Raukawa are known as "the Confederation". They are each distinctive iwi in their own right but at times have joined together to further initiatives of mutual benefit.

⁵. Te Ahukaramu was a Ngati Raukawa rangatira.

Early Pakeha settlement

Christianity was initially introduced to the iwi by a slave called Matahau. In 1839, Te Rauparaha agreed that Tamehana Te Rauparaha (Te Rauparaha's son) and Matene Te Whiwahi could travel north to Paihia, to find a resident missionary for the district. This led to the Reverends Henry Williams and Octavius Hadfield visiting Waikanae, and Hadfield remaining to live in the area (Simcox: 1952).

Te Rauparaha accepted the missionaries into his area as they had been in Aotearoa for a long period of time and with their help Maori people were acquiring written language, new technology and agriculture. A year after Hadfield's arrival in 1840, it was estimated that 4,000 Maori met daily for worship in the district. By 1841, 18 schools had been established with 600 Maori attending school, half of them reading and writing and by 1843, a church at Waikanae had nearly been completed (Simcox: 1952). Walker (1982,1994a,1996) and Awatere (1985) are critical of such Christian practices, believing that the hegemonic practice of education, made Maori believe that their ways were inferior to the Pakeha.

While the authority of the nation state in New Zealand was established by military force, more subtle techniques were used to establish its moral position. One of the most potent of these was the use of schooling to 'saturate' the consciousness of the colonised with the economic and social world of the new order, so that for them it becomes the 'only world' (Apple, cited in Walker: 1996, p2).

The church in this area was very much seen to play the role of protector (against settlers and the government) of the Maori in many instances. Hadfield was happy with the mission's progress. The influence of the missionaries on the people of Ngati Raukawa was extensive and they played a strong role in developments for the iwi of this area.

Land sales

The period 1870 through to 1900, marked the selling or taking of large blocks of land in the Manawatu, Horowhenua and Rangitikei by the Crown. The three most notable of these were Te Awahou in the Foxton area, Te Ahuaturanga which is inclusive of the Palmerston North area and the Manawatu-Rangitikei Block. There was considerable animosity

between Maori and the Crown and between the various iwi over the loss of these land blocks. These particular land blocks were all lost to Ngati Raukawa through the Land Courts. Ngati Raukawa in particular lost out to Rangitane and Muaupoko who were kupapa (fought on the side of the Crown during the Land Wars) and were awarded large areas of land for having supported the Crown.

By the early 1870's, only six white men leased all of the coastal land from Otaki to the Manawatu River. This leased land then showed up as being sold between individuals (McDonald and O'Donnell 1929). Land was also taken for the Main Trunk line, and under the Public Works Act. The missionaries also benefited with blocks of land given by the three iwi for educational or religious purposes. In Otaki this led to the building of the Otaki Native School (later known as the Otaki Maori Boys' College) and Rangiatea Church. Land which had been collectively owned by hapu was recorded as being sold by individuals. Maori businesses started to disappear and Maori continued to feel the negative impact of colonisation.

Rangiatea Church

Rangiatea Church is the spiritual centre for the people of the Confederation. Te Rauparaha spent his remaining days erecting this building in Otaki, and it was his mana which commanded the considerable manpower and resources necessary for the construction of this building. The people spent years collecting resources and the construction which started in 1849 finished in 1851. The building of this church strengthened the alliance between the three iwi and the Anglican church.

The clergy of Rangiatea church and the Rangiatea Vestry still have representation on several Ngati Raukawa organisations (Otaki and Porirua Trust Board and Raukawa Marae Trustees) with the clergy holding considerable mana within the Ngati Raukawa community. Other denominations also have their histories with the people of the confederation but the Anglican church and Rangiatea became the centre of spiritual strength for Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toarangatira and Te Ati Awa for more than a century. The iwi connection of Te Rauparaha ensured that this taonga was maintained, protected and respected.

The iwi of the confederation were devastated when on Saturday, 7th October, 1995, Rangiatea church was burnt to the ground. This church was not only a uniting symbol for iwi Maori of the area, but for the community and for Aotearoa/New Zealand as a whole. Generations of whanau had grown up being involved in the development and the maintenance of this whare karakia. In the aftermath of this devastation there has been a strong commitment from the three iwi of the confederation and from the Anglican church to see Rangiatea rebuilt and this is underway (See Appendix Three).

Racing Club

There has always been a close liaison between the Otaki Maori Racing Club and the organisations and activities of Ngati Toa, Ngati Raukawa and Te Ati Awa. This dates back to a time when the main highway north was along the beach and the main mode of transport was horse and cart or boat. During the 1860s-1870s horse racing was a popular pastime with marae holding race meetings and people travelling from as far as Porirua and the Rangitikei. "These events were celebrations and an entire hapu would come and bring with them their racehorse" (Bull: 1990, p6).

The Otaki Maori Racing Club emerged in the 1860s with a grandstand being built in 1886. With the declining population of Maori and the influx of Pakeha in the 1880s racing became more professional and some of the spirit of the meetings changed.

The racing club maintained an interest and involvement within the Confederation, including Te Runanga o Raukawa. It is unique in the racing fraternity as the only surviving Maori owned race course in Aotearoa. Only people descended from the confederation can become full members of the club and therefore club officials with voting rights at annual meetings. The endurance of this club is of great pride to the iwi of this area, though with the current down turn in the racing industry there is concern for this race course and its future. Current difficulties have found the Otaki Maori Racing Club returning to some iwi forums for support.

Otaki Native School/ Otaki Maori Boys' College

Originally Ngati Raukawa gave the Church Mission society 580 acres of land between Otaki township and the beach. The land was swampy and subject to flooding but the area was later developed by the church into an educational facility with the rest of the land eventually being farmed. This educational facility went through several phases; in 1852 it was a boarding school for Maori children named Otaki Native School; in 1863 it ran as a day school only; and in 1908 a new facility was opened known as the Otaki Maori Boys' College. It produced notable men such as Bishop Manu Bennett, Ben Couch, Inia Te Wiata and Ben Potete.

In 1939 the Church were forced to close the school for financial reasons. In 1943 the land in Otaki was merged with land in Porirua under the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board and the profits from the farms were used for post-primary educational scholarships for the children of the Confederation. The buildings were used by various community organisations until the development of Te Wananga o Raukawa.

Part II Current Iwi Development

The current developments of Ngati Raukawa have been presented in chronological order.

The Raukawa Marae Trustees (1936)

The Raukawa Marae Trustees were created under Section 10 of the Native Purposes Act, 1936. Their primary role was to maintain the building and upkeep of the marae matua, Raukawa Marae, built in Otaki 1936. The trustees other key role was to administer any lands that belonged to the Confederation.

The representatives who administered the Raukawa Marae Trustees came from the iwi and hapu of the Confederation. The marae matua is the parent marae for all the hapu and the three iwi. This marae therefore has connections for all of the Confederation and is a central focus for them all. The united effort in building this marae was evidence of the strong commitment that other hapu and iwi of the confederation had to this particular marae.

As iwi, Ngati Toarangatira and Te Ati Awa maintain their historical positions as Raukawa Marae Trustees. Issues which pertain to all three iwi are brought to this forum and all three iwi retain responsibility for the marae matua, Raukawa. As time progressed the Raukawa Marae Trustees, found their role increasing in various other areas, namely:

- a. Te Puawaitanga: Housing.
- b. Toko i te Ora: Social Welfare.
- c. CEDEC: Commercial and Economic Development and Employment Committee.
- d. Raukawa Investments Ltd. (Te Runanga o Raukawa: 1989c, p26).
- e. Te Wananga o Raukawa.

This may have been because they were one of the few legislated bodies within the Confederation that government agencies could negotiate with and to whom members of the hapu and iwi felt they could bring issues for discussion.

Toko i te Ora Committee

Of particular interest to the focus of this thesis is the Toko i te Ora Committee. In 1986, Whatarangi Winiata and Turoa Royal, representing the Raukawa Marae Trustees approached the Department of Social Welfare to promote a partnership for the delivery of social services to the iwi of the area. By June 1987 a detailed proposal endorsed by the Trustees was ready to present to John Grant, the Director General of the Department of Social Welfare. It was another eight months before they met with John Grant, who suggested that the proposal needed further work. A meeting at Raukawa marae in March of 1988 clarified that while DSW did not appear overly receptive they were prepared to look at a secondment from their Department to a Community Welfare Services Unit under the Raukawa Marae Trustees. This hui looked at how this, "partnership contract between the Trustees and DSW for the delivery of social services to our Confederation" (Te Runanga o Raukawa: 1989c, p64), could best take place.

A joint working party from Te Runanga Whaiti o Te Runanga o Raukawa Inc. and from the Department of Social Welfare met monthly to work on a

number of objectives with the Raukawa Marae Trustees who were granted \$100,000 from DSW to initiate their ideas. A researcher, Iwikatea Nicholson was appointed as the Kaitohutohu 'Toko i te Ora' by the Raukawa Trustees. The purpose of this position was to:

...research social welfare issues as they impinge on hapu/iwi development for the purpose of assisting with the preparation of a 'contract' for the delivery of social welfare services to meet the development needs of those hapu/iwi associated with the Trustees (ibid: 1989, p65).

The hapu and iwi points of view regarding their needs in the social welfare area reflected an overwhelming support for "programmes" of development, primarily of a "preventative nature". Similar comparisons were made to the Whakatapuranga Rua Mano programme (1975).

In November 1988 a proposal for whanau hapu development (Te Runanga o Raukawa: 1989c) was presented to the joint working party of the Raukawa Marae Trustees and the Department of Social Welfare on behalf of the Trustees. The Department however, was not happy with the proposal as it did not directly address the work of their agency but suggested preventative programmes. They replied that they were not in a financial position to fund this project, though they would devolve some programmes to the community which the Trustees might want to manage.⁶

The joint working party continued to meet to see how the programmes that the Department of Social Welfare was devolving might possibly benefit the Trustees proposal. The secondments from the Department of Social Welfare never occurred but two departmental personnel were awarded study bursaries to study at Te Wananga o Raukawa. Eventually however, the Department of Social Welfare opted out of the relationship with Raukawa Marae Trustees. Ngawini Kuiti, the Convenor of the Toko i te Ora Committee said:

DSW have intimated that the Department does not have a brief to resource iwi development programmes, this they claim is the responsibility of the 'to be formed' Iwi Transitional Unit of the Department of Maori Affairs (ibid: 1989c, p67).

⁶ The title of this document is *Proposal for a programme of hapu and iwi management and development*. (Hapu-Iwi document). See Te Runanga o Raukawa (1990b).

The Hapu-Iwi development paper was accepted within the iwi but the Department of Social Welfare wanted to know how iwi development would decrease their caseload. This challenge for the iwi and the Department to develop a partnership did not eventuate. Raukawa Marae Trustees were supportive of the activities of the Toko i te Ora Committee and of the other groups previously listed, but were concerned that they were moving away from the focus for which they were specifically legislated. They therefore moved with the Raukawa District Maori Council to create the Komiti Whakatinana, in order to transfer some of their responsibilities.

With the devolution of many of its former responsibilities this group now focuses more on their legislated duties. This has included the building of a new wharekai (dining room) at the Raukawa Marae and the purchase of a small block of land behind the dining room for further expansion if required at some stage in the future. With all the land claims now being taken before the Waitangi Tribunal, there has been a stronger focus on Ngati Raukawa land. The Trustees now only meet four times a year and celebrated their 50th year anniversary at the end of 1996. They retain responsibility for the oversight of a number of the iwi initiatives, namely the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano Programme (1975) and Te Wananga o Raukawa. They are a multi-iwi group who have avidly supported the implementation of new iwi initiatives. They still very much play this role today.

Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board (1943)

The Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board was set up under its own legislation in 1943 (Otaki and Porirua Trusts Act) with its principal tasks being:

...to ensure that its assets are properly invested and earning as much as possible and;

...to provide financial support for children of Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toarangatira and Te Ati Awa to advance their education (Te Runanga o Raukawa: 1990a, p19).

Profits from land, properties and trustees securities are utilised for education scholarships. Developed in conjunction with the Anglican

synod, and the Raukawa Marae Trustees, this Trusts Board supports the education of young Maori people from the Confederation.

While the yearly grants are not substantial, they still offer recognition and support by the iwi to the young people who whakapapa to the confederation. Scholarship holders are encouraged to attend at least one of three annual Young Peoples Hui, which focus on learning about their own hapu and iwi, and addressing many issues relevant to young people including education and career paths. The 50th Young peoples hui was held at Raukawa Marae in Otaki (January 1997).

The Trusts Board has also worked on emphasising the importance of the young person having contact with their hapu. The application forms ask for their hapu first before other details, and require that the forms be signed by a kaumatua or approved person from the hapu. They are encouraged to attend a scholarships announcements day which starts with a church service followed by returning to a marae where the successful scholarship holders are announced, by hapu. These scholarships are an opportunity for the young people to be acknowledged by the hapu and by the members of the wider iwi.

In 1983 the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board moved its office from Wellington to Otaki. They are now housed in a building which the Board leases to Te Wananga o Raukawa and they both work closely to heighten the educational accomplishments of the Board's scholarship holders.

Raukawa District Maori Council

The Raukawa District Maori Council is the regional body affiliated to the New Zealand Maori Council that was set up under the Maori Community Development Act (1962).

The objective of the national body is to listen to and be a voice for Maoridom, this body having been developed at a time when iwi voices were not strong at the national level and pan-Maori organisations were developing, mainly in urban areas. It saw itself as playing a major role in advocating on behalf of Maori by influencing the actions and policies of successive governments (Te Runanga o Raukawa: 1989c).

Initially called the Ikaroa District Maori Council in this region, the name and boundaries were changed in 1982 to the Raukawa District Maori Council. The Raukawa District Maori Council includes Ngati Raukawa hapu, Muaupoko and Rangitane and other Maori committees such as the Maori Wardens' Association. This forum offers an opportunity for hapu, iwi, and Maori committees to talk about their regional/district issues and activities.

In 1985 the Raukawa District Maori Council with the Raukawa Marae Trustees formed a joint committee called the Komiti Whakatinana o Raukawa. This was "in order to reduce some of the duplication of effort and to deal with matters and issues of common concern" (Te Runanga o Raukawa: 1989c, p24). These two groups predicted the devolutionary process that the government was suggesting would be its direction for the future. The development of a new body of people would enable more issues to be dealt with. This body became Te Runanga o Raukawa and the Raukawa District Maori Council was a founding member of this new organisation.

The Raukawa District Council continues today and while there is still support for the Council and the role that it plays in the region, Ngati Raukawa hapu may see that the Runanga and the National Maori Congress, could equally address the issues that are being presented at the Council meetings. The Raukawa District Maori Council has been aware of the changing nature of the environment for Maori and the strengthening role that iwi are now playing in negotiating with the Crown. As Te Runanga o Raukawa and people within the iwi have played a founding role in the development of the Maori Congress, the Raukawa District Council are wondering whether their support should be in this direction and whether the Council has outlived its purpose.

The Raukawa District Maori Council may be better suited to the needs of pan-Maori groups who do not have strong alliances to iwi, iwi who are still very small and are in their infancy in developing themselves, or for taurahere groups who are wanting some regular connection with the iwi and other Maori groups in the area. This still gives such groups a voice in a regional and national forum which they might otherwise not have. The Raukawa District Maori Council is currently considering its future in a

region where iwitanga is undergoing a strong revival, and where initiatives are particularly focused on whanau, hapu and iwi.

Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (1975)

The idea of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano grew out of concern for the state of the whanau, hapu, iwi and marae of the confederation. Winiata (1988) was particularly concerned about the young, and wrote in his article on *Hapu and Iwi Resources and their Quantification* :

...there was no child under the age of 15 able to speak Maori; the runanga has no more than a score who are reasonably able speakers of Maori between the ages of 16-25, all of whom are second-language learners; about 100 members between 26 and 60 would be able to converse in Maori, albeit haltingly; and of those over 60 years of age, approximately 70 are fully fluent.

Whakatupuranga Rua Mano was one initiative which required the iwi involved to take control of the decline evident amongst its people and develop alternative strategies to ensure more effective future options. S. Mead (1979, p67) in his article, *He Ara ki Te Aomarama*, said:

In the end, because it involves our destiny and future in a world that is full of uncertainties, we are the people who must make the decision about whether we want limited autonomy or not. It is our decision and not that of the Pakeha population. It is a decision which is of importance to us and to the world community. We are not in a position to negotiate with others in New Zealand until we have made up our own minds...It is up to us who walk on the breast of Papatuanuku to carry this cause through to its realisation

Whatarangi Winiata's aspirations for the iwi of the Confederation urge them to be firm in their own haputanga and iwitanga, to move ahead, to talk, discuss and negotiate with others from a solid foundation. He described Whakatupuranga Rua Mano in this way:

Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000, is an experiment in tribal development, which aims to prepare the people of Te Ati Awa, Ngati Toa, and Ngati Raukawa...for the 21st century (1979, p69).

Monitored by the Raukawa Marae Trustees since 1975, Whakatupuranga Rua Mano looked to develop the three iwi by increasing their awareness

of their culture and by encouraging higher educational attainment in the young. In addition the Pakeha community were also targeted to develop an appreciation for Maori culture and look at ways that these could be incorporated into work environments, policies and practices. This programme was seen to be a practical example of planning for the future of a group of iwi. The Raukawa Marae Trustees began their venture by focusing on three "missions":

- i. Pakeha Mission: telling Pakeha what is good in tikanga Maori.
- ii. Education Mission: assisting our young to cope with the education system.
- iii. Mission in Raukawatanga, Toarangatiranga and Atiawatanga: teaching ourselves about ourselves.

Winiata (1979) stated that the word 'mission' was purposely chosen because of the Raukawa Trustees need to have faith in the programme they were proposing and because they needed to pursue this kaupapa with a missionary zeal if the project was to succeed. This reflects the strong influence of a church philosophy on many of the Ngati Raukawa initiatives.

It was hoped that this experiment would allow the three iwi of the confederation the opportunity to plan their next 25 years and beyond. Educational hui were conducted for the young, iwitanga hui were held to focus on the three iwi of Ngati Toarangatira, Ngati Raukawa and Te Ati Awa, and in addition hui were conducted for Pakeha from the region in the hope that Pakeha decision-makers would be more sympathetic to Maori values (Winiata: 1979, p69).

The first three years saw nearly half of the hui focusing on the Pakeha mission. This reflected the receptivity of Pakeha people at that time to participate in hui. These hui eventually waned and the Trustees moved their focus to enhancing and empowering their own people. A lot of work was required to promote iwitanga.

All the marae in the region are extremely shallow in terms of Maori language ability.....There is also concern about the lack of instruction in our formal education system on Raukawatanga, Toarangatiranga and Ati Awatanga (Winiata: 1979, pp 70-71).

The objective was that by the year 2000, the marae of the area would no longer be in a dilapidated state, and there would be people that could carry out all of the key roles.⁷ The iwi of the Confederation were aware of the crisis they faced and that the next two decades were crucial to turning the situation around. Generation 2000 gave the iwi a time period in which to bring about some change.

By 1979 the Raukawa Marae Trustees pioneered Maori Language Immersion Courses, which were later incorporated into the principles of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. Those attending learnt about iwitanga, tikanga and te reo. In addition Young Peoples Hui began for Otaki and Porirua Trusts Scholarship holders. All were programmes that blended with other Confederation initiatives.

Hapu and iwi began to call hui to address the issues of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. Hapu and iwi in varying stages of development began with hapu wananga to reintroduce people to their marae and to increase the confidence of people to handle the role of tangata whenua on their own marae. Some hapu continue to run wananga on a whole host of issues from te reo and tikanga to weaving, Maori justice and rongoa Maori. Such hui are a means of binding and strengthening the hapu together, and hopefully attracting more people to return to the activities of their hapu.

The education mission arose out of concerns about the poor educational achievements of the tamariki and mokopuna of the confederation. The strategy here was to work towards closing the gap between Maori and non-Maori by identifying eleven professions and setting goals which young people within the Confederation could aim.⁸ These goals were to motivate and stimulate those attending hui to think about these professions or others and identify the contribution that they could make to both the Confederation and to the wider community. It was hoped that by promoting these targets in a purposeful way the young people of the Confederation would realise how important it was to have goals and to strive towards them.

⁷ Kai karanga-women able to call, kaikorero- men able to speak, kaikarakia- people able to say prayers, kaiwaiata-people able to sing the waiata, and ringa wera- people able to work in the kitchen.

⁸ The eleven professions are listed in the article by Whatarangi Winiata.(1979, p72).

In oral communication with Mason Durie, during the writing of this thesis, he confirmed that some of the education targets of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano in terms of numbers, have already been met, some as a result of potential graduates attending the programmes offered within the Confederation and some not. The first of a new series of hui taumata matauranga for the Confederation was held in Otaki on the 24th August 1997. The Confederation is identifying goals and targets for the first 25 years of the 21st century.

Te Wananga o Raukawa (1981)

In December 1978 the Raukawa Marae Trustees discussed a proposal, which recommended the establishment of a "Centre of Learning". This Centre was to focus on promoting research and study into the origins, history, literature, and contemporary developments within the Confederation. The Otaki Maori Boys' College was proposed as the venue. The Raukawa Marae Trustees were entirely supportive of this venture and once finance was accessed renovations of the old College began in 1979. From 1978 through to 1981(inclusive) the Raukawa Marae Trustees along with the Raukawa District Maori Council lobbied the Crown to have this facility resourced as an institution of higher learning but without any success. Eventually in 1981 Te Wananga o Raukawa commenced operation as a private university and as the first indigenous university in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Again the Trustees saw the Te Wananga o Raukawa as "a natural and necessary extension of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano" (Te Wananga o Raukawa: 1992, p10).

...for the advancement of knowledge and for the dissemination and maintenance of knowledge through teaching and research (Te Runanga o Raukawa: 1989c, p28).

Te Wananga o Raukawa established itself in the Otaki Maori Boys' College in 1981 and became an incorporated body in October 1984. Te Wananga o Raukawa now offers a range of courses at both a diploma and degree level, short term residential courses around specific topics, post-graduate studies, research and specific contracts. Many of the courses offered have residential components and there are also a number of out posts which offer some of the courses on a weekly basis (particularly in te reo). Since it was established as the first indigenous university in Aotearoa. New

Zealand, two further wananga have been established, all having strong links with one another. Te Wananga o Raukawa differs from universities by providing courses and programmes that have te reo and hapu studies at the core of all its programmes. Partnerships have been developed with other organisations, for example the Ministry for the Environment, Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education and the Fisheries Commission.

To maintain Te Wananga o Raukawa's commitment to the Confederation, the Council has a policy that at least 50% of their students should be from the three iwi. There is also a strong co-operation between Te Wananga o Raukawa and the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board in offering courses for the Young Peoples hui in particular. Te Wananga o Raukawa is constantly reviewing the needs of the hapu in order to find ways of attracting more of its members to the wananga and to ensure the wananga responds to the needs of the hapu.

The 1990 Education Amendment Act makes provision for the establishment of an institution referred to as a "wananga". This legislation opens the way for Te Wananga o Raukawa to obtain public funding on the same terms as universities created by their 1961 legislation (Te Wananga o Raukawa: 1992, p19).

As an iwi based education institution, Te Wananga could be one of the primary organisations to offer training to staff who work for similar iwi organisations. For those people who are employed by Te Runanga o Raukawa, I believe that training about the iwi and hapu that they work for and iwi-hapu models should be mandatory. Most kaimahi may have previously been employed in non-Maori organisations, which often had a completely different orientation and Te Wananga o Raukawa could provide an education in the many issues surrounding working for hapu and iwi. A stronger link between the kaimahi of Te Runanga o Raukawa and the programmes offered at Te Wananga o Raukawa would certainly benefit the people that the kaimahi come across in their work.

Te Runanga o Raukawa

Te Komiti Whakatinana o Raukawa

The 1985 Komiti Whakatinana was formed by the Raukawa Marae Trustees and the Raukawa District Council to handle areas of duplication that both groups were dealing with at that time, the work of iwi and other Maori organisations that were not within their parameters. Te Komiti Whakatinana included representatives from both the Raukawa Marae Trustees and the Raukawa District Council, thus representing a number of iwi. The multi-iwi nature of this group may have contributed to the Department of Maori Affairs approaching Komiti Whakatinana in 1986, about managing the MANA Enterprises and Maori ACCESS programmes.⁹ This was the Government's first step towards devolution, and required bodies like Te Komiti Whakatinana to administer funds that accompanied these programmes. Te Komiti Whakatinana formed Raukawa Investments Ltd to manage the funds.

However, Te Komiti Whakatinana o Raukawa was a non-incorporated body with limited powers and it became obvious that a body with wider powers was required, an organisation that would be the iwi authority (Te Runanga o Raukawa 1989c, 1991).

Te Komiti Whakatinana's last task therefore was to prepare a constitution for Te Runanga o Raukawa. This process took over 18 months but was finally approved by the Registrar of Incorporation's on the 9th January 1988 followed by a hui on the 27th March 1988, at Raukawa marae where the constitution was endorsed by most of the founding members of the Runanga: the Raukawa District Council, Raukawa Marae Trustees, Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board and Te Wananga o Raukawa, and later on the Rangiatea Vestry and the Otaki Maori Racing Club also supported this move and became a part of the Runanga.

⁹. The Mana Scheme was an attempt to assist Maori people in business, and the Maccess funding was to assist Maori people on to pre-employment-courses.

The beginnings of Te Runanga o Raukawa Inc (1988)

On the 30th March 1988 a meeting resolved that the Komiti Whakatinana become the Runanga Whaiti (Executive Committee) of Te Runanga o Raukawa. There were 3-4 representatives from the Raukawa Marae Trustees, 3-4 from the Raukawa District Council and 3-4 from the other committees that made up the first Runanga Whaiti (Ten representatives formed the Runanga Whaiti).

By March 1989 Te Runanga o Raukawa Inc. had become recognised by the Crown (specifically the Minister of Maori Affairs) as an interim iwi authority. This gave them the potential to take over activities and responsibilities from the Department of Maori Affairs and other Crown agencies (Te Runanga o Raukawa Newsletter, March 1989a). The move catered for the smooth transition of services from the Department of Maori Affairs and other Crown agencies to iwi authorities.

The expectation was that the Department of Maori Affairs budget would be turned over to iwi for their development. There was an assumption that this was the intention behind the Runanga Iwi Act with central funds being made available to Iwi to develop structures to manage their own affairs. Whether this is what would have occurred is unknown as the legislation was repealed in 1990.

With the expansion of Te Runanga o Raukawa's activities, the office moved from their initial base at Te Wananga o Raukawa to a new site in Mill Road, Otaki. There was some debate about the location of the Runanga with people from the north of the rohe wanting the base to be more centrally located in terms of the Ngati Raukawa region. They felt that this would enable a service to be provided more equitably to the hapu/iwi rather than as some who believed, there was a particular emphasis on the hapu of the south.

The key roles that the Runanga played in its early years were: to manage the MANA and MACCESS programmes handed over from Te Komiti Whakatinana, to work towards becoming an iwi Authority, and to have monthly meetings with the Department of Maori Affairs to clarify how devolution from the Department to Te Runanga o Raukawa could occur.

Such moves were driven by the Labour Government's policy of Maori economic development.

The expectation was that by making finance available for iwi to provide business loans to Maori through the MANA Loans scheme, jobs would be created and unemployment and its associated social ills of inadequate education, poor health, high crime rates and stressed families reduced. This did not happen (Te Runanga o Raukawa: 1995, p16).

By the time the National Party was elected in 1990, the differing understandings of devolution between the Crown and iwi had become apparent. Iwi saw devolution as an opportunity to have control/autonomy over resources and to be able to distribute them accordingly. The Crown definition of devolution meant that resources were devolved to iwi, but the decision making, distribution and accountability remained at central government level in Wellington.

Te Runanga o Raukawa were in a good position to be the iwi Authority for the iwi it represented. As well as managing Mana Enterprises and Maori Access, it had responsibility for a number of the programmes transferred from the Raukawa Marae Trustees: namely: Te Puawaitanga: Housing, Toko i te Ora: Social Welfare, CEDEC: Commercial and Economic Development, its Employment Committee and Raukawa Investments Ltd. The Runanga had initially started with an economic development focus, but within a short period of time it also addressed the social development of its people. One of the first sub-committees established was the Social Policy Committee.

The Social Policy Committee

As the title suggests, the focus of this group was to develop social policies, as they affected the iwi as well as to establish a relationship with the Crown. In October 1989 a document was circulated amongst the Runanga Whaiti with the underlying objectives for forming this new committee:

- a. To advance the well-being of hapu, whanau and individuals for whom Te Runanga o Raukawa has responsibility.
- b. To provide a focus for the Runanga in the initiation and development of policies that will lead to improvements in: health, welfare, education, justice, for Maori individuals and

- groups, and consistent with the tikanga of the hapu and iwi associated with the Runanga.
- c. To make recommendations regarding Runanga resources allocated for individual, whanau or hapu well-being.
 - d. On behalf of the Runanga, and with the authority of Te Runanga Whaiti, to negotiate and liaise with relevant government departments, local authorities, area health boards or educational institutes in the pursuit of objectives a and b.
 - e. To ascertain the state of well-being of the iwi associated with Te Runanga o Raukawa.
 - f. When appropriate to develop, manage and monitor such social services as the Runanga may wish to undertake itself, either alone or in association with other agencies (Minutes from Te Runanga o Raukawa Te Runanga Whaiti. 6/10/89, 1989b).

While this proposal had an integrated approach, the members of the Runanga Whaiti were influenced by the devolutionary sectoral policies of the time which were allocating resources to specific areas. The Runanga Whaiti suggested that each of the social areas identified in the social policies warranted a focus of their own and that separate committees were needed. The Runanga supported the proposal, recognising that the social issues of the iwi needed to be addressed but at the same meeting (6/10/1989), the Toko i te Ora Committee, (transferred over from Raukawa Marae Trustees) was incorporated into the work of the Social Policy Committee. This further confused the Social Policy committee which had no time to develop its aims and objectives before it was consumed by another group, which particularly focused on developing a relationship with the Department of Social Welfare. Soon after, the committee became known as the Social Services Committee. Mason Durie, confirmed that the Social Policy Committee had in his view strayed from the original objectives by establishing a social services committee and subsequently establishing service relationships with the Department of Social Welfare. Further committees that developed contracts with particular Crown agencies would emerge in the next couple of years namely: justice, education, health and Treaty claims.

Devolution leads to a change in the Constitution

Soon after the Runanga began operating, some of the iwi connected to Te Runanga o Raukawa decided to form their own Runanga. This led Te

Runanga o Raukawa to consider changes in its membership. By the second AGM of the Runanga in 1990, Ngati Toarangatira and Muaupoko had formed their own Runanga and no longer wanted to retain their membership with Te Runanga o Raukawa. Te Ati Awa at this point were happy to remain involved in the Runanga, but later formed their own Runanga as did Rangitane. Te Runanga o Raukawa finally comprised of the hapu of Ngati Raukawa and other roopu tikanga Maori (Te Runanga o Raukawa: 1990a).

In September 1990, a number of hapu from Ngati Raukawa voiced their desire to have a greater say in the affairs of the iwi by suggesting a change to the constitution. Their suggestion was that each hapu from Ngati Raukawa should have representation on the Runanga with one representative from each hapu being elected to be a part of the Runanga Whaiti (Executive). A number of iwi hui were held to debate the change in structure of the Runanga. The Chairperson's report at the 1991 Te Runanga o Raukawa Annual General Meeting (p6) stated "There has been widespread support for this change, but there has not been unanimous agreement". There was some fear about the changes that were to occur with some groups feeling that the new arrangement would reduce their standing but there was also an acknowledgement that the constitution would have to continue to change to meet the changing needs of the changing times. In 1991, the changes to the constitution were registered with the Incorporated Societies office and the change in structure was ratified at the Annual General Meeting of the Runanga. Strong alliances between iwi are still evident but the emergence of individual iwi structures was becoming more prominent.

Te Runanga o Raukawa has 96 representatives with 24 of those being elected from each hapu to sit on the Runanga Whaiti (Executive committee) (See Appendix four). This committee meets monthly and is responsible for making decisions which materially affect the current and future well-being of Ngati Raukawa. The constitution retains a clause allowing iwi previously connected to the Runanga to have input if required, but Te Runanga o Raukawa was the first organisation which specifically allowed Ngati Raukawa to decide on issues concerning them. This also acknowledged their tino rangatiratanga as the tangata whenua in the area described as "Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, mai i Miria te Kakara ki Kukutauaki." Hapu appeared keen to be involved in the future decision

making of Te Runanga o Raukawa. Such a move to allow more involvement in the decision making of the iwi, in principal sounds very inclusive and empowering of the people. It is very important for the inter-relationship between Te Runanga o Raukawa and the hapu to be clear and positive in the years to come.

The new Mission Statement of Te Runanga o Raukawa indicates how strong the relationship should be between the Runanga and hapu and affiliated iwi. (Te Runanga o Raukawa Corporate Plan: 1992/93, p1).

The Mission statement of Te Runanga o Raukawa is to serve the best interests of, and be accountable to, the hapu and affiliated iwi of Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga, as tangata whenua, in the rohe "Mai i Waitapu ki Rangataua, mai i Miria te Kakara ki Kukutauaki".

The guiding principles of the Runanga outlined in the Constitution indicate the areas of importance that the Runanga hoped to focus on and develop in the ensuing years.

1. Our wealth is our people who are our most valuable asset. The personal development and active participation of our people in an environment of opportunity and choice, is central to whanau, hapu and iwi strengthening.
2. The good health and well-being of our people is achieved when the mauri, the spiritual sense and essence of the individual, whanau, hapu and iwi, is awake and alert, and proper attention is given to the needs of:

Te taha hinengaro	The mind
Te taha tinana	The body
Te taha wairua	The spirit
Te taha whanau	The family
3. Our marae is our principal home and as such must be well maintained and thoroughly respected.
4. The strength of our cultural base and cultural identity must be upheld through the revival and active usage of te reo Maori, the maintenance and development of tikanga and taha Maori and the preservation and protection of all other taonga of our people.
5. The Treaty of Waitangi, as a covenant between two peoples, must be honoured to allow the growth of a unified nation.

6. Under the principle of tino rangatiratanga, self determination and authority over our present and future circumstances, is fundamental to achieving our preferred development" (ibid).

These principles clearly outline not only the relationship of the Runanga with hapu and affiliated iwi but also any relationship that they might have with Crown agencies. There are key themes evident in these principles which link to other programmes in operation within the Confederation.

In the initial years the Runanga attempted to achieve these principles by establishing a sound economic base and a series of commercial companies were created. As time passed there was a focus on researching claims for the Waitangi Tribunal and by 1992-1993 there was a greater focus on social development.

For the most part hapu interest and attendance at meetings has remained high despite meetings being convened during the day. Hapu representation at the Runanga level provides the opportunity to focus on the strengthening of hapu, and a more consistent approach in the development of the iwi. Hapu representation should allow more people the opportunity to have a voice in the decision-making of issues affecting iwi and hapu. There have however been some concerns expressed about the process of decision making with some believing that some hapu or individuals have more voice in the Runanga forum. Such comments may intimate that despite the collective notion of decision-making suggested by the representation of hapu, that some hapu feel their voice is unheard. Such criticism may also reflect the stages of development of individuals and hapu, with some hapu being more actively involved in issues at an iwi level, while others send a representative to keep the hapu informed but one who may not make much more of an overt contribution, unless asked for an opinion. The reality is however that there are people who have played prominent roles in decision-making and have therefore come to be respected for their opinions and proposals.

Issues around the decision-making process and the structure of the Runanga regularly appear at Whaiti meetings and similar concerns have been raised by the Tumuaki and CEO in their reports. Some of these are:

- That regular turn over of hapu representation may not allow for consolidation of the Runanga.
- That there appear to be different ideas amongst the hapu representatives about their role on the Runanga Whaiti.
- That some representatives have had difficulty with what they describe as the correct procedures for decision making.
- That there appears to be reinterpretation of the constitution.
- That there is debate about the role of the iwi organisation versus the role of hapu in the provision of services.
- That there needs to be constant attention to the involvement and needs of the northern hapu to ensure that they feel included in the decision making and the benefits of the Runanga.

While this organisation seems to have expanded its role in recent years, other hapu and iwi affiliated to the Runanga have also developed and these hapu/iwi are currently considering their position in relation to the Runanga. While the change of the constitution in 1991 was seen to be a dramatic one in the development of this iwi organisation, there may well be further changes in the future in order to meet the changing needs of the people and the issues that they are dealing with at the time. Representatives will need to have a sound knowledge of the constitution in order to be able to use it to the best benefit of whanau, hapu and the iwi.

The building years: 1991-1996

A change to the constitution has meant that Te Runanga o Raukawa now firmly focuses itself as an organisation on representing the hapu and the affiliated iwi of Ngati Raukawa while upholding the tino rangatiratanga of each hapu. The constitution is the guiding document in terms of the operation of the organisation and the Corporate Plan written in 1992¹⁰ was an attempt to clearly outline the strategies/objectives that the runanga would work towards. However, confusion still remains about the role of the hapu representatives, some thinking that they are there to represent their hapu and therefore may not be able to make critical decisions without first taking the issue back to their hapu for discussion, while

¹⁰ The Corporate Plan is currently under review. Drafts have already been circulated to hapu for comment, and it is hoped that the new document will be approved at the Te Runanga o Raukawa AGM, 1997.

others see that the mandate from their hapu means that they can be a voice for their hapu within the iwi organisation. The confusion may be compounded by a constant turnover of hapu representatives who may not always be clear about their roles and responsibilities.

Mason Durie (Tumuaki of Te Runanga o Raukawa in 1991),¹¹ said in his Annual General Meeting Report that: "Runanga policies have been for the future-building a sound economic base, strengthening whanau, preventing social inequalities". What is obvious however is that as the Runanga developed over a period of time, its role did change. It took on new ventures and began to play a pivotal role in speaking on behalf of the iwi and hapu of Ngati Raukawa. This was particularly the case in negotiations with state agencies. As the state continued to change from the late 1980's, the Runanga knew it had to be prepared for these changes. Mason Durie said in the 1991 Te Runanga o Raukawa Report:

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

The Runanga made progress with new economic initiatives, contracts in the social service and health arena, representation at regional, and national level in a variety of different forums. While the number of paid staff has increased with new contracts, the core group of people within this organisation are still voluntary, people who have been appointed by their hapu and are interested in the connection between their hapu and an iwi organisation.

Economic growth

The Runanga has gradually accrued interests in various businesses/companies, as well as having given MANA loans to Ngati Raukawa people to start up their own businesses. They believe that economic self sufficiency is important to assist hapu and iwi to strive towards their own autonomy. Many of the Runanga investments are not

¹¹. Mason Durie was the tumuaki/chairperson of Te Runanga o Raukawa from 1990-1995.

currently returning a profit, and their disappointing performance to date has led to considerable criticism from some quarters. However experienced economic advisors who have been involved with the Runanga since its inception believe that the future will see more profitable returns. Ngati Raukawa is a small iwi with limited natural resources and land. Its wealth is in its people and it is therefore important that wise decisions are made about any business investments, if these are to support the people in the future.

Social Growth

When the Runanga first began, its primary focus was to build a sound economic base which would then enable the gains to permeate into areas of well-being for the people of Ngati Raukawa. It was important that the Runanga did not replicate programmes that were already being offered to the iwi, for example Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (1975) but offered complementary programmes. The enormity of social issues within Maoridom let alone Ngati Raukawa would mean that any initiatives developed would probably only touch the surface. The one common theme however was the desire for any programmes created to focus on pro-active change as well as a belief that Ngati Raukawa could work successfully with their own, if given the opportunity.

The creation of the Social Services committee was a recognition that the Runanga would play an increasing role in a variety of areas in assisting the social well-being of its people. The committees that developed within Te Runanga o Raukawa reflected the important issues as the Runanga Whaiti saw them at the time. On the whole these areas of interest or concern have not changed and are still of concern to the hapu and iwi of Ngati Raukawa today.

Government restructuring in the late 1980's and early 1990's, created the opportunity for the Runanga committees to move towards the development of a service. The era of contracting replaced grants, bulk funding, that the Runanga had previously had in order to develop its administrative base. Contracting required the Runanga to apply for funds in specific service areas, that the Crown was wanting to contract out to the community. Te Runanga o Raukawa have had to compete with other iwi and hapu, as well as with other mainstream agencies.

The Runanga moved cautiously in contracting with the state, recognising that it could easily be swayed by the funding rather than by the key issues identified by the hapu and iwi. While Maori proclaim the importance of working in an holistic integrated manner, the Crown does not always fund in this way but operates from a very sectoral approach. Te Runanga o Raukawa in the early days of its social development developed a sectoral approach, which it later questioned in terms of its suitability from a Runanga perspective. As contracts in some areas of the Runanga have become more difficult to maintain there have been questions as to the kind of relationship that the Runanga should have with the Crown. Mason Durie's note of warning in his 1993 Annual General Meeting Report (p16) was indicative of the dilemmas that the Runanga has to consider.

In time guidelines will be needed so that the Runanga does not compete just for the sake of winning contracts. The whole point of the exercise is the well-being of whanau members and if that is best done by hapu and not by the Runanga then that ought to be the path that is followed. For now, however, economies of scale and limited resources make it imperative that the Runanga take a leading role in these activities.

The comment also foresaw one of the key issues that has arisen within the Runanga since the establishment of services, and that is the question of where the services would be better placed, with iwi or with hapu.

By 1992, contracts for social services and health services had both commenced and staff were appointed. The health service has continued to expand at a rapid rate, which may reflect the much more urgent priority that health funders have towards more appropriately resourcing Maori initiatives. Social Services initially grew to support three full time staff and one part-time supervisor but contracts steadied over the next couple of years, prompting the Committee to look for more suitable contracts that better enabled the service to deliver in a way that reflected the aspirations of the Committee.

The move by the Runanga to develop services has resulted in debate by hapu and the committees as hapu find themselves competing for funding with their own iwi organisation. The Crown primarily chooses to negotiate and fund iwi. As the Runanga continues to change it will have

to consider its relationship with hapu. One of the Runanga objectives is to work towards benefits for hapu and there is some concern that the current contracts benefit hapu at a general level but may not allow hapu singularly to develop themselves. The current arrangements may benefit "nga hapu katoa", but consideration of particular hapu needs is critical to the survival of the Runanga in its current form. "...those activities which the hapu might best undertake, and those which are best left to the Runanga, need to be examined in more detail over the forthcoming year" (Te Runanga o Raukawa: 1992, p12). The social growth of Ngati Raukawa is definitely a more integral part of the affairs of the Runanga today. The Runanga recognises that it is ultimately accountable to its own members and that priority should focus on the unique role it has in respect to its own people (Te Runanga o Raukawa: 1990a). Raukawa Social Services, the focus of this thesis, is one of the Runanga's organisations which focuses on the social growth of the people. It is a Service that has had to undergo considerable change to cope externally with both funders and those providing contracts and internally in response to the demands of hapu.

Raukawa Social Services

Beginnings

The original Social Services committee had both a social policy focus as well as an increasing focus on social welfare as a result of the Toko i te Ora portfolio. Within a short period of time however, the committee moved to a narrower focus on social services, in particular welfare.

The Runanga Annual General Meeting Reports in 1989 include a report by the Toko i te Ora committee. In 1990, no report from either Committee was received then in 1991 there was a report from the Social Services Committee, stating that the "inaugural" meeting of the Social Services Committee had occurred in April of that year. It was the beginning of the social services committee of Te Runanga o Raukawa.

The Committee began by monitoring other social services offered in the area, developing a firm foundation for the Committee and beginning initial negotiations with the Department of Social Welfare about a possible relationship. There was no service provision at this time. This period

provided an opportunity to evaluate the initiatives that others had worked on previously, and to develop some clear guidelines about the direction the committee wished to take.

Several documents assisted in providing key principles in the establishment of a service. One was the document, *A Proposal for a programme of hapu and iwi management and development (1990b)*, (otherwise known as the Hapu-Iwi document) which was a research report based on hapu needs in Ngati Raukawa. Those involved with the research for and writing of this document had been encouraged by the results stemming from Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (1975) and felt that the whanau and hapu development was linked in a positive way to well-being and that social dysfunction is reflected in absence whanau/hapu cohesion (p3). This initiative very much focused on prevention at the whanau and hapu level, and realistically stated that outcomes would not be seen overnight. This would reaffirm to the committee that its focus had to be whanau, hapu and iwi oriented, with a particular focus of working at hapu level.

A key programme influencing the services within this Committee was Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (1975). The Committee observed a strong emphasis on proactive measures of rejuvenating young people. As this Committee was eventually funded by the Department of Social Welfare, its major focus was working with whanau, children and young people. There appeared to be considerable benefits in linking the ideas of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (1975) to any initiatives that might be developed by the service. The committee was determined that the development of a service would be an opportunity to look at creating something different, something which was accountable, professional and provided appropriate practice to those who would use the service, to the hapu that made up the Runanga and to the government departments with which the service might have to work. In addition it was hoped that the mechanisms used would offer opportunities for whanau, in contact with this service, to feel empowered and to break away from the trap of dependency on government systems. A positive pro-active direction was the one that the committee wished to pursue.

In the revision of the 1992 Corporate Plan, Raukawa Social Services were asked to look at a Vision Statement¹² underlying principles for the services and the goals that they would aim towards in the next period of time. These are outlined below.

Vision Statement

A quality welfare service to Ngati Raukawa people and others in accordance with Ngati Raukawatanga.

Aims

- To nurture the existing welfare network among Ngati Raukawa.
- To advance the abilities of Ngati Raukawa to manage formal iwi based social services.
- To provide child based whanau support services for Ngati Raukawa and others in accordance with the Children Young Persons and their Families Act, 1989.
- To promote successful partnership relationships with the state and other agencies to our mutual benefit (Raukawa Social Services: undated, p5).

Raukawa Social Services Committee

The 1991 change in the Runanga's constitution, resulted in all members of the Raukawa Social Services committee being elected by their hapu. This provided the opportunity for at least 24 people to be represented on this committee. What has occurred is that hapu who are interested in this kaupapa or members of hapu who are interested in this kaupapa and who obtain hapu approval make up the committee. In general there are about a dozen members. It is the responsibility of the hapu representatives to report back to their hapu so that the hapu feel informed about the activities of the committee and if there are any decisions that they are concerned about, then they are encouraged to come to the meetings, or to send their ideas through their hapu representative.

¹². The word Vision Statement is used here rather than Mission statement, after I attended an International Conference on Indigenous Education in Wollongong, Australia, and indigenous people from around the world talked of their dislike of the word Mission, because of its strong connections with the colonisation of indigenous communities. The Raukawa Social Services see that Vision more clearly reflects their aspirations and that of the people of Ngati Raukawa.

To begin with, this group comprised people who not only had a wealth of experience in hapu/iwi affairs but also had knowledge about government agencies, many having worked in journalism, employment, education, justice and welfare. This provided a very informed and committed group who felt that they were pioneering the development of something different. Queenie Rikihana-Hyland, the first convenor of the Social Services committee reported to the Annual General meeting (Te Runanga o Raukawa: 1992, p61). "I believe that all those first hapu committee members were totally committed to the kaupapa and really wanted to work with our families". She saw the major problem at that time as a lack of funding to employ workers but in hindsight the early days were probably a good opportunity to develop a firm foundation.

The Committee was in turn required to report to the Runanga Whaiti once a month about its operations. The committee used the Runanga Whaiti as a back up if they came across issues that were particularly important, issues that the committee needed assistance with and as a means of communication back to the hapu of Ngati Raukawa. The Runanga Whaiti were the decision-makers on behalf of the iwi and were also known to over-turn decisions made by the committee if they were not happy with them.

Initially Raukawa Social Services did not see itself as only focusing on the area of welfare. It was keen to have an integrated approach, which meant looking at whanau with an holistic focus. However, two factors dictated the development of this committee. One, was the allocation of funding by the Crown into narrow operating areas. The other was a feeling by some people that certain issues were not being discussed by that committee and therefore they would create another committee. For example, the Justice Committee evolved out of the Social Services Committee when one member felt not enough time was being spent on whanau in the justice system. Today the Social Services committee is adamant that they do not want to remain with such a narrow focus, which is particularly pertinent with the constant cut-backs in funding from the Crown. Diversification into other areas, like adolescent health, youth affairs, and sports initiatives are also means of addressing the social services of the people as outlined in the previous vision statement, principles and goals of the service. The other way to bring about a more integrated approach to the service could occur at a structural level within the Runanga by having employees of the

Runanga, rather than Runanga Health or Runanga Social Services employees, which creates some sense of division rather than integration.

Raukawa Social Services worked hard over the years to be seen as a different service from that provided by the mainstream, as being connected with the Social Welfare, meant people within the iwi still seeing them as the "social welfare lot." Association with the Department of Social Welfare brings negative responses from many whanau who have been in crisis and previously having had to deal with Social Welfare.

The ground work achieved by the early Committee led to funding being allocated by the Community Funding Agency to undertake a needs assessment of the hapu and iwi of Ngati Raukawa followed by funding to undertake a pilot service for six months. This was the beginning of a service that today employs four full-time kaimahi, one part-time supervisor and another person who is paid to supervise one kaimahi working in the northern part of the rohe/region.

There are monthly meetings of the Committee and the kaimahi attend and provide reports of their activities to be endorsed before going onto the Runanga Whaiti. Some of the kaimahi of the service are also representatives of their hapu on the committee.

The Relationship with the Department of Social Welfare/ Community Funding Agency

In developing a relationship with the Department of Social Welfare, specifically with the New Zealand Children and Young Persons Service and the Community Funding Agency, the committee did not realise just how much time would be involved negotiating with departments. There would be a waxing and waning period of committee members as this occurred but also a determination to see an iwi service evolve. There was also a belief that it was the right of iwi Maori to be given the opportunity to develop services for their own, by their own, and to be appropriately resourced.

Queenie Rikihana-Hyland in her role as the first convenor of the Social Services Committee, wrote in 1991, "our committee began with the position of 'starting over again' in developing a relationship with the

Department of Social Welfare." (Te Runanga o Raukawa: 1992, p56). This reflected her view at the time but others in Ngati Raukawa felt they had been negotiating with the Department of Social Welfare for a number of years. She also stated that a hapu-iwi initiative was unrealistic and yet this document eventually played a much stronger role in the development of Raukawa Social Services. Some of the principles within the hapu-iwi document reflected the aspirations of Raukawa Social Services, which in the early days was to have a kaimahi for each hapu/iwi of Ngati Raukawa. This was narrowed down with a depletion of funding to kaimahi of Ngati Raukawa descent, who were supported by their hapu, and who could work with their hapu as well as others. Such a focus emphasised the importance of hapu within the iwi structure.

The relationship with the Department of Social Welfare has always been tenuous at best. Tenuous in the eyes of those from Ngati Raukawa because while the Department of Social Welfare may see itself as having developed a good relationship with the Runanga (and primarily they have), the relationship could be much better. What Raukawa Social Services would like to do and what they are funded for are two different things. The Department offers outputs/services to the iwi to whom they are devolving funding, rather than hearing what the iwi would like to undertake. Iwi are then expected to vie against other iwi and other social service providers, for the outputs in order to receive the funding to carry out a service. In addition, while the personnel within the iwi context have remained relatively constant, the personnel within NZCYPS in particular are constantly changing, which means that despite the development of protocols, the kaimahi are constantly having to establish new relationships. While certain personnel within the Horowhenua office have worked hard to maintain a positive relationship with the iwi there is still a long way to go with other offices in the region, as well as at a regional and national level and there are still so few working at the iwi level in comparison with those working for the Department.

By the end of 1991, the Horowhenua Department of Social Welfare offered a 20 hour Maatua Whangai position and later a similar full-time position was established in the Feilding office. Raukawa Social Services was represented on the selection panels for these positions and later as a supervisor from an iwi perspective. The person appointed in the Horowhenua office had very strong alliances at a hapu and iwi level and

her networks were to prove invaluable not only for the department but for those whanau who came into the department. These positions however were still accountable to the Crown, and expected to perform within the framework laid down by the Department. Raukawa Social Services aspired to develop a service of its own with a strong hapu focus offering a service within a cultural framework that was a lot more acceptable to Maori whanau needing assistance.

By 1992, the Department of Social Welfare had divided into a number of separate business units. While the Children and Young Person and their Families Act (1989) was the legislation, the New Zealand Children and Young Peoples Service was the business unit responsible for the delivery of services in Care and Protection and Youth Justice, and the Community Funding Agency were responsible for contracting and funding of non-governmental outputs under the Act, to community groups.

In September of 1992, Raukawa Social Services received a further six months funding from the Community Funding Agency to employ a person to pilot the delivery of an iwi service. This person was expected to work specifically with Ngati Raukawa children facing Care and Protection or Youth Justice issues within the Children and Young Persons Service. This person was hired by the Runanga and practice was based on a whanau, hapu and iwi base. The Committee at this early stage decided that there were enough Ngati Raukawa people who had or were still working in the social service arena and therefore there needed to be Ngati Raukawa hapu approval for all candidates and priority should be given to those of Ngati Raukawa descent. The Committee felt that these qualities were key to iwi positions as well as possessing social work and community work skills. This first position in conjunction with the person who was the part time Maatua Whangai position was to prove crucial in the establishment of the service. Both firmly operated from a hapu/iwi perspective and were committed to this form of development and they became wonderful supports for each other. The whanau/hapu and iwi that they worked with trusted them and they were also highly professional and accountable in their work. This solid foundation paved the way for Raukawa Social Services to be seen as an important player in the social service arena in the local and national community.

The work of whanau, hapu and iwi also means that you have to be multi-talented. This was evident when this first worker also set up the computer data base system and the administration systems for the service, systems that the department later came and asked to look at in order to assist other iwi who were setting up around the country.

With the introduction of kaimahi to the service a partnership protocol was also developed with the local NZCYPS office in Horowhenua when working with at-risk-whanau. This partnership had four basic elements:

1. The informal iwi welfare network that assists individuals and whanau, without contact with NZCYPS.
2. Help from the Social Services-without contact with NZCYPS-for those who fall through the informal iwi network.
3. Involvement of the Social Services (if the whanau agree) in investigations as a result of individuals or whanau coming to NZCYPS notice directly. Ngati Raukawa then assist in the assessment, planning and contracting phase, with the aim of passing the matter to their care, and NZCYPS providing support as necessary.
4. The Social Services referral to NZCYPS of cases which require additional investigation, assessment, and statutory support, in line with our protocol with Ngati Raukawa Social Services, and with the same aim as in three. (Focus: 1995, p1).

The pilot project proved very successful with both the Committee and the Community Funding Agency supportive of establishing a service. The more open door policy from funding agents provided this opportunity, though the allocation of funding did not meet the aspirations of the service to have a kaimahi for each of the 24 hapu or a kaimahi to cover several hapu. The opportunity to expand beyond the pilot was offered and the era of contracting began between Raukawa Social services and the Crown.

In 1992 the Raukawa Social Services Committee applied to become a Child and Family Support Service and at the same time sought and gained representation on the three Care and Protection Panels in Levin, Palmerston North and Feilding. Those on the Care and Protection Panels identified Ngati Raukawa whanau and assisted where possible with information, or with suggestions or referral to the iwi service. From the Committee's perspective they were able to monitor the work of the Department.

Raukawa Social Services soon thereafter received a three year contract as a Child and Family Support Service. This means that on a quarterly basis they are asked to prepare documentation for the Community Funding Agency, as well as yearly budget proposals, from which the Community Funding Agency then allocates the yearly funding. Initially the amount of funding increased such that the Maatua Whangai officer (in a tenuous position with departmental cutbacks) was able to leave the department and be the successful applicant for a second position. The northern part of the Ngati Raukawa region had a part time and then a full-time position, however the amount of funding has not increased since, in fact progressively there was a decrease as the Community Funding Agency moved to funding on a percentage basis, expecting that the Runanga had the available funds to meet the balance. When you are working in a non-profit making organisation, and the people who come to see you are some of the poorest in the country, this is a difficult issue to address. Te Runanga Whaiti have covered the excess in budget for the last two years but has also indicated that this cannot continue. This provides the committee with the opportunity to return to its vision and to look at a diversity of possible funding options. It also gives the committee the opportunity to investigate whether it would like to apply for approved iwi Social Service status with the Children and Young Persons and their Families Service.

For the last two years the Department of Social Welfare-NZCYPFS and CFA, have been consolidating their position on the development of iwi Social Services. Iwi throughout the country have however been reluctant to jump to such arrangements until they are ready, not wanting to replicate the services offered by mainstream agencies, or not wanting to have yet another government agency dictating how an iwi social service should be run. As Raukawa Social Services has been in operation for over five years and has been quoted in documents by managers within the Department of Social Welfare as having established a good working relationship with their local office, Raukawa has been approached on several occasions to see if they would be interested in becoming a registered iwi social service with the Department (Focus: 1995, p1).

Raukawa Social Services has operated from the perspective that they see no advantage to moving from a Child and Family Support Service to

being an iwi Social Service and discussions with appropriate Department people have failed to convince them. After a more recent visit from Department representatives, Raukawa Social Services has had a wider hui of interested Whaiti members and the committee to once again consider this issue. As it currently stands the committee is to write a Memorandum of Understanding to the Department to see if negotiations could commence but the group that met were adamant that negotiations were not to occur at the expense of the tino rangatiratanga of the hapu and iwi.

The policy of government has encouraged iwi to become active participants in the provision of services. Initially this caused some concern amongst traditional providers of welfare services who felt under threat of losing funding, however at the end of the day nothing much would change with iwi receiving minimal funding and having to run the gauntlet of accountability. Traditional funders have also seen a drop in funding but more at the expense of government moving out of social service provision and not being prepared to pay the community agencies who are taking up this gap.

The Development of a Youth Worker

With the realisation that the service would not expand much further through the contracts from the Community Funding Agency, and with a concern that the service was moving away from the pro-active vision that it had for itself, it began negotiations with the Department of Internal Affairs-Link for a three year youth worker position. While this position initially had its teething problems, the current kaimahi has many exciting ideas and has canvassed the hapu of the north thoroughly to find out what their rangatahi would like. He has already assisted hapu/iwi with the development of various initiatives: iwi touch and basketball tournaments, the development of a rangatahi youth council, and a number of rangatahi hui throughout the rohe. This position has also dove-tailed nicely into the other positions, with young people being referred to different initiatives that the youth worker is running. This position is for a limited time but it has given the service the opportunity to develop proactive programmes which best meet the needs of its rangatahi.

Further funding is currently being sought for specific projects that allow for more diversification of the service. It is also hoped that this will

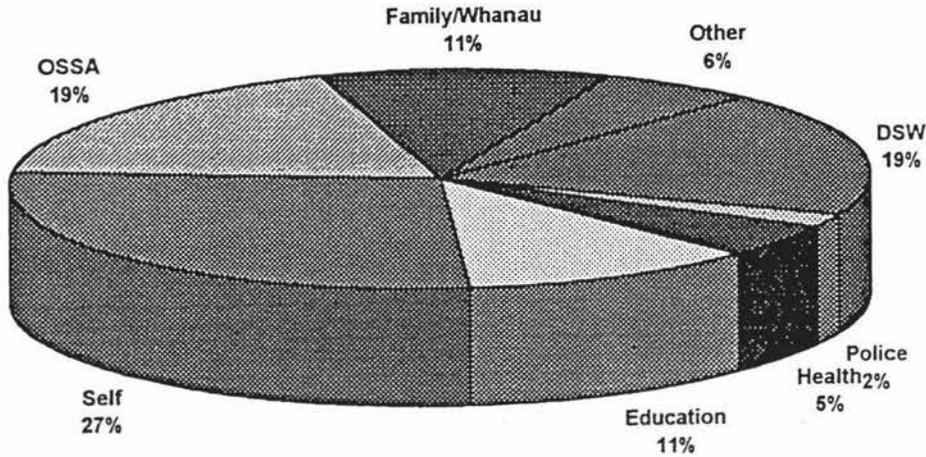
reduce an over reliance on one area of funding. Areas currently being considered are Adolescent Health, Domestic Violence and Iwi Sports Co-ordination.

The clients

Raukawa Social Services primarily serves those who are of Ngati Raukawa descent in the region of Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga but it is also open to those residing in the area who believe that they could benefit from the service. The following diagrams clarify the questions, who are the clients of the service, how they refer to the service, and what hapu they are from?

SOURCE OF REFERRAL

January 1993 - June 1996



Other = Iwi, hapu, community, church, Law
 OSSA = Other social service agency

Diagram One: shows where all the clients have been referred from in the period January 1993 to June 1996. The service has particularly noticed the increasing number of self referrals, people with difficulties, who may not necessarily have been seen by any other social service. There are also a number of whanau who are self referring. This is very encouraging for the service which believes that people in the community are starting to be aware of them, and the positive reputation of the service is spreading amongst the Ngati Raukawa community. It also needs to be noted that the service finds itself working in the local schools. Many schools are facing an increasing number of social issues amongst the youth and could do with their own social worker, community worker or family worker. The kaimahi attend many other agency meetings in the community to keep the profile of Raukawa Social Services visible, to monitor what that service is doing with Ngati Raukawa, children/whanau, and to assist and mutually share information with that other social services. Again this is difficult with so few workers on the ground. Despite the observation that has previously been made about the service being like social welfare, it is interesting to note the percentage of clients referred from the department in comparison with elsewhere. The percentages reflect a service that is very community oriented.

CLIENTS

January 1993 - June 1996

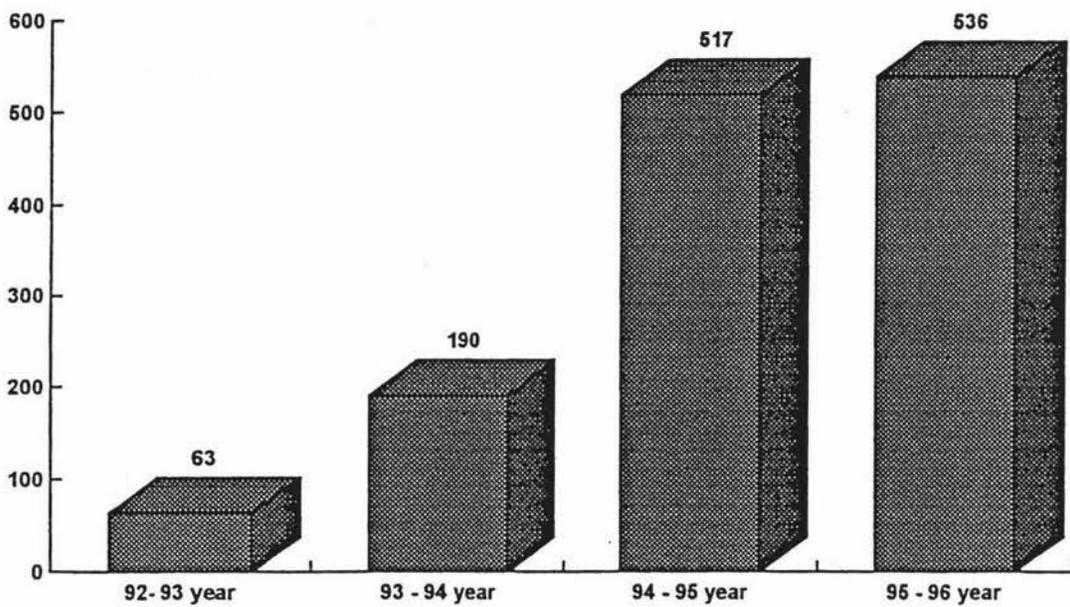


Diagram Two: indicates how many clients were seen in each year since the service started.

CATEGORY

January 1993 - June 1996

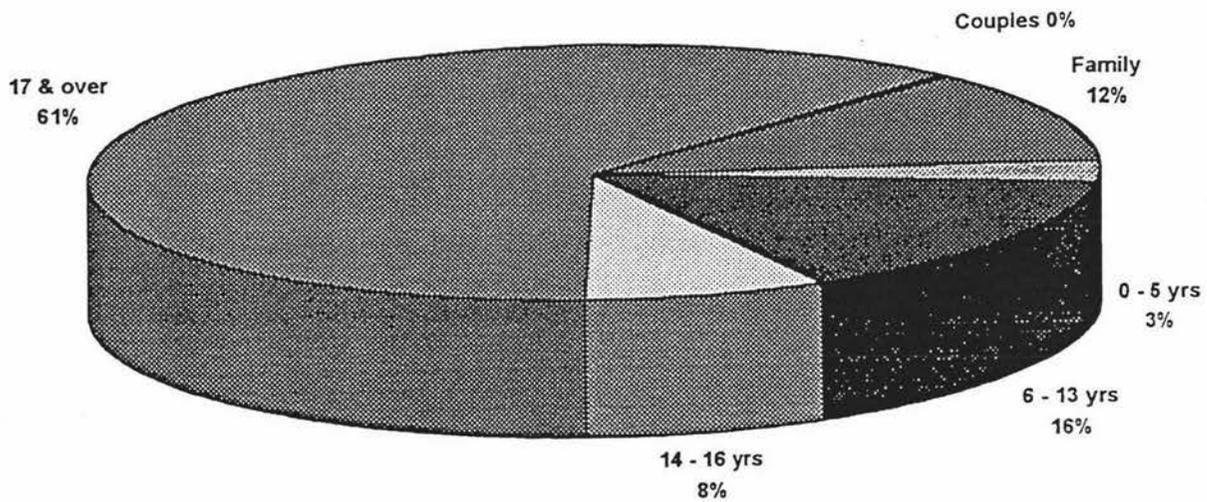


Diagram Three: shows the age group of the clients. This diagram is particularly interesting as it reflects that the service primarily services adults. This confirms who is seeking the assistance of the service, though another observation is that whanau are the preferred work approach.

GENDER OF CLIENT

January 1993 - June 1996

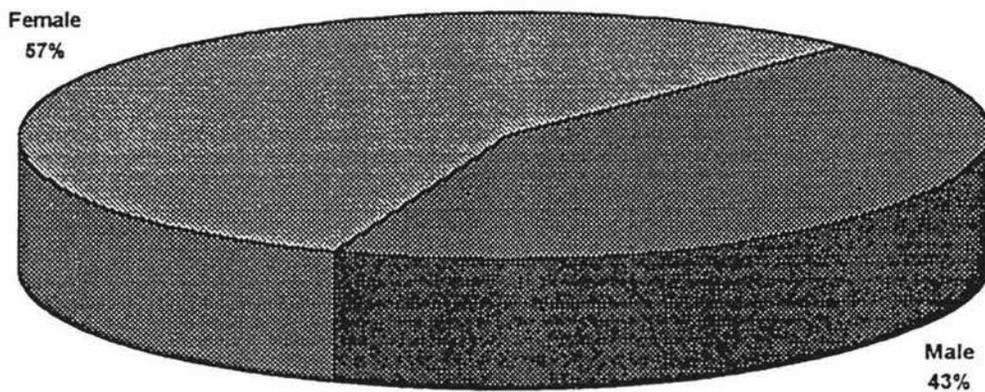
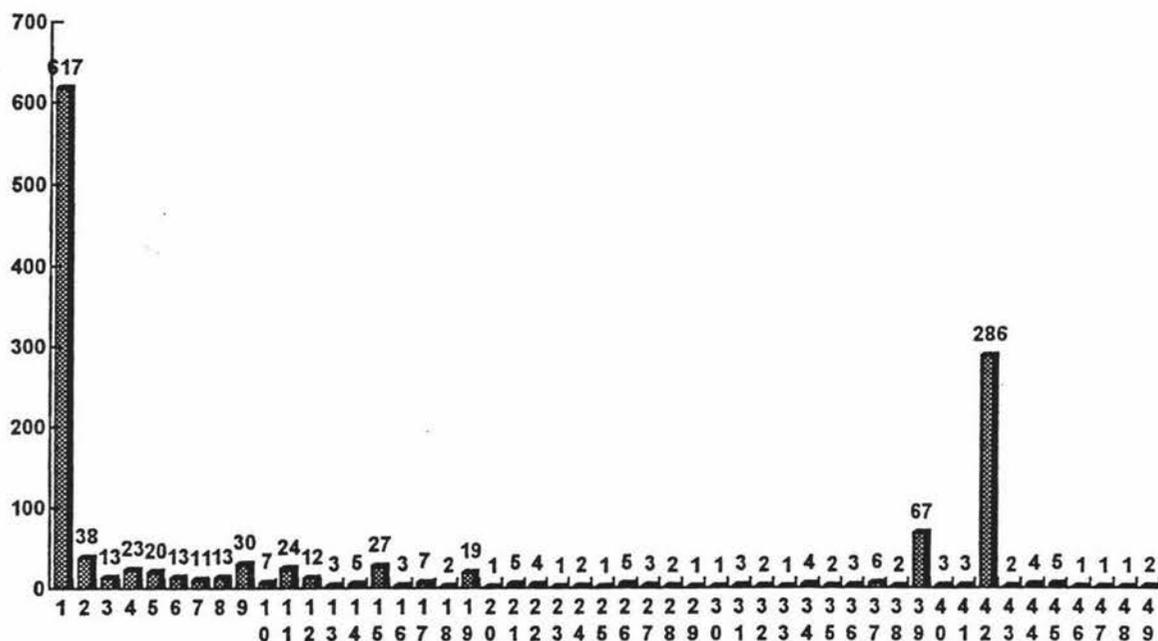


Diagram Four: indicates the gender balance of the clients, which shows a slight increase in favour of female, but with a social work service that has only women kaimahi (the male youth worker was hired after this period of January 1993 and June 1996) this percentage indicates that men are also presenting or being presented to the service.

ETHNICITY/IWI

January 1993 - June 1996

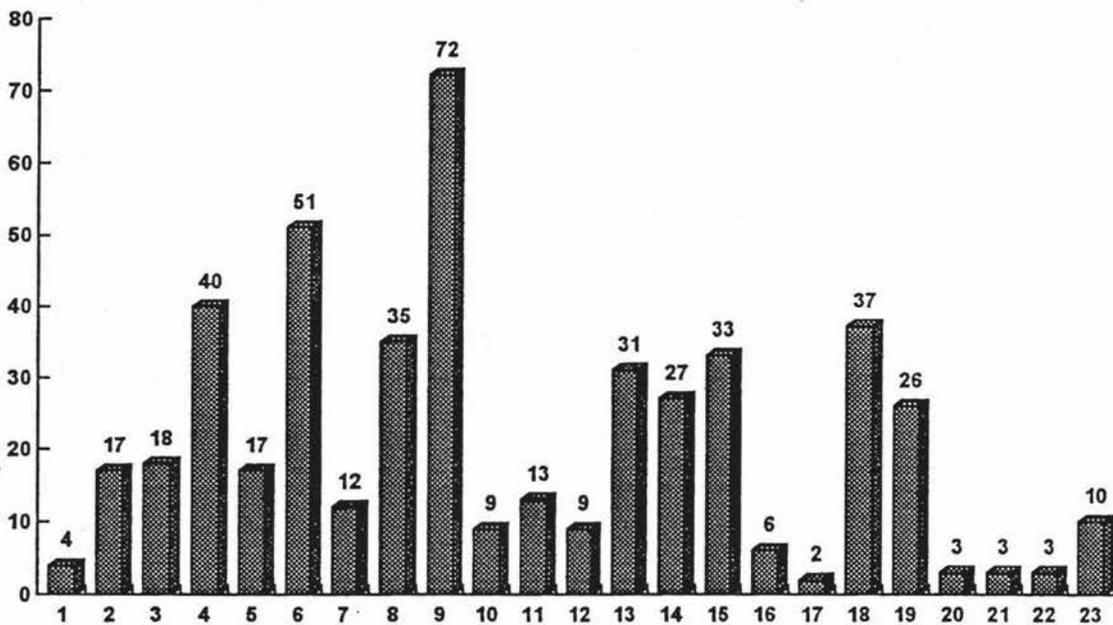


Note:

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|----|-------------------------|
| 1 | Raukawa | 2 | Muaupoko |
| 3 | Muaupoko/Raukawa | 4 | Te Ati Awa/Raukawa |
| 5 | Ngati Porou | 6 | Rukawa/Kahungunu |
| 7 | Tuwharetoa | 8 | Ngapuhi |
| 9 | Maniapoto | 10 | Tuhoe |
| 11 | Kahungunu | 12 | Toarangatira |
| 13 | Kahungunu/Toarangatira | 14 | Tuwharetoa/Muaupoko |
| 15 | Te Ati Awa | 16 | Raukawa/Rangitane |
| 17 | Ngai Tahu | 18 | Taranaki |
| 19 | Rangitane | 20 | Ngai Tahu/Whanau Apanui |
| 21 | Ngati Kahu | 22 | Ngati Ruanui |
| 23 | Ngati Ata | 24 | Waikato/Ngati Porou |
| 25 | Raukawa/Ngai Tahu | 26 | Raukawa/Taranaki |
| 27 | Ngati Koata | 28 | Ngati Awa/Apa |
| 29 | Ngati Awa | 30 | Ngati Whatua |
| 31 | Maniapoto/Tuwharetoa | 32 | Te Arawa |
| 33 | Ngati Rangainui/Raukawa | 34 | Ngati Maru |
| 35 | Tuwharetoa/Raukawa | 36 | Raukawa/Te Atihaunui |
| 37 | Te Atihaunui | 38 | Nga Ruahine |
| 39 | Unknown | 40 | Raukawa/Ngati Porou |
| 41 | Dutch | 42 | Pakeha |
| 43 | Scottish | 44 | Samoan |
| 45 | Tongan | 46 | Turanga-nui-a-kiwa |
| 47 | Whakatohia | 48 | Raukawa/Ngati Kuia |
| 49 | Maori | | |

Diagram Five: shows the ethnicity of clients that have used the Service between January 1993 and June 1996. As can be seen, the focus of the service is primarily offered to Ngati Raukawa and the majority of clients also come from Ngati Raukawa. The next largest group of people identified are Pakeha, and after enquiries from Te Runanga Whaiti, it was ascertained that no one is turned away who is a self-referral to the service, but in fact the majority of the enquiries in that category fall into information enquiry rather than anything more long term.

CLIENTS HAPU/MARAE January 1993 - June 1996



Note:

1	Koroki	2	Maiotaki
3	Katihiku	4	Raukawa
5	Matau	6	Huia
7	Kikopiri	8	Kapumanawawhiti
9	Tukorehe	10	Parewahawaha
11	Kauwhata	12	Aorangi
13	Pareraukawa	14	Wehiwehi
15	Kereru	16	Takihiku
17	Ngarongo	18	Rakau Paewae
19	Whakatere	20	Turanga
21	Manomano	22	Pare
23	Ngarongo/Takihiku		

Diagram Six: is indicative of something that was particularly important for members of Te Runanga Whaiti which is a hapu by hapu breakdown of the clients seen by the service. This is not something initially requested by those who provide funding to the service but after seeing the number of Ngati Raukawa clients seen by the service, it was important to know the particular hapu that they came from, in the hope that if there was a significant number, that the hapu themselves might be interested in becoming involved with social services. Because the largest numbers of workers are employed to service the southern area, you may not see as many from northern hapu on the diagram. Large usage by some hapu also reflects the hapu of the kaimahi, as it appears that once a hapu supports one of their own, they also feel comfortable about using the service, or the kaimahi knows how to get out amongst their own hapu. Lastly a particularly large use by the people may reflect that they also have a social service at the marae, and make people from their iwi very aware of the services of Raukawa Social Services.

For the last two years it is important to note, that like many other social services, the demand is exceeding the funding available to offer a service. As the kaimahi have met their outputs, the CEO of the Runanga has had to advise the kaimahi that they cannot work more than they are paid, as there just isn't the available funding. Delegations to the funding departments concerned, as well as a meeting with the Associate Minister of Social Welfare at the time Katherine O'Reagan, have not changed the position of this service substantially. It is very difficult to think that a service that is doing so well is hampered by such difficulties with funding which means that as more and more people in the community become familiar and satisfied with the service offered, the service are actually having to say no to some referrals.

Conclusion

Writing about history offers a foundation for exploring current iwi development. Writing back offers an opportunity to examine the written documentation alongside the experiences of the waiata, whaikorero, korero purakau and the whakatauaki that those within the iwi have been brought up with.

The iwi of Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga, settled and prospered initially in the Manawatu-Horowhenua area. Their links with Ngati Toarangatira and Te Ati Awa iwi provided strong allies that have lasted until the present day, as well as their strong links with the Church in particular the Anglican church. Many of Ngati Raukawa's initiatives in the 20th century have been developed in conjunction with one or the other of these iwi/groups.

However Ngati Raukawa has not been exempt from the assimilation practices which have and continue to plague iwi throughout the country. Ngati Raukawa expressed increasing concern at the disintegration of the tribal structures of whanau, hapu and iwi and te reo and tikanga. Some of the initiatives that have arisen in the 20th century have been an attempt to turn the tide for Ngati Raukawa iwi by introducing programmes which focus on the revitalisation of the people. The history of Ngati Raukawa is interlinked with events or organisations that have been developed.

Raukawa Social Services is an example of one of those. It arose out of concern by the people in the iwi about the social needs of their people, and the determination and belief that the iwi could offer alternatives that were more appropriate and effective for the people of Ngati Raukawa. Other iwi initiatives played an influential role in the development of this organisation.

The next chapter uses Critical Theory as a framework for understanding the development of social services within Ngati Raukawa. An understanding of historical development is key to this as it provides a context in which to understand how situations of marginalisation can be transformed.

Waiho i te toipoto, kaua i te toiroa.¹³

¹³. A Whakataauaki/proverb meaning "Let us keep close together, not wide apart".

CHAPTER FOUR

CRITICAL THEORY

Introduction

Many writers have acknowledged that Maori people have been a disenfranchised group. For over a 150 years they have been systematically excluded from making decisions for themselves and from defining their own needs and from aspirations. The colonial power-brokers have instead made decisions for Maori based on their own world views and from a perception that Maori needed to be "civilised". Policies and practices have effectively led Maori people to be dispossessed of land and language, to be marginalised economically and politically, to shift from being a rural population to an urban one and as a result of all of these to find that they feature highly in all of the negative social statistics, connected with deliberate facets of oppression (C. Smith: 1994).

Such manipulative strategies have been so effective, that Maori themselves have contributed towards their oppression, without even being aware of it in many instances. The oppression and poverty that many Maori find themselves faced with today, has developed from a sense of "false consciousness" (Fay: 1987) or as Freire (1972) describes it a "culture of silence".¹

It can be argued that one theoretical tradition which provides a significant description and explanation of the circumstances of this situation for Maori people (of which Ngati Raukawa is not exempt) is critical theory (Bennie: 1996). Critical theory has been used in this thesis to make some sense of understanding the topic area, how it has been viewed and contributes to an analysis of situations of oppression and how these can be transformed. While some in Ngati Raukawa may argue that they were not hit as dramatically by the oppressive nature of our society (due mainly to the protective nature of the church), we have nevertheless been faced with a crisis about the well-being of our people. This forced some of the leaders

¹ By false consciousness we mean that Maori have no perception that purposeful policies and practices over time may have led to them being in such a situation, but falsely believe that this is all that they are capable of and that this is their lot in life. They don't even know any longer how to get themselves out of this position.

of the iwi to look for transformative action leading to emancipatory models to ensure our cultural survival. The turning point for Ngati Raukawa may well have been in 1975, with the introduction of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano and the subsequent initiatives which have evolved since that time.

This chapter will begin by looking at why critical theory was chosen as the foundation for examining this thesis, followed by a description of what critical theory is and finish with how critical theory will be applied to this topic area.

What is Critical Theory?

Critical theory derives from the school of critical social science. This perspective is based on the idea that the social world has differences arising out of conflicts between the powerful and the powerless. "It is the oppressive features of society that construct the social reality of the powerless that critical social science is most concerned with understanding" (Bennie: 1996, p104). This understanding of this situation is important if change is to be effective and repression removed (Fay: 1987). Being critical enables us to examine modern social and political life, in order to better understand that life and then to bring about change in both the social and political worlds. It is also important that understanding emerges from the real life experiences and frustrations of individuals or groups who are oppressed, marginalised and disenfranchised (Bennie: 1996, p104). Fay (1987, p4) describes a critical approach as:

...an attempt to understand in a rationally responsible manner the oppressive features of a society such that this understanding stimulates its audience to transform their society and thereby liberate themselves (1987, p4).

The basis for Fay's critical theory originates from his theory of "self estrangement". Fay believes that people are locked into a false view of their lives, that occurs from being misinformed, uninformed or not having their conditions validated. This then leads to people being alienated. The only way to overcome this is by the power of "enlightenment". This occurs when people gain a true understanding of their conditions and

work towards bringing about change.² People also have a false sense of reality or a variety of interpretations about the nature of the world around them and their place in it. They may feel frustrated and dissatisfied about their lives, because they have become "blinded" and "estranged" from the truth. They are therefore not able to live liberating lives but instead accept their situation as natural and inevitable (Fay: 1987, p10-11, Bennie: 1996). There is also concern about the role of ideology and its ability to create, control, manipulate, legitimate or universalise ideas beliefs and values that influence a given social order. Critical theorists are therefore interested in demystifying certain ideologies in order to reveal their contradictions and falsehoods. The aim of critical theory is therefore :

...to redress a situation in which a group is experiencing deep but remedial suffering as a result of the way their lives are arranged...to overturn these arrangements and put in place another set, in which people can relate in fuller and more satisfying ways (Fay: 1987, p29).

Critical theory also has a positive view of the potential of humans, believing that they are activists and that given the right conditions, they are capable of altering their situation so that frustration and dissatisfaction can be alleviated. Freire (1972, p43), in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* claims:

It is essential for the oppressed to realise that when they accept the struggle of humanisation they also accept from that moment, their total responsibility for the struggle. They must realise that they are fighting not merely for freedom from hunger but for freedom to create and to construct, to wonder and to venture. Such freedom requires that each individual be active and responsible, not a slave or a well fed cog in the machine.

It is therefore important within this approach to constantly question the realities and practices of social life in order to expose agendas, inequities and injustices that would otherwise remain hidden (Huata: 1992). The fact that one of its central themes is the challenging and questioning of power,

² Fay (1987, p10-11), uses the example of the parable of the cave in Plato's *Republic* to describe a scenario where a people who were blinded to any existence other than the darkness of the cave, until some saw a ray of light and climbing up to the source found another completely different world beyond the cave. This analogy is used to explain the fact that oppressed people may not be aware of the possibility of other existence's and that others have been purposely keeping them from finding out about that possibility.

makes critical theory an attractive theory for those who feel powerless in society.

Critical theory therefore tries to explain situations, including the rules and regulations and their definitions of these within their environment. People in a crisis are seen to have no control over their actions because of their social conditions, with many interrelationships being the result of unconscious thought. "A critical theory wants to explain a social order in such a way that it becomes itself the catalyst which leads to the transformation of this social order" (Fay: 1987, p27).

The ideal environment in which transformative action might occur is in a conflict or crisis situation where deep suffering has occurred for its members. The suffering has resulted from the ignorance of the people about the causes of their situation. As people then slowly become aware of their situation, they realise that they could be different and they want to change. This comes about by organising themselves into an effective group to bring about change. "Critical theory must become an enabling, motivating resource for its audience-it must in short empower them" (Fay, 1987,p29). Transformation therefore needs to be perceived by those who see themselves as oppressed. Empowerment offers practical means of emancipation through the removal of oppression and the creation of a new social order.

Critical theory needs to be scientific (tested and with theoretical principles), critical (it should offer critique and move beyond to suggest alternatives) practical (it can be applied in practice and has key people to carry the vision on) and non-idealistic (that ideas are not the only determinant of behaviour or that emancipation involves a certain sort of enlightenment, or that people will change simply by rational argument) (Fay: 1987, p23). Freire however recognises that this condition is not always easy to create, particularly if the oppressed are "divided unauthentic beings" (1972, p25). It is only when they realise that they are oppressed and kept that way by the oppressor that they can then contribute towards their liberation pedagogy. Their contribution is impossible if they want to, in turn, become the oppressors. "The pedagogy of the oppressed is the discovery that both they and their oppressors are manifestations of dehumanisation" (Freire: *ibid*, p25).

Fay (1987), states that critical theory can be used in a society which has a structural conflict which produces suffering and frustration for its members. This conflict threatens to breakdown the society. Such a breakdown or crisis is caused at least in part by misunderstandings or falsehoods that members of society have about themselves and their society. Members of that society have to want their oppression to end and be prepared to look at different understandings of reality, which then enables them as a group to develop strategies and actions which will in turn alleviate their suffering and oppression. Fay (1987, p31-32), describes the different stages of theory with the use of four theories and ten sub-theories:

I. Theory of False Consciousness

1. Demonstrates the ways in which a group of people falsely believe that there are bigger elements in society that they have no control over and that they therefore must obey.
2. Explains how the members of this group come to have these misunderstandings and how they are maintained.
3. Outlines a true understanding of people along with their potential to recreate material or social conditions.

II. Theory of Crisis

4. A theory of crisis is provided.
5. Indicates how crisis can occur in a particular society as a consequence of the increasing disparity and dissatisfactions among people, something that cannot be avoided given the structure of that society.
6. A historical account of the crisis is discussed, partly in terms of the false consciousness of group members and partly in terms of the structure of society.

III. Theory of Education

7. An explanation is offered of the conditions and potential necessary for a group to move towards enlightenment.
8. Shows that given the conditions of capitalist organisation and a break down of the economic system, consciousness can occur.

IV. Theory of Transformative Action

9. The aspects of society that need changing are identified, in order that the social crisis can be resolved.

10. Rough guidelines of a strategy for change are developed, in order that the education and social transformation of the group/society can occur (Fay: 1987, Melling: 1997).

It is only when all these elements are present and are related to each other in a consistent and systematic way that a theory of social life can properly be called "critical" (Fay: 1987, p32).

The use of theories within theories would explain why Huata (1992) describes critical theory as an "eclectic term" applied to a number of different theories and theorists, with the most common characteristic being the pursuit of emancipatory strategies for those disadvantaged by power. Rees (1991) also supports Fay's outline of critical theory and suggests that a paternalistic or patronising person could not use critical theory as such a theory enables people to tell "their" story without judgement. Rees (1991) identifies two aspects which assists in people being able to tell their stories. Firstly, there is narrative, which enables individuals and groups to recognise that different personal events can be linked to interconnected episodes that form a meaningful whole. The second discusses the use of biography, which enables an individual or group to talk about their lives, joining past and present, as well as projecting into the future. The person is thus able to make sense of the struggle of individual circumstances in relation to the dominant constraints and opportunities, to try and comprehend the world we live in and then to feel freedom and power in telling your story in a spontaneous and creative way. It is therefore important not to be overrun by people who have their own agendas in mind. Fay (1987) believes that if the people are allowed to express themselves in this way, they are more likely to own the development and practice of changes in their situation. Critical theory cannot simply be given to oppressed people. It needs to be an expression of those people's frustrations and marginalisation. Any political action needs to be informed by and carried out by those who are oppressed as active participants in their own enlightenment and emancipation. "Critical reflection on this process subsequently informs analysis, which builds theory, which informs and constitutes a critical praxis" (Bennie: 1996, p152).

The process of enlightenment (education) and emancipation (transformation), must occur from genuine dialogue (Bennie: 1996);

dialogue meaning self reflection by interpreting and assessing social and political reality. Transformation occurs by reflection into action, which eventually leads to changes in structures and institutions of society (Rees: 1991). Freire (1972, p41) states, "True reflection leads to action but that action will only be a genuine praxis if there is critical reflection on its consequences". Education is therefore a necessary component of critical theory in order to build on critical analysis so that critical praxis occurs.

The application of this theory is flexible in terms of adapting to any given context, as well as always allowing room for the "human element". It explains the social world, it criticises or analyses the situation and it empowers its recipients to challenge or work towards changes of injustice and inequity in society (Brown :1994). This means therefore that people need to understand different definitions and different contexts of power. Power can be both creative and liberating as well as the opposite. An understanding of the terminology surrounding politics can replace a feeling of powerlessness with one of control, as well as the importance of community interests rather than individual gains.

Why Critical Theory?

A knowledge of the history of Aotearoa/ New Zealand clearly reveals that Maori are still colonised today. Resistance to colonisation and the subsequent oppression has been by military, legal and political means, all with little success (Kelsey: 1995). The gap between the rich and powerful and the poor and powerless continues to widen. Fay (1987) believes that this is perpetuated by people who have become locked into this false view of their lives, having been misinformed, uninformed, or not having their conditions validated. Maori have even become implicated in their own colonisation through their encounters with the west by, for example, signing the Treaty, converting to Christianity and selling land (Mead: 1996). Maori have been led to believe that converting to the ways of the European and forgetting their own culture was both a means to becoming civilised and to surviving.

New Zealand is therefore a society that has been founded on the suppression of Maori economic, political, cultural and spiritual self-determination. It was assumed that once Maori were poor alienated,

disempowered and oppressed, they could not or would not fight back (Kelsey & O'Brien: 1995, p63) As Palmer (1992, p74) observes:

Disguised prejudice is never far from the surface in New Zealand, whenever there is a debate on Maori matters. There is a dark and unpleasant underside to the New Zealand psyche when questions of race are confronted...For much of the time the truth is disguised under the egalitarian exterior of New Zealanders.

The history of New Zealand is a history of deliberate cultural oppression which more recently in the 1950's-1960's was compounded by the urbanisation of Maori. Deprived of their own cultural roots and confidence, victims of racial discrimination in housing and job-hunting, Maori drifted into a separated brown economic underclass, where they have primarily remained with the gaps between the "haves" and the "have-nots" widening (James: 1992, p79).

By the 1960's-1970's however, there was a heightened awareness by Maori of the structural inequalities of society. Maori communities were tired of being "victims" and were no longer willing to accept "passively their status as a subjugated minority" (Culpitt: 1995, p266). Slowly outspoken Maori groups emerged demanding that these inequalities be rectified. Labelled as radicals in their time, these Maori spoke out against the hegemonic practices of the education system and the oppressive nature of so-called democracy, which had successfully estranged them from knowledge of their realities.

Protests at Waitangi, Bastion Point and Raglan, land marches, tent embassies, sit-ins and petitions were all responses to critical questions being asked at this time. Questions were asked about the connection between knowledge and power, between power and decision-making, between power and outcomes for Maori, between lived reality and imposed ideals about "the other". Questions focused on why promises had failed to deliver social change for a people who were oppressed. Maori began voicing their resistance to the structural inequalities within society and looking for theories and explanations that answered their questions of reality (Mead: 1996). "Such a dynamic thrust of radical Maori politics in the 70s politicised a wide range of people to participate in the struggle for emancipation" (Walker: 1994b, pp. 176-7). By the 1980's such questions were no longer those of radical Maori alone but were key

questions being asked by many Maori and at many local, regional and national hui, like those of the Hui Whakatauirā and the Hui Taumata. As well the Maori population were looking for solutions to these issues. The questions being asked from people at the grass roots were also critical questions identified within the theory of critical social science. Different explanations for Maori social disadvantage have frequently been underpinned by racist views, by deficit theories and by historical amnesia but recent Maori voices have suggested that Maori are no longer prepared to be marginalised and to sit passively on the side line but are prepared to resist and contest power and engage in constant acts of struggle (Mead: 1996, p62).

The events of the 1970's introduced a different view of New Zealand society. It was the era of protests, the era of land marches, the era of dawn raids, the era of groups like Nga Tama Toa, the Polynesian Panthers and later the Springbok Tour marches, all challenged the structural impositions of New Zealand society. As a participant in a number of these initiatives, I started asking myself and others, questions about the status of Maori people in New Zealand.

In the late 1970's, I became a university student and was introduced to theories such as: psycho-dynamic, psycho-social and behavioural. All failed to interpret my reality or allow me the opportunity for greater control over the resistance's, the hegemony and the oppression that I was now aware was a part of Maori reality in New Zealand/Aotearoa. I left university with much knowledge but when people asked me what theoretical perspective I came from, I "intelligently" replied, I operate from an eclectic position. I had effectively found no one theory but instead found bits from within other theories which I would try to make sense of. It wasn't until post graduate study that I was introduced to critical theory. It was like switching on a light bulb, it was like coming out of the world of darkness (Te Ao Kore) and into the world of light (Te Ao Marama). This theory empowered me by offering an explanation of the oppressive structures of our society, the false consciousness that so many Maori appear to be bound into but also how education of individuals and communities can lead to empowerment, enlightenment and then emancipation of these people. I then began to link to other indigenous writers who in their writing were using a theoretical framework informed by critical theory, people like Freire (1972), Awatere (1984), Walker (1984)

Smith (1992) and Irwin (1992). It was even more heartening to see the number of writers from Aotearoa that were writing in this vein. All used aspects of critical theory but then moved on to develop theories or approaches to research using critical theory and a Maori world view as a foundation. Critical theory therefore found favour amongst emancipatory movements, through which indigenous positions, including Maori were recognised (Tomlins-Jahnke: 1996).

The struggles of Maori writers who have paved the way by developing models and theories with a kaupapa Maori base, have used developments such as Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori and Te Wananga. There are now an increasing number of other small, localised initiatives of which iwi Social Services is one, that are blossoming around the country, very much based on similar struggles, very much initiatives that stem from the grass roots. These are alternatives people are determined to work on, despite the opposition that they still suffer. Critical theory has offered an explanation for such initiatives, as well as offering possibilities for radical practice in Aotearoa, practice that is not just about analysing the problem but also about creating solutions (Brown: 1994).

Theory has served to perpetuate Maori oppression by reinterpreting their origins, recounting their history and capturing and displaying their arts and taonga. Academic theories in particular, have not looked sympathetically or ethically at Maori. This is disappointing when in many ways theory at its most simple level provides a means to make sense of reality. Assumptions and predictions can be made about the world, methods for selecting, arranging, prioritising and legitimating what we see and do, can occur, as well as enabling us to deal with contradictions and uncertainties. Most significantly for Maori however, is that it gives us space to plan, to strategise and to take greater control over our resistance's (Mead: 1996, p30).

The development of theories by Maori attempts to realistically explain our existence in contemporary society (as opposed to "traditional" society constructed under modernism), as well as recognising the importance of the civil rights movements, other nationalist struggles and other theoretical approaches. The development of these theories is only just starting to arise now and is firmly grounded within a sensitivity of what it means to be Maori (Mead: 1996). As Irwin (1992, p5) urges:

We don't need anyone else developing the tools which will help us to come to terms with who we are. We can and will do this work. Real power lies with those who design the tools-it always has. This power is ours.

In looking at critical theory, Maori may identify with the struggles also experienced by other indigenous peoples through-out the world but also with the reconstruction of society. Its greatest appeal is the promotion of bottom up development, or development from below (Walker: 1984). People who have featured negatively in education, justice, welfare and employment statistics, choose to take control of their lives by creating alternatives, options that have had far reaching and positive effects for Maori people.

Critical theory has therefore found favour with Maori writers, whose base may be a Marxist, emancipatory or feminist perspective. Aspects of a critical perspective fit comfortably within a Maori framework, namely the shared experience, accountability that allows people to learn from each other and the concept of the hui which demands individual and collective accountability. Critical theory has also been one mechanism by which Maori have been able to expand into the creation of explaining their own existence in contemporary society. As Brown (1994, p16) explains, it helped to "...prepare indigenous people for an indigenously defined future, rather than for integration or assimilation".

Such a theory therefore fits well, not only from my own perception and for Maori society but particularly in terms of applying emancipatory models to explain how many of Raukawa's marae became dilapidated and appeared to be abandoned by the 1970's. This is an appropriate theoretical perspective in which to look at the developments within Ngati Raukawa in terms of te reo, tikanga, human development and physical refurbishment of the marae.

Critical Theory and the Indigenous Experience

Many indigenous writers use aspects of critical theory in their writing. This may be because of the similarities of the struggles that are occurring for indigenous people throughout the world. The appeal of critical theory is that it promotes development from the "bottom up". It comes from the

people and is about the empowerment of those who are oppressed as well as those who oppress. It is also not new to many indigenous nations but simply a reaffirmation of what they are doing within their countries. It is a theory that extends beyond the minds of academics and is applicable in many different contexts.

Freire (1972) is probably the first of such writers to appeal to Maori in Aotearoa. While influenced by radical theories, he clearly fitted into a critical perspective because of his belief in the struggle against oppression and the link between critical consciousness-raising and collective action. He particular focused on culture, seeing it as living, organic, constantly changing and affected by history. He felt that culture is related to the power dynamics between dominant and subordinate groups in society with the dominant group using "antidialogical" (a situation that does not encourage dialogue with its participants but merely imposes on them what you think they need to know) techniques such as conquest, divide and rule, manipulation, cultural invasion and the banking concept of education, to internalisation of the values of the dominant culture by the subordinate culture.

Freire and other writers were also aware of the criticisms and limitations metered out about critical theory, including overplaying the rationality of human beings, oversimplifying the structural elements of society, the self interest behind some the changes (Fay's tyranny scenario, p207), the feeling by some that critical theory does not go far enough towards revolution and that practitioners push participants towards the revolutionary process, in the absence of the conditions required for it to be a success (Bennie: 1996).

In Aotearoa, Bishop (1996) has recently analysed critical theory in terms of Maori. He suggests that critical theory has failed to deliver emancipation for oppressed groups, with approaches to research failing to address the issues of Maori communities. He sees that the development of alternative approaches by Maori communities reflects a form of resistance to critical theory. He believes critical theory is still firmly ensconced in agendas established by western academic tradition, with Maori still having to challenge to be heard in the current emancipatory debate in the social sciences. Such a world he sees is defined by critical theorists rather than those who are oppressed.

Hingangaroa-Smith (cited in Mead: 1996, p202), however, argues that Kaupapa Maori is a 'local' form of critical theory that focuses on emancipation.

This 'localising' of the aims of critical theory is partly an enactment of what critical theory actually 'offered' to oppressed, marginalised and silenced groups. The project of critical theory held out the possibility, that through emancipation, groups such as Maori would take greater control over their own lives and humanity.

It would appear to me that any theory can be critiqued. The range of theories within critical theory, including the fact that it can be applied within an individual and collective context, does leave room for critique. The framework for a critical theory perspective, still has all the potential to be a theory which explains aspects of Maori reality and the praxis is a means of gaining more control and autonomy over our lives. For me, critical theory has provided an explanation which has been the beginning but by no means the end of undertaking research within a Maori community. Appropriate methodologies are needed so that those being approached feel receptive to the idea of research.

The aim of analysing critical theory is to move to a step of looking at an emancipatory model (a theoretical solution) therefore a model of transformative action. It would appear that the initiatives that have evolved in contemporary Maori society like Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori, are now being added to by many other such initiatives. Some are occurring in Ngati Raukawa, in conjunction with the other iwi in the confederation and yet others are now evolving solely within Ngati Raukawa themselves. Some are happening at a hapu level, while others are happening at an iwi level. Far from feeling abandoned by critical theory, I believe that critical theory has provided a foundation and an explanation of Maori and iwi in Aotearoa society today but Maori have not been limited by the theory but as Hingangaroa-Smith (cited in Mead: 1996) describes, have gone on to create realities which are very much embedded within a Maori kaupapa.

How Critical Theory has relevance for this research

Maori have been in dispute with the Crown for over 150 years. Hapu and iwi have been all but merged into a single group of "Maori" by the State, with decades of deliberate assimilative policies and practices dramatically weakening hapu and iwi. Maori have realised that if they do not take control of their future, that soon there may not be a future to control. Therefore recent attempts to revitalise Maori by way of their traditional structures of whanau, hapu and iwi can be seen within the context of critical theory, as an oppressed people's awakening from false consciousness, an acknowledgement of the crisis that they face and through education a move towards emancipation. The use of Fay's (1987) theories (outlined on pages 121-122) offers this thesis a framework in which to assess Raukawa Social Services from a critical theory perspective.

Within the context of this thesis critical theory therefore offers an explanation of the personal and collective struggles that Maori/iwi have had and are still faced with, by recognising the structural inequalities within our society and where applicable this is applied specifically to Ngati Raukawa. As a result of such disillusionment and deliberate assimilation, this theory also offers an explanation of how decisions by Ngati Raukawa have enabled them to take responsibility for their own destiny, by developing initiatives which move them to focus on renewal.

This is not to say that there are still not disputes and challenges with the Crown with regards to their historical and contemporary role in maintaining oppressive policies and practices which negatively affect Maori and iwi. However after a century and a half of negotiation, consultation and protest, there is currently an emerging theme within Maori society about the need to lead the way in bringing about constructive, proactive change for their people.

Raukawa Social Services is a Ngati Raukawa initiative which began in the mid 1970's and has since continued to grow in strength. This development began in response to a crisis of Ngati Raukawa rangatahi and their whanau. Tamariki who were clients of social welfare services were being inadequately cared for by social welfare and many whanau felt their mokopuna were worse off than if they had been in whanau care. There was an acknowledgement that they were not being dealt with effectively.

was an acknowledgement that they were not being dealt with effectively. Ngati Raukawa and other iwi in the area signalled that they wanted control of the welfare of their tamariki and mokopuna, before the statistics became even worse and more Maori children died while in the care of the Director General of Social Welfare.

A critical theory perspective could not only be applied to the reasons for the Services development but also in the belief that any iwi initiative needed to reflect the needs of the hapu and iwi not the directives of the State. This would mean a strong focus on the reality of Ngati Raukawa rather than someone else's reality.

Critical theory has been a catalyst for Maori "writing back" about their understanding of reality and legitimising the Maori voice so that not only are they speaking out about the disparities of our society but they are also looking for opportunities to reconstruct their reality and to create a better society, one in which they have more control (C. Smith: 1994). This thesis provides one opportunity for this to occur, firstly by the choice of the topic, secondly by having someone who is involved in Ngati Raukawa Social Services undertaking the research and thirdly, by enabling both individuals and hapu involved in the social services, the opportunity to tell their stories in their interviews. This is a process which allows for the use of dialogue and narrative, in order to facilitate self reflection. The challenge is for interpretation and critical assessment of the reflection of social and political reality to occur, including the contradictions. Recommendations from and outcomes of this research may lead to action, with people strongly advocating the kinds of policies and practices they will follow as a result of their self reflections (Fay: 1987, Brown: 1994). This may occur for those interviewed during the process and will also occur at the data analysis stage.

With Maori people being deeply embedded in an (oppressive) reality which is the result of a complex interplay of history, ideology, economics and a variety of social structures, an equally complex (and often unique) set of conditions will be required in order to allow a critical theory to run its course from enlightenment, through empowerment to emancipation (Bennie: 1996, p111). Within this thesis, critical theory may therefore be a tool used to expose, to explore and to examine the possibilities that

initiatives like Raukawa Social Services may offer as one strategy to address the oppressive practices that their people still face.

What attracts me to using critical theory as a foundation to explain the issues presented in this thesis, is the opportunity for empowerment. This enables change to take place focusing on the experiences, desires and the needs of those who are oppressed. Freire (1972) in particular, asserts that effective challenge to the system occurs when the leaders of the oppressed group come together to dialogue with the people. The critical knowledge of the leaders, together with the empirical knowledge of the people informs them of the causes of reality and once the truth emerges, transforming action may take place (cited Held: 1980). This in particular was how the initiatives like Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (1975) evolved within the iwi of the Confederation, an initiative which has found its basic objectives replicated in many other iwi developments since, one being Raukawa Social Services. Critical theory is useful to provide a basis from which to analyse initiatives such as Whakatupuranga Rua Mano and the development of Raukawa Social Services. Such developments should also be analysed in the context of the world's indigenous peoples.

Aroha Mead (1994, p114) reported on behalf of Maori Congress, to the United Nations Technical Meeting held in Geneva, :

The decade must have one objective-and that is to genuinely and measurably empower and improve the lives and livelihoods of indigenous peoples. At the end of the Decade our children should be healthier and more of them educated in our own language in our own educational institutions. Most of our people should be alive, healthy, housed, out of penal and other institutions, employed and able to contribute meaningfully to our communities and others. Our languages should be more widely spoken and promoted through our own TV, radio stations and newspapers.

Intervention on Agenda Item 7: UN Working Group on Indigenous Peoples 12th Session, by Maori Congress Foreign Policy Convenor, Aroha Mead.

Conclusion

Critical theory helps to describe the world in order to transform it. It points out how the situation of marginalised groups can be improved. Critical theory offers a series of stages as highlighted in the discussion in this chapter: a theory of false consciousness, a theory of crisis, a theory of

education and a theory of transformative action. These stages can be used to understand peoples' worlds in order to transform them.

This chapter provides an analysis of critical theory, its relevance to Maori development and in particular iwi development. It explains why critical theory has been used by Maori writers to understand the oppression of Maori in Aotearoa and how it provides strategies for future action at hapu and iwi level. The emancipatory activities of Ngati Raukawa, in particular the social services activities, are examined in light of the challenges by critical theorists whose work is discussed in this chapter. This research project acts as an example of an empowering activity for the researcher in the individuals and hapu who participated in this research; and that the research provides both the researcher and the researched with strategies for future action which may be both empowering and emancipatory for whanau, hapu and iwi. Critical theory has influenced the particular methodologies chosen for this research which are highlighted in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

TE RANGAHAU: METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS

Introduction

This chapter backgrounds the influences which impact on those conducting research within a whanau, hapu and iwi context. The process required to undertake research in this area is as important as the research findings (Brown: 1994). It tells the story of a Ngati Raukawa descendant, who has been involved in the development of Raukawa Social Services, who moved into the area of research, an area relatively unknown to her. There is definite pressure in wanting to get the process right knowing that "researchers and academics generally have a poor reputation in the Maori community and are viewed with suspicion at best, contempt in the main" (Irwin: 1994, p38). Maori history and research have been heavily influenced by eurocentric views and philosophies which have led to the creation of a "national norm of Maori history" (Royal: 1993, p13). In the past any attempt to include a Maori perspective was done by adding Maori ideas to traditional disciplinary frameworks. This often resulted in Maori being portrayed negatively, with data interpreted from a western eurocentric perspective. As Royal (1994) states, "unfortunately these books have come to be recognised as possessing a certain authority" (Royal: 1994, p14).

Ngahua Te Awekotuku (1991) and Linda Mead (1996)¹ comment that historically research is not something exclusive to Pakeha. What is new to Maori is the scientific paradigm. Prior to the arrival of the Pakeha, knowledge was tribal, tightly regulated, gendered and the sanctions of tapu and noa were available to ensure the regulations were not broken. Individuals were accountable to their chiefs or to the collectivity of whanau, hapu and iwi and their access to knowledge regulated within the whanau, hapu or iwi. Thus ethical standards were maintained. Once reading and writing were mastered by Maori, waiata, whakapapa and other material were committed to paper. This material was appropriated by Pakeha writers who for decades distilled and distorted knowledge of

¹ Mead has also written work using her married name, and is therefore occasionally cited as L. Tuhiwai-Smith or L. Smith. Two other Smiths, one her husband G. Smith and the other her sister-in-law, C. Smith, are also cited in this thesis.

Maori life and custom. Governor Grey wrote prolifically but also "shamelessly plagiarised from the manuscripts he commissioned" (Te Awekotuku: 1991, p62).

Colonisation and assimilation, one nation, one people, were the ideas underlying Pakeha research and writing. Maori became a heavily researched people. The Pakeha researchers and writers benefited greatly from this, but Maori benefited little, as the hegemonic mono-cultural education system defeated Maori as surely as the New Zealand wars (Irwin: 1994, C. Smith: 1994, Bishop: 1996), and therefore few Maori gained the knowledge and skills of scholarship needed to undertake their own research and writing. It is only recently that sufficient Maori have participated in university education at a level which has enabled them to become aware and critical of the role of Pakeha writers and researchers.

As a Pakeha, Stokes (1985) observed that Maori became increasingly aware that they had been used as guinea pigs for academic research, and that this had promoted "Pakeha expertise" in areas of knowledge intrinsic to the mana of the Maori people. In the past, research has often used deficit theories to describe Maori status and offered Pakeha solutions to the "Maori problem". Data has been gathered by non-Maori from a eurocentric perspective and often interpreted inaccurately. Yet academics have then given such material a status and authority which Maori as the research subjects, refused to confirm. A growing number of Maori writers such as L. Smith (1985), Te Awekotuku (1991) and Royal (1993, 1994) are challenging the "authority" that Pakeha writers have assumed in their encounter with, and interpretations of, the Maori world.

Much research undertaken has been from a positivistic, empirical model, which has not usually provided positive outcomes for Maori, who have been excluded and disconnected from the process. It is important therefore to find methods that are appropriate to Maori, with the critical factors being Maori participation in the design of the project; the incorporation of Maori world views and a reflection of the diversity of Maori (Durie, 1996c).

This particular research project has been influenced by a number of methodological approaches: qualitative methods using open-ended interviews, participant observation and archival document analysis. These

methods offer a much more participatory approach to the research with the participants observing the researcher in their midst, and the researcher obtaining a picture of the environment being studied, through various sources (some formal and some informal).

The methods have also been influenced by critical theory which argues that the researcher is required to have an understanding of the structural impositions that Maori are faced with in society. While this is a western theoretical tradition, many indigenous writers have used this approach as a foundation. Having a critical analysis enables one to examine modern social and political life, to develop a better understanding of that life and to move towards political and social change. Researching in a Maori environment requires an understanding of the political, ideological and oppressive nature of history in Aotearoa/New Zealand and how that has impacted on Maori. Such an analysis prevents the researcher from falling into the trap of "blaming the victim", a scenario which many Maori are tired of, but rather requires the researcher to work with the researched towards social change (such as a better future for their mokopuna). Such an emancipatory approach uses dialogue, biography, a knowledge of politics, a knowledge of power, and the use of narrative as research tools. It is a perspective that is often used in working with oppressed groups and communities who are wanting to move towards social change (Rees: 1991).

Kaupapa Maori research is central to this study. It has similarities to that of critical theory, but is unique to Maori and emerges from the ethnic revitalisation movement of the 1970-1980's and the intensifying of political consciousness that has arisen in an increasing number of Maori communities (Bishop: 1996). "Kaupapa Maori challenges the prevailing ideologies of cultural superiority which pervades our social, economic, political and educational institutions" (ibid, p12). It specifically focuses on culture and how oppression via colonisation has affected the plight of Maori people. Kaupapa Maori research looks towards the development of philosophy and practice that takes into account being and acting Maori (Smith cited in Bishop: 1996). This means a cultural legitimacy of Maori knowledge and values, something which is often debated when using other methodological perspectives. A Kaupapa Maori methodology means having an understanding of the unequal power structure and hegemonic nature of education that has occurred historically in Aotearoa/New Zealand, with a commitment to conscientisation of the

issues in the wider community (Smith cited in Bishop: *ibid*) in order to bring about social change. This may require the creation of new initiatives that recognise the inadequacy of the mainstream society to develop something appropriate for Maori people (as is the case with Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori and Wananga) something that is firmly imbedded within a Maori structure or in this instance a tribal structure. Within a research context therefore, Maori mechanisms like "kanohi ki te kanohi", the importance of oral communication, an understanding of the meaning of time, understanding the relevance of the past, present and the future, (*i nga ra o mua*-time that is in front of us) (Royal: 1993), specific information for specific people in certain Maori/iwi environments are all valid tools within the research context.

The next chapter will consider how this particular research project arose, was carried out and then analysed in terms of the data. Critical to the successful completion of this project were in depth discussions with the iwi participants, the university interest groups and a continual awareness of and sensitivity to the demands and expectations of all parties.

Kaupapa Maori Research

As has been stated Kaupapa Maori research has a commitment to using methodologies that are inclusive of Maori as research participants. Maori have primarily been excluded from the research process, feeling research has been conducted "on" them, rather than with them. They have recently entered this somewhat contentious debate and now vigorously promote Kaupapa Maori research-by Maori, with Maori for the benefit of Maori. A review of the literature on the research of Maori, now confirms the richness and diversity of opinion, as well as highlighting some of the confusions. The range of comments occur because of the many "diverse realities" (Durie: 1995a) that make up Maori, as well as those influenced by western research methodologies versus those Maori who are trying to reclaim a Maori voice within the field of research.

Despite the previous statements, Maori continue to be constantly researched, sometimes with informed consent, many more times with the power and control still firmly entrenched in the researcher's camp. If research is about control, resource allocation, information equity and power then it is important that critical questions continue to be asked.

Some Maori and Maori researchers are challenging the cultural abuse that has occurred in researching Maori, believing strongly that a whole variety of issues need to be canvassed from a cultural perspective before research in Maori fields can occur.

Speaking out has also meant providing practical solutions, and there are now many more Maori in the research arena, who are grappling with these issues themselves. Because of the broad spectrum of research, and a number of perspectives from many Maori, there is no easy solution to the issues being discussed. However, Maori are now able to validate some of these issues, as a result of praxis-being in the field and they are offering solutions and ideas that contribute to the debate. They no longer allow others to exclude them from the debate, but are at the heart of it. The development of Maori Research Units like RUME², the Maori Health Research Units, iwi Wananga, and of course increasing numbers of iwi who are undertaking research, enriches this debate considerably³.

Recent Maori reluctance to participate in research, not only centred on who the researcher was, the outcomes for Maori, but also the methods used in the research. The positivist tradition and the collection of empirical data has traditionally had more credibility in a research environment, but Maori remained suspicious of research and researchers, declining to participate and reluctant to become researchers when so such suspicion existed. As the numbers of Maori academics have slowly but surely increased in the 1980's and 1990's they have challenged the universities and their research traditions, particularly in debates concerning Kaupapa Maori Research. The debates continue.

The mana⁴ of the people being researched must be protected by the researcher and the institutions supervising the researchers, and by the participants themselves. They must feel included in the process. Te Awekotuku (1991, p67), offers suggestions about how research in Maori settings should be conducted. Research, she states:

² RUME- Research Unit in Maori Education.

³. There are research units led by Maori and, currently producing research material in a range of various research issues, that Maori feel truly reflect aspects of Maori society.

⁴ The meaning of mana in this instance is integrity, something that every person has. Mana can also be used to mean status and charisma.

...needs to be responsive to expressed Maori needs, needs expressed from within the community and not needs perceived by those outside it. ...It is also vital that the knowledge gained from research benefits the community...the activity itself should have value and relevance to the people studied. The collective interest subsumes the individuals: in policy directed activity, the community's interest should have the highest priority; the collective interest should subsume the agency's.

Te Ariki, Spoonley and Tomoana (1992, p81) add an interesting new dimension by looking at who the researcher should be as well at the kind of skills they should have. They say that the solution may not so much lie with Maori researchers, but with the need to "develop Maori research potential which will see research undertaken using Maori values and techniques" Durie (1996c) proposes a "Maori centred approach" which does not necessarily ignore the other positions or methods, but deliberately places Maori people and Maori experience at the centre of the research activity.

Graham Smith cited in Mead (1996, pp. 190-192) offers a framework which clearly situates most Pakeha researchers who are undertaking culturally appropriate research in Maori domains. The four models that he has posed are:

1. Tiaki or mentoring model; in which authoritative Maori people guide and sponsor the research. eg: John Rangihau or Peter Cleave, Robert Mahuta or James Ritchie.
2. Whangai or adoption model; person is incorporated into the daily life of the people and sustains a life long relationship which extends beyond the research.
eg; Anne Salmond's adoption by Eruera and Amiria Stirling, and Joan Metge's adoption by the Ahipara community.
3. Power sharing model; where researchers seek assistance of the community to meaningfully support the development of the research enterprise. eg: Jim Marshall and Michael Peters and their work with the Taitokerau Language Project, Te Reo o Te Taitokerau.
4. Empowering outcomes model; which addresses the sorts of questions Maori people want to know and which have beneficial outcomes for those being researched. eg: Richard Benton's survey, helped fuel the revitalisation of Maori language.

Another model that Mead (1996, pp. 192-193) adds is a:

5. Bicultural or partnership model: involves both Maori and Pakeha researchers working on a project and shaping that project together. May involve Pakeha interviewing Pakeha and Maori interviewing Maori or something more complex in the structuring of a research programme. eg: Te Ariki, Spoonley and Tomoana.

There will obviously be differences of approach in various Maori communities to the notion of Pakeha being able to undertake research on their community. The limits to research may relate in particular, but not exclusively, to questions of Maori knowledge and tikanga. The continued empowerment of Pakeha with these forms of knowledge is viewed in many Maori circles, especially amongst younger Maori, with resentment.

Some distinction is however apparent in certain research settings surrounding whakapapa, karakia, waiata and tikanga, where there would appear to be a consensus that areas particular to an iwi and hapu, should only be carried out by Maori, and in particular, Maori of that iwi, with the appropriate Maori credentials. (O'Regan: 1987, Walker: 1990, 1996, Soutar: 1994, Bishop: 1996, and Mead: 1996). Certainly O'Regan (1987) would advocate for a Maori of that whanau/hapu/iwi undertaking tribal research as he sees that this is all linked to the whakapapa of that group. Soutar (1994, p29) comments that, "Researchers who belong to the tribe know the sorts of requirements for recording tribal history, often being at pains to balance these demands while still remaining faithful to a western historical tradition". Walker (1990) is also a strong advocate for the Maori researcher undertaking research in Maori settings, and moves the field of research one step further by stating that he believes it is important that Maori develop research models and methodologies that are indigenous and founded on their own traditional knowledge bases.

Durie's article entitled the *Characteristics of Maori Health, Research* (1996c) agreed with the argument outlined in the last paragraph, as he believes that there is no question that research should be conducted by Maori, but that the challenge will be "for Maori by Maori". There needs to be a balance between solid research experience and a capacity to understand Maori people, society and culture. He clarifies this by offering several examples.

Firstly, he states that there may be times when as a part of a research group, some people may not be Maori, and that provided the initiative remains with Maori a Maori centred approach need not be compromised. He uses the example of iwi hiring lawyers, economists and the like, who are not Maori, to meet a short term goal which enables the long term goal of self sufficiency to be achieved.

Secondly, he states that even when a researcher is Maori, there is no guarantee that they will have the language, the culture or the tikanga required by the required by the research participant. The Maori researcher may be more empathetic to the issue being researched, but they need to be qualified in both cultural and research dimensions.

As Te Awekotuku (1991) comments, the issue of whether Maori or non-Maori are most appropriate to undertake research, has pros and cons for both groups of people, but may only remain an issue while there are still not a sufficient number of highly trained, sensitive, and motivated researchers of Maori descent working on Maori issues. She believes that this will start to change as iwi and Maori start to see the positive benefits of research for themselves, and start to play a much more participatory role in the research process.

The conclusions that can be drawn from this discussion are:

1. Extra caution needs to be taken when researching whanau, hapu and iwi-particularly in the area of te reo, tikanga, whakapapa. This may be an specialist area for iwi alone.
2. That there are too few Maori researchers with a balance of both good research skills and a Maori centred approach, therefore a commitment needs to be made to ensure that this situation changes.
3. That there may well be settings where people other than Maori can undertake research in Maori settings, but it is important that the project is initiated by Maori and the control needs to stay with Maori.
4. That there is a growing number of Maori writers who are stating that it is no longer acceptable that non-Maori researchers bleed Maori dry of their knowledge and then fail to acknowledge them or give them any kudos.
5. That there is a perspective that research on Maori needs to occur from a Maori centred approach or a kaupapa Maori approach.

6. That colonisation has impacted on research in Maori settings, but a revival is beginning.
7. The oppressive structures of our society perpetuate a knowledge base in the research arena which is western and eurocentric. Maori therefore need to reclaim the importance of positive research, developed from methodological frameworks which derive from their own knowledge base.

Whanau, Hapu and Iwi research

This thesis has followed a similar path as that described by writers such as Durie (1996c), though the decision about which western methodological approaches to use, has not been arrived at easily, as it was important that such approaches did not usurp, or undermine the importance of incorporating Maori ideologies, Maori values, and Maori centred approaches to research. It was important, that as Durie stated, the process was seen to be holistic, culturally safe, and have active community participation.

Tribal research today is not simply about a recitation of tribal history, but reflects the dynamic and ever changing structures known as whanau, hapu and iwi. Within hapu and iwi development there is a growing realisation that research is necessary in a whole variety of areas, ranging from welfare and health needs, to economic strategies, to iwi registers, to treaty claims. Hapu and iwi are now operating from a considerably stronger position in terms of stating what kind of research they require and who should undertake it. Indeed various research projects within whanau, hapu and iwi are now reflecting the diversity, continuity and changes within these structures.

This research within a hapu/iwi context, has highlighted the importance of recognising parts that make up a whole, that need to connect and at times overlap. It was essential to have a knowledge of history, of the key players, of the iwi structures and a recognition of my own role within all of this before the research was undertaken. An understanding of the bigger picture which affects this iwi and an ability to make well founded judgements about certain characteristics particular to this iwi have helped in the research journey. An accumulation of insider knowledge occurs over a period of time as a result of being immersed in the setting. An

awareness of wider, even less obvious issues important to the iwi also impact on the researcher who is an insider. The tribal researcher is able to utilise western scholarship in order to benefit iwi. At the same time acceptable research methods enable Maori to carry out iwi research on behalf of and for the benefit of their whanau, hapu and iwi.

The particular nuances evident when undertaking research within a hapu/iwi context were considered and are distinct from those talked about when referring to Maori. Historically Maori was a universal label used by the settlers of New Zealand, to combine all iwi together, and in turn to treat them all similarly. Rapid urbanisation in the last half century, and the consequential loss of iwi identity by many Maori has resulted in changes to Maori society. There has been a growing revival of iwi/Maori identity in the 1970's, 80's and 90's, and this has involved acquiring a knowledge of who you are (Ko wai koe?) and what your whakapapa connections are (No hea koe?). This is critically important within the structure of whanau, hapu and iwi as it moves you beyond being simply an ethnic statistic (O'Regan: 1987).

Whanau, hapu and iwi may therefore be particularly suspicious of researchers if the information they seek relates to their whakapapa, tikanga, and customs. As O'Regan (1987: p 141-145) points out; "to inquire into my history or that of my people, you must inquire into my whakapapa". Durie (1996c, p25) also suggests that there are some areas of knowledge too valuable to be shared with all comers- "some knowledge, or the mana attached to it is diminished as soon as it becomes written for all to read". Tribal research may therefore be specific to certain researchers, or researchers may need to be very aware of information that they can have access to, or information that is particular to people of that iwi/hapu. People who are unaware of the nuances of whanau, hapu and iwi may not even know that the information they are being given is limited to that which is generally known. Only selected members are entrusted with knowledge which is not broadcast widely for general consumption. Much recent research in the area of whanau, hapu and iwi has tended to be specific to people from that iwi, Black (1988), Te Awekotuku (1991), Broughton (1993), and Royal (1994) or people chosen by that iwi.

Membership of a particular whanau, hapu or iwi, does not automatically mean one will have free access to information. Information may be hard to obtain and the researcher may be required to walk a tight rope before they gain access. They need to acquire acceptance from all of the right people and groups, to recount whakapapa, having it verified, answer questions which test their long term commitment to the hapu/iwi beyond the research project. Some researchers naively step into the field of researching whanau/hapu/iwi, and then become aware of the extent of the additional relationships/commitments that are created as the research progresses. Decisions about the future levels of involvement and additional commitments must be considered. It is important if the researcher belongs to the iwi to remember you will live and die with the people. In addition, if further research in this area is anticipated, then it is important to get things right the first time in order to ensure future access on another occasions. With this research topic individual people expressed the wish to discuss the topic with other members of their whanau and hapu before agreeing to be interviewed.

Another factor for consideration before conducting research within whanau, hapu and iwi are the historical relationships across hapu and iwi, as there may have been differences, hostilities and misapprehensions with specific tribal groups or even between hapu and whanau (Te Awekotuku: 1991). This would prevent particular researchers undertaking research in certain hapu/iwi contexts. Researchers wanting to conduct research with their own iwi should be guided by the iwi and nominated key mentors. Iwi research should be undertaken by iwi members or at the least someone the iwi appoints. Those who don't belong may find themselves in a position of "outsider" without even realising it, and may therefore not gain full and accurate information. Even those who are of that iwi may be given limited information.

Research in a whanau, hapu and iwi context carries with it privileges but also enormous responsibilities and obligations. Reciprocity and retribution (whakamana and whakaiti) are key concepts which the researcher should examine prior to undertaking any research. Support and encouragement go hand in hand with being watched critically. Lifelong membership means a life time commitment. The iwi research journey takes place on a narrow path signposted with many key concepts described in this chapter.

Methodological Approaches

This research took place in a Maori centred environment using Kaupapa Maori research methods, qualitative approaches and was underpinned with Critical theory.

Qualitative Research

While there has previously been some criticism of the quantitative approaches to research on Maori, qualitative approaches are no better if they are not accompanied by a variety of techniques that are appropriate to Maori and to the particular situation being researched (Durie: 1996c). Patton (1990) states that the data from qualitative work typically comes from field work with three kinds of data collection being used: in-depth open-ended interviews, direct observation and written document analysis. The use of such methods gives those being interviewed and the information gathered, the mana that they deserve, and emphasises the importance of the people in this project. Without their involvement the research would not come alive. Therefore the use of such techniques within a hapu/iwi context would be open, up-front, informing and empowering.

Supporters of this methodology argue that it is able to convey the complexities of human situations from the perspective of the subject. This was a comfortable position for me as a researcher as it allowed the accumulation of data to occur, with my role as the researcher to facilitate the process and collect and analyse the data. Such methods have been subject to critique as they have generally been used in small scale research projects, which in the case of this research is suitable as it is being conducted within a hapu, iwi context on a small scale. Patton (1990, p24) highlights issues of possible ambiguity of design and data analysis, as well as the question of empathetic neutrality.

The task therefore for a qualitative researcher is to provide a framework within which people can respond in a way that represents accurately and thoroughly their points of view about the world.

Such an approach has also been called ethnographic. This can involve an intensive long term relationship with those being studied. It also has a holistic contextual approach to the setting and the problems chosen for investigation. It does not analytically separate out one aspect of the study without considering its connection to the rest of the socio-cultural context. The use of an exploratory, open-ended approach allows for the research to begin with the participant's view being described and analysed rather than that of the outside observer (Sorrenson: 1996).

In this research this allows a much more inclusive process for not only those that were interviewed, but for those groups that supported this initiative and which kept an eye on the progress of the project, and who occasionally offered another piece of information (or another piece of the puzzle). Such an approach also influenced what I believe was a change in focus of the research in terms of outcomes.

The use of such methods has allowed the stories of those involved to be taken into account in a meaningful way and acknowledged the different realities of each participant, whether that be kuia, koroua, matua, tuakana, teina, tungane or hapu. Such an approach also uses the word "I" and "we" and does not depersonalise or separate out those interviewed from the data analysis, neither does it separate out the researcher from those researched, but in fact allows ownership of the material. The inclusive nature of the method forms a bond or a connection between the researcher and those being researched which could be seen as a requirement of quality data in this instance. I already had a relationship with all of those interviewed, though the relationships were to change to a greater or lesser extent, as a consequence of this project. It was definitely expected that the research would be a reciprocal exercise, though I don't think I realised when I first undertook this project what that would entail and because of the whakapapa connections that some of that reciprocity would end up being life long relationships.

Open-ended interviews

Patton (1990) emphasised that the successful use of qualitative methods is particularly dependent on the credibility of the researcher collects data and is the centre of the analytic process. For the hapu and iwi of Ngati Raukawa the identity of the researcher was important in negotiating

access and gaining approval for the project. Interestingly however, while in the academic university setting I was seen as a researcher, within an iwi context, I was seen as an insider. There was a slow progression for participants from being subjects of the research towards their owning the project, with my role moving from researcher towards one of facilitator and recorder of the project. The open-ended interview technique encouraged this by enabling the incorporation of oral traditions, seen as an important taonga in Maori society. I believe that there was a mutuality of learning going on in this situation where one was both the teacher and the pupil (Freire: 1979). This research project used the open-ended interview to record the stories which provide that data (See Appendix five for the questions).

The thought of the interview was initially daunting for some, but responses from most confirmed that they enjoyed the interview, felt informed and validated by the process. It gave some the opportunity to clarify their thinking about iwi social services, with some used the opportunity to plan their future directions with regards to this kaupapa. Little prompting was required during the interviews, with many of those interviewed being very forthcoming about their 'reality'. Certainly such an approach has the potential to contribute towards change for people by encouraging self-reflection and a deeper understanding of their situations.

This particular approach fitted well with my background and skill as a social worker, and social work educator, and it allowed those being interviewed to speak freely, and to give their answers in any manner that was appropriate to them, as factual information, in question answer format, or through the use of stories. Patton (1990, p22) describes this approach in this way:

The data are collected as open ended narrative without attempting to fit activities or peoples experience into pre-determined standardised categories such as the response choices that comprise typical questionnaires or tests.

Participant Observation

Participant observation uses open-ended interviews, document analyses, and direct participation and observation simultaneously. The participant or observer role occurs to a greater or lesser extent within each setting and

the unstructured nature of the research design allows the work to evolve, and a framework to develop from the setting particular to the research. Such an approach attempts to maximise the discovery and verification of theoretical propositions. There is constant reviewing of emerging hypotheses as the research is carried out (Denzin: 1970).

The researchers therefore need to spend time in the communities observing and participating in the community's activities. They commit themselves to adopting the perspective of those studied via their day to day experiences, and to becoming fully participating members of the group under observation. "Such immersion in the lives of the people one studies is very different from the distance maintained by experimenters and survey researchers" (Kidder: 1981, p109).

Participant observation was chosen as a particular research strategy to validate and regulate activities in a community of which I was already a part and to also allow me to reflect on the activities of that community in a structured, constructive and open manner. It required informing those I was interviewing of a change of role from a member of the community, to include the role of a researcher. The clear separation of roles between researcher and a member of the community was not always an easy one, particularly as increasing involvement with the hapu and iwi, resulted when both of these groups of people requested my involvement in a wide range of activities. I was already an insider rather than the "foreign object" that Denzin (1970) describes, therefore the creation of a reaction that he claims occurs with people who are new to the field would certainly not be as dramatic in my case. Being a member of the community (whanau, hapu, iwi) provided me with access to information and people that may not have been as easily accessible for an outsider. In addition, my being from that community created different and additional expectations from those who were aware that I was undertaking research in this area.

Analysis of participant observation centres around the familiarity that occurs within a setting when researchers find themselves facing unbearable role conflicts (Ely's et al: 1991) including questions around the validity of the information. The other side of the coin suggests that without familiarity the quality of information is reduced. I am convinced that the depth of information obtained during this research would have been less if the researcher was an outsider rather than an insider. It is up

to the insider to treat the oral interviews, the written documentation and the observations with dignity, with integrity, and to also maintain the mana of the people being talked about. Guba and Lincoln, (1989) state that involvement by participation ensures the effects of misinformation are minimised, enable the interviewer to uncover points that would otherwise not occur and allows for a better understanding of the cultural context in which the participants are immersed.

There is also the criticism that the nature of such research methodology does not lend itself to being value free. This is acknowledged by qualitative researchers who believe that people can never be entirely free of their own values and world view. More importantly they believe that the researcher needs to locate themselves within the research environment by having an awareness of self and how this impacts on the community that is being researched. From the community's perspective, they will benefit from a researcher whose world view incorporates a commitment to the community's enhancement. They will feel positive towards a researcher who has an understanding of their community, can still analyse the issues and make a positive contribution to that community.

Participation in this iwi research community means a life-long commitment for me. I find myself a much more active participant than I was previously, mainly because so many new doors have opened and the process of this research has meant that many more people have come to know who I am. This has not been without some difficulty as the administrative centre for Te Runanga o Raukawa in Otaki, my iwi supervisor and my hapu marae are approximately seventy two kilometres away from my current home and work base in Palmerston North. Those interviewed also spanned a wide geographical area most within seventy kilometres of Palmerston North. Over the several years of involvement in this research, I have travelled to these places several times a week.

Participant observation is a useful method in Maori research settings. However it needs to be combined with methodologies that are Maori centred. Issues of who the researcher is, what role they play, how the recipients are included in the research, and what the outcomes are, all need to be addressed by Maori before they feel comfortable about greater participation in research at all levels. Because of the many diverse realities

of Maori today, a range of methods appropriate to different contexts are still necessary.

Analysis of written documentation

Document analysis in qualitative inquiry yields excerpts, quotations, or entire passages from organisational, clinical or programme records; memoranda and correspondence; official publications and reports, personal diaries; and open-ended written responses to questionnaires and surveys (Patton: 1990, p10).

The focus of this research was Ngati Raukawa as an iwi, Te Runanga o Raukawa as an organisation and Raukawa Social Services as a particular aspect of that organisation. Information about these three organisations demanded research be undertaken outside of libraries, with most of the information being given to me by key people within the iwi, or being obtained from Te Runanga o Raukawa offices.

Other organisations within the iwi, like Te Wananga o Raukawa, the Otaki Maori Racing Club, and the Raukawa Marae Trustees, were also helpful in providing information about the wider iwi and its activities. The AGM Reports of Te Runanga o Raukawa were invaluable as historical documents recording the activities of the Runanga, its companies and committees. People who have had key positions within the iwi were also invaluable sources of knowledge.

They assisted with their stories and accounts of events in the development of Ngati Raukawa. These were often interpreted in a variety of different ways but were all additions to the documentation available. Written documentation of the historical accounts of Ngati Raukawa (mainly written by Pakeha) generally interpreted events in the period in which the work was written, and from the perspectives of the mainly European writers recording the history. Analysis of this literature indicates that a more balanced perspective is needed and in particular that the voices of those from Ngati Raukawa are heard. The written work of Ngati Raukawa historians Royal and Carkeek as well as the more recent documentation and oral verification from historians like Waaka and Winiata has gone some way towards providing some balance and placing an iwi perspective within the written records now available.

Situating the Research Approaches within the Context of Maori

While the methodologies outlined had gone some way towards answering some of my concerns surrounding research in Maori communities, there still seemed to be a missing link. I was looking for a methodology that was grounded in my own world view and that of those being researched. Such a world view would generate solutions to problems and would meet cultural aspirations using Maori cultural preferences and practices despite being dramatically effected by colonisation (Bishop: 1996). This world view would not be an add-on to the dominant world view that Maori had experienced or been assimilated into for the last 150 years, but it would guarantee acceptance of the stories of those included in research. It needed to represent the world views of Maori people from the iwi of Ngati Raukawa.

Graham Smith (cited in Mead: 1996, p68) believes that Kaupapa Maori research has to "grab people" emotionally and "turn them on to new possibilities", in order to ensure emancipatory outcomes. There needs to be a passion and commitment that drives the research towards the production of action and social change. Irwin (1994) characterises Kaupapa Maori research as something that is "culturally safe" as it involves mentorship by kaumatua or in my case by hapu and iwi organisations as well. Irwin believes that these mechanisms protect the researcher culturally, as well as satisfying the rigours of research. Bishop (1996) uses the Treaty of Waitangi, as a reason why not only Maori but Pakeha should have an obligation towards this kind of research. He believes that Pakeha who have a genuine desire to support Kaupapa Maori research should be involved in the process, whereas the over-riding views and recommendations of current Maori academics are that Kaupapa Maori research is for Maori by Maori. Graham Smith (cited in Mead: 1996, p202) summarises this by saying that Kaupapa Maori research is:

- i) related to 'being Maori',
- ii) connected to Maori philosophy and principles,
- iii) takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Maori, and the importance of Maori language and culture, and
- iv) is concerned with 'the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being.

With this kind of framework there are some working principles surrounding Maori ways of knowing, values, processes and practices, which assist the researcher. Graham Smith and Linda Smith have developed these principles within their research experiences, but other Maori researchers have supported these principles within the context of their research (Te Awekotuku (1991), Irwin (1992), Durie (1994c, 1995a, 1996c), Bishop (1996), Selby (1996)).

Within the framework of Kaupapa Maori research, Maori concepts are critical, concepts such as whakapapa, whanau, hapu and iwi, te reo, tikanga, and rangatiratanga, all of which are crucial to any action within Maori settings (Mead: 1996, pp. 210-218).

The principle of whakapapa

Whakapapa is fundamental in the Maori world to knowing who you are. One's identity as a researcher is critical to the Maori research context and can be crucial in terms of access to certain knowledge. Whakapapa not only tells people who you are but how you are connected to a marae, land, hapu and iwi. It also signals historical relationships with other iwi. Mead (1996, p211) says that the concept of whakapapa, "embraces much of how we see ourselves in relation to everything else". Whether we know our whakapapa links or not, there are often key people within whanau, hapu and iwi, who after a few basic questions, are able to connect you to whanau, hapu and iwi. These connections are critical when undertaking research in Maori communities. Whakapapa can be an important consideration in a variety of different ways and can influence the research process in terms of context, time, the people and the actual project.

One of the key ways in which the issue of whakapapa is dealt with in a research context, is when the researcher initially makes contact "kanohi ki te kanohi" (face to face) to a whanau, hapu, iwi, or iwi organisation to seek permission to undertake the research. It is polite if not mandatory to identify oneself in terms of whakapapa connections, and indeed questions/challenges about those connections may arise, so it is important this aspect of the research is taken seriously and respectfully.

Whakapapa was to prove a critical principle in terms of access to the area I was wanting to research, in particular to certain individuals and hapu. It

was to also prove invaluable in connecting me to my tipuna and the kaumatua I was interviewing, and some wonderful stories were told, which have in turn been the foundation for long lasting relationships.

The principle of te reo

Te Reo is a significant principle of Kaupapa Maori research in that it is viewed as a taonga and critical to the survival of the people. It is an issue which Ngati Raukawa has a particular penchant for, as they believe that the survival of te reo will also herald the survival of Ngati Raukawatanga. Having a knowledge of te reo and being able to use it within some research contexts, opens up a whole new range of information and communication in the research process. It enables access to be made to the essence of the Maori world view, as there are no easy translations for some Maori concepts. Mead states in her research, "The language,...is a window to the ways of knowing the world" (p 214). Indeed it is also a means of interacting with the world.

The contemporary nature of the material that I was seeking from those I interviewed did not always mean that te reo was used. It was however a vital part of mihimihi, karakia, and for first language speakers of te reo, an opportunity to more clearly express themselves when they became tongue-tied. They have been an inspiration in my drive to learn te reo. This became an important skill in the research process, in that people felt comfortable enough with my level of reo to switch to Maori and to have me respond accordingly. There are obvious tikanga connected with gender, age and iwi prescriptions in terms of the use of the reo, but in general there is a basic level of Maori language required to undertake Kaupapa Maori research.

The principle of tikanga Maori

Tikanga is regarded as customary practice, obligations and behaviours, or the principles which govern social practices. It is about being able to operate inside the cultural system and make decisions and judgements about how to interpret what occurs (Mead: 1996, p 215).

My nervousness in undertaking research in a whanau, hapu and iwi environment was connected with getting the kaupapa right and realising that if I got it wrong that there could be long term consequences that I would have to face, even after completion of the research project. This

meant that I had to be careful during the period of the research, before entering the research community, while negotiating the aims and the methods to be used, ensuring I was acting appropriately with various individuals, and groups, and working to be accepted into the community. This certainly required a number of skills and sensitivities on my part, but further than that it required people around me who could guide and support me when necessary. Inadvertently, the first of these people was my mother, and the others, Professor Mason Durie, Professor Whatarangi Winiata and Associate Professor Robyn Munford, became my supervisors.

A further important tikanga surrounded tapu. Even when a topic appears to initially be free of the restrictions of tapu, there are people who are hesitant about transmitting whanau knowledge and want to ensure the taonga, the gift of information is in safe hands. The hesitancy that I sensed from some people initially, was not so much the esoteric information that Mead (1996) describes in her thesis, but careful iwi members protecting themselves, their whanau and hapu, and ensuring that the contribution they would make was to enhance the mana of the hapu.

The principle of rangatiratanga

This principle is connected to the "goal of control over one's life and cultural well being" (Smith cited in Mead: 1996, p216). In the governance of research this is about the control over the agenda for research, and control over resources and their distribution. The principles of rangatiratanga at a pragmatic level govern the way in which the following questions were answered:

- i) what research do we want to carry out?
- ii) who is that research for?
- iii) what difference will it make?
- iv) who will carry out this research?
- v) how do we want the research to be done?
- vi) how will we know it is a worthwhile piece of research?
- vii) who will own the research?
- viii) who will benefit? (Smith cited in Mead: 1996, pp. 217-218)

If one operates from a Kaupapa Maori research perspective these are questions that researchers should be constantly asking themselves, and as

such should be reflected in the how the research is conducted and how it is written up.

The principle of whanau/hapu/iwi

A whanau is the strongest form of support that one can have when undertaking research in a Maori community. They have inbuilt responsibilities and obligations to their members. They play a multitude of roles ranging from a kaiakihaere to a kaiwhakapakari, to kaiawhina, to kaitautoko (Selby: 1996) Gender balance in my whanau group was important. Not only had my personal philosophy been linked to the critical and emancipatory focus already described, but there was a strong commitment to the role of women, particularly Maori women. Much of the work within Raukawa Social Services has been as a consequence of hard work by Ngati Raukawa women and it was important for me that their voices were heard. This is also reflected in the role that women play within whanau and hapu, and Ngati Raukawa has certainly had some outspoken women representatives of hapu in various iwi initiatives. It was important therefore that this research maintained a balance in terms of gender among the supervisors and research participants.

The reflection of different generations in this research project were also important, both in terms of those I interviewed as well as those that were my supervisory whanau. Unlike many other research projects, the issue for me was not finding hunga kaumatua to be involved in the research, but the involvement of hunga rangatahi. The support of the Raukawa Social Services Committee was particularly relevant here, as within Maori eyes (despite the fact that most of us were between 30-45) we were still seen to be rangatahi within Ngati Raukawa in terms of our learning. The age factor also became an issue in terms of recounting material that occurred before my involvement with the iwi or before I was even born.

Kaupapa Maori Research is a social project, it weaves in and out of Maori cultural beliefs and values, western ways of knowing, Maori histories and experiences under colonialism, western forms of education, Maori aspirations and socio-economic needs, and western economies and global politics. Kaupapa Maori is concerned with sites and terrain's. Each of these are sites of struggle. Each of these sites have also been claimed by others as 'their' turf. They are selected or select themselves precisely because they are sites of struggle and because they have some strategic importance for Maori (Mead: 1996, p208).

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted some of the complex issues surrounding the choice of research methodologies that need to be considered when undertaking research in an iwi environment. It has been argued that historically research methods may have met the needs of the researcher but have left the researched disempowered. The last two decades have seen the emergence of researchers who have tackled the difficult questions connected within research in Maori and whanau, hapu and iwi contexts. Some like C. Smith (1993), Bishop (1993), Mead (1996), and Durie (1996b, c) and others have more recently developed research that is Kaupapa Maori research or Maori centred research. Both involve Maori being at the centre of the research and include involvement by the respondents at every stage of the research process. The methodologies which have derived from western eurocentric philosophies have not been enough on their own, to adequately or appropriately answer some of the dilemmas associated with research that have been posed in this chapter, issues that have been distinctly cultural. However such methodologies have complemented the proponents of Kaupapa Maori research and made my journey into the research field a much easier one. The research journey as outlined in the next chapter was not without its trials and tribulations, but the frameworks and models that other Maori have developed and tested made my journey easier and would hopefully make those being interviewed feel a lot more confident about this research.

CHAPTER SIX

THE RESEARCH JOURNEY: TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS

Introduction

The dominant methodologies, relied upon in traditional research have emphasised rationality, objectivity, detachment and distance (Smith & Nobel-Spruel: 1986). It can be argued that such methodologies have perpetuated dominance and legitimisation for power elites and have led to a relationship between researcher and researched that has been hierarchical and controlling. Maori have become intolerant of such assimilationist processes (Durie: 1996a) and have looked towards methodologies that are more Maori centred. Maori researchers who use a Kaupapa Maori research methodology within Maori communities are attempting to create a dialectical relationship and to facilitate empowering strategies (Brown: 1994).

As was discussed in the previous chapter Maori are beginning to be more assertive in deciding whether research can be conducted with them, how and by whom. Many mainstream university environments (the exception possibly being Maori Studies departments) are still slow to change their traditional attitudes. Many young Maori researchers run a gauntlet in order to justify their positions, within a western eurocentric framework. This can lead to considerable debate and heartache for the Maori researcher. However it is only when Maori continue to challenge academic institutions that change will occur. The praxis of being in the research field and seeking solutions or ideas that contribute to the debate, gradually offers Kaupapa Maori research more credibility within the mainstream research environments. This research project is such a journey, full of trials and tribulations encountered in the research site, a journey which attempted to satisfy the integrity of Maori scholarship with that of western academia (Irwin: 1994).

How I got involved in Research

In the previous chapter, I discussed how I became involved in research. At the beginning of my Masters degree I wanted my thesis to look at a topic which had something to do with "Maori". It took several years

before I settled on an iwi development initiative, focusing on social services. Careful selection of a topic was needed in order to benefit those being researched and to sustain my interest for the duration of the study. When I was asked to represent my hapu, Ngati Wehiwehi on the Raukawa Social Services Committee of Te Runanga o Raukawa, I did not realise that assisting in the development of my iwi, would eventually lead me to the current research topic. The journey through a western eurocentric university environment is not easy when trying to find new paths of discovery and understanding of iwi Maori. What constituted legitimate knowledge was invariably judged by course controllers having the last say as they examined the work. At times this was to my benefit, though I still wondered whether the knowledge was also legitimate in Maori and iwi eyes. At other times teachers assumed that everything could be explained within the current western context, with Maori ideas being "grafted" on (Durie: 1996c). It wasn't until the thesis was begun that I learnt about Maori centred research and Kaupapa Maori research. Both addressed my questions and concerns and excited me about the possibilities that research offered for Maori and iwi communities.

Research Design

A key concern in the design of this research was sensitivity. It was essential that all those who supported the research were assured from the beginning that their questions would be answered, their concerns addressed and their needs met in terms of reassurances, all in a sensitive way.

Choosing the Topic

I studied for my Masters degree part-time, while also becoming more involved with the Raukawa Social Services Committee. At the time, the Committee had moved from discussing social service issues, to emerging as a fledgling service. The Committee was seeking funding, devising policies, training and supervising staff, developing a relationship with government agencies and constantly keeping hapu and iwi informed. The relationship with the State was particularly taxing, as the State had many resources and Raukawa Social Services had minimal resources and yet the State constantly badgered the service to produce documents of accountability. Under such pressure, the Committee could have easily

been discouraged but their ultimate responsibility was to the hapu and iwi of Ngati Raukawa. The Committee, was clear that the hapu-iwi relationship and the tino rangatiratanga of Ngati Raukawa were paramount. It needed to be constantly one step ahead in its dealings with the Crown. An annual review of the services was proposed. I offered to assist with the review and to undertake research into the development and future directions of Raukawa Social Services. The Committee agreed that the research was necessary and timely. This reinforces Tomlins-Jahnke's (1996) contention that research needs to show evidence of a collective need in order for the research project to occur. In my case, the seed was sown and the Committee supported my suggestion assuring me of considerable support as well as the support that I received from whanau, hapu, iwi and my professional whanau from the university.

Supervision and approval

I did not feel that I could undertake this piece of work without a strong support team beside me. It was important that I not only had a supervisor from my own Department who understood the way I worked and the research topic but that I also wanted another supervisor who had a strong grounding in iwi development and preferably in the development of Ngati Raukawa. In this way I felt as Irwin did (1994, p29) that "supervisors to be representative of both worlds of scholarship, to ensure validity, reliability, accountability and cultural safety".

The Department of Social Policy and Social Work, appointed Associate Professor Robyn Munford as my departmental supervisor. She had a solid grounding of the issues that might arise in this research context and encouraged me to challenge the boundaries that were generally new and unfamiliar in academic contexts. She was able to see and understand some of the nuances, roles and responsibilities that occurred for me in terms of my commitment to hapu and iwi, during and after the research was conducted. She realised that some of these commitments were ongoing during the research journey and therefore attempted to keep me focused and to help manage my time.

Robyn Munford was excellent at nurturing when appropriate but also pushed when necessary. Her efficiency in returning drafts I'd written and in giving positive encouragement while also providing intellectual

challenges stimulated my learning for the duration of the project and was more than could be asked of a departmental supervisor and friend. It is important to have supervisors for the subject matter but also to have a supervisor who is available regularly and who is prepared to offer ready access. I am convinced that without her support this project would have been literally never ending.

I realised that much of the information I sought would not be accessible in a library. I therefore needed someone who could critique the material from "inside", the iwi. Professor Mason Durie, the Head of Maori Studies, fitted this description. Not only was he a noted academic but he was from Ngati Raukawa and at the time of commencing my thesis he was still the Chairman of Te Runanga o Raukawa, the parent body of Raukawa Social Services. Initially he declined the opportunity but after I had presented a paper on: *Researching Raukawa Social Services* to the National Matawhanui conference in Palmerston North (1995).¹ Mason Durie agreed to supervise the project.

A year later, I presented Professor Mason Durie with my research proposal. He suggested that access and approval be sought from Te Runanga o Raukawa. This was therefore more than an academic exercise, it was about introducing myself to a wider forum seeking approval to undertake the research. As I was a member of the Raukawa Social Services Committee and the current chairperson/tumuaki of that Committee I thought that approval would readily be given but the distrust and suspicion that surrounds research in Maori communities, extended to the Runanga Whaiti and to my proposal. Te Runanga Whaiti were very encouraging and gave their support for the research (See Appendix six for letter of approval from the Te Runanga o Raukawa). I had identified Professor Mason Durie as my iwi supervisor but this appointment was questioned as members felt it was their responsibility to appoint the iwi supervisor. Te Runanga Whaiti unanimously agreed that this project needed a supervisor whom they felt had knowledge of the subject area and who could guide me through other aspects of the process. They appointed Professor Whatarangi Winiata because Te Runanga Whaiti felt that he had extensive experience, knowledge and continued involvement

¹ Te Matawhanui is an association of Maori staff working in Universities in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In March 1995, Massey University Te Matawhanui hosted the National Conference.

in the area of social services, as well as hapu and iwi affairs. Te Runanga Whaiti was convinced that having both Professors Mason Durie and Whatarangi Winiata as supervisors, would protect the research. This consultation process and the subsequent attention to the detail of my supervisors, helped secure involvement of hapu in the research project. This iwi consultation process would affirm that the authority, control and ownership of the research is a part of a collective identity within the whanau, hapu and iwi (Tomlins-Jahnke: 1996).

This research was now being guided by a whanau of supervisors (Irwin: 1994). Irwin describes this model of supervision as a relationship characterised by aroha, collective responsibility and co-operation. Irwin (1994) suggests that whanau supervision meetings should ideally bring everyone together at critical times during the research. Because my supervisors were unable to meet as a collective, at times I found myself racing from one supervisor to the other, gathering advice and trying to include everyone's ideas. Eventually I realised that I would need to make decisions about the direction of the thesis for myself as ultimately the project was my responsibility.

Selby (1996) in her Masters thesis, describes roles that are apparent in the supervisors I had.

1. kaiakihaere- an encourager and a mentor;
2. kaitautoko- a supporter;
3. kaiawhina- a helper, an encourager.
4. kaiwhakapakari-an inspirer through their own strength, who builds up your confidence, while gently reminding you of the importance of the research for whanau, hapu and iwi.

An additional role of tangata titiro whakamua is someone who is a visionary and constantly developing ideas for the future of a group of people, derived from a solid base of knowledge and experience.

The benefits of a whanau of supervisors outweighed the difficulties and the research was enriched from their involvement. They had characteristics of impeccable scholarship, knowledge of te reo me ona tikanga (at an hapu/iwi level as well as at a national level), they had a critical analysis of both iwi and academic environments and they met my needs in terms of gender, matua from the iwi and my own whanau

support (Irwin: 1994). Most thesis students have two supervisors. A model of whanau supervisors creates issues of their own but is nevertheless an option that can be seriously considered, particularly when undertaking research within whanau, hapu and iwi.

Supervision with my two iwi supervisors was particularly challenging. They were so full of wonderful ideas that I would often go into a supervision session aiming for a Masters thesis but come out believing that maybe I should be doing a PhD. Both men are leaders and visionaries within the development of Ngati Raukawa, as well as for Maori at a national level. Often a document or snippet of information would be invaluable to the progress of the research. Their astuteness regarding to the politics of individuals, hapu and iwi, did not only help my growth as a researcher but also as a contributor to the future development of the hapu and iwi of Ngati Raukawa.

Organising supervision with these two busy people was not easy and there were times when sessions had to be cancelled at the last minute. This was made up for by the wonderful richness of ideas that were shared when we did come together. Travelling to Otaki from Palmerston North on a regular basis took up a lot of time and sessions would not last the regulatory one hour, because sessions were an opportunity to catch up on the research topic, as well as discuss issues of hapu and iwi development. With Te Wananga o Raukawa regularly being visited by manuhiri, I occasionally found myself in the midst of a powhiri, a lecture, or giving the lecture. The hectic timetables of these supervisors, required flexibility on my part, with supervision sessions as occasions and opportunities to be savoured. Supervision from these visionaries has contributed to a growing commitment on my part to work within the development of whanau, hapu and iwi. I do not think that I would have felt entirely happy if only the requirements of academia had been met, with no acknowledgement of Maori processes and Maori principles.

Interview and interview locations

Professor Mason Durie assisted in deciding who should be interviewed and how. As a one to one interviewing process is not always seen as culturally appropriate, it was decided that I should interview hapu groups, as well as individuals.

Nine individuals were selected including two former members of the Raukawa Social Services Committee, one member from the current Committee, four members of Te Runanga Whaiti and two members from the wider iwi. Those interviewed were women and men, a range of ages and representative of the various hapu and from various geographic locations. Some of the people chosen were my peers, others were kaumatua and key decision-makers in various hapu and iwi organisations. I was very much in awe of these people and nervous about getting everything right. I was concerned about the protocols that would have to be followed and wanted to utilise their time fruitfully when they were all so busy. Once I made contact with them, I found that they were all very accommodating, very clear about their questions surrounding the research and very passionate about their involvement in marae, hapu and iwi affairs when they were interviewed.

I wrote introducing myself and the kaupapa. This letter was followed up with a phone call. Some people were difficult to contact but all eventually agreed to be interviewed.

All but one of the individuals felt happy with the letter that had been sent and no further clarification was required before agreement to be interviewed. One kuia was inquisitive about the letter and before she was prepared to be interviewed, asked a number of questions and talked to younger members of her family who worked in the area of social services. This was a very nerve-racking experience but was totally appropriate. She made whakapapa connections and checked if I was reliable, before agreeing to be interviewed.

The relationship which developed with those being researched was crucial. There needed to be mutual trust, respect and co-operation. There was a need to foster a reciprocal relationship of information giving, both during the interviews and afterwards (Patton, 1990). Much of this meant informing people of who I was and what my whakapapa connections were. This was a means of including those being researched at every stage of the research process.

Those who were interviewed were to nominate a venue for the interview. Seven of them invited me into their homes, two asked to be interviewed at

work and one in my home. I felt it was important that the interviewees choose where they wanted to be interviewed, as the place might be an important factor in protection for them, for example: the whare tipuna of the marae.

It was decided to interview six hapu but despite requests for volunteers on several occasions six hapu did not volunteer. Only my own hapu came forward. Eventually Ngati Wehiwehi asked that I talk about my research at a Raukawa District Council meeting. This led to an approach from the Ngati Turanga representative who stated that his hapu would be interested in being interviewed. A direct approach Ngati Tukorehe revealed the final group to be interviewed. Reluctance from some hapu was because they felt that the activities of their marae committee focused on the use of the marae and fund-raising issues. There did not seem to be much interest at the marae committee level to look at the broader social service issues of their hapu.

The hapu or affiliated iwi that was interviewed was the marae committee, though the interview for Ngati Tukorehe occurred after their Annual General Meeting and was open to anyone who was interested in the kaupapa. It was hoped that the hapu would be a representation of geographical location but in the end one of the hapu was from the centre of the rohe and the other two from the southern area.

The questions, the information sheet, confidentiality guidelines

Narrative enquiry or story telling is an approach which addresses Maori concerns about research into their lives (Bishop: 1996). It enables those that are involved in the research to feel involved in the research process as active participants and it validates their experiences. Narrative enquiry allows people's experiences to be expressed through their 'voice'. Stories articulate people's experiences, which in some instances may talk about sameness but their stories also reveal diversity and difference. Story-telling is a particularly acceptable manner for addressing Maori concerns, as the story-teller selects, recollects and reflects on stories from their own cultural context and uses a language which is their own rather than that of the researcher. Bishop (1996, p24) says that in this way "stories are able to address the potential for hegemony by the researcher". Tomlins-Jahnke (1996, p42) also describes this technique "as a remedy to the historical

legacy of ignoring the voices and ideas of Maori or having non-Maori speak for Maori".

Participants can truthfully see themselves represented in the writings by excerpts from their stories, thus the participants have the power to define their own knowledge. Maori are traditionally an oral culture and story-telling is an idiom of instruction that is very much a preferred medium. Such an approach therefore allows the person who has felt very much silenced in the research process to be given time and space to tell their story.

In order for such an approach to occur, the open-ended, semi-structured interview allows flexibility for participants to not just answer questions but to engage in dialogue telling their personal stories (Brown: 1994). This was also a means of catering for my relative youth within the context of the iwi.

Thus a number of broad and very open-ended questions were devised in conjunction with my supervisors, which broadly addressed the area of iwi, hapu, Te Runanga o Raukawa and Raukawa Social Services. They were purposely written at a broad level in order to guide the interview, with many more questions being generated from the conversation. Raukawa Social Services was still a relatively new activity within the iwi and it was important that if those interviewed did not know much about the work of this service, that their mana was still protected by asking them questions about hapu provision and the role of Te Runanga o Raukawa in the provision of social services.

There was certainly no lack of information from each person interviewed, with the questions providing a focus around a much more extensive conversation. The questions ensured that all the relevant topics were covered, allowing enough scope to answer in whatever way best suited them. This approach required considerable skill by the researcher to ensure that there was some direction to the interview. Because of the in-depth knowledge and passion of the topic, by those interviewed, there was no hesitation in the expression of people's opinions.

A number of those interviewed asked for the questions in advance and asked how long the interview would take. In the case of hapu I attended

the meeting before the interview to introduce myself and the topic that I was looking at, providing them with a copy of the questions. Interestingly, some of those who for one reason or another did not turn up on the night of the interview, still answered the questions and sent them back to me. Despite initial concern about the amount of time the interview would take, with assurances that it would not take more than one to one and a half hours, the total process from start to finish took more like three to four hours, with many wanting to continue the conversation even though the tape had been turned off and many thanking me for the opportunity for individuals or hapu to think about these issues.

The University Human Ethics Committee suggested that I needed an interview consent form and a provider information sheet (See Appendix seven and eight). The Human Ethics Committee raised concerns about a possible conflict of interest between being a researcher and also a Raukawa Social Services Committee member and therefore felt that this should be clearly spelt out on the provider information sheet. If this issue were to arise in the research, I knew that I would have to deal with it delicately but from another perspective, what the Ethics Committee saw as possible conflict also allowed me greater access to people. An outsider might never have gained access.

Concern was also raised that the information sheet did not fully inform the participants about confidentiality issues in the research, as the nature of the study might enable people to be identified. All participants categorically stated that they were proud to be connected to the project and felt that the inclusion of their names gave the project validity and they had no fears about being identified. Some discussed the issue, all eventually asked for their names to be included and gave a short mihi at the beginning of their interview identifying who they were, what hapu they came from and any other relevant information they wanted included.

The Ethics Committee also offered an example of a verbal consent form, from those who did not want to fill out the consent form. This form had been devised by the research units at the Maori Studies department and was used by a kuia who asked me to fill the form in for her.

Research Process

Introduction to Participants

Those interviewed are introduced here in the order in which they were interviewed. They have been identified by name, hapu affiliations and their involvement with Te Runanga o Raukawa, Raukawa Social Services or hapu.

• **Rupene Waaka**

I am Rupene Waaka from Ngati Raukawa and the hapu which is dearest to me is Ngati Kapumanawawhiti. I am also from Ngati Maiotaki, Ngati Huia, Ngati Ngarongo, Ngati Turanga and Ngati Tukorehe and Ngati Wehiwehi on my Ransfield side. I am currently the tumuaki of Te Runanga o Raukawa and Te Runanga Whaiti, as well as being the Kapumanawawhiti delegate on the Runanga. I have been involved with the Runanga since it changed its constitution in 1990-1991.

• **Whatarangi Winiata**

I am Whatarangi Winiata, Ngati Pareraukawa and I am a member of Te Runanga Whaiti and Te Runanga o Raukawa. I am the hapu representative and have been involved with the Runanga since its inception.

• **Queenie Rikihana-Hyland**

I am Queenie Rikihana-Hyland from Ngati Raukawa and my hapu is Ngati Koroki. I am also Te Ati Awa ki Whakarongotai through my mother Ra Awatea. I was one of original members of Te Runanga o Raukawa and because of an interest in the social services was asked to form the Raukawa Social Services Committee. I was their first tumuaki for a number of years.

• **Emā Jacob**

Ko Ngati Raukawa ahau, ko nga hapu o Ngati Pareraukawa me Ngati Huia. I have been involved in hapu development for the last 10-12 years, with Kohanga Reo at our marae of Ngatokowaru and with Whakatupuranga Rua Mano programmes focusing on rangatahi. I then worked at Te Wananga o Raukawa in the Health Studies programme and that's how I got involved in social services. When the Runanga started I

was meant to be the hapu health rep but Queenie Rikihana-Hyland and Auntie Hera Eruera were convening the social services committee and got me involved. I have remained involved with this Committee since and in the last couple of years I started working for Raukawa Social Services as their supervisor on a part time basis.

- **Ngawini Kuiti**

I am from Ngati Kikopiri and was the first Maatua Whangai social worker appointed at the Horowhenua Department of Social Welfare at the same time as the Hapu-Iwi development paper was being written. I am a delegate on Te Runanga o Raukawa and Te Runanga Whaiti and was on the Raukawa Social Services Committee in its early years. I am now a hapu rep on the health committee, though I still take an interest in what is happening for the social services area.

- **Iwikatea Nicholson**

I am from Ngati Pareraukawa and have been involved with Te Runanga o Raukawa in various capacities for many years. I know little about Raukawa Social Services these days but was involved in the development of the Hapu-Iwi development document which I understand Raukawa Social Services uses as one of their core documents in their work. We have recently resurrected this document and still believe that if the Crown had been prepared to look at it seriously that we wouldn't be having half the problems with our rangatahi that we do.

- **Horiana Joyce**

I am from Ngati Raukawa and my hapu are Ngati Maiotaki and Ngati Turanga. I have been heavily involved in the developments of Ngati Raukawa, as well as being interested in the area of social services. I was involved with Raukawa Social Services in its developmental phase and further back from that tried to encourage our people to look at social work as a qualification or job knowing and hoping that one day they might work for their iwi. I continue to keep an eye on what is happening with Raukawa Social Services.

- **Peter Richardson**

Tena koe Wheturangi. Ko wai au? I am Peter Richardson from Ngati Parewahawaha. I am a delegate on Te Runanga o Raukawa and Te Runanga Whaiti, as well as being a member on the Raukawa District

Maori Council, Raukawa Marae Trustees and other Maori organisations in the area. I was selected onto all of these by my hapu. I am the chairman of the Parewahawaha Marae Committee. I've been quite involved with iwi affairs for the last 25 years, including the change of the constitution. My knowledge of Raukawa Social Services is that I have assisted them with their interview panels and have occasionally seen some of their kaimahi at our marae.

- **Taumata Myra Renata**

Kia Ora Wheturangi. Ko taku ingoa ko Taumata Myra Renata, ko toku hapu ko Ngati Manomano, ko oku iwi ko Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Tuwharetoa, Ngati Maniapoto. I have always been a supporter of marae work, beginning with Poupatate and then when we lived at Rata, at the marae there and then when I returned to live here with the three marae, Poupatate, Te Tikanga and Te Hiiri and more recently at Taumata o te Ra. I was the Te Hiiri delegate to the Raukawa District Council and from there nominated onto COGs, only recently resigning. My sister and I were also the founders of Ngati Pikiahuwaewae Maori Women's Welfare League. I was also on the Runanga for many years but don't keep in so much contact these days, as it is such a long way to travel all the way down to Otaki to meetings.

Negotiating Access

Conditions under which initial entry is negotiated will have important consequences for how the research is socially defined by the members of the setting (Johnson cited in Patton: 1990, p253).

Access to Te Runanga o Raukawa and the appointment of an iwi supervisor has already been described within the supervision process. However, another access issue that arose out of the initial Runanga Whaiti meeting was my connection to Ngati Wehiwehi. In my mihimihi I identified myself as being from Ngati Wehiwehi, even though I did not actually have strong connections with my hapu. After the meeting, the representative from Ngati Wehiwehi approached me asking if I had sought the approval of the hapu. It made me very aware, that while I had been operating at an iwi level in seeking the permission of the Runanga, the iwi acknowledged the tino rangatiratanga of hapu and I needed to consult with them. I was humbled by their approach, as I had been

looking for a way of reconnecting to my hapu. While the opportunity was through the research, there have been far reaching benefits for me in re-connecting with my hapu. A door was opening for me. The Ngati Wehiwehi representative, Te Hope Huia Hakaraia challenged me to return to the hapu and introduce myself as well as ask them for their support with this venture. He quickly followed this with, "and our Annual General Meeting is tonight, so what better time to come". Their support has provided me with a korowai² when moving around individuals and other hapu of Ngati Raukawa. I said I would be there but felt very lonely and scared at the prospect of going on my own. I quickly rang my mother in Palmerston North to come and tautoko me at this hui. She played the role of kaitautoko at all the hapu hui I attended. In introducing me that night, the kaumatua recited my whakapapa, informing the hapu of how I was connected. I am not sure if it was the explanation from the kaumatua, or the explanation of the project that I gave them afterwards but Ngati Wehiwehi gave me their support (See Appendix nine) and in their tautoko, offered to be the first hapu to be interviewed.

Individual and Hapu Access

Individuals

I knew most of the individuals I would interview and could rely on these connections in terms of an honest response about whether they would like to be involved in the research. Most had been mentors from afar and were particularly heartened to think that they could play a role in assisting me within the iwi as well as within the academic institution. Those that I didn't know as well tended to be the kaumatua and as already stated there was considerable nervousness at the start about contacting them and developing a relationship with them. I was very conscious of the generation gap in this instance and I didn't want to be seen as kuare/ignorant.

One kuia in particular had been unwell and therefore some time had elapsed between the introductory letter and us making contact on the phone. I was concerned that she may not be interested and therefore nervous about contacting her, as she has been described as a matriarch for

² A korowai is a cloak and in this instance is used as a form of protection.

her whanau and hapu with a reputation for being blunt. When we did finally contact each other, she wanted copies of the questions sent out and would not agree to be interviewed until she had spoken to other members of her whanau. I felt that the interview would not eventuate but my iwi supervisors encouraged me to persevere. After further conversations clarifying points, she agreed to be interviewed. Her interview was rich in so many ways. She told me wonderful stories about her life and she would whakapapa to various members of my whanau. The interview and subsequent sessions with her would take up much of a day, partly because she lived in a very rural part of the rohe/region, partly because of the protocols and rituals that needed to be observed of mihimihi and kai (Soutar: 1994, Bishop: 1996,) but also because of the wealth of information that she shared with me about the research topic, as well as other matters. The research was only one part of a total sharing of knowledge with me. She was one very astute kuia, who questioned each stage of the process but I think was proud to have been a part of the project.

Hapu

Ngati Wehiwehi was the first hapu to be interviewed, with the issues of access already having been discussed. The second hapu interview with Ngati Turanga, arose from the Raukawa District Maori Council meeting. The meeting was held in a house in Foxton with the questions having been sent to them before the interview. If the access is negotiated well, as I believe was the case with most of the individual interviews, then the outcome also has a strong likelihood of being a positive one. If however the decision is made by a few on behalf of a group, then the interview may reflect this. In offering to be interviewed for this project, one of the gains that I think has occurred for hapu, is the opportunity to look at their own development and their relationship with Te Runanga o Raukawa and what it is they would like to see at a hapu level, when it comes to social service provision.

The third interview was an affiliated iwi of Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Tukorehe. My contact had suggested coming to a meeting of the marae executive. My mother was invaluable making the whakapapa connections with Ngati Tukorehe who made me feel very much at home. As Ngati Tukorehe have their own social services they were very interested in this issue. They were also very vocal about their relationship with Te Runanga

o Raukawa and were prepared to voice these concerns. They were passionately in favour of the research project and suggested that I come back to their next monthly meeting for the interview.

The process of negotiating access for both the individuals and the hapu reflect the diversity of people and hapu that we have within Ngati Raukawa and in Maori society. Even in acquiring access I learnt a great deal about researching in cultural contexts and the need to follow Maori preferred methods of research initiation. The checks and balances that I came across in initiating the research, the referral system and the permission seeking processes and consultation are all elements of Maori research that we are only just starting to see written and in turn validated as serious considerations within the research enterprise.

Interviews

In agreeing to be interviewed, there were several factors that people required clarification of: time, knowledge of the subject, preparedness and what kind of research design I was using. Even if the information had been sent to them, they still needed reassurance when the opportunity arose to talk on the phone and to set the time for the interview.

I therefore explained that I would be taping the interviews to ensure accuracy of data collection and to enable me to be attentive to them without having to worry about writing the information down. I also said that the taping of the interviews might take up to an hour but that was largely depended on the person being interviewed. I recognised however that the actual interview time would not incorporate all of the processes and rituals that would need to occur. This often took longer than the actual interview both before and afterwards. Greeting each other, karakia if requested and a mihimihi to acknowledge each other, were required to warm us to the subject. We discussed any other issue than the one that we were there to talk about. It has been mentioned previously but is worth mentioning again, the wealth of information that is gained outside of the taped interview and the checking out that occurs until both parties feel comfortable are processes similar to that seen in many Maori settings, the most formal of them being the powhiri at a marae.

By the time I interviewed my own hapu I was very comfortable with most of them, having returned home to monthly marae meetings and having attended wananga on the marae. The hapu interview was originally scheduled at the end of a hapu meeting but the length of the meeting meant it did not occur. I returned the next month but it was still fairly late in the evening by the time the interview started. I was very conscious of not taking up too much of their time. However, the research questions expanded into conversations and development within the hapu. For example; despite saying that they were not involved in social services, the hapu became involved in two community care initiatives with the justice department; their Kohanga established monthly reports to inform the hapu of their activities; there were conversations at the hapu meeting about the smoking of marijuana and whanau expressed the wish to have a Ngati Wehiwehi rangatahi hui. The hapu were beginning to talk about social issues.

The Ngati Turanga interview took place in a small kitchen, with about ten of us being present. Again they were a hapu that did not believe they were involved in the social services and asked what social services were. They were in fact heavily involved in social services, particular in the running of an employment scheme (including te reo) at their marae.

With Ngati Tukorehe I had gained approval the previous month to attend the next monthly meeting. I turned up, thinking there would be about 10-15 people. Instead we were met with the Annual General Meeting of the iwi, where passionate views on issues were being discussed at length. It was 5.30 pm by the time all the business had been covered and people were eager to get home. While they were having a cup of tea I was asked to talk to my kaupapa. I felt this was an inappropriate time but I also needed to seize the moment as the opportunity would not arise again. I certainly wasn't looking forward to coming back for yet another month. This was not the most conducive environment to introduce the research topic but eventually all the new Committee and a range of interested others stayed and participated. Most of these people also had strong opinions about the research topic, which led to an interesting interview that people were not prepared to have shortened because of the lateness of the hour, as they felt it was an interesting topic that was particularly relevant to them.

It was obvious that each hapu was at a different stage of development and this was reflected in their interviews in terms of a discussion of social service issues. One important factor to remember in connection with the interview is the use of te reo. While my reo is limited, I was able to mihimihi in Maori in many instances. My conversations can be in Maori and in particular when second language learners have difficulty in finding an English word, I can assist with a Maori concept. This made those who wanted to use te reo feel more comfortable.

Another important factor was a koha. For me it wasn't just a matter of buying something at the local supermarket but actually making something, as a sign of my respect. To all of the individuals I took kai and with the hapu I gave them money. The giving of a koha should not be underestimated. In some small way I wished to acknowledge the place of honour of those being interviewed, to this project, the respect of integrity and mana between both the receiver and the giver and that this interview could be the beginning a long lasting bond (E. Durie: 1986).

The open-ended interview enables individuals to respond in ways that reflect their world view. Both the researcher and the researched work mutually on the interview with the process illuminating for both parties. Such an interview may therefore take additional time and resources, to empower the participant to be actively involved in the process, to commit both parties to the relevance of the research design and able to produce results that are valid, reliable and believable (Patton: 1990).

Guba and Lincoln (1985) believe that the design stage of any qualitative research is crucial but that it will also unfold as the research progresses indicating the flexibility of this approach. The way the questions are worded and how they are asked may provide rich information and this will be a real bonus. There is concern also that the nature of such interviewing can also lead to bias but developing a rapport with the person being interviewed will validate the interview and diminish the possibility of bias.

After the interview it is important to acknowledge people's manaakitanga, particularly when they are aware that you have travelled some distance. It is also important to explain the stages that follow after the interview, because the end of the interview is not the end of their involvement. All

the participants were in fact really prompt in getting material back to me. One person initially asked for her information to be confidential but changed her mind when I indicated what parts of her interview I was wanting to use. She was particularly concerned that the mana of her whanau and her hapu remained intact, as individuals in the Maori world not only represent themselves but also their whanau, hapu and iwi.

Ethical issues

Massey University has a *Code of Ethical Conduct for Research and Teaching Involving Human Subjects* to which all researchers must adhere. This code; "deals...with those activities where human beings are used as subjects" (1990:1).

Having gained the permission of Te Runanga o Raukawa to carry out this research and having been stringently questioned by them, I felt that I had received ethical approval. It was only when I applied for university research funding that was subject to ethical approval, that I realised the mandatory nature of an ethics application.

I took a member of the Department of Social Policy and Social Work³ whanau to the interview for support. The interview was both academic and monocultural in its focus. The Committee apologised for a lack of a culturally appropriate process, then asked a number of cultural questions for which they did not have the answers and then deferred my approval subject to consultation and approval with Professor Mason Durie. The process of going to my iwi and hapu and then to the Human Ethics Committee were like visiting two different planets and like Selby (1996), I certainly felt a greater responsibility towards those who were participating in this research. Both bodies came from opposite directions but were equally stringent in their approach, making me feel like I was running a gauntlet.

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

³ The use of departmental whanau is used in this instance to describe a group of Maori, of different iwi affiliations who all work in the same department.

committees, otherwise they continue the process of colonisation which validates western models and creates constraints when-ever alternative models are offered. In Maori society leadership is not dependent on academic status but rather on participation in Maori communities (Mead: 1996). This might mean that the university has to critique itself in this area and Maori have to decide whether there are various groups from whom they need to obtain ethical approval.

The Massey University *Code of Ethical Conduct for Research and Teaching Involving Human Subjects*. (1990) outlines five major principles which it advises should be applied to any research that is being undertaken: informed consent, confidentiality, minimising harm, truthfulness and social sensitivity. These are the key principles adhered to in a University and research context but it is just as critical to see if there are different issues that the Maori or iwi community suggests need to be addressed. Te Awekotuku (1991, p17), states:

...the relationship between ethics and research is of vital importance, as the demand for responsibility and accountability has become inevitable. Denial of this results in distrust in the community studies, impaired or obstructed future opportunities, irreparably damaged relationships and questionable validity of research findings.

I will examine the five principles offered by the Massey University *Code of Ethical Conduct for Research and Teaching Involving Human Subjects* then look at Mead's (1996) principles of Maori Ethics.

Confidentiality

The Human Ethics Committee were particularly concerned about protecting the confidentiality of any participants that may have not wanted their identity revealed and I was therefore asked to include this proviso on the information sheet;

If you ask for your information to be confidential then no identifying information will be used. It maybe still possible however for a reader who knows you to identify you as a contributor.

Professor Mason Durie as my supervisor felt that this clause was important in terms of covering myself. He believed that even within your own iwi, there were times when you needed to have a clause about confidentiality. All of those interviewed chose to name themselves in the end and there was some chuckling about the inclusion of this clause in the information sheet, however not being able to predict your circumstances, such a clause offers the researcher some protection. Two of those interviewed did ask questions about confidentiality but after being told that they would see the transcribed scripts and would have to approve those sections of the transcript that I was wanting to use they agreed to being named. One affiliated iwi also asked about protection, not so much for themselves but in terms of the researcher, in light of some of the things that they had said. I simply explained that it was important to report what people had said, whether that was positive or otherwise. They felt that this response meant that they did not need to consider the issue of confidentiality around the information they were offering.

Informed consent

A number of Maori writers (Soutar: 1994, Bishop: 1996, Mead: 1996, Selby: 1996), discuss the importance of "kanohi ki te kanohi" when seeking consent to undertake a project. This is an opportunity to clearly outline the project to participants, orally and in writing and to answer any questions that the group or individuals may have. All those involved in this research project were sent letters of introduction, followed up by phone calls, followed up by visits in the cases of the hapu and the sending out of further material if necessary. At the interviews, each person/group was taken through the information sheets and any further questions were answered before the interview commenced. In the case of the hapu, the consent sheet was signed by the tumuaki of that committee at the time, with the approval of all who were present. All participants were made aware that Te Runanga Whaiti and Ngati Wehiwehi had already given their approval for the project to occur and that Professor Mason Durie, Professor Whatarangi Winiata and Associate Professor Robyn Munford were my supervisors. Having gained the approval of relevant organisations, I had a mantle which allowed me to approach other hapu and affiliated iwi. The informed consent principle also allows for both collective decision making in the case of the hapu and affiliated iwi, as well as individual decision making.

Ownership of material

The Raukawa Social Services Committee asked me about the question of ownership of the material. I have told Te Runanga o Raukawa that the ownership of the completed product would be jointly owned by Te Runanga o Raukawa and the researcher and that a copy of the final thesis will be given to the iwi organisation. I have also stated that individual copies will be given to my supervisors, to the individuals interviewed and a copy presented to each of the hapu. I am aware that in some ways, because of the involvement of so many people, that there are a number of people who might well claim ownership of the finished product.

Preparation of material/storage of material

Copies of the tapes were offered to the participants after the interview and once the tapes were transcribed they have remained in a secure file at the university. Whatarangi Winiata has made some initial suggestions that because the tapes are accounts of Ngati Raukawa history, that it might be worthwhile putting copies in the Alexander Turnbull Library. This is still under discussion but if this change of approach occurs, then all of those who were involved in the research will have to be contacted for their approval.

I had also informed those interviewed that the tapes would be transcribed by some one who was of Ngati Raukawa descent. I felt that this was important in terms of protecting the material, having someone who would be familiar with the names and places on the tapes and someone who had a beginning knowledge of Maori, so that if those interviewed wanted to speak Maori then they were able to.

Conflicts of interest

As the current tumuaki (chairperson) of the Social Services Committee and as the researcher there is the potential for a conflict of interest. However, this duality of roles can also be of benefit to the research. What is important, is to clearly delineate between the role of chairperson and researcher and to constantly discuss possible conflicts of interest issues with my supervisors. Undertaking the research has meant finding out so

much new information from talking to people, that there was the possibility of a conflict of interest, with my continued activities with the social services committee. I was wanting to activate some of the ideas that were expressed from the research.

Because qualitative inquiry maybe more intrusive and involve greater reactivity than quantitative inquiry, the researcher must have an ethical framework for dealing with these issues (Patton: 1990, p356).

As a researcher the importance of dealing with ethical considerations appropriately is vital, because as a member of Ngati Raukawa, I fully intend remaining an active member of my iwi.

If the ethical principles outlined were adhered to in terms of improving the conditions of their research participants, then Maori may have had a much more positive experience with research. Social science researchers have confidently asserted that their research does not endanger people's lives but in fact many lessons have been learnt, most benefiting the researcher and not the researched.

A Kaupapa Maori approach to research challenges many of the ethical issues of research, none of which speaks of empowerment, as control and power still lies firmly in the hands of the 'expert' and their institution (Bishop: 1996). A Kaupapa Maori Research approach, has ethical principles that need to be considered from a Maori world view.

Ethical issues developed by Maori have come from a history of being researched on. Te Awekotuku (1991) has developed a set of principles of Ethical Conduct for Researchers in the Maori community and more recently, Mead (1996, p221) has suggested some culturally specific ideas in order to analyse research in a Maori community in terms of ethical consideration. They are:

i) aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)

This principle looks at access, regular accountability, feedback and long term commitment to the community. A respect for the people in terms of their mana occurs because of the link through whakapapa.

ii) kanohi kitea (the seen face, that is present yourself to people face to face)

This principle discusses the need to meet with individuals, hapu and iwi organisations face to face.

iii) titiro, whakarongo.....korero (look, listen....speak)

This principle indicates the importance of using a multitude of skills including communication skills in any research project. It also talks about the need to take your time, to not barge in like the expert and to ensure that there is mutual respect.

iv) manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)

This principle looks at the importance of a holistic approach when working with people/groups involved in research. This may include the use of kai, offering a koha, or through other means. It also talks about the importance of rituals and processes and that if these elements are missing, the research may have difficulties .

v) kia tupato (be cautious)

This principle may well be linked to confidentiality in that it is important to go slowly (ata haere) and carefully and to not assume that you know. Both the researched and the researcher will have to sort out mechanisms to protect themselves. This might be through karakia, or it might be in being interviewed in the wharenuī with all of your tipuna around you to protect you.

vi) kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people)

It is important that the researcher operates from a position which Whatarangi Winiata (cited in Selby: 1996, p 51), describes as "mutual mana enhancement" . This is not only about respecting the person's mana but not trampling on it, as this has ramifications for the research, which could last beyond the research.

vii) kaua e mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge)

This principle is particularly relevant in an academic environment, as academic institutions encourage you to promote yourself but in a hapu/iwi, Maori context, we are taught to not flaunt our knowledge. The concept of whakaiti is encouraged rather than whakahihi.

It is obvious from looking at the ethical considerations from the Human Ethics Committee and the those offered by Mead (1996), that there are areas of overlap but there are also huge cultural chasms. Neither is any less valid but represent two different knowledge bases, or qualities that a person may need to be aware of when undertaking research. Material is now beginning to appear which looks at the consideration of a Maori world view being critical in researching in Maori areas. Ethical Committees are beginning to be challenged on cultural grounds. While Mead (*ibid*), believes her ethical considerations are far too simple for Maori people and that the process is in fact a lot more complex, with many more layers than that described, it does however provide a basic framework in which individual researchers can analyse their work and then expand upon as new ethical considerations need to be taken into account.

Data Collation and Analysis

From the interviews some clear themes emerged, some that would relate to the wider iwi-hapu relations, some specifically associated with Te Runanga o Raukawa and Raukawa Social Services and some that were a reflection of geographical location of people, or their involvement in an array of hapu-iwi activities. The respondents provided much information and while it was important for people to have their stories told, it was also important to decipher some of the key issues that needed to be addressed. When reading some of the material, my two iwi supervisors commented that some of the information was not strictly correct, however in some instances the comment remained, as these were the thoughts and understandings of those interviewed at the time. The analysis of the themes will be combined with observations and document analysis. The use of a thematic approach to analysing a large amount of data, allowed for a clearer understanding of the material.

It appears that qualitative inquiry has few ground rules when it comes to analysing the data but that researchers have an obligation to monitor and report their procedures and processes as fully as possible so that those researched are fully informed. Patton (1990) believes that the relevance, clarity, utility and applicability of the findings are very important. It may be that strategies for the future development of Te Runanga o Raukawa

Social Services can be considered taking into account the findings outlined in this thesis.

Further analytical insights and interpretations may emerge as a result of the questions, which in turn may link to the other material that has been gathered around key topic areas within this thesis. Examples of conversation should be used to highlight a point. Denzin (1970, p83), highlights that "the voices, feelings, actions and meanings of interacting individuals are heard".

Transcribing

The tapes were transcribed by a Ngati Raukawa woman and by myself. They were typed almost word for word with ums and aahs being deleted at this early stage, if they did not detract from the essence of what was being said. The tapes took a lot longer to be transcribed by the Ngati Raukawa woman, where as I found that because I had been at the interview, I could often pick up on words that the other transcriber had to listen to several times. We had negotiated that after listening to a piece three times, if it could not be understood, then she would move on. I therefore found myself returning to large chunks of some interviews to fill in the gaps. It took some work on both of our parts to get these oral communications to a readable state.

Patton (1990) suggests that you should listen to the tape immediately after you have completed the interview, as if the recording is not a good one, you can make extensive notes. I did not do this, as many of the interviews occurred late at night, when I then had to travel at least an hour to get home and the next day would have to be back at work. I did however try to have the transcriptions completed as soon as possible and found that even after several months, I could listen to the tapes and quite easily pick up difficult sections.

As had been negotiated, I edited the transcriptions into more readable conversation and highlighted within the transcript parts that I thought I would use. These were all sent back to those that had been interviewed. The documents were still in a somewhat crude conversational state, which often led to comments from those interviewed, that they did not believe that I would be able to make any sense of it. One kuia at this stage was

somewhat concerned with the issue of confidentiality but when I talked to her in terms of highlighting the sections that I was thinking of using, she became very supportive and even suggested that character information on her could be found in another book and that I could use any of the information from there. She further stated, that in being interviewed for this piece of research, that she had felt a lot more comfortable about the research process than she had done on the occasion that she had been interviewed for the book being referred to.

On reflection I am pleased that I insisted that a Ngati Raukawa person did the transcriptions, as she commented that she learnt a lot from transcribing the tapes, as well as listening to the stories of those interviewed. Her knowledge and information about Ngati Raukawa expanded and her involvement had been agreed to by those who had been interviewed. It cannot be assumed that because you have a transcriber from Ngati Raukawa, that this person will know all the hapu names, the personalities' names, or be able to transcribe Maori language easily. A clear set of instructions to the transcriber about expectations helped immensely in our relationship, as well as considerable flexibility, because she was also working full-time and neither of us could predict just how long each tape would take to transcribe. It is however vitally important to have someone who has excellent skills at transcribing.

Feedback

Immediately after the interviews took place there was feedback from the participants, in terms of how the interview had gone for them, or in continuing to talk about some aspect of the interview. Everyone gave me positive feedback afterwards, with one affiliated iwi even writing me and thanking me for interviewing them, as it had given them the opportunity to plan their iwi future in terms of social services.

They were all informed that the transcriptions would be returned to them as soon as possible and this generally happened within a month. After the return of the transcriptions, there would be a period of time before any further feedback as I was analysing the material. However, I would see many of them at iwi or hapu hui and would up-date them.

After one supervision session where I expressed to Whatarangi Winiata that I was feeling stuck, he suggested that I should offer to give a seminar at Te Runanga o Raukawa and invite members of the Runanga Whaiti, those that had been interviewed, the kaimahi at the Runanga and anyone else who might be interested in the kaupapa. General findings were presented to a dozen of my whanau and other interested people and a lot of lively debate occurred. This certainly gave me the impetus to pick up and write again. The one kuia from the northern part of the Raukawa rohe who couldn't come because it was too far for her to travel even rang me to see how the hui had gone and to offer her awahi in these last stages of my thesis writing. Iwi members, commented that they were not aware of people who had previously conducted research returning to offer some initial findings and to receive further questions and comments. At the same time I presented a seminar on "Researching in an iwi environment", at the university and received encouraging support from my work colleagues as well. It was these two presentations that started to give me a framework for this chapter.

I anticipate that once the thesis is complete, I will present copies to all of those who participated in the research as my koha for their involvement and continued support. This will start with Te Runanga o Raukawa and Ngati Wehiwehi. I had hoped to present the completed product at the Annual General Meeting of the Runanga in September.

Feedback is a critical part of finishing off this research project and this initiative has certainly become a piece of work that now has collective ownership. As well, feedback is a means of accountability to whanau, hapu and iwi, as well as means of making knowledge accessible. This assists in preserving and protecting the well-being of the whanau and iwi as a whole.

Conclusion

This venture into the research environment has been both exciting and exhausting. Research within whanau, hapu and iwi requires preparation and a slow and deliberate process to ensure that all issues are considered and that the mana of all those involved is enhanced. This meant seeking the approval and support of the organisation being studied, my own hapu and in turn those that were interviewed. With a research process that is

informed by Kaupapa Maori, I, like Irwin (1994), was the researcher but my mentors were in fact my hapu and my iwi and one of the key outcomes of this research is that it should be a means of assisting others within the iwi to become more informed about the kaupapa, more informed about the research process and in turn to break through the mystique called research.

Those interviewed were generous with their time and with the wealth of information that they shared with me. This thesis offers only a bare minimum of the many stories that I was privileged to hear. The approval of the iwi organisation, of my hapu and the supervisors I had (in particular the iwi supervisors) and my own whakapapa links and connection to many of those interviewed were key in gaining me access to the individuals and hapu interviewed.

The ethical issues posed by the iwi are no less stringent than those from an academic institution but there is the need that these may be different and that such issues need to be considered if someone is undertaking research in an iwi domain.

The research journey offers some reasons for the need to have an extended length of time in order to complete the research. It identifies that the importance of processes connected to research in this environment need to occur. This work has been approved by the iwi organisation, has been contributed to by individuals and hapu of this iwi, who have a recognised connection with their hapu and the iwi organisation and who are all passionate about the well being of their people within Ngati Raukawa. The methods and ethics used have enabled the voices of those interviewed to be heard in a positive way. Those who participated felt included at all stages of the research process, felt proud to have been a part of the research and now claim ownership of the document. The trials and tribulations of methodology outlined in this chapter, offer a contribution to the rich context from which to continue to explore and discuss Maori research methods and is one means by which I can return something back to my hapu and iwi community. The next two chapters belong to those interviewed as they tell their stories around social services within their whanau, hapu and iwi.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The following two chapters analyse the contributions of the nine individuals and the three hapu that were interviewed. This analysis occurs within a number of key themes; which have been divided into two chapters.

Chapter seven is entitled Iwi-Hapu Relationship. It examines the internal relationships between iwi and hapu; their connections as well as their uniqueness. It also examines the external relationships between the iwi and the State; discussing whether Raukawa Social Services should have a relationship with the State, and the key principles that need to be considered before a relationship can evolve. Chapter eight is entitled Iwi Social Services and explores the knowledge of, and opinions about, Raukawa Social Services. The themes are:

Chapter Seven: Iwi-Hapu Relationship

1. Iwi-Hapu relationship.
Those interviewed felt that the iwi-hapu relationship was crucial in terms of the development of Ngati Raukawa and that a priority should be communication at this level.
2. Hapu focus.
Many of those interviewed were hapu focused and felt that development of hapu should be a priority. Part of the debate is about who is responsible for this development.
3. Whakapapa-whanaungatanga.
The importance of whakapapa and whanaungatanga within a whanau, hapu and iwi context was constantly emphasised, with such links seen to have the potential to be a strong bond for Raukawa Social Services.
4. The North-South debate.
While not mentioned by everyone, this issue was significant not only in the research interviews, but in other iwi forums in which I participated in the last two years. The interviews expressed opinions that the hapu of the north do not always believe they benefit as well as southern hapu from the services of Te Runanga o Raukawa.
5. The Iwi-State Relationship.
This is the last theme in this chapter and looks at the Treaty of Waitangi as a key principle in any negotiations between iwi and the

state, as well as some of the experiences for Raukawa Social Services in their negotiations to date.

Chapter Eight: Iwi Social Services

6. Definition of Social Services.

Those involved with Raukawa Social Services believed that the services offered by the iwi fit a far broader definition of Social Services than that used in most mainstream social services.

7. The structure of Te Runanga o Raukawa.

Considerable comment was made about Te Runanga o Raukawa, its structure and its operations. The structure and development of the Runanga has strongly influenced the development of Raukawa Social Services.

8. Approaches to Work.

This theme examines the work undertaken by the kaimahi of Raukawa Social Services. It looks at people's reactions to the work of the Service to date, including several examples of case studies from the kaimahi.

Each chapter concludes with a discussion on critical theory and how it relates to Raukawa Social Services.

CHAPTER SEVEN

IWI-HAPU RELATIONSHIP

Introduction

In this chapter those interviewed tell their stories about their involvement in and opinions about the development of both iwi and hapu. In particular they were asked to address the social well-being of their people. The research looked specifically at Raukawa Social Services as one particular focus of iwi development. It also included the relationship between iwi and hapu and the relationship that both iwi and hapu have with the State.

The themes in this chapter focus on iwi and hapu responses to social services. All of those interviewed commented about the threads that draw iwi and hapu together as well as what makes them diverse and different. A healthy debate around the tensions between iwi and hapu revealed issues such as geographic isolation from key decision-making, the developmental focus on marae and hapu as opposed to iwi but how iwi organisations can be supportive of hapu development.

Individually and collectively the interviewees had much knowledge and experience in relation to iwi and hapu affairs. The comments used to support these themes provide a snapshot of the lives of those interviewed and their experiences of living, working and breathing whanau, hapu and iwi. A reason for choosing them to be interviewed was their involvement in the welfare of their hapu and iwi. They have a range of different understandings of what the welfare of their people involves.

A wealth of information was provided despite some initial reticence from some of those being interviewed. The passion that people had when talking of the issues pertinent to their whanau, hapu and iwi in the social service area, was impressive. These stories are simply the beginning of what could be a more in depth iwi study. This chapter focuses specifically on the needs of the hapu and their inter-relationship with the iwi organisation, Te Runanga o Raukawa.

Iwi-Hapu Relationship

Te Runanga o Raukawa is the only organisation that focuses specifically on Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga. Other organisations service the Confederation, other iwi but/or other pan-Maori organisations. Since its inception Te Runanga o Raukawa has developed relationships with the Crown, other iwi and other organisations on behalf of the hapu and affiliated iwi of Ngati Raukawa. Supporters of the Runanga saw this as appropriate. The following comments from Rupene Waaka and then Iwikatea Nicholson offer perspectives of the role of Te Runanga o Raukawa.

What the Runanga is doing is on everyone's behalf.

The Runanga has to be involved as it is our representative iwi body but is accepted by the iwi.

There is agreement that the Runanga does have a role to play in the development of whanau, hapu and iwi but what that role should be and how that role differs from the role of the hapu needs further debate. Te Runanga o Raukawa will have to face the challenges of developing a varying relationship with its constituent hapu. Whatarangi Winiata comments on the role of the Runanga with regards to their relationship with hapu:

Iwi should be involved as a facilitator for hapu. Iwi might for example be the channel by which funding comes, it might be the body that is responsible for the management of the funds, it might be the support body that provides training, it might provide secretarial services for the committee who have the over arching responsibility but the individual hapu would need to subscribe to it, need to agree that the Runanga does these things. I can see a big role for the iwi but not in the delivery of the service.

Ngawini Kuiti agrees that Te Runanga o Raukawa could be a facilitator but that the hapu have the skills within themselves to offer the services.

...The Runanga body ...needs to empower the people but the hapu to develop within themselves. The hapu have codes of

conduct in dealing with one of their members but therefore anyone within their immediate vicinity that needs some assistance, should be channelled back to their hapu.

Peter Richardson discusses the Runanga role in forming a relationship with the Crown.

Our main job should be to wero the Crown and say where we think there should be improvement. In the long term that's really what the runanga should be doing. If we want to develop as an iwi, then we have to develop from the bottom up, to bring everything up to the same level.

These three comments outline the distinction in roles between the iwi organisation and the hapu and the connection between the two. Some hapu are quite happy for Te Runanga o Raukawa to represent them even expect it on some issues, while others desire the opportunity to make decisions for themselves. Conflict can occur if and when the visions of both iwi and hapu are different, particularly if debates over funding decisions are involved.

Moe Turoa, a Runanga Whaiti representative from his hapu of Ngati Turanga, expresses some disappointment at a lack of hapu decision making or autonomy at Runanga level, believing that many decisions are taken out of the hands of the hapu and made on their behalf by the iwi organisation. He had this to say:

The iwi should realise that hapu are big boys now and we should be able to look after our own affairs. The link between the Runanga and hapu should be giving us our share of the putea for us to look after and for us to put into areas that we think are necessary for us.

Whatarangi Winiata points out that these feelings may be a consequence of the Runanga "head office" approach, rather than the decentralised focus that they should be espousing. The hapu interviews indicate that at times there is an absence of interest in the activities of the Runanga for several reasons:

- the hapu representative from the Runanga Whaiti is not effectively communicating Te Runanga o Raukawa information back to the hapu.

- there is too much Te Runanga o Raukawa information to present to any one hapu hui.
- the interests of the combined group are represented rather than hapu interests.
- hapu are confused about what benefit the Runanga can offer the hapu/marae. This confusion is captured by Moe Turoa:

I sometimes think iwi don't really know what we do at hapu level. We're like a big long canoe going through a foggy patch where they're tying up the canoe at Otaki but we're still paddling like mad back here because they haven't told us we've stopped. That's what it is like.

Many of the Runanga activities depend on economies of scale; having a number of hapu running small scale initiatives is valid at the hapu level but not when considering the bigger broader perspective of the iwi. Whatarangi Winiata recognises the debates within the iwi-hapu arena and asserts that there are already precedents within other Ngati Raukawa structures which could guide the iwi-hapu relationship and their future progress.

I think that the current development has been a little distant from hapu, as it hasn't had a hapu base, it has an iwi base. The Runanga needs to think carefully about this practice as it has "centralised" its activities. Ngati Raukawa is a decentralised confederation....the Runanga has no authority to prescribe things for hapu or make decisions for hapu. The Runanga has had to be reminded about this from time to time. The Social Services of the Runanga are currently centralised, which limits the opportunity for individual hapu to carry out, or deliver their own social services. Hapu are probably not having a major influence on the design, style and delivery of the Services but that is a concern. It has been iwi based and not hapu based. ...My preference is for devolution to hapu but with co-ordination of this process. The Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board is a good example.

The citing of the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board is used as an example. The Trusts Board administers the education scholarships but requires a hapu endorsement for each applicant. Whatarangi Winiata reiterates:

The Runanga is not always attentive to the needs of what is happening at the hapu level but therefore the individual hapu doesn't see a vital role for the Runanga in their affairs. If you

take some of the activities of the hapu - fund-raising, Kohanga Reo, tangihanga, hura kohatu but the kawa of the marae, etc. and then you look at the activities of the Runanga, they don't match very well. They would however if there was more decision making at the hapu level, more delivery of services at the hapu level. Quite an interesting mismatch really. Every hapu however would say that they are interested in the social services, the health of their people but the education of their people. Those activities that bring hapu out, that lead to the marae being packed with people, are not activities in which the Runanga has a lot of direct input.

This research suggests that the tension between the hapu and iwi arises primarily in situations which centre around the distribution of resources. Ngati Tukorehe state that they are an iwi but also use the word hapu interchangeably to describe their relationship between with Te Runanga o Raukawa. Henry Perenara of Ngati Tukorehe comments:

The funding should be coming to hapu, not the Runanga. Our children are falling by the wayside because they are not being attended to. The Runanga take the funding and do the job for the whole of the area and yet they may not be able to get into "our" area.

Teresa Taylor of Ngati Tukorehe supports this view:

For Patumakuku it is unfair that we have a Social Service and that we are competing against the Runanga for funding. CFA are saying that because the Runanga is better established they should get the funding.The Pakeha makes us compete against each other. The Pakeha guidelines and the rigid funding criteria encourages inter-fighting. In a way the Runanga isn't really supporting hapu, they're setting up their own Social Services but squeezing hapu out....Now that the Runanga has been there 4 or 5 years they've got an expertise. They could get access to the funding and then it could be hapu driven, because only your own know what's going on with your own.

Horianan Joyce has a similar view:

If we go down the track, believing that Iwi Social Services is the epitome of caring for our people, is the goal we need to focus on, then I think we are going to lose the plot....The power of care comes closer, is stronger and more effective if it is connected to

where it's needed....so why not bring that resource closer to where it's needed, why not resource hapu and support hapu.

When the Crown devolves resources to the iwi additional tension may be created between iwi and hapu. There may be an assumption that considerable resources are being devolved but the funding is likely to be minimal and have a targeted allocation. Hapu can justifiably feel on the outer of negotiations and may blame the messenger (Te Runanga o Raukawa) rather than the centre of responsibility; that is with the Crown.

Such tensions filtered through to Services such as Raukawa Social Services. Queenie Rikihana-Hyland believes that there is room for social service initiatives at both hapu and iwi level but the provision of services within each may be different. She currently sees Raukawa Social Services focusing mainly on the crises that occur for people, while hapu and marae initiatives offer programmes at a smaller level which have a preventive focus. She sees two services complementing each other and believes they need to work in a more integrated manner.

Queenie believes that a unique quality about hapu initiatives is that they are situated on marae, unlike the facilities of Raukawa Social Services which she believes should also be at the marae. Interestingly when Raukawa Social Services has expanded their facilities they have rented and purchased houses as accommodation bases for their workers.

The kaimahi of Raukawa Social Services have always tried to work with hapu but acknowledge that because there are so few workers and so many hapu to cover that often their own whakapapa connections find them working more closely to hapu that they are associated with. This has happened more with some hapu than with others. There appears to be a growing need for iwi and hapu services to work in tandem as both are playing a vital role in making available different options for the people who live within the rohe of Ngati Raukawa. A more co-ordinated approach of both iwi and hapu services is needed to meet both reactive and preventative approaches to work and to look at both the localised and broader coverage of services. It is about

acknowledging the skills, qualities but resources that both iwi and hapu can offer to each other.

There were positive comments about the iwi work. While a strong advocate for hapu development, Ema Jacob believes that working at the iwi level has given her a different perspective.

The iwi level of operation is really important because while my hapu have dynamic people, there are also many other resources within nga hapu katoa o Ngati Raukawa. If I wanted to set up stuff at my hapu I could also call on the resources of te iwi katoa.

Te Hope Huia Hakaraia-Ngati Wehiwehi believes that his hapu may not currently be in a position to develop their own services:

Its an iwi responsibility rather than a hapu one in the first instance because the iwi is more set up to handle that type of service . It is complicated and needs special skills, counselling skills and educational skills and also needs good support - administration and management systems to back it up. That would be impossible at the hapu level but if the iwi does it then there needs to be some interaction with the hapu.

A range of thoughts has been expressed about the role of the iwi, the role of the hapu and their interactions in terms of the devolution of services. There is a definite expression by some that the iwi organisation should be the facilitator or co-ordinator of services, while the hapu should provide the services. Others clearly identified the need for services at both hapu and iwi levels. Some hapu do not feel that they are in a position to offer services preferring to use the resources and expertise of the iwi services at this stage but other hapu have already commenced on the development of their own social service provision. What is definite however, is the desire of hapu to have more involvement and more communication about the social service needs of their own people.

Raukawa Social Services aspired to have a kaimahi per hapu or per two-three hapu (outlined in the Hapu-Iwi development paper, discussed in chapter three). A lack of resources found the iwi developing a service. It is obvious as hapu become stronger and more vocal in expressing their needs that Raukawa Social Services may need

to reassess its role in social service provision. As Peter Richardson said:

The drive should be to develop each hapu to its full potential with the Runanga assisting to put that into practice.

Hapu development

This research revealed a strong leaning towards hapu development with some seeing this occurring with the support of the iwi structure and others seeing this happening despite the iwi structure. This theme will focus on hapu development identifying what those interviewed saw as issues for their hapu, particularly in the area of social services and whether Raukawa Social Services has a role to play in assisting hapu.

Whatarangi Winiata is a strong supporter of hapu development, both writing and teaching on the topic as well as maintaining an active interest in the development of his own hapu. Many of the programs that he has instigated within the iwi have a strong hapu focus.

Hapu development. I don't have any doubt that, that's the direction that social services should be heading in and then the interdependence can be operative.

Those interviewed believe that a hapu focus is the direction that Te Runanga o Raukawa should be moving towards; this is substantiated by much of the Runanga documentation. The issue may not be so much if but how but when. With an emphasis on hapu development it is little wonder that hapu are confused as to why this is not happening more actively, or at a speed acceptable for some hapu. They feel they are prepared to push for more hapu autonomy, particularly in the allocation of resources and in decision-making which directly affects their hapu. As both are living entities and are therefore constantly changing, there may need to be recognition that there will be changes in the relationship between hapu and the Runanga in the future.

Because there is some confusion about the role of hapu delegates some representatives to the Whaiti believe they speak for their hapu, while

others believe that any major issues cannot be decided on without referring back to their hapu for clarification. An induction after every AGM may be necessary for all hapu delegates in order to clearly outline their roles and responsibilities.

Issues for Hapu

Horiana Joyce, describes hapu of Ngati Raukawa in this way:

The reality in this rohe is that some hapu are more geared up than others, not that they all have to be at one speed.

Horiana's thoughts were reiterated by others who saw hapu at different stages of development. While those interviewed reflected mainly on the realities and aspirations of their own hapu, they were also able to look more broadly at what they saw happening for other hapu. While Te Runanga o Raukawa describes the rohe of Ngati Raukawa as having 24 hapu, there is lively debate about this with some hapu who describe themselves as iwi. The lack of clarity of "hapu" within the structure of Te Runanga o Raukawa has some anomalies. This however does not seem to have created dissension at the Runanga or hapu level. It is acknowledged that the structures mentioned are constantly evolving and changing in nature. In the last decade Ngati Manomano has become active as a hapu identity, particularly through the opening of their marae Taumata o te Ra in February 1996. A number of hapu may also choose to designate themselves an iwi (The map on page 18 shows where Ngati Manomano is sited).

The strengthening of hapu and the inter-relationship between hapu and iwi structures is constantly evolving in Ngati Raukawa. However there is concern about the social issues that hapu face and yet do not deal with. The marae committees in many instances focus on the buildings and their utilisation, despite recognising the very real social problems that are evident for members of their hapu but the need to confront and do something about those issues. Horiana Joyce had this to say about her hapu:

My hapu in Otaki needs a heap of work done on knowing who each other is, let alone coming to terms with all the other problems.

One of the current issues that Iwikatea Nicholson identified about his hapu was that they only seemed to attract the core few people to hui. He is concerned about how people could be attracted back to the marae and to the issues that are important to the hapu.

There's a Waitangi Tribunal claim on our area that directly affects our hapu but people aren't interested. Only a few of us are fronting the battle. The only time we hear about them is when they're dead. Family want to know where the marae is, where are the people to support us now that we're in trouble.

The people have been so detached from the activities of the hapu, that they show no interest, or in some cases are no longer even aware that they are connected to that marae, whanau or hapu. Rupene Waaka outlines clearly what the marae committee from his hapu see as their role.

All sorts of social problems are happening in our hapu but the people don't come back to the marae. The people haven't come back to their hapu...You see what we've got is a marae committee that does the day to day things with the marae but at most at the meetings we worry about "who took the rubbish away, who took the crockery, who are they, we've never seen them, those sort of things.

He suggests that such hui do not include looking at any of the wider social issues that he is aware is evident within his hapu. He expresses some frustration at not having a forum within his hapu to look at social issues.

Having criticised hapu and marae, it is important to also see them within an historical context. Taumata Renata mentions that marae and hapu are so much stronger today than when she first became involved in marae work nearly two decades ago. Some of those interviewed mentioned that in the early days you had to wade through long grass to get to the wharenuui but that there is a much stronger focus on the upkeep of marae throughout Ngati Raukawa in the last two to three decades. Taumata Renata described this time as, "*not so much the welfare of the people but the welfare of the marae*". The strengthening of the marae in turn provided a focus for the re

strengthening of hapu. Again the opening of Taumata o te Ra is a good example, not only of the strengthening of the hapu but of the unifying of other hapu and other iwi for the opening of this wharenuī. Iwikatea Nicholson expresses concern about the lack of numbers coming to hui at the marae but Horiana Joyce feels that realistically there is often a strong core group of people attached to each hapu and marae who keep the marae running. They are the people who keep the hapu warm (who keep the ahi kaa alive).¹ In addition there are also people who do not go to every hapu meeting or wananga but who still have strong connections with the hapu and return at times of tangihanga, fund-raisers, birthdays and weddings. A further group who often live some distance away from the marae may still keep in contact with the activities of the hapu, even if they may not regularly participate in hapu activities. Horiana Joyce said:

Ultimately, if hapu know themselves as an entity then they are able to look after their own and that is quite a powerful collective...The strengths that hapu develop are people resources, to take care of themselves. They have people who live in the rohe and others that live away from the centre of their hapu that come back periodically and affect a hapu ability to actually service themselves.

There are strong links "between" hapu. This was evident when I searched for hapu to interview. Whakapapa links steered me towards hapu and them towards me.

While the frustrations of hapu development expressed is real, so too is the strengthening of hapu via hui participation, knowledge of whakapapa and hapu but hapu alliances. Within Ngati Raukawa much of the credit for this since 1975 is credited to Whakatupuranga Rua Mano as discussed in chapter three. All of those interviewed agreed that hapu development needs to focus on an awareness amongst their members about who they are and what their connections are. Those interviewed felt that iwi and hapu should work on this with their own whanau and hapu. Hapu marae needed strengthening so that they remained active and not a museum piece

¹ ahi kaa is used in referring to those people who live at home on or by the marae or on the land, and who keep the fires burning by maintaining those links and keeping them warm on behalf of the whanau.

used only on odd occasions. A number of marae for example have kaumatua flats, employment programmes but/or Kohanga Reo running. These actively encourage the current iwi Services to come to the marae rather than to individual homes. People from throughout the district can then meet at the marae, hear what the professional has to say or do and also see and greet each other. Such a focus adds to the strengthening of that hapu.

Many of the hapu interviewed mentioned that "wananga" have been a good mechanism for bringing people back to the hapu. Some have had more success than others with these but they are another means of keeping the marae warm. Wananga may initially focus on whanaungatanga but may well then move onto other issues, like te reo, Welfare, Health and Youth issues. In the short time I have been undertaking this research, wananga in Ngati Raukawa appear to have been an important means of communicating, spreading information and empowering people. Peter Richardson stated that at Parewahawaha their focus is to specifically attract hui to their marae that are of interest to the hapu, like education, health and social services. Hapu members are encouraged to participate or sit in on these hui. Wananga are therefore seen as a way of encouraging hapu development. Those close to their marae and hapu have no difficulty with their connections but there are many more who do not have a lot of contact with their marae or hapu and it is difficult to get them to come back to the marae. The process is a slow one but important if the strengthening of whanau, hapu and iwi is to be achieved.

For many hapu the rangatahi have a strong sense of who they are and where they come from. Iwikatea Nicholson comments that few of these participants are ever seen breaking the law. Iwikatea has astutely recognised the difference between building hapu up from a position of strength, or from a position of trying to recover those that he describes as having fallen between the cracks. This reflects the difference between proactive development and an interventionist approach. Proactive initiatives are already operating at various hapu and include the employment programme that operates at Paranui marae (Ngati Turanga), the Social Services initiative (Patumakuku) that operates at Tukorehe marae (Ngati Tukorehe) but the number of Kohanga Reo that are set up at various marae in the rohe of Ngati Raukawa.

Do Hapu need the Iwi?

Many of the needs of hapu can be and are dealt with internally. There are however hapu matters that might also be wider issues affecting other hapu, or the iwi but therefore may be discussed in other forums, such as the Runanga. An example is the sale by Electro Corp of the Mangahao Dam and the discussions that have occurred between hapu and iwi. There are obviously key conditions around the inter-relatedness between hapu and iwi and the different roles they play which decides when an issue is better dealt with by the hapu or by the iwi organisation.

Horiana Joyce is a strong supporter of iwi taking care of themselves and believes that hapu is the ideal structure where by this can occur. The iwi may be too large in some instances to address the needs of the people but the hapu know their own more intimately. This is reiterated by Ngati Tukorehe. Whatarangi Winiata sees hapu development as something that needs to occur constantly. He believes that the Runanga has not been entirely successful at this to date and suggests ways in which this may be achieved:

Each hapu requires people development and retention. They need to strengthen their language, ensure that their marae are well maintained and respected but each hapu needs increasing independence. Such are the guiding principles of Whakatapuranga Rua Mano. We can help that happen if hapu need it, if hapu can deliver it but we haven't been very successful in getting to each hapu to date. We run out of time but so tend to take the 'head office' approach. We put panui out through the Runanga Whaiti and through the Raukawa Trustees but we aren't communicating at the hapu level. If we had a hapu co-ordinator we would contact them and they would then contact their 500-1500 members.

If there were hapu co-ordinators it would be possible for the Runanga to report on the position, condition but the state of the 24 hapu. At the moment there is no one to collect this hapu data and to then follow a certain format in a certain time. Even if there was the pilot project of 3-5 hapu doing this, then at least the Runanga could report on these hapu. It would require a conscious, explicit but overt decision statement for that to be done. I don't think the present arrangements will emerge into that unless it's planned.

Whatarangi Winiata suggests that Te Runanga o Raukawa still has some distance to travel in attaining a better response towards hapu. Hapu co-ordinators would be supervised by the hapu but would focus on the particular needs of that hapu but would still have some accountability to the iwi structure by reporting back to them. This idea is not new to Ngati Raukawa but one which Whatarangi Winiata and Iwikatea Nicholson believe could clearly identify the needs of various hapu. Hapu may well ask whether they need to have the suggested link with iwi but from those interviewed there would appear to be some merit in stronger links on more levels between the hapu and iwi.

A hapu focus on Social Services and the Relationship with Raukawa Social Services

At an iwi level, social services have been identified as one of the key areas that Ngati Raukawa has developed. The hapu interviewed found it difficult to define their initiatives as social services but nonetheless such initiatives are evidence that hapu are starting to develop in a variety of ways, focusing on the health and welfare of their people in a proactive manner. Such initiatives are occurring alongside Raukawa Social Services but are centred on the local hapu.

While Raukawa Social Services has fought hard to maintain a unique iwi service, the reality as discussed in chapter two, is that contracting by the State has led to the provision of a narrower focus of services than the iwi likes. Those interviewed concurred with a wider definition of social services and the feeling that only a narrow sector of services was being provided by Raukawa Social Services. All of those interviewed were unanimous in wanting social service needs addressed for their hapu. Moe Turoa, from Ngati Turanga describes what social services is for his hapu:

The whole reason why we're here is a social service,...we're here to ensure that our marae is serviceable to manaaki tangata. That's why we meet every month to make sure our marae is running smoothly....We don't really talk about Social Services much, we just action things. If one of our people gets into trouble we send letters of support for them and have whanau

meetings but to date, we haven't actually connected with Raukawa Social Services.

Peter Richardson's hapu of Parewahawaha, has a clear vision of what the hapu wants and who should be operating such a hapu service.

To start with we would love a clinic, we would love a kaimahi from our own hapu to look after our own people but we would have to make sure that the people we had are professional, capable and trained for the job that they do.

Paddy Jacobs of Ngati Wehiwehi sees the potential for hapu based social services and the role that her hapu could play in the social service area:

Its happening at the moment though with a particular whanau member but it's the first time. I think it's great though that there's hapu involvement with this family....Coming to the hapu in the past hasn't been accepted or encouraged. But now it is becoming more of the thing to do, its become really recognised by the courts as well.

Traditionally, many people have not used the hapu to talk about their secrets; some whanau obviously still feel whakama/shame at having to bring their troubles back to the hapu but may not see the hapu as being in a position to support private troubles. However hapu have a variety of approaches ranging from working with individual whanau, having people within their own hapu who are social service workers and can be referred to for advice, developing hui around various kaupapa (violence, abuse, marae justice), or developing their own social service initiative, as is the case at Raukawa Marae and Tukorehe Marae with Patumakuku.

It is recognised that hapu are interested in social services (as defined by them) and a number are making moves towards ensuring that something is being instigated within their hapu. This may be another means of encouraging people to be involved in the development of the hapu. Ngawini Kuiti is concerned that many people may still feel reserved about contact with their hapu.

There are certain whanau that identify with certain hapu but don't want the hapu involved. This might be because they have

had a negative experience or because they are not too familiar with their family....Some families are still very whakama and so you have to work on them slowly. They may not want some people to know and you need to respect that request but there still needs to be ongoing work with them. The hapu also need to look at themselves and their attitudes, in order to help their own.

Iwikatea Nicholson confirmed that he has been approached on various occasions by the kaimahi of Raukawa Social Services to assist in linking an individual or whanau back to their hapu. His comment identifies the difficulties that are connected with this, as they are often people who are displaced.

One thing that is noticeable about these cases is that the families have not been involved with the hapu and know little about it. Some of them are not even aware that they belong to Ngati Pareraukawa. ...Some of them are having a real identity crisis. For the few cases that have been brought back to our hapu, it is noticeable that the cases come from families who are not particularly hapu or iwi oriented. If we're going to pick Maoridom up, that's where you should start picking them up.

Iwikatea also recognises the need for hapu to reach those who are falling between the cracks and to be more responsible for their own. Similar comments came from other interviewees. The Service generally contacts hapu representatives to initially verify that the whanau they are working with is from that hapu but some are not sure of their whakapapa connections. Any further work thereafter that involves the hapu depends on the hapu facilities, resources and inclination to focus on this as part of their hapu development. Some hapu have programmes available or individuals within the hapu to refer whanau to, while others are supportive of people who may come to the hapu for assistance but recognise that they are not in a position to assist to any great extent and may direct them elsewhere. As people are becoming more aware of the services offered by the iwi, there is a growing number of self referrals because whanau or hapu have recommended that the whanau should come and see the iwi Service. Rupene Waaka clearly offers an example of the position that his hapu is faced with at this stage but the hopes he has for their future.

For my particular hapu its a developmental step. It's a matter of information and of breaking down the barriers. Its bringing the new blood on board, encouraging them to come along to learn the ways of the old and the ways of the new. It's a slow process upskilling our people but that's what I believe should happen at our particular hapu.

While traditionally problems or issues may have been dealt with in the whanau, hapu context, Maori have become very good at hiding their pain. However there is now a return to seeing whanau, hapu and iwi as a means of addressing some of these issues. The services created will have to be new, alternative, proactive methods that are hapu centred, recognise identity issues but put people back in contact with the much wider support system of their whanau, hapu and iwi. As stated in chapter two there are opportunities to develop alternatives.

Those hapu wanting to assist their own to increase their hapu involvement, may use Raukawa Social Services to assist. Criticism from hapu is centred around a perceived remoteness of the Service but the focus of the service. An extensive range of social services could be offered yet is limited because of the limited resources.

Raukawa Social Services has tried to address the needs of hapu by ensuring that all on the committee are hapu elected. Not all hapu are represented, with those that do attend mainly coming from hapu that are active in social services and hapu where individuals work in the social service arena. Regular attempts are made recruit new hapu members onto the Committee, though this Committee seems more representative than some of the other Runanga committees.

There are also documents, collated by members of the iwi with a strong hapu focus that guide the Services' philosophy and direction. Whakatupuranga Rua Mano and the Hapu-Iwi development document as discussed in chapter three are key guiding documents. The dream is to extend the service which may mean taking on several contracts with state agencies rather than just one. It was anticipated that as the Service gained credibility in the wider social service context, the Crown would continue to see the validity of expanding the Service but thus be prepared to support it financially. In fact while the Service initially expanded to three and a half workers, the funding has in fact

been a diminishing one, with the Crown now making a "contribution" to the service.

Whakapapa-whanaungatanga

The strength of the iwi-hapu relationship is the whakapapa connection and the process of whanaungatanga. When participants were asked what makes an Iwi Social Service different from other social services, these concepts described at many levels repeatedly arose. Whakapapa are the genealogical connections between people as described in the first chapter. Whanaungatanga is the relationship and commitment that people have to each other as a result of their whakapapa connections. Whakapapa ties and connections are strongest at the whanau level, followed by the hapu and iwi level. If you believe in the importance of whanau, hapu and iwi, then the concepts of whakapapa and whanaungatanga are paramount, all carrying rights and obligations. Hence this section will look at whakapapa and whanaungatanga in terms of its importance at the iwi-hapu level, its relevance within Te Runanga o Raukawa and its subsequent impact on Raukawa Social Services and lastly how whakapapa and whanaungatanga principles make iwi Social Services different from mainstream agencies.

Whakapapa and whanaungatanga based structures such as whanau, hapu and iwi have more strength than other Maori structures (such as Maori Women's Welfare League). Ema Jacob talks about a blood relationship as "koiwi kotahi", all from one bone. The strengthening of these ties may be critical to the survival and continued development of whanau, hapu and iwi. Te Hope Huia Hakaraia from Ngati Wehiwehi, believes that: *"You are who you are because of your whakapapa basically"*.

Whatarangi Winiata; connects the whanau, hapu and iwi to whakapapa and believes that strengthening these is what is required for us all to be healthy.

It couldn't be any other way. The iwi is a collection of hapu and the hapu a collection of whanau and we need a good understanding of what a healthy whanau is and if we understand those and make it so, then the iwi is going to be

healthy.Yes, yes they must know where they come from and who they belong to.

Therefore who you are and where you're from are important in establishing identity and links. Those interviewed unanimously felt that understanding whakapapa is necessary to maintain one's kinship links. Taumata Renata felt that knowing her identity was the most important thing that had happened to her in her life and that was linked to an understanding of her whakapapa. She told the story of being a tukutuku tutor at her local marae, where she spent some time focusing on identity or whakapapa with the young people on the course. Many of them had little idea of their whakapapa. She used the following example to indicate how important a knowledge of whakapapa can be for these young people in helping them to belong.

There was this girl, on the course who said to me one day, I don't belong to here. So I said, where do you belong? Ngati Kauwhata on my Dad's side. I said, who brought you into this world, not your dad but your mum but where does your mother come from, what side does she belong to. She didn't know, so we stopped work and I gave her the whakapapa. So now you know that on your mother's side you belong here.

Whatarangi Winiata said that as a group of iwi giving out education scholarships, the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board has already set a precedent in terms of how important they believe it is to know your whakapapa:

When we revised them the first question was what is the name of your hapu', second question 'the name of your marae' third question 'the name of your iwi', the fourth question 'the name of your parents' and the fifth question was 'what is your name'. Pakeha members of the board said we couldn't do that as the questions were out of sequence but that the application would be filed by name. Matenga Baker was on the board at the time and he said no, no the first question is to whom do you belong, the name of your hapu. We've kept that but as long as we believe that the hapu and iwi structures can be helpful to the individuals, then we have to ensure that those are strong and that the individual knows the answers to the question, to whom do you belong. In order for the individual to benefit from hapu, whanau and iwi association they need to know. The hapu has a responsibility to the individual. And visa versa but the visa

versa won't work unless the hapu takes the individual onus. There is an inter-dependence.

The Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board is a key initiative within the Confederation which, amongst others, highlights the importance of whakapapa within whanau, hapu and iwi.

The issue of whakapapa has been looked at by some committees in Te Runanga o Raukawa in the development of policies. This has led to debate on occasion. Ngawini Kuiti offers one perspective:

The Runanga should be hiring, training and upskilling their own people, investing in their own people. I would say that those familiar with the people but familiar with the area, are probably more acceptable to their client. The whakapapa connections are not that easy to replace but they could actually be regarded as one of the ideals, within iwi anyway. It can't be misplaced but is absolutely essential. If we are going to provide a service that is acceptable and beneficial to our iwi then it is essential that the kaimahi are our own.

Such thoughts may be idealistic when looking at the Runanga and the hiring of staff such beliefs are recognised in the employment of its kaimahi.

Raukawa Social Services currently hires only staff who can obtain Ngati Raukawa hapu approval, with priority going to those of Ngati Raukawa descent. This is explained more fully elsewhere but is indicative of the importance that this Service places on whakapapa links. To date Raukawa Social Services has had no lack of applicants who are of Ngati Raukawa descent and who have gained hapu support before applying for positions with Te Runanga o Raukawa. Ngawini Kuiti states:

We'd expect a kaimahi in an iwi Social Service to be entrenched in the values of iwi, values that can be quite distinctly different. Like recognising that there should be values of culture, values of tikanga but values of the wider hapu;....The whanau is more comfortable having one of their own coming in to assist. Iwi kaimahi can really identify with where the person/whanau comes from which immediately breaks down barriers.

People who use the Service also feel a sense of belonging when they know there are whakapapa links to those in the Service, kaimahi or committee.

Peter Richardson describes it in this way:

Maybe it's because it's our own that are involved, or our people prefer to go to someone they know or have a whakapapa link with. It's our make up as Maori, that's the way we are. It might be our whanau, hapu connections because people try to say it's disappearing but it is still there.

Horiana Joyce describes her mother's connection with one of the Runanga Health workers, which further serves to clarify the strength of whakapapa.

Even now, when my mother needs the service or needs to know something about how other people are feeling she rings the health person that works with the elderly. She has no difficulty in ringing up as we have whakapapa connections, we share a mokopuna, so it's very important to us in that way. It's critical that Maori in hapu and iwi in this area actually claim that back our connections through whakapapa.

One of those interviewed from Ngati Wehiwehi talked about how whakapapa links were an important part of his survival when he was in prison. He said that those who took the time to look into their whakapapa and learn its relevance to them and how it was that they were connected to whanau, hapu and iwi often found themselves travelling different roads when they got out of prison. He mentioned that initially they would just claim any iwi but that as they became more heavily involved with this learning about themselves, their whakapapa links became important to them but strengthened their identity.

Whakapapa-whanaungatanga principles. How are Iwi Social Services different from mainstream agencies?

Whakapapa-whanaungatanga principles are central to the effective operation of an iwi social service. Whatarangi Winiata noted that if iwi workers did not have an understanding about hapu and iwi development, then this should become a critical part of their training.

He was clear however that the current workers would be far ahead of mainstream workers with regards to these criteria but that an iwi agency would enable these abilities to be strengthened and nurtured as a part of their job. He states:

In terms of knowledge of Maori clientele Raukawa Social Services has much greater potential to deliver a quality service than mainstream, as the mainstream don't know the clientele, they don't know who the hapu are, they don't know who the kaumatua are, they don't know who the families are, they don't know which names are associated with which hapu . It's about whakapapa links as well as knowing where the marae are and the hapu are and who the families are. The Runanga workers are certainly better than that but still require a lot of training yet.

Rupene Waaka also seemed convinced that because of the whakapapa links of people there is a distinct difference in terms of approach between iwi social workers and mainstream workers.

One of the basics is who are they, where do they belong, what is their whakapapa and their whanaungatanga. Now I'm not too sure which mainstream social workers are au fait with these sorts of things and I would dare say that they aren't. Our iwi workers have the networks, have all the people on the ground, they know which button to press who to contact if a person/s , there's an inkling about this particular person, that they might be this particular hapu, they know who to contact straight away, they just know, instinct just tells them where to go, because they have been working with our people. The Runanga has been going for at least eight years so we've built up our reputation and our people know who to contact.

If kaimahi have a positive sense of themselves, they may in turn be in a much better position to offer a positive contribution to their own lives and that of their whanau, hapu and iwi.

North-South debate

In deciding who to interview for the research, my two supervisors from Ngati Raukawa felt it was important to include representation from northern hapu. Concerns centred on distance from Otaki, the administrative centre and feelings of isolation by northern hapu.

Ngati Raukawa spans an area from the Waitapu Stream and the Rangataua River in the north to the Kukutauaki Stream south of Otaki (See map on page 18). This is seen as a large area for an organisation like Te Runanga o Raukawa to cover in order to service all twenty four hapu. As the needs have grown so too has the pressure to respond appropriately. Some hapu believe that the Runanga is either not doing this adequately or that it is not feasible to address the needs of the northern hapu. There may be the need to form a body to focus on servicing the north of the region.² People from the northern hapu see that most Te Runanga o Raukawa initiatives have primarily been centred in the south around Otaki. All three hapu which were interviewed are located north of the "Otaki ramp" though not north of Ngati Parewahawaha in Bulls. All acknowledged that while they have a whaiti representative but that important issues from the whaiti meetings are discussed at marae/hapu hui, the Runanga was not seen as essential to the development of hapu. Connections between the two are often not transparent. Sandy Turoa from Ngati Turanga says:

Apart from the Whaiti member that goes down to the Runanga, there's very little other attachment between the Runanga and our hapu.

A number of those interviewed, commented on "the gap" between the north and the south; this begs the question about whether Te Runanga o Raukawa needs to focus more overtly on servicing the north or encourage the hapu to find other ways in which to focus more direct attention on their specific development and not necessarily rely on the Runanga. Some groups have developed in the north in order to address the needs of their particular iwi, though they wish to be represented at Runanga meetings and have had a strong representation at recent AGMs.

Many of those interviewed have strong alliances with the Runanga and may be regarded as Runanga-centric; Runanga-centric in this instance meaning those who believed that the Runanga was the only

² While in most instances the northern hapu are described as those hapu from Parewahawaha north, there have been comments from some of those interviewed inferring that northern hapu are those hapu north of the Otaki ramp (over bridge located on the northern boundaries of the town). This refers to the services of the Runanga.

feasible structure for the iwi and hapu. The perceived obvious north-south gap may result in northern hapu encouraging changes and developments. The current tumuaki of Te Runanga o Raukawa, Rupene Waaka, believes that the Runanga (Whaiti) should be reaching out to the people by holding its meetings at different marae each month. In this way he feels that the people will see the many things that Te Runanga o Raukawa does on their behalf.

It's important to take the flag around to the people. This gives the people at the marae the opportunity to come and listen. There seems to be a lot of animosity towards everything south of the ramp. In order to overcome this the Runanga needs to go to the people....If you want them to follow you, you have to go and tell them, show them and encourage them.

The hapu representative from Ngati Turanga felt that there was a gap in communication between the Runanga and the hapu, possibly because of the geographical distance between the administrative hub of the Runanga and the hapu. Others from the north consider that the only way to bridge this gap is to remain actively involved in the Runanga affairs and to make them aware that the northern hapu are there. Peter Richardson and Taumata Renata believe that if the iwi structure is important, then considerable effort is required and representation imperative.

Ema Jacob in her interview reflected that families from the north travelled together as a hapu to meetings in Otaki but now this does not seem to happen any more. Ema wondered if the decrease in numbers of northern hapu representatives attending hui in the south, is a consequence of members of the older generation passing away but the next generation's interest initially being at a kaupapa level, for example: Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori, rather than iwi or hapu affairs. This may be one of the indicators of a move by northern hapu to focus in different arenas.

Taumata Renata, was the Te Hiiri representative on the Runanga Whaiti until three years ago. At the Whaiti meetings she regularly expressed her opinion about the northern hapu feeling as though they were "the forgotten limb". She felt the needs of the northern hapu were different from the needs of the southern hapu. She mentioned

there was even a push from the northern hapu to move the Runanga premises to a more central locality. Because of what Taumata Renata saw as a gap in terms of servicing the northern hapu, she was adamant that those from the north should remain involved with iwi affairs and have a voice. She said this means being prepared with any issues that the hapu may ask you to take to the Runanga.

When I was a delegate I was quite outspoken on behalf of the committee that I represented. But there were some that came and didn't say anything. Those that speak with a lot of determination get what they want, others that are quiet don't always get what they want. That's not always a good thing.

Despite her considerable criticism Taumata Renata has a strong commitment to the Runanga, though this may not be the case from other individuals and hapu in the north. She said that the Runanga was the first organisation that focused on Ngati Raukawa and enabled hapu to talk about the needs of their marae. Indeed she is of the opinion that these are occasions when all of the hapu are drawn together as one. One example that she cites is the opening of the marae matua, Raukawa. While at times the gap between the north and the south may feel a mile wide, there is also an acknowledgement that there are also times when the hapu are united.

Peter Richardson acknowledged that people may have seen a distance between the north and the south in the past because the administration centre is housed in Otaki. He is however a lot more optimistic about the level of servicing of northern hapu by the Runanga, with a base having been established in Palmerston North. He has been a long time advocate of the Runanga and keeps his hapu informed about the iwi activities. In addition one of the northern employees is from his own hapu but another Runanga employee was supported by him when she applied for a Runanga position. With the development in the north, there has also been much more interest in terms of representation on the committees via hapu representation. Often this may be seen as a means of training their own by being involved, in order to be aware of the issues but to in turn take this back to their own hapu. Ema Jacob, cites some good examples of this:

One of the key things for the Social Services committee is that recently we've someone from the North join the committee. He is an old time social worker with years of experience and he is really quite politically minded, as well as having a keen awareness of himself and of hapu and iwi. By a northern person I mean up around Tokorangi, Halcombe, Feilding but Bulls-Parewahawaha. Last year we also had a mokopuna of whanau from the north join the committee and while he represents a hapu from the South, he also has very strong connections back up to the north. This now means that we are getting others from the North participating, with the Palmerston North Care and Protection Panel member from Raukawa being represented by a person from a northern hapu.

Despite a sense of isolation by hapu in the north from the affairs of the Runanga, they have continued to operate at a hapu level. At this stage they are strong enough to want to be involved in the initiatives that are occurring at Te Runanga o Raukawa but to more assertively represent the interests of those northern hapu. In addition they are keen to change the perception of those from the north being "the forgotten limb". Moreover, there is an awareness that hapu/iwi from the north are moving towards a more autonomous control of their own affairs but that the future for northern hapu, may not involve Te Runanga o Raukawa, or may involve a different relationship. Raukawa Social Services, at this stage has been well represented at committee level by northern hapu but been aware of the needs and issues through their representatives. While the service is still strongly centred in the south, there were strong pushes for the base to be sited in the north but for the workers to come from northern hapu. All of these ideas are a part of the continuing development, of Raukawa Social Services, of Te Runanga o Raukawa but of hapu development.

Iwi-State Relationship

The iwi-hapu relationship is identified by those interviewed as being the critical relationship that needs to be addressed within Ngati Raukawa. This thesis is nevertheless about Raukawa Social Services. A critique of its origins and its future development would not be complete without looking at the relationship of the iwi with the State. This theme identifies the tensions and opportunities in the relationship between the iwi and the Crown. This theme is also

blended within other themes both within this chapter and the next. In the 1980s, the process of devolving back to iwi as described in chapter two has provided iwi with the opportunity to develop their own services and has heralded a new phase of development between iwi and the State. As Kelsey (1993) has described, iwi have had to challenge the Crown in terms of the meaning of concepts such as liberation and empowerment.

Ngati Raukawa (through the Raukawa Marae Trustees and more recently through Te Runanga o Raukawa) have attempted to negotiate a relationship with state agencies such as the Department of Social Welfare. As has been discussed, the iwi and the Department of Social Welfare may have different ideas about the needs of the Maori and how those needs should best be met. This has led to a somewhat strained relationship which is still evident today, despite the fact that there has been some considerable progress in the relationship between the iwi and the State at a local level.

The Raukawa Social Services Committee was clear about the direction of its development and hoped to persuade the Crown of this as it consolidated its position in the wider social service field. The Crown was enthusiastic about formulating a relationship, seeing the initial work of the Service as progressive, having an iwi perspective but having the approval of a solid and well recognised iwi structure in the Runanga. The Crown anticipated that the Iwi Social Service would undertake work previously carried out by the Crown service. Raukawa Social Services wanted to focus on developmental and preventative work in its approach to helping its people.

Raukawa Social Services have negotiated contracts to meet certain outputs and have then implemented them in ways which have attempted to meet some of the aspirations of the hapu and the iwi. The Director General of the Department of Social Welfare is required to meet her projected outputs by having a certain number of "approved Iwi Social Services" within a certain time frame. This has led to ongoing discussions with Raukawa Social Services about moving from its status as a Child and Family Support Service to an approved Iwi Social Service. Raukawa Social Services has commenced

initial negotiations in this area but remains sceptical as to whether there will be any further benefits for the people.

Many of the respondents identified the importance of having a clear vision which guides the relationships between the iwi and the State. However Horiana Joyce says that we need to be careful that in striving for the funding we do not lose sight of the vision. She sees that like Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Raukawa Social Services needs to create a long term vision, one which moves beyond the negative state of Maori society in the past and on to a more positive focus. She uses Whakatupuranga Rua Mano to say:

The dream was to change our state of being, to halt the decline of te reo Maori, those sorts of dreams. We never had money, we never had a cost attached to it...We were not asking ourselves for that. We were asking ourselves to believe in something...the biggest cost was committing ourselves to its achievement.

For nearly a decade, Ngati Raukawa have clearly stated to the Crown, that they want to look after their own people but they are also wanting the opportunity to carry this out in a way that is appropriate for them. Raukawa Social Services believes that the Crown has had control over many Ngati Raukawa whanau for generations but many mokopuna were lost. Many of those interviewed felt that the iwi needs to reclaim families of Ngati Raukawa descent who are alienated from their whanau, hapu and iwi. For this to occur, Ngati Raukawa believe the Crown has to take the risk of giving away some of its power but working towards a true partnership.

Treaty of Waitangi

We have to empower our people, we have to be empowered but the way I see us being empowered is for all of our people to know and understand the Treaty. Once they know about the Treaty, they will realise that something has been taken off them and want to know more. Teresa Taylor-Ngati Tukorehe.

While a question about the Treaty of Waitangi was not specifically asked of those interviewed, there were those who felt that the Treaty of Waitangi was fundamental to Maori development and important in

terms of a relationship with the Crown. Teresa Taylor from Ngati Tukorehe had this to say:

The Treaty of Waitangi is the foundation stone for what we are now. The Runanga should look at running Treaty workshops, because unfortunately a lot of our Maori simply think that the Treaty is redundant. This is only because they don't understand. They don't realise that the Treaty was signed back then to protect us now.

As has already been stated, there are difficulties in negotiating with the Crown as the Crown can restrict or expand opportunities for the iwi. Some of those interviewed outlined the need for Ngati Raukawa to have a partnership with the Crown where there was a 50/50 partnership, while others saw the Treaty of Waitangi and Treaty claims as an opportunity to be in control of their own funding and to then have the opportunity to run services in a way that is best for Ngati Raukawa.

Ngawini Kuiti was adamant however that Raukawa Social Services should be funded within the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi but that if given a rightful share of the putea, then the agency would not currently be struggling.

Social Services should be funded as a part of the Treaty of Waitangi-equitably. This means iwi should have a fair share or rightful share of the putea that the Crown controls. The iwi should be funded to do the work for the people in the best interests of the people. Even if the Runanga was in a financial position, they still shouldn't be propping up the Crown, it should never prop up the Crown. At the moment the Crown decides what is best for us but the Runanga continually needs to push the Treaty of Waitangi. There may undoubtedly need to be more political undertones but it is not currently coming from the Runanga. My view is that if we want to accept crumbs then that is all we're going to get. We need the thrust to say that isn't good enough and how do they decide on the distribution of the funding but if the policies are not in line with the Treaty, then we need to go back to the Treaty.

The Treaty of Waitangi, as the founding document between two peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand, can be powerful in establishing a partnership, where both groups equally participate at all different

levels. Aotearoa/New Zealand still has some distance to travel in working further on this relationship and in actively acknowledging the vital role that the Treaty of Waitangi has to play in its future. Ngati Raukawa has a number of documents which clearly have connections to the principles espoused in the Treaty of Waitangi, so as a national document, it would be beneficial for Ngati Raukawa to use the Treaty of Waitangi alongside other documents, to clearly articulate their perspective in negotiations that they may undertake with the Crown.

Iwi and Hapu Relationships: Concluding Comments

Hapu and Iwi Relations

The relationship between iwi and hapu is vital for the people of Ngati Raukawa. A knowledge of critical theory has been used in this thesis to provide an understanding of how the iwi can critique its relationship with its own hapu and with the State. These relationships need to be nurtured and developed; as these structures are key to the survival of the iwi, its continued resurgence but future development. This in fact transcends any relationship that Ngati Raukawa iwi and hapu might create with the Crown. Survival may not be about negotiations with others but about the strengthening of relationships among themselves. There also needs to be an acknowledgement that hapu are diverse and that while some may need the support of an organisation like Te Runanga o Raukawa, others are at a stage of being a lot more independent of the activities of Te Runanga o Raukawa and are therefore considering the kind of future relationship they wish to have with Te Runanga o Raukawa. While this chapter has highlighted many differences between hapu and iwi, there is also a commitment to each other as well.

As discussed in chapter three there are a number of organisations within the rohe of Ngati Raukawa that represent the iwi. While many of those interviewed felt that Te Runanga o Raukawa was the organisation that most often represents Ngati Raukawa, there was also much questioning around the clarity of roles between the iwi and the hapu. Some for example saw the iwi organisation as being the facilitator and negotiator, while hapu carried out the front line work.

This of course was contested by those who saw that both structures could provide a service but that the level at which the service is pitched may be different for both. It is important that when you develop organisations that you do not lose the people along the way and that they are constantly informed so that they are clear about their roles. While a clarification of these roles may not appease all hapu delegates, every one would at least be clear. At the moment 24 hapu delegates could all arrive at Te Runanga o Raukawa Whaiti meetings with completely different understandings of why they are there and the responsibility that the iwi have to the hapu. Clarification could be critical to a better understanding of the exact role of the Runanga for its people.

The role of Te Runanga o Raukawa has also changed over time, with Crown negotiations now occurring in a number of different areas. This work requires considerable input from people who have particular knowledge and expertise. People who are involved in the Runanga have to be well informed about a variety of subjects, or it must co-opt people who have specific knowledge of certain subject areas. A critical theory perspective says that there is a responsibility for the organisation to inform, educate and thus transform those who are a part of the organisation. Operating within iwi and hapu requires a certain frame of thinking so that the iwi and hapu perspective is as clearly understood, as the "expert" perspective. Te Runanga o Raukawa as an organisation has attempted to include people in its decision-making at every level through its constitution, by allowing hapu representation on the Runanga, the Whaiti and on all of its committees. As hapu continue to develop and Te Runanga o Raukawa's roles and responsibilities grow, there will need to be constant analysis and evaluation about the changing roles of each of these two structures. Hapu are eager to focus on their own development and Te Runanga o Raukawa could play a critical role in assisting in this process in the future. A concrete example could be for the Runanga, in conjunction with a hapu, to apply for research funding to undertake a needs analysis of a hapu in terms of social and economic needs. This might be one way in which Runanga can be seen to be assisting hapu.

Currently the Runanga is developing a Corporate Plan³ along with policies to assist in the more effective running of the organisation. A Corporate plan enables the Runanga to remain at the leading edge of any development that it might need to face moving towards and beyond the year 2000.

If the iwi and hapu relationship is a central issue identified from the research, then a mechanism of remaining informed and enlightened between the two structures needs to be constantly addressed. Whatarangi Winiata believes that Te Runanga o Raukawa should be operating a decentralised model in order to better meet the needs of its people. Supporters of a hapu development model see that at an iwi level there should be considerable devolution of services and of resources to the hapu. The hapu believe that only they really know the needs of their people, while iwi are more outwards looking. Both options are supported by different groups.

Guidelines to assist iwi and hapu communication but their roles and responsibilities need to be laid out clearly, so that each new hapu delegate is an active participant at the Runanga Whaiti. Such guidelines could also assist the Committees that oversee the Runanga services. The developing of an information package for each new hapu delegate, or the provision of an orientation period by someone who has been on the Whaiti for period of time would be helpful. In effect Runanga delegates undertake a job on behalf of their hapu and their iwi. With the increasing amount of responsibility that the Runanga is now taking on, the delegate needs to be informed and brought up to speed.

This has led to calls that the Runanga should be meeting with the hapu, by holding their meetings on marae. This is disputed by some who have tried this in the past and say that holding their meetings on marae, does not encourage any more of the people to come and listen to the meetings. A strategy of better communication may need to be developed between the Runanga and hapu but between the staff of the Runanga and hapu.

³ At the 1997 Annual General Meeting at Matau Marae, the reviewed Corporate Plan, was presented as a Strategic Plan.

Social Services: Hapu and Iwi

Interviewing hapu and individuals, provided an opportunity for people to discuss views about their hapu or iwi but the role of social services and their needs in this arena. Hapu views ranged from believing that the iwi structure could or should cover their needs, through to hapu who were strongly advocating the development of but resourcing of hapu services. In fact, as can be seen from this discussion, several hapu are already well on the way to addressing these needs.

If whanau, hapu and iwi are seen to be the focus for the development of the people of Ngati Raukawa, then it is at that level that the growing, the strengthening but resurgence needs to occur. To that end many of the initiatives that Ngati Raukawa (in conjunction with the other iwi of Ngati Toa and Te Ati Awa) have developed, have had that focus. Ngati Raukawa have not been reliant on the State to deliver services, they themselves have been self determining in order to examine how they can develop their own resources. One such initiative is the Young People's Hui which encourages discovery and affirmation of the young people within the whanau, hapu and iwi context. Young People's Hui are a means of ensuring a positive future for the generations to come. Such initiatives however need to be disseminated more widely among hapu, as there are still a number of young Ngati Raukawa people who do not attend such hui. Matua/parents may also need to have similar hui so that they too can become actively re-involved with their whanau, hapu and iwi. Raukawa Social Services uses such hui to positively encourage young people.

Hapu self autonomy is also occurring through a variety of different activities, with some hapu being more active than others. Hapu involved in developing new initiatives are generally also active at an iwi level. Hapu would certainly appear to benefit from a hapu co-ordinators position which allows them to focus on strengthening their hapu.

One of the areas of tension for hapu who are trying to develop initiatives of their own, is in the area of deliberations with the Crown. The Crown would appear to prefer negotiating with iwi (one wonders if this is because there are fewer of them than hapu). This causes some consternation for hapu who are wanting to negotiate directly with the Crown about the needs of their particular hapu.

Hapu may see that the ultimate responsibility for working towards better communication lies with the Runanga, as they have paid staff, or as some hapu members have commented, "they have all of our money". As this is an issue which regularly arises, both informally and formally, there may be some merit in addressing it in a Strategic/Corporate Plan.

Raukawa Social Services as a working branch within Te Runanga o Raukawa, inherits many of these tensions. While some people felt that Raukawa Social Services was not meeting the needs of their hapu, some of the reasons for this seemed to be: the relative newness of the service, the perception that the service focused primarily on interventionist work but the desire for the hapu themselves to be involved in the social services care of those within their own hapu through their own service. Others however felt that the kaimahi themselves were very hapu focused and spent a lot of time networking with people within hapu, particularly their own or those they were closely connected to.

Originally Raukawa Social Services saw themselves as being primarily hapu focused in the delivery of their service but were aspiring towards the eventual development of hapu co-ordinators. Much of their work has a hapu focus, with the kaimahi strongly supported by their hapu. However financial constraints have limited the number of kaimahi so that rather than working with a specific hapu they work geographically and work across hapu. At some stage in the future hapu and iwi may want to have more involvement in deciding whether the Runanga is the appropriate place for this Service.

While the tensions between iwi and hapu are noticeable, there is also an acknowledgement of a basic unity. There are certain occasions when the hapu and other iwi connected to Ngati Raukawa will draw

together and stand together as Ngati Raukawa. This is often seen when Ngati Raukawa go to visit another area for example, or in the case of building the marae matua, Ngati Raukawa, when hapu from near and far offered their assistance. The history that is shared and the common whakapapa connections bind them together. All of those interviewed talk about the importance of whakapapa, citing different examples of how individuals can feel a sense of belonging, a sense of being assured but a sense of strength from knowing who they are and how they are connected to others.

The themes explored in this research, are broadly focused in that they not only apply to Raukawa Social Services but can be applied to almost any initiative within Ngati Raukawa. What these themes identify is that those who are wanting to develop some kind of relationship with iwi, need to be aware of all of the complexities that make up whanau, hapu and iwi. What can occur is that organisations and others negotiating with iwi often fail to find out about those with whom they are negotiating. The relevance of hapu-iwi relationships in particular has to be taken into account. The next chapter will look specifically at the iwi social services offered by Raukawa Social Services.

CHAPTER EIGHT

IWI SOCIAL SERVICES

Introduction

Iwi Social Services is not a recent phenomenon amongst Ngati Raukawa. Ngati Raukawa had a social services committee for a number of years before they made the decision to develop a service. This idea has recently become popular within the Department of Social Welfare as they look to develop approved iwi social services. Tension arises between iwi and the Crown, when the two have different definitions of iwi social services. Iwi throughout the country are currently developing iwi social services which best meet their needs, as well as enabling them to take out contracts with the Crown. For Raukawa Social Services it is not merely about replicating services that have not previously worked for Maori people but about developing a service which meets the needs of the iwi and the hapu.

The themes in this chapter look at Iwi Social Services. The chapter begins with a discussion of definitions of social services particularly within the context of Ngati Raukawa. This is followed by an analysis of Raukawa Social Services within the structure of Te Runanga o Raukawa. Raukawa Social Services will be examined in terms of the work undertaken, the philosophies, the policies and the practices that underpin the work of the Service. The themes reflect individuals and hapu who are firmly involved in the iwi-hapu context, who both critique and support the current iwi organisation, who see a definite need for Social Services but debate what shape the service should take and where it should be sited.

Definitions and parameters of Social Services

Some of those interviewed saw social services as including many areas while others felt that the services currently offered are rather narrow. The hapu offer preventative programmes in the area of increasing employment, reviving te reo and enhancing work skills and believe that Raukawa Social Services should be focusing on more preventative options. The definition of social services for Ngati Raukawa may therefore need to remain broad in order to incorporate a range of ideas.

Definitions reflected services that those interviewed had been involved with, some describing a specific service and others describing a range of services. There was an acknowledgement that definitions of iwi social services differ from iwi to iwi. Comments were made that Raukawa Social Services is seen primarily to provide interventionist services and if they also offer preventative programmes, then there needs to be further explanation otherwise the service is seen primarily as a brown CYPS focusing on working with children and young people. Taumata Renata said that it was only when she was interviewed that she realised that there was a difference between social welfare and social services and that they were two separate organisations. There was clearly an acknowledgement that Raukawa Social Services offered a service different from mainstream agencies, in the way it worked, with whom and who it chose to employ to achieve its outcomes. Whatarangi Winiata suggested that because of the perceived alliance with the Department of Social Welfare, it might be timely to look for a new name for this committee, one which is more reflective of the holistic nature of the service that Raukawa Social Services would like to offer.

It needs to be a Maori name but not anything like awhina. Maybe something similar to Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000, the idea of something better more exciting and challenging out there.

There was also an agreement amongst those interviewed that hapu want to decide what their needs are, rather than outside agencies dictating to the Raukawa Social Services Committee what its work should be.

The kaimahi themselves dispute that they are not involved in prevention and see that their definition of social services is inclusive of this. Ema Jacob commented that the kaimahi are required by their contract to meet certain contractual outputs but they are also aware of the vision of the hapu and iwi towards prevention and are themselves supporters of this, spending many extra hours involved preventative work. This was confirmed by some of those interviewed who talked about seeing the kaimahi at holiday programmes, being involved in

running Matua Programmes,¹ and being involved in the work of their own hapu.

A difference in the understanding of social services was influenced by the level of involvement with related organisations, such as health. Moe Turoa from Ngati Turanga had this to say:

We are not able to clearly identify what the social services are. I don't know what they do and we don't see them to ask them. We identify the health worker as a social service.

Horianana Joyce said:

Social Services is a matter of health, it's not necessarily a matter of shelter, food and clothing alone, it's a matter of health.

Many of those interviewed talked about the many similarities they perceived between the Health workers and the Social Service workers. Some felt that there needed to be more connections in the future rather than the separate identities that they currently maintain, that is one holistic service rather than a service with many parts. Such comments may be due to the geographical area that needs to be covered by relatively few workers and therefore the need to work more collectively. Taumata Renata indicates how she sees health and social welfare being connected.

I am interested in social welfare, because it is about the welfare of the people's health. Health in the wider sense. A lot of our people need to be guided to go to a doctor, to stop smoking, to stop drinking and to consider the needs of their families. There's a big need for it, particularly amongst the young ones.

Peter Richardson felt that Social Services had the opportunity to be a wide range of things and that while it might appear to be somewhat narrow in its current direction, that did not limit expansion at some future stage.

Social Services is a wide ranging kaupapa. I've been around it for the last 30 years. I've seen our people when they've been in care or in jail or they're ill. At this time we seem to be

¹Matua programmes are parenting programmes that have been developed by workers and committee members in conjunction with mate.

concentrating on certain areas and in turn we can monitor this to see if its working properly. Then if it is working we can expand into other areas. The focus for Social Services shouldn't be static, we should be able to move the focus where ever we need to move it. Social Services should also be about dealing with our whole being and not just parts of it. We shouldn't remain static and restricted by the Pakeha kaupapa.. . . That means being pro-active, not being the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff. With some things we're providing the sticking plaster instead of being at the top of the hill.

With a current revision of the Corporate Plan, for Te Runanga o Raukawa and its committees, such a definition may apply in the future.

The Structure of Te Runanga o Raukawa

Raukawa Social Services is an example of iwi development. When interviewed some people found it difficult to separate out the service from the organisation. Raukawa Social Services is a relatively new service and may at times be linked to the Runanga. At times this may be warranted but there may also be other times when it is important to distinguish between the two.

Issues around structure

The development of Te Runanga o Raukawa has been written about in chapter three and offers a good example of an iwi developing an organisation to meet increasing demands.

The consolidating influence of Mason Durie as the first tumuaki was pivotal to establishing a firm base. A number of those interviewed talked of his vision for running hapu and iwi affairs, as well as his considerable skill in running meetings and summarising with accuracy. Rupene Waaka is the current tumuaki. He played a major role in the change of the constitution. He believes that a thorough knowledge of the constitution is the key for those who are involved with the Whaiti, particularly with the constant changes in hapu representation or with proxies replacing their representative. Some within the Whaiti feel that the constitution upholds Pakeha processes which can conflict with Maori tikanga but Rupene Waaka believes that

it was a good change at the time and that it is still useful today. Te Runanga o Raukawa has four members elected from each hapu with one of these members attending Runanga Whaiti meetings (See Appendix four). While the hapu appoint their delegates to the Runanga and the Runanga Whaiti, these delegates are there to represent the Runanga. There is considerable role confusion however, with some hapu believing that their delegate is there to represent the hapu. This has led to difficulties in finding a way in which the Runanga includes the people rather than making them feel swamped or frustrated by the structure and the process. Yvonne Wilson from Ngati Tukorehe said:

*Our Whaiti representative is the voice and ears for our hapu
He's got his role clear but he gets trodden over by the structure
that is in place, the Pakeha structure.*

With a structure like Te Runanga o Raukawa, such debate is unavoidable. For many hapu representatives, being a part of a fast growing organisation which needs some rules and processes let alone the increasing number of issues that it has to face, may be quite daunting. Taumata Renata mentioned that she always came prepared for the meetings by reading any material in advance and obtaining the opinion of the hapu she was representing. Peter Richardson agreed that the hapu representatives needed to be prepared for the work involved in the Runanga and that hapu need to pick their representative carefully. He recognised that the hapu representatives undertook their role voluntarily but believed that they still needed to be serious about their position. Rupene Waaka believes that new hapu representatives need to undertake an orientation due to the increasingly complex nature of iwi work.

A few of the respondents believed that despite the structure of having hapu representation only a few are making all the decisions. Dobie Martin from Ngati Tukorehe said: *"It's run on a vote and what I saw was that depending on who you are influences the vote."* Some saw this as a further critique of the Runanga structure while others felt that such people had been key in the progress of Te Runanga o Raukawa to date. Ngawini Kuiti felt that while a certain few may make the decisions, it is still important for the hapu to be represented, particularly with kaupapa that may be important to their hapu.

The reality of iwi and hapu structures is that there are always the movers and shakers and they may not always be popular. However the criticism certainly keeps individuals "on their toes" in terms of their decisions and in ensuring they operate in the best interest of the iwi. Peter Richardson felt that the Runanga was still heading in the right direction and that the Runanga development was also an integral part of other iwi initiatives. He also saw the development of the Runanga as a part of other iwi developments.

For the last 25 years, I've been quite involved with the development of the iwi. I've seen the formation of the Runanga and its constitution with all its changes and the different initiatives that have been put into place. The development to date is fine for me though others might find the progress to be slow. We all have our dreams and I agree with the path that we're on. Developing ourselves and being involved in initiatives that benefit our people.

Within a few short years Rupene Waaka feels that this initiative has flourished. The people involved in the Runanga have worked hard to overcome obstacles in a short period of time and he believes it is a valid body to represent the interests of the people. He stated:

The Whaiti is an expanding business and you have to be confident and switched on. You have to get involved, you have to want to know on behalf of the people who elected you. Sometimes we have to make tough decisions but as a Whaiti rep I think this is an important matter.

The issues around processes and procedures need constant consideration being balanced with a Runanga that operates efficiently and maintains and satisfies the needs of the hapu.

In the last couple of years the Runanga has undertaken an increasing number of contracts with Crown agencies.² While this may be seen as a positive step forward for the Runanga, such contracts also come at a price, for example in the social service area the funding has diminished by the year as the numerous forms of accountability increase. Such

² Most of these contracts have been in the Health area, but there are contracts with the Department of Social Welfare (NZCYPS and CFA), Internal Affairs, Safer Community Councils and the New Zealand Employment Service.

contracts may not always synchronise with the vision of the iwi. People in the Runanga dream of the day when its business ventures will start to pay dividends which can be channelled back to hapu or towards the social needs of the people.³ Such autonomy may not be a short term goal but part of long term strategic planning. Peter Richardson commented:

We know that the demand means that we do need to be funded by the Crown but if we were a people that evolved and became good at what we do then one would hope that we could run it ourselves. If we're good at business, if we're good at different initiatives, then we shouldn't have to rely on the Crown, however with Raukawa that's a long way off.

Committee Development

When the committees of Te Runanga o Raukawa were formed they had a sectoral focus rather than an integrated one. Several reasons for this were cited in the interviews. Firstly, the committees evolved in response to the devolutionary policies of the State which offered funding to iwi rather than hapu and in more specific arenas like welfare, justice, health. Rupene Waaka stated:

...as we went along we put things in pigeon holes, we reacted to the Crown by trying to follow what the partner was doing. Social Welfare gave us a putea for Social Work and so we would put it in the Social Work pigeon hole. It was reactive, it wasn't proactive.

Rupene Waaka also believes that many of the committees came about as a consequence of activities that were prevalent in the wider Maori society at the time like the Waitangi Tribunal Claims Committee and the Fisheries Committee.

Numerous committees evolved as a natural progression of Te Runanga o Raukawa. As more people with more interests became involved with Te Runanga o Raukawa, people identified specific areas

³ Tainui recently received money as a part of the Raupatu claim, some of which they distributed to marae for them to direct to whatever initiatives they decided. Similarly Te Runanga o Raukawa would like to be in a position at some time in the future when regular dividends from business profits could be used to the benefit of the hapu.

for the Runanga to address. The committees may have evolved for all of the reasons outlined. Those who were interviewed indicated some dissatisfaction with the sectoral nature of the committees when people themselves felt that if the Runanga was offering a Maori service then there should be much more integration of services. Some thought that if the iwi operated from a tikanga Maori perspective of inclusiveness and holism, then indeed there should be overlap in service provision. Many respondents talked about health and social services inter-twined and when they realised there were two separate services they commented that all should be working together. While fragmentation has had a purpose, there is a school of thought promoting more integration of services. Yvonne Wilson from Ngati Tukorehe explained it in this way:

It is confusing having a social services committee, a justice committee, a health committee and an education committee when to me they all intertwine. They should all work with one another. The current structure dissects us and that is just ridiculous for us as Maori...We buy back into the standards of monitoring criteria and the guidelines of the Pakeha who give us the money. There is money for justice, social services and health so what do we do, we dissect ourselves and zoom in there.

Whatarangi Winiata reflected that there were a number of models that could or are being used within iwi organisations that the Runanga could be looking at.

Model 1: Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board's option- is where the Board has the responsibility to award scholarships but each hapu decides whether to recommend someone for a scholarship by affirming their whakapapa, providing information of the applicant and his/her whanau and having a representative of the hapu sign the application form.

Model 2: The hapu are informed of funding that is available for a specific purpose and then they can express interest if they would like to participate in this area. Several may want to be involved, co-ordinators are developed around these hapu, while other hapu, for reasons of their own, many choose not to participate. This model may be appropriate in the case of limited resources.

Model 3: That the iwi hire workers who are connected with their hapu and then the hapu will provide the service. The iwi role in this model would be to facilitate the process, to offer outside experience and assistance to the hapu, to be negotiators for funding and resources and to provide supervision and training where necessary. The hapu may set up a support group for the worker but also connect with the iwi.

Model 4: The model currently in use by Te Runanga o Raukawa is the Board Model, where the workers are appointed by the iwi and are asked to have hapu support in their applications. Generally the worker services a geographical area.

Comments have been critical of the current head office model and the Runanga may need to consider alternative models.

Is the Structure what the Iwi and Hapu want?

It may well be the structure of Te Runanga o Raukawa is seen as appropriate for the hapu and the iwi of Ngati Raukawa but it is the processes, procedures and decision-making that still require further development. Whatarangi Winiata believes that Te Runanga o Raukawa may be in jeopardy of progressing towards a Head Office model. The constant at the Runanga level may be a few administration staff but the rest of the kaimahi may work in a different setting dependent on the model used. His preference would be:

...for devolution to hapu but with co-ordination of this process...it's looking more and more like a head office model and the hapu, marae, whanau links tend to not be of major significance to a head office.

It is important for the organisation to aware of the needs of its people. Rupene Waaka suggests that the gap between the hapu and iwi could be lessened if the Runanga Whaiti meetings were circulated around the rohe of Ngati Raukawa. This would give people in the hapu the opportunity to sit and listen to the different issues talked about at the Runanga Whaiti and may help them feel more connected with the iwi organisation. For logistical and financial reasons this suggestion has

not been actioned. The Runanga cannot financially afford to be holding meetings at different marae each month when it has appropriate facilities for meetings at its own Runanga buildings. The resources are close at hand if meetings are held at the Runanga buildings. There would also be a cost to marae and the Runanga if hui were held on the marae, particularly as meetings are during the week. Confusion could reign with the constant change of venues. The Runanga building is therefore central to the activities, being the nerve centre.

The comments about the Runanga may be developmental issues that need to be ironed out, intertwined with some distinctly cultural issues and some distinctly Ngati Raukawa issues. The gaps indicate the continuing challenges that Te Runanga o Raukawa and nga hapu of Ngati Raukawa face in the future. Te Runanga o Raukawa will need to look at distinct ways of incorporating tikanga with the management structure into the processes and procedures that it uses. Te Runanga o Raukawa may also need to harness the considerable support from the State that is currently evident for iwi development. This is particularly pertinent in light of the current discussions about the rights and needs of urban Maori and the need for Maori urban authorities to represent Maori. Resourcing the needs of urban Maori however is likely to be taken from other Maori areas, so hapu and iwi need to realise that resourcing will not be limitless in the future.

The Runanga is currently up-dating their Corporate Plan. This offers a real opportunity for hapu to make some input into the policies and directions of Te Runanga o Raukawa. I feel that while people are critical of the iwi organisation, they may not have realised that making an input into the Corporate Plan is a real opportunity for them to express their concerns in terms of the structure and the processes and the policy development of the Runanga. Anne Heke from Ngati Tukorehe sums up the development of Te Runanga o Raukawa and its people with a note of enthusiasm by saying:

Since the inception of the Runanga people have moved in many different directions: in their own personal lives and in the knowledge that they have gathered. The path is there amongst all the people...this beautiful old koro said nothing is hard, it's only people who make it hard.

The vision is in front of us, the hapu and iwi of Ngati Raukawa. Some choose different paths to get there and that is the diversity we have as a people but the important thing is to get there. Te Runanga o Raukawa is just one mechanism for assisting in this vision.

Raukawa Social Services

Social services was identified early in the development of Te Runanga o Raukawa as a target for this organisation. Queenie Rikihana-Hyland said the Runanga were committed to looking after their people socially, educationally, with their housing and in welfare. As the Raukawa Social Services committee progressed, so too did the idea of setting up a service. A recognition of the numbers of Ngati Raukawa people who were coming to the notice of the various statutory departments, led the committee to commence negotiations with the Department of Social Welfare.

The CEO⁴ played a crucial role in negotiations to begin with and he has continued to have a pivotal role in any contact with the Crown, as a negotiator and administrator, along with the social services group. There has also been a stable core group of people in Raukawa Social Services that has led to this consolidation. But, the committee has lost several kuia in recent years, kuia who were strong advocates of Raukawa Social Services. The loss of these kuia is keenly felt by the committee, who feel that the influence and balance of kaumatua is sadly lacking at this time.

All of those on the committee are totally supportive of iwi and hapu development. This is an important point, as some members who came from mainstream statutory agencies had often only experienced the processes and procedures of such departments and therefore some introduction to the differences of working within a whanau, hapu and iwi environment was necessary. Policies also developed with a whanau, hapu and iwi orientation. Ngawini Kuiti believes:

I don't think that the kaimahi should be attending committee meetings and participating in decision-making. They should be

⁴ The CEO-Chief Executive Officer for Te Runanga o Raukawa is Ran Jacob.

able to bring their concerns to the committee but the kaimahi should not be influential when deciding how it should work. It is also very expensive to tie up all your workers at monthly meetings and you have to wonder if it is an ideal use of a resource. The intention behind these committees was that hapu would have input into management of the service, it wasn't the intention that the workers be the managers of the service.

Ngawini Kuiti is concerned that committees could easily be taken over by workers and that hapu representatives will not feel that they have a contribution to make. Such a perspective would dramatically affect the Social Services Committee, whose kaimahi are expected to attend committee meetings and are seen as an integral part of the committee. However unlike other work areas within the Runanga all of the kaimahi from Raukawa Social Services are of Ngati Raukawa descent some even representing their hapu on the social services committee. Iwikatea Nicholson provides a different perspective to consider when looking at developing policy for the Runanga.

I think that kaimahi can be part of the committee. Maori often wear several hats and handle situations in this way. Otherwise people who are unemployed and serving on committees won't be eligible to be a worker unless they first get off the committee. The only thing is that workers should probably not be involved in working out job descriptions and certain aspects of policy. The workers have a lot to offer and contribute....If there are contentious issues then they should go back to the Runanga Whaiti for a decision. Not having kaimahi involved with committees and all the thinking that goes with it is probably pakeha tikanga. We need to let everyone participate.

These two opinions highlight the confusion of a tikanga Maori and a tikanga pakeha approach to an issue. Such differences of opinion with regards to the development of policy for the Runanga needs working through in order to develop an organisation that uniquely meets the needs of those it services.

The current committee has also heard the comments expressed by hapu that the service is primarily interventionist. They have worked hard to try and create a service which is different from the mainstream while still responding to those from Ngati Raukawa who are falling between the cracks. Ema Jacob stated that the kaimahi fulfil all the

requirements of their contract and then work over and above that because they are convinced that there is the need to also focus on more positive work. The kaimahi have therefore developed their own Matua/Parenting programmes, have interpreted their care placements creatively by sending young people on youth programmes, particularly those that are marae, hapu and iwi run, while spending a considerable amount of time networking, informing, educating and assisting other social service agencies in the area, particularly those run at hapu level.

Whatarangi Winiata is complimentary about a kaimahi of whom he is aware and believes that the knowledge, skill and practice of the kaimahi could easily be transferable into a hapu context if required. He comments that:

While there hasn't been progress toward a hapu based arrangement, by looking at the kaimahi reports and listening to what is being said, we might be going through a necessary learning process and we will devolve to hapu as people get the training.

The kaimahi are primarily the face of the Runanga, seen by the people. Moe Turoa of Ngati Turanga commented that the only part of the Runanga that had been of benefit to the hapu or had trickled down to them, was the kaimahi from the Runanga (in the health area) who visited the marae regularly. Queenie Rikihana-Hyland supported this:

I think that Social Services and Health Services workers are the face of the iwi because you don't see the CEO at your back door. The Runanga doesn't walk into your day. You only know what the Runanga is doing if you go to the monthly Whaiti meeting.

The kaimahi are taking the activities of the Runanga out to the people in the way that Rupene Waaka suggested that the Whaiti should be doing. Raukawa Social Services has evolved partly in response to Te Runanga o Raukawa, partly in response to the contracts it has with the Crown but primarily in an attempt to focus on whanau, hapu and iwi within its policies and practice. Ema Jacob highlighted key aspects which she believes provide a hapu focus within their iwi model.

1. The committee believe that all the kaimahi should be from Ngati Raukawa. All applicants are required to seek the support of a Ngati Raukawa hapu to support their application.

2. The original goal of the Service was to undertake a needs assessment of the hapu of Ngati Raukawa. This reaffirmed that one of the future strategies of the Service should be to focus on hapu development.
3. Statistics are collated monthly which look at hapu and iwi connections of the whanau being seen by the service.
4. As a result of only employing people of Ngati Raukawa descent, there has been a marked increase in whanau referring to the Service from the hapu of that particular kaimahi.
5. If the kaimahi are unsure of whanau or hapu connections then they will refer to kaumatua to assist the whanau with whom they are working, to connect back to other whanau and their hapu.
6. The Committee attempt to regularly evaluate their relationship with hapu. If hapu indicate a preparedness to take on the role of deliverer of services then the iwi structure may need to look at this in the future.

Such approaches are believed by the Service to offer the opportunity to develop different policies, different forms of employment, different models of practice and a different outlook when negotiating with other groups of bodies. The next theme will look at these in some more detail.

Raukawa Social Services is a service grounded in the iwi organisation. Raukawa Social Services is still in its infancy and will require further development using some of the ideas suggested by those interviewed. This may be about amalgamation of services, or about devolution of services to hapu. It has become clear that a service is needed which looks at the welfare of the people living in the rohe of Ngati Raukawa. That welfare, or social services need to be defined by the iwi and the hapu and to focus on positive outcomes as a consequence of prevention programmes.

Approach to Work

This theme looks at Raukawa Social Services and how approaches to work have developed. These are discussed within the relationship that the service has with hapu and with the State. Comments from those interviewed identify areas that the service could move into in the

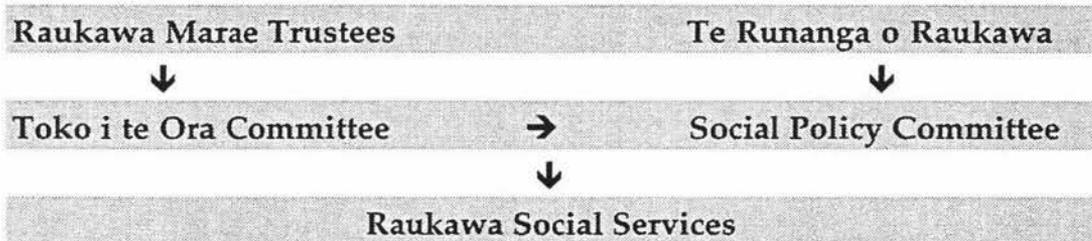
future. Two of the kaimahi also make contributions to this theme by providing case studies where they are asked to identify aspects about working with whanau.

The Foundation of Raukawa Social Services

Ngawini Kuiti states:

Before the Runanga it was Raukawa Trustees who focused on the social services of the iwi. It was the Raukawa Trustees that initiated the programme between DSW and the iwi. They initiated the idea of how we might create a service, a service that could be delivered to our people.

How Raukawa Social Services evolved has already been described in chapter three. A number of those interviewed were also key players in the early developments of the committee and then the service.



The diagram looks at how the Raukawa Social Services committee evolved and the influences which would guide its development. When the Toko i te Ora and Social Policy committees merged, an outcome was the development of a continuing relationship with the Department of Social Welfare.

The two documents of Hapu-Iwi document and Whakatupuranga Rua Mano as discussed in chapter three had a considerable influence on the development and the work of Raukawa Social Service at both a structural level and in terms of the practice of the kaimahi. The service is unique in its philosophy, structure and its practice. Ema Jacob describes the initial coming together of members of the Raukawa Social Services Committee as somewhat "haphazard".

It was a time when we were a little bit unclear because there was a lot of dreaming about our potential and what we should be

doing. There was a strong feeling of needing to know what our different hapu actually felt about their welfare status....We didn't have a focus to begin with and people were unaware of our function, or of what we could be. Initially the committee didn't have the drive or a sense of kaupapa.....Some of our committee members were also affected by their negative experiences as workers for the Department of Social Welfare, they were quite embittered about the notion of having any relationship with the State.

Others agreed with Ema Jacob's description of the committee then organising itself to concentrate on uplifting the people and no longer being just the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff.

From such foundations evolved a Service firmly ensconced in the development of whanau, hapu and iwi, a Service that wanted a partnership in every sense of the word, in any negotiations with the Crown, a service that would combine the knowledge of Pakeha but would also be firmly embedded in the tikanga and ritenga of Ngati Raukawa and a Service that was determined to see its people empowered as a result of their contact with the Service.

Soon after completing a needs assessment of hapu the Community Funding Agency offered to fund a pilot Service. The Committee felt ready to move on to the development of a Service and the Runanga Whaiti supporting this development. Ema Jacob said:

Interestingly, as people became regular attendees of the committee and as the work started increasing, more people were attracted to the committee, who were equally as passionate about the whole kaupapa and who were willing to consider a relationship with the State.

The aspirations of the Committee were not have immediately apparent in the operations of the service but nonetheless these are still aspirations towards which the Committee and the kaimahi are working. Some members still play the important role of monitoring any of the Committee's negotiations with State agencies and reminding the Committee not to be complacent. Such questioning is a constant and valuable reminder. Since these early days there has been some change in the membership of the Raukawa Social Services

Committee, with some kaimahi also being Committee members. Ema Jacob stated:

One of the key parts to the development of the Raukawa Social Services Committee probably occurred at the time that our second tumuaki came on board. We suddenly had someone who was passionate about the kaupapa, who was leading the group and who also had facilitation skills. We suddenly realised that in order to function properly as a group, we needed to have certain skills in our group, as there were things that had to be dealt to. ...we now have people involved who have a variety of skills and we recognise the value of it.

Philosophical Underpinnings

Raukawa Social Services has evolved from a group of people who have a strong sense of their identity as Maori and who particularly believe in the importance of whanau, hapu and iwi development. The important inclusion of whanau, hapu and iwi in the philosophical underpinnings has been an easy one to espouse but a lot more difficult to put into practice. The main aspiration of the hapu was prevention at a hapu level. The reality of contracts however has found Raukawa Social Services primarily focusing on helping whanau who have issues around care and protection of children and young people. Initially many of those referred came from other social service agencies but there is an increasing number of self referrals. The Service wanted to be available to everyone but felt a strong commitment to catch those who are often described as "falling between the cracks," and to return them to their whanau, hapu and iwi. Raukawa Social Services felt that they could still focus on this area from a preventative perspective, particularly as they felt that the models of practice that they used were completely different from the individualistic models that whanau may have previously experienced. As well, they felt that the options given to families would have a prevention focus by involving whanau, hapu and iwi networks in their work. Certainly the kaimahi are in agreement with the Runanga Whaiti and those interviewed that the service should be focusing on prevention programmes. A number of the respondents reflected perspectives similar to those of the kaimahi. Ngawini Kuiti said:

To date the main Social Service approach that has been used amongst iwi has been an "institutional approach". The service offered by Te Runanga o Raukawa is an "iwi approach". That in itself spells out the difference.

and Queenie Rikihana-Hyland reiterated this:

Our service is different. It has to be different because why would we do it if someone else was doing it well. I mean we've already said why do people think that we need our own iwi Service, because we're obviously not being catered for by what is already there.

Such opinions reflect strong support for the iwi Service not only because an iwi service offers something different but because they believe that the people of Ngati Raukawa deserve better than what they had previously received. Raukawa Social Services is constantly having to contend with issues of practice focused on prevention or intervention, with this situation being exacerbated because of contracts with the Crown. This particular Service believes that it evolved out of an awareness of the deprivation that some Ngati Raukawa were suffering and the recognition that unless positive alternatives were developed by Ngati Raukawa the future for Ngati Raukawa would be bleak. Ema Jacob highlighted the difference of Raukawa Social Services by looking at the formation of "whanau support groups" as a comparison.⁵

The Iwi Social Service is absolutely totally different. Other smaller groups, like the whanau support groups, generally function from a deprivation script. Every-day they live and breathe the pains of the Maori people and really feel the pain themselves. The workers are often people at risk themselves, looking after other people at risk and therefore they occasionally go into crisis. They never sit back long enough to form a vision for future development. That is the fundamental difference. We are really lucky to come from an iwi, who in the last 25 years has developed very strong visions based on whanau, hapu and iwi development.

⁵ The definition of whanau used in this instance is different from that that has thus far been used in this thesis. Whanau groups are groups that evolve around certain identified needs in a community. Those needs are generally those of the Maori community, though not exclusively so, and is a service available to all Maori, not having a whakapapa link like the whanau described in this thesis.

The focus of the Service and of the iwi is of positive development and of rebuilding seeing that it is important that this is reflected in any initiative undertaken by Ngati Raukawa. This is highlighted by Whatarangi Winiata who promotes an underlying philosophy that guides the work of Raukawa Social Services.

If you take the equation that people equal wealth and then the prescription which we've built into Whakatapuranga Rua Mano, their development and retention is of high priority. Social Services can be seen to be putting out a lot of fires but in the process they are also engaged in development. Given that it is Raukawa that is delivering the service then it will give retention to people. By retention we mean that they know that Tokorangi is their international headquarters, or Manakau is their headquarters so Wehiwehi is their place. I think that Social Services must be contributing positively to that. It may not be their intention to do so, it maybe that it is a by product of dealing with one crisis or another but they know that the receiver of the service is from Raukawa. It is valuable recognition to the Runanga, that it's helpful and valuable to hapu, to whanau and to the individual.

How are hapu included in the work of the Service?

The original objective of the Service was to acquire people from a range of hapu who would then return to work with their hapu, as was suggested in the original Hapu-Iwi development document. I have discussed elsewhere in this thesis the role of the hapu in the development of the iwi. Reality in the form of limited contracts with the State has dampened this aspiration so that it is now a long term goal or one where the Service recognises that in order to attain it they may need to look elsewhere for funding.

Several of those interviewed, mentioned that the hapu who have workers within Raukawa Social Services seem to have a special relationship with their kaimahi, which indicates that on a small scale there is a focus on hapu. There certainly seem to be benefits for the hapu who have either kaimahi or committee members involved, in terms of services, access, education or information. Ngawini Kuiti has a member of her hapu that is currently employed by Raukawa Social Services and she had this to say about that kaimahi.

She is recognised by the hapu, not only for her iwi work but also her interaction in the wider community. The hapu supported her in her job application. ...The hapu are aware of what she does because she also works within the hapu. If she has any doubts about someone's origin she has the sensitivity to go out and ask about them. She knows not to make assumptions and to look for the missing links. I think that she is the ideal iwi kaimahi, though I might be accused of being subjective.

At a practical level therefore one of the unique qualities that appears important about the kaimahi of the service is that there is a connection by whakapapa. This is seen as a positive attribute (unlike some State departments who are currently directing their workers away from working with their own family) and is paramount to a kaimahi having success in their work amongst whanau, hapu and iwi. Such connections also find the kaimahi having high commitment to their work. Not only do they work long hours but are seen in a variety of different whanau, hapu and iwi contexts. Peter Richardson believes that whanau, hapu and iwi have a different set of expectations when their own are involved and the Service also belongs to them.

...you'll over lap into the different areas when working with Maori at iwi, hapu or whanau level . You'll do jobs that don't strictly fall into your job description but it is what Maori expect of you as a worker. It's hard work to be a Maori and working for Maori, you're always asked to go the extra mile....Caring about each other when there is closeness doesn't ask for office hours and this is the same in terms of social services.

Concern expressed at Runanga Whaiti meetings about the long hours worked by the kaimahi are not just reflective of the employer-employee relationship but an awareness that they are "one of their own," and need to be looked after. There is also a concept of reciprocity involved here, which again is a part of the unique difference when working with your own.

Ema Jacob is one of the current supervisors of the kaimahi and mentioned that when new kaimahi start with the Service, there is often an increase in the number of people who refer from the hapu of the kaimahi. These are sometimes people who have not previously referred to other social service agencies. This again represents a unique difference between an iwi social service and other services. She

believes that hapu can have a strong connection with Raukawa Social Services and that the Service is actively trying to support hapu development. She had this to say about the importance of hapu/whakapapa connections for the future development of the Service.

...when we look at expanding the service we need to be aware of the hapu that are already represented- this being hapu representatives on the committee or kaimahi, as it automatically opens the service up for that hapu to connect. Although the idea is to have a kaimahi per hapu I think just a notion of having a spread of kaimahi from all the various hapu, makes it more approachable for them.

Whatarangi Winiata believes that hapu development is such a critical skill when you are an iwi or hapu worker that in his interview he advocated training in the area of hapu development for all the iwi workers.

Issues around Policy and Practice

Te Runanga o Raukawa in 1996 has looked at policies for the organisation, some of which are consistent for all workers, some which will be consistent with areas of work in alignment with the committee or the contract. Raukawa Social Services has over the years slowly built up policies concerning the operation of the Service. Some of the issues outlined in this section reflect the debate that is currently taking place at the Runanga Whaiti level.

Raukawa Social Services currently requires applicants for positions to have hapu support, which effectively narrows down the applicants. There is currently no similar policy about the hiring of staff in other areas of the Runanga. With an abundance of Ngati Raukawa who have or still work in social service areas, there is no lack of applicants for the few positions that have been available in the social service area. It is the contention of the Committee that such a policy affects social service practice for the better in this area. If the person has also been brought up in the rohe of Raukawa, their networking skills are likely to be invaluable in their work. In addition if that person has strong ties with their hapu then they will also have some inkling of the nature of work that is required within a hapu/iwi context. The opposing school of

thought however suggests that the Runanga should be hiring the best person for the job. This may still be a person of Ngati Raukawa descent but other areas of Te Runanga o Raukawa do not require that the employee has to be of Ngati Raukawa descent.

Another policy for Raukawa Social Services concerns accountability. Committee members are expected as hapu representatives to feedback important issues of the different activities of the service to their hapu, as well as send the Runanga Whaiti a monthly report and a yearly AGM report. For the workers their accountability is to the supervisor of the service via supervision, followed by a monthly report to the committee which is then passed on to the Runanga Whaiti meeting. Statistics and reports are also collated monthly for the State agencies. Accountability back to the people however is seen as paramount. Such an example arose from the committee in asking the workers to identify the hapu and the iwi of the whanau with which they were working. Such a move is a recognition that the iwi and hapu may require forms of accountability that differ from those used by other organisations and that consideration needs to be given to this by incorporating these as policies.

The final example of policy and its implication for practice is the way in which referrals are accepted by Raukawa Social Services. The Service has a whanau approach which means that referrals are by whanau. This can cause difficulties for agencies who are used to making referrals individually and who are asked to gain whanau approval before Raukawa Social Services is prepared to work with them. It is recognised that there are some whanau who are totally isolated from other whanau members and such people are still catered for but again the policy indicates the underlying principles of promoting the rebuilding of whanau, hapu, iwi connections and seeing these as a part of the practice of the service.

The policies mentioned are examples which indicate the different thinking that is required when developing an agency from an iwi, hapu perspective. While the Raukawa Social Services Committee believes that over the last number of years it has worked on developing a range of policies that meet the needs of the service from an iwi perspective, like so many issues surrounding a developing

service, there is also the acknowledgement that many of these policies are in the early stages of their development.

Issues around Practice

Similar to policy issues, the development of practice models that operate from an iwi perspective are still very much in their infancy. It is also important to keep a balance between tikanga Pakeha and tikanga Maori. Horiaana Joyce comments about the skills of the kaimahi in this way:

The people who work in the Iwi Social Services here at Raukawa have qualifications that belong to pakeha, that come out of pakeha "know how" and they are experienced in working in that way. They have chosen to work with their own people. They are using all their tools to help heal our people and to help in the development of our people. They bring all that they know plus all that was given to them by their tupuna. They are bringing all their Maori skills back to working with their own people. Now that makes it wondrous. We're very fortunate to have people with skills in both areas and our mokopuna deserve that.

Whatarangi Winiata recognises the dual expectations that workers will exhibit, particularly when working with hapu and iwi.

We often compare our performance with pakeha performance and pakeha people are pretty good administrators and we want to be like them and we're expected to be like them. But there can be a high amount of criticism if you don't maintain that other side of things as well.

The Service would like to think that the approaches used in this iwi work are firmly based in a Maori perspective but further work is required to formalise this perspective. As the Service develops a firmer foundation and the service continues to come under the spotlight, it will be imperative to look at the specific styles or models that the kaimahi are using. This may be important in identifying the training needs of the kaimahi, as well as informing and training others who have contact with Maori clients. Raukawa Social Services could be at the forefront of developing this kind of material and at some stage we

need to give sufficient time to looking at this particular aspect of the Service.

At the moment, the Service comes under some criticism for the individual nature of its work. This links to the debate about what the Service believes it is providing in terms of an holistic, whanau oriented service and the obvious different interpretation that some of those interviewed had. Iwikatea Nicholson said:

My understanding is that they principally involve themselves with case loads. That is only one aspect of social work and I don't know whether they do any more than that. What we're doing is actually taking on board part of the Crown's responsibility and probably not being properly resourced for it, probably under resourced for it.

These comments are supported by others who were interviewed and therefore the reality of what the Service does provide may only come to light the longer the Service is in operation, the more the work of the Service becomes known and the more it is able to move towards being an acknowledged whanau based service, rather than being seen by some as merely a brown replica of CYPS. Such criticisms may also reflect the nature of the contracts that the Service has entered into with the Crown which is primarily to respond to the work of CYPS. Queenie Rikihana-Hyland agrees with Iwikatea Nicholson:

...we seem to have picked up a lot of the work from the department. They knew that we were increasingly dealing with these difficult cases, often in the too hard basket. We're doing the hard work, the crisis work and the work that the department's workers couldn't do as well as we could.

A uniquely Ngati Raukawa approach or iwi approach is certainly about moving away from a caseload focus and towards proactive whanau or group work. This was reiterated by Whatarangi Winiata when he talked about the basic difference of philosophy between the iwi and the Department of Social Welfare, with the former talking about prevention and the later talking about caseload, a word that was unfamiliar to the iwi at that time.

Many of the issues around practice identify the complexity of the work that is required and the need for continued development and recognition of frameworks of practice. The following are two case studies presented by two of the Kaimahi of the Service, Sue Taylor and Ella Kauri-Davis. They are provided at this stage in order to substantiate the different way in which it is believed that iwi kaimahi work. They were asked to choose any examples that they wanted and oddly enough both cases offered are not whanau from Ngati Raukawa but whanau who have lived in the rohe of Ngati Raukawa for a long time. Both case studies use the words of the kaimahi.

Case Study One from Sue Taylor

Whanau members: Father (Ngapuhi)
 Mother (Pakeha)
 Seven children aged 13-1.

Services involved: Raukawa Social Services, Whanau Ora
 Nurse.⁶, Life Skills Co-ordinators, Courts.

Supporters: Ngapuhi Whanau, Raukawa Social Services.

Initial contact with this whanau was through a Whanau Ora Nurse who had been providing post natal services for the one year old baby in the whanau. The father sought legal advice and information as he was about to commence a 12 month prison sentence for driving whilst disqualified. The Whanau Ora Nurse linked with Raukawa Social Services to assist the father. The court had allowed the father two weeks to make arrangements for the care of his wife and seven tamariki. The wife relied heavily on her husband for support, particularly with the older children. There was no concern for the children at this stage and therefore no further work was required.

As soon as the father commenced his sentence problems began at home. Five weeks after the initial enquiry a formal referral was received to Raukawa Social Services through the Whanau Ora Nurse. The two older boys thirteen and nine years had become uncontrollable. The older boy had become abusive and aggressive to his mother. He was not listening to her and after arguments was running away from home on a regular basis. He was also experiencing difficulties at school. He had been caught shoplifting, on three occasions and had been referred to the Police Youth Aid. The behaviour of these two older boys was also having negative effects on a seven year old brother.

⁶ Whanau Ora is one of the Health programmes that operate within Te Runanga o Raukawa.

The kaimahi had talked with the father about any possible issues that might require attention prior to his going to prison but no expression of family difficulties had occurred at this time. When contacted the mother broke down emotionally on a number of occasions as she related the incidents that had occurred for her and her two sons in recent weeks. She believed they were becoming involved with other rangatahi who were a bad influence with her sons.

The whanau have lived in the Horowhenua Otaki area for more than 20 years and while some members have recently moved to live in Australia there are still a number of the father's Ngapuhi whanau living in the area. The family were comfortable to work with the Service and as work continued, further members from the extended family were included.

On contact with Raukawa Social Service the mother was informed about the Service and some of the options that could be made available to assist the whanau. The Service were about to commence a Life skills Hui for rangatahi at one of the local marae and the kaimahi suggested the two boys would be eligible to attend if the mother agreed. This hui was not limited to only Ngati Raukawa but was available to any rangatahi in the area that the service had been working with. The mother accepted indicating that the boys would be going. The boys reluctantly agreed to attend, growling and scowling as I arrived to collect them.

I had not met the boys before picking them up but had made inquiries about their whanau links, knew members of their father's whanau and used this to 'warm up' the boys. I also made a comment about the whanau that had recently moved to Australia asking how this had affected them. This led to a barrage of comments and questions about the pros and cons of moving to OZ. This certainly broke the ice.

At the marae they recognised other rangatahi, mainly of Ngati Raukawa descent and joined the group. First there was a powhiri, followed by the ground rules for the hui and an outline of the programme. There was kai, karakia and the tikanga of the marae was outlined. Rangatahi were asked how they interpreted or understood these concepts. The rangatahi learnt to be aware that whether they were at a marae, home, or at school, there were tikanga/rules or customs that needed to be observed. The rangatahi were challenged to see how often this tikanga was portrayed through out the weekend and then how they might implement these when they returned home. A lot of positive affirmation was given to everyone throughout the weekend. If there were negative issues to be dealt with, the rangatahi were encouraged to find the time and the place to do this but to resolve it appropriately and move on. There was also an attempt to link behaviour on the hui, back to behaviour that they should or should not emulate at home. This was through the use of positive statements like:

Your Dad and Mum would be proud to see how well you managed to get all your work done. You are a good role model for your brothers and sisters and for some of our other kids who need help to learn the skills you know.

Throughout the hui the two boys responded to the positive affirmation and at the evaluation the organisers verbally acknowledged the input of each person in the group. The boys had enjoyed themselves so much that they were reluctant to go home. The excuses were warming and reassuring for the organisers.

Eleven days after the hui the mother was contacted and she expressed utter joy in the change of attitude and behaviour of both her sons. The oldest was helping around the home, abuse and aggression had gone and there was no roaming the streets. The younger son's behaviour at school had improved and he was awarded "Pupil of the Week". She indicated the changes had all occurred after the rangatahi Life skills Hui. They had been offered the incentive to attend further Raukawa Social Services hui. The kaimahi encouraged the tuakana teina role between the two brothers during the weekend and contact with the whanau since has seen the older brother showing a considerable role of responsibility both with his mother, as well as reassuring his younger brother (teina) who was about to go on a camp by himself.

The mother has now asked Raukawa Social Services for assistance in contacting members of her husband's family, to organise a family day at the prison. The extended family are more than happy to help despite the mother's reluctance to ask for help.

At Christmas time Mum saved hard and purchased the oldest son a bicycle because of the positive role change that had occurred. The other children agreed that their tuakana deserved the bike. The younger children commented that the oldest is now allowed to purchase milk and bread at the local shop because he has his bike, where as in the past their mother always had to do it.

The next hui that the two boys will be attending is for rangatahi who have done some hard work on themselves. This hui will focus of sports and recreation, as well as learning karakia, waiata tawhito and waiata whakangahau. This hui is also at a Raukawa Marae that has strong historical links with Ngapuhi, so the kaimahi is going to show them the links between Ngati Raukawa and Ngapuhi.

The Raukawa Social Services kaimahi and the Whanau Ora nurse are now co-working to organise health camp options for the younger children. The kaimahi anticipates being involved with this whanau until the father comes out of prison, when she may need to do some work with him in discussing how the whanau have coped without him and looking at options so that he does not reoffend.

Differences in Approach to Work.

1. dealing with the whole whanau and even the extended whanau.
2. being empathetic of the mother and not critical.
3. creating the time to work with the case.
4. offering proactive alternatives for the tamariki as a means of dealing with their misbehaviour.
5. linking them with their identity.
6. using concepts such as tuakana-teina and the inter-relationship between tikanga on the marae and its application in other environments.
7. the role of manaakitanga for the kaimahi towards people who are not of Ngati Raukawa descent. She would hope that the concept of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga would be reciprocated for people of Ngati Raukawa descent if they were living in other areas and needed help.

Case Study Two from Ella Kauri-DavisWhanau members:

- Whaea. (a whangai into Ngati Raukawa. Strong alliances with her biological iwi of Muaupoko.)
- Tane. (Pakeha)
- Kotiro
- Tama (e Rua)
- Whangai family for the whaea.
- Biological family for the whaea.

Services involved:

Raukawa Social Services, Children Young Persons and their Families Services, Police, Sexual Abuse Centre.

Supporters:

Raukawa Social Services, Whanau, Friends.

This whanau had been to the attention of CYPS for 2 years. The initial intake to CYPS was for sexual abuse of the 13 year old daughter by her father. The father had been sentenced to 6 months imprisonment at this time but had returned to live in the family home upon his release. He was receiving counselling and so was the daughter when he sexually abused her again.

The first FGC (Family Group Conference) that had taken place had apparently had one member of the whaea family, a biological brother and there had been six members of the father's family there, who were highly derogatory towards the kotiro, seeing her as being to blame.

Initial contact with Raukawa Social Services was via a friend who the whaea knew from Kohanga Reo. Apparently the mother had confided in the friend one day and this friend had recommended that the whanau seek the assistance of Raukawa Social Services. This Kohanga

Reo friend rang to make some initial enquiries with the service and was given pamphlets and information to take back to the mother. By the time the whanau attended their second FGC, the whaea requested the assistance of Raukawa Social Services. The friend from Kohanga Reo offered to make contact with the service. Realising that the whanau were wanting assistance, the service accepted the referral.

The first meeting was between the Kohanga Reo friend, the whaea and the kaimahi of the service. They were given a brief history of the service, emphasising that the service tries to work primarily with Maori networks, Maori services or agencies that have Maori workers within them. They were also told of the importance of operating from a whanau base including extended family when the whaea and her kotiro felt ready.

The whaea was asked about her history, her whanau connections and her contact with CYPS. This conversation identified some important issues.

1. The whaea was a whangai of Ngati Raukawa.
2. She actually resided in the town of her actual iwi and had strong contacts with both her biological and whangai families.
3. The Whaea felt as though she had had very little contact with CYPS, with no awareness of her rights in this case.

After this initial contact the kaimahi made contact with CYPS to update them about the role that Raukawa Social Services would be playing in this case.

Initially the kaimahi worked with the whaea and then later brought in the kotiro. It was a really closed shop at this stage as until they had built up their trust in the kaimahi they did not want anyone else involved. Of the Whaea biological whanau (6 siblings) only one knew of the abuse. Up until this point the wife had protected her partner.

After three months of regular contact the whaea and the kotiro felt the extended family should be made aware of what had been happened. They were wanting support from their whanau as well as to develop better communication between them. The whaea was assisting the kaimahi at the local high school with the kapa haka group who were fund raising by holding a hangi. The whaea's biological brother who had originally attended the first FGC but did not know of any more recent events, had a tamaiti in this kapa haka group. They had not seen each other for 16 months and the hangi was a good means of putting them in contact again as well as enabling the whaea to say that Raukawa Social Services were now involved. When the brother found out the full story he was shocked and confused to think that his sister had taken her partner back and that he had then abused his daughter again. He was supportive of her in any way she wanted help. The next time that the kaimahi went to meet with the whaea and the kotiro the brother turned up to tautoko his sister and they decided to

all go to tell the biological mother (Whaea and her brother). This occurred on Christmas day and the whaea had not seen her mother in over 2 years. After this the rest of the family were slowly told and they were unanimous in their support for the whaea and the kotiro.

The next step was tell her whangai father, the whaea asking the kaimahi to come along too. The biological mother and the whangai father are brother and sister in laws. It was thought that everyone in the family should know and that these kaumatua could support each other, with the siblings supporting their sister and all of them supporting the kotiro and the tama in the whanau. This hui was "lovely" in terms of the interplay between the two people, though he felt that her whangai sister should also be told and she was brought in as she lived just next door. This sister was devastated as she saw her sister daily but had not noticed the signs in terms of realising that something was wrong. Her comment: "One can be so blind".

At the same time that the whaea was networking, the kotiro was also networking. She had decided off her own bat that she would tell her grandmother. She rang and asked to go to tea one night and after tea told her what had happened. Her grandmother was obviously a person to whom she felt she could talk.

The kotiro was initially very reluctant for the rest of the whanau to know. The kaimahi said there were a lot of sessions held on the shores of Lake Horowhenua and by the beach at Waitarere while this was talked through. She was actually harbouring a lot of anger towards her mother, as she believed that it was her mother who had made her father go away. The kotiro held no malice against her father at this stage and in fact the kaimahi was convinced that the kotiro was in love with her father. A number of sessions with her evolved around steps and stages of healthy and unhealthy relationships and her relationship with her father. The kotiro at some stage felt comfortable enough to tell the kaimahi about the details of her abuse. As the relationship between the kotiro and the kaimahi from Raukawa Social Services developed, the concept of her mother and her siblings and the kotiro herself needing the support of the extended whanau became more feasible and she agreed to them being told. The extended whanau had previously been ostracised from the whanau home as the father had not wanted them around.

During this time the father was still living in the area and maintaining regular contact with members of the whanau. The kotiro was still seeing him occasionally and this was causing considerable stress in the whanau home.

The kotiro and the father were receiving counselling and despite the fact that the Police and CYP's had been involved, there was no victim impact report prepared and no counselling offered to the whaea or to the whanau as a whole. The mother had become withdrawn and was

almost a recluse in her home, only wanting the company of her children. She had been left in financial debt in excess of \$5000 and was carrying three mortgages on the home. It was felt that a plan was required that would be put together by the whaea, the kotiro and the kaimahi from Raukawa Social Services. What follows is the plan:

1. The father would no longer have unsupervised daily contact with the kotiro. Visits limited to 3 per week. Supervised home visits only, convenient to the whaea and kotiro. (4pm-5pm)
2. Boys to spend each fortnight weekend with their father. Father was living with friends who would keep a close eye on the boys, (it was considered to be safe).
3. Principal and those teachers considered necessary were informed of Raukawa Social Services involvement. (kotiro having problems at school). They were also made aware of the plan.
4. Counselling and other supports and information for the mother and two boys were passed onto the whaea.
5. Legal information about the status of the kotiro with CYPS, legal obligation of CYPS and parent.
6. Raukawa Social Services to make whanau and hapu contact, to encourage the whanau both immediate and extended to support and assist the whaea and her tamariki, to encourage regular contact.
7. Raukawa Social Services to assist the wider whanau about information on FGC's, sexual abuse, counselling (cost etc).

Outcome:

A review of the FGC was held nine months after the involvement of the service. The mother and kotiro had 9 members of the whanau attend the FGC along with 3 long time friends. Supportive whanau networks were put into place, respite care for the tamariki if needed within the whanau unit was offered and accepted. The whaea and her tamariki were offered family therapy counselling and individual counselling, by appropriate counsellors. Special Education assistance was offered for the kotiro for six months, to assist her to catch up with school work. Continued regular contact and monitoring by Raukawa Social Services.

The father no longer lives in this rohe. Contact with the father is via letter. The mother now has sole custody and guardianship of the tamariki. She has now applied for a legal separation. A teina sister to the whaea has moved into the house to live with the whanau and the kaimahi says that she is a really positive influence on the kotiro, who is now playing sport, is interested in kapa haka and is working 20 hours per week. In addition she is looking at her options for training. The whanau continues to have therapy on a monthly basis. Raukawa Social Services is no longer involved.

Differences in Approach to Work:

1. *Maori networks; whanau/hapu/Maori specialists/Maori agencies/ Maori in agencies.*
2. *Whakapapa connections and a knowledge of their importance.*
3. *Knowledge of the importance of whangai and the interconnection between biological and whangai whanau.*
4. *Introduction to service. Ko wai koe? No hea koe?*
5. *Seeing the whanau as the group to work with. Kuia, koro, whaea, siblings, kotiro.*

Both of these case studies have indicated how the kaimahi of the service work with whanau and that even though they may centre around crises issues going on for these whanau, there are still approaches to their work that distinctly incorporate a whanau, hapu and iwi focus.

How the Crown Influences the Work

While some of the following information has also been covered in other areas, it still warrants particular mention in light of the repeated comments from those who were interviewed.

It is obvious from those interviewed that they believe the contracts developed with the Crown have had a strong influence in the work that is currently being undertaken by Raukawa Social Services. Some see the relationship with the Crown as leading the iwi service off track, by getting Raukawa Social Services to undertake what many in the iwi see as the Crown's responsibility, with little resourcing. Teresa Taylor from Ngati Tukorehe felt that the committee's current dilemma has arisen out of a lack of funding, thus not allowing the service to develop in the direction that it would like to. It is important therefore that these kinds of concerns are regularly considered by any one negotiating on behalf of Ngati Raukawa.

The kaimahi also feel the tension around the funding issue, as they are expected to maintain the daily running of the service, while not knowing if there is enough money for them to continue to be employed. With each new contracting round, the kaimahi are constantly on tenterhooks taking on no new work, not knowing if they would have jobs beyond the end of the contract year. The relationship

with the Crown is like a double edged sword, on the one hand wanting to provide a service but on the other recognising the constraints and lack of control over the focus of the work of the service. Iwi may therefore not always feel in control over the kind of work they undertake. While small parts of the contract are allocated for prevention and Raukawa Social Service does attempt to work creatively within their contract, there are still considerable constraints and pressures.

Future Developments for the focus of work

There seems to be a general agreement that the service is definitely Maori oriented, hapu oriented and iwi oriented. There is also agreement that the service is still in the early stages of development and that like other iwi developments, Whakatapuranga Rua Mano (Ngawini Kuiti) and Te Wananga o Raukawa (Taumata Renata) it may take a while for hapu and iwi to come on board.

There also seems to be agreement by those interviewed that they would like Raukawa Social Services to focus on prevention work with some good examples already evident within the wider iwi. Those closely linked with the service felt that it was undertaking preventative work but agreed that it was still not sufficient in terms of the aspirations of the hapu.

A lot of the criticisms of the current Service may occur because of the constraints of a relationship with the Crown. Raukawa Social Services is still left feeling powerless, even though we are hoping to empower those whom we serve. Certainly continued negotiations, accountability procedures, proposal preparation and searching for funding leaves little energy for the preventative work that the iwi and the Service would like to be doing. As Ema Jacob followed by Horiana Joyce state:

If you look at Social Services as being a preventative, educational or liberating tool, then yes I definitely know where we should be focusing.

Prevention is something that I feel strongly about and I would like us or the Social Services to expand into this area. Like

seriously considering the strengths of our kaumatua and kuia. They are a really valuable resource that Social work, in my understanding of what social work could actively be involved in.

Whatarangi Winiata, agrees that Raukawa Social Services kaimahi need to be seen more active on the marae and suggests, "making a rewena or taking some tuna to the tangi", would indicate really clearly to the hapu that they are interested in them.

While there may be differences between an iwi operation and any other, further work is required to fully identify these in the form of a model of practice. Such differences create a unique service which is a blend of te ao Maori concepts (whakapapa, ritenga, tikanga) with the professionalism, accountability and practice that makes this iwi social service acceptable in the wider social service arena. Raukawa Social Services is something that belongs to the people and is of the people, therefore they need to be constantly analysing the service to ensure that what is being provided is to better the welfare of all involved.

Iwi Social Services: Concluding Comments

As discussed in chapter four, I have found critical theory useful in that it provides one explanation of the personal and collective struggles that Ngati Raukawa iwi have had and are still faced with and how they have developed initiatives in order to take more responsibility for their destiny. The framework of critical theory will therefore be used in this chapter to make sense of the experiences of Raukawa Social Services in terms of their development, the challenges they have confronted and the way in which their vision has allowed them to overcome these.

Raukawa Social Services is an initiative (like Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori) which has developed an emancipatory model for change in terms of the delivery of social services to the iwi. It is seen as a movement that developed from the grass roots, with its development depicting the various stages of critical theory as described by Fay (1987) and Melling (1997) in chapter four. Much of the critique of this iwi Service is made because those

interviewed have a vested interest in a service that belongs to them and is different from those offered in the mainstream. Such an initiative fits into Meads (1996) description of a Kaupapa Maori model, one that was developed by Ngati Raukawa, is run by Ngati Raukawa and is for Ngati Raukawa.

The development of Raukawa Social Services is an attempt by those involved as well as those at the next layer (hapu and iwi) to define a Service which best meets their needs, rather than having the reality of other agencies imposing their definitions on Ngati Raukawa. In critiquing the definitions of the current service, those interviewed stressed the importance of resisting definitions of social services which perpetuate the oppressive structures Maori have had to contend with in the past. A wider definition of social services allows the iwi to squarely focus on prevention, to define their reality and define their future, for example by the creation of Matua programmes, rangatahi hui, linking in with other proactive programmes offered by the iwi and more recently by the appointment of a youth kaimahi. These are all examples of proactive initiatives which are part of the defining of the future for Ngati Raukawa.

Within the Service itself, it has been acknowledged that a lot of the work centres around whanau who are in a state of crisis and who have little sense of their identity or connection with their wider whanau, hapu and iwi. It could be argued that they have developed a sense of false consciousness. Fay (1987) talks about this as being evident in oppressed people. The work in this area is very difficult and those interviewed acknowledged the work of the kaimahi in going over and beyond the call of duty. Some also acknowledged that it is the "lost ones" that most need an organisation like Raukawa Social Services. As an iwi Ngati Raukawa in conjunction with the other iwi, or the Confederation, are no longer prepared to be the "victims" of society and are committed to looking at ways of bringing themselves into the world of light.

This is not about others showing Ngati Raukawa the way. Maori have experienced this for over 150 years and in many respects feel no better off. It is the frustrations and feelings of being marginalised, as identified in chapter four, that have led Ngati Raukawa and other iwi

in the region to attempt to formulate a relationship with the Department of Social Welfare. In addition these iwi focused on hapu kaimahi which they believed was a proactive way to address many of the social ills identified as evident amongst the Maori of the area. The two parties did not agree about their aspirations to assist the Maori people of the area and some of those interviewed highlighted the frustrations of continued negotiations with such a Department. They were concerned that such negotiations should not stop the people from dreaming and moving towards the creation of alternative initiatives. They cited other iwi initiatives which were started on the smell of an oily rag. In addition hapu identified that the iwi Service would never be able to cater for all the needs of the people and that it was important therefore that hapu options were also nurtured and that the Runanga play a more proactive role in supporting these. What will make Raukawa Social Services work and any other social services options within the hapu and iwi of Ngati Raukawa, will be the commitment and determination of the people (hapu and iwi).

This does not deny the Crown's responsibility for addressing the needs of the iwi. It is obvious however that those at the Runanga and Raukawa Social Services level that are negotiating with the Crown will have to have a clear understanding of their role and the role of the State. The critical theory chapter talks about power being both creative and liberating but to date some of the frustrations expressed by those interviewed, has been the power of negotiations where the Crown has utilised techniques of divide and rule over the subordinate Raukawa Social Services. Power for Raukawa Social Services will arise out of education and transformation of their reality. I believe that Ngati Raukawa is attempting to hold fast to the idea of transforming its reality, as has occurred with Whakatupuranga Rua Mano where the people of the Confederation have achieved qualifications in various areas, with some being in leading positions. One of those interviewed however, commented that at times it was easy to be swayed by the contracts of the Crown, rather than by the vision of the hapu and the iwi.

I am not suggesting here that there should not be a relationship with the Crown. One of the purposes of Te Runanga o Raukawa is to develop relationships with the Crown and to negotiate any contracts

on behalf of the iwi. Of course many of those interviewed questioned the Runanga relationship with the Crown. Most believed that the Crown had the responsibility to fund iwi initiatives but the doubts centred around the anti-dialogical nature of the relationship. Still the Crown imposes (they say offer) initiatives like iwi Social Services rather than engaging in genuine dialogue with each iwi.

Te Runanga o Raukawa and Raukawa Social Services have to remain astute and informed every step of the way in order to counter the hegemonic practices of the Crown. This indeed is where the creative aspect of the work of the kaimahi arises in terms of interpreting contracts creatively, fulfilling the requirements of the contract and their roles as hapu and iwi members. At a Committee level this may well be about looking for different contracts that do allow the vision of preventative options to be pursued, about looking at those on the Committee (many of whom have extensive knowledge and experience in social service fields) to assist hapu by running workshops and training hui at marae and moving towards a more integrated approach between iwi and hapu. In addition as Whatarangi Winiata suggests, the Service may need to look for a new name, one like Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, which also talks about the vision of the Service.

Those interviewed also expressed some confusion at the sectoral structure of the Runanga as they felt that iwi are a more holistic, integrated approach. The Runanga has effectively responded to the devolutionary policies discussed in chapter two and three and to their credit have gained a sizeable number of contracts in recent years. A critical theory perspective however suggests that breaking the organisation into a number of components dissects rather than unites the groups and the workers and encourages participants to inadvertently compete against each other. This is certainly created by the increasing number of contracts in some areas as opposed to others. Despite contracts being divided into different areas, there may be some benefits in heeding the thoughts of those interviewed that the Services should be more integrated. The Runanga may need to look at alternative models currently in use by different iwi, to see if such models could encompass some of the opinions expressed by those interviewed. While the Social Services Committee of the Runanga is

seen to be healthy in terms of numbers and attendance at meetings, in comparison with some of the other committees in the Runanga, the Social Services Committee is nonetheless concerned that meetings are largely attended by the kaimahi of the Service. There may be pros and cons to having one group with a variety of interest areas but there is also a lot more power in a united group. This idea certainly supports Irwin's (1992) belief that power lies with those who create the tools.

The structure of Te Runanga o Raukawa is unique in its attempt to more visibly involve hapu in its decision-making. The model is still developing, which is difficult when you are also operating an expanding enterprise (both in terms of services and issues). Some of those interviewed stated that despite the structure there are still feelings of powerlessness when it comes to decisions being made by the few. This has to be rectified. While ideas may often evolve from a few visionaries, it will be important for the Runanga to remember that true emancipation arises when everyone is empowered. To that end the comments about orientation, training and clear information for new Runanga Whaiti members have been made with reference to the creation of a smoother running enterprise but what also occurs is that knowledge leads to much more critical analysis and active participation in the organisation. Whatarangi Winiata suggests that the Runanga is in jeopardy of operating like a Head office model rather than the decentralised model that it espouses. However a more purposeful approach to the role of hapu delegates on the Runanga Whaiti through the suggestion previously mentioned, would not only benefit the Runanga but presumably the hapu from which they come. Whatarangi Winiata mentions that one of the advantages of Raukawa Social Services has been that the kaimahi while currently working for the iwi, have in fact been trained so well that they could also be hapu kaimahi. If there was support for hapu delegates to become educated in this area, the gap currently being suggested between hapu and the Runanga could well narrow if not disappear. In turn opportunities to discuss the structure, the decision-making and the tikanga used in the organisation could occur in a more constructive manner.

The philosophies, policies and practices of Raukawa Social Services are just as open to critique within the structure of Te Runanga o Raukawa. However the Committee think that they have developed innovative

tools that have strengthened the Service. Many of these have been informed by documentation evident in the wider iwi, as well as some of the key principles established within the Constitution of Te Runanga o Raukawa, thus linking into initiatives that have been evolving within the iwi for several decades. These initiatives clearly link into the revitalisation of the iwi-with a concerted focus on hapu development. Therefore the Service has chosen to hire people of Ngati Raukawa descent, it has encouraged the kaimahi to nurture/strengthen links with their hapu and despite only a few kaimahi on the ground they have still attempted to establish links with hapu and to focus on positive change. Many of those interviewed felt that the Service was still too strongly aligned with mainstream services, which indicates that despite the attempts already described, the Committee has to inform and to participate in active dialogue with those who are their own. There is obviously still some considerable distance to travel in terms of indicating more clearly to the hapu and iwi what the Service provides and in considering whether the Service does need to diversify in terms of new contracts and more inclusion or devolution to hapu. It is obviously important that if Raukawa Social Services has a vision as is explained in chapter three, there needs to be constant reflection with the inclusion of people in this process. While some of those who were interviewed may not have had an intimate knowledge of the Service because of its size and therefore the inability to spread the message far and wide, nonetheless their stories and their opinions are still important as all interviewed came from a strong whanau, hapu and iwi base.

The two case studies offer further verification of a Service which Fay (1987) describes as looking for innovative ways in which to overturn the suffering of families by replacing it with something which people can relate to in fuller and more satisfying ways. The approaches used by the kaimahi support a critical theory perspective which has a basic belief in the potential of human beings to bring about changes for themselves. Underpinning their approaches is a cultural foundation. Some of the critique of the Service negates work undertaken in such areas, believing that it is too focused on individuals who are not able to make significant changes in their lifestyle. The case studies are however two of many examples of how a different approach of empowering whanau, developing strategies and where possible linking

them back to whanau hapu and iwi, has worked successfully, as is indicated by the increasing number of self referrals. The Service offers the right conditions in which whanau have the opportunity to change their situation.

Raukawa Social Services has been able to expose the agendas, inequities and injustices of realities for many Ngati Raukawa whanau who knew no different and to work with them towards some constructive change. The diverse range of realities for Maori whanau needs to be acknowledged more within the iwi of Ngati Raukawa, which needs to realise that all may need the assistance of a service like Raukawa Social Services at some stage. Not only is the Service bringing about change in the lives of some of the whanau they deal with but the Committee has had to be politically astute in how it is tackling the structures and institutions in society.

Raukawa Social Services is still in a developmental phase and yet it is important to always hear the constant challenge of the people. As the Service continues and further strengthens itself there will be more opportunities to develop alternative models which can be shared with hapu. The visions of the Service, of the hapu and the iwi enable them (whatever the constraints) to create, to dream and to have visions leading up to and beyond the year 2000. The energies of Ngati Raukawa are mobilised by the notion of a better world for its people.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this thesis was to examine a particular aspect of iwi development within the iwi of Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga and in relationship to the hapu/iwi context. The particular initiative was Raukawa Social Services. The research looked at what contributed to or influenced the development, what some of the difficulties were along the way and what some of the challenges are for the future. This initiative was sited as a part of the development (historical and contemporary) of Ngati Raukawa but also within the social, political and economic development occurring within Aotearoa/New Zealand society.

Critical theory helped to analyse what happened to Ngati Raukawa and Raukawa Social Services from both an historical and contemporary perspective, as well as the development of alternative strategies for social change. Historically Ngati Raukawa had suffered the effects of colonisation and economic marginalisation. By the 1970's the marae of Ngati Raukawa were in a sad state of disrepair and an increasing number of their people were disenfranchised from their whanau, hapu and iwi connections. Those that still had strong connections to their marae and their people were determined however to find a means of strengthening the structural foundations of whanau, hapu and iwi. Deliberate strategies were required to ensure that the institutions of Ngati Raukawa would survive in order to serve the people and to ensure that the people would be in a healthy state in all aspects-socially, culturally, politically and economically. In conjunction with the iwi of the Confederation, Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (1975) was one plan which offered strategies to ensure that the iwi had control of its future, by naming and valuing its realities. The principles of this initiative have been incorporated into further iwi initiatives that have since been developed within the iwi. Raukawa Social Services is one such development.

The stories of individuals and hapu from Ngati Raukawa are included, identifying key factors that need to be considered when examining social services. Their stories reflect the larger picture of the hapu-iwi relationship as well as the development of Raukawa Social Services and the relationship with the State.

One of the primary aims of the research was to undertake a process which legitimated people's stories and did not further isolate them from the research process. Using key principles of kaupapa Maori research: whakapapa, whanau, hapu and iwi, te reo, tikanga and rangatiratanga, the objective was to identify how people from the hapu and iwi perceived Raukawa Social Services and the role that this service should have. The research process revealed the complexities that occur when undertaking research in an iwi environment. These complexities provided valuable learning for those considering research in this field, learning which was necessary to ensure that the research undertaken was appropriate to the context. Although the stories were a valuable means of enabling a number of iwi members to share their ideas and knowledge, they do not represent, necessarily the opinions of all Ngati Raukawa people. This chapter summarises the key themes emerging from the research, identifies recommendations for further research and development of Raukawa Social Services and explores the use of critical theory as a framework for understanding the position of Maori in current society and how this position can be transformed.

Iwi-Hapu relationship

A key theme was the relationship between iwi and hapu. The centre of development for Ngati Raukawa lies with whanau, hapu and iwi. Each of these structures are linked to the other and yet they are also strong entities in their own right. These structures must be the focus of Ngati Raukawa if the iwi is to survive and be strengthened. It seems however that the stability of the whanau, hapu and iwi is being questioned, with concerns being expressed about whether there are enough committed people within each structure to ensure their future health and wealth (Winiata & Winiata: 1996). It is imperative therefore that the hapu-iwi relationship is a primary focus of development, both assisting each other rather than battling each other. People interviewed agreed with this seeing the hapu and Te Runanga o Raukawa as the iwi organisation in terms of its application to this thesis. There was obviously an expectation that the iwi organisation should be communicating and assisting the hapu of Ngati Raukawa. This could be achieved with the Runanga having more of a public face, by providing precise, clear information about their activities

and by ensuring that the role of hapu representatives in the Runanga was more participatory in the decision-making of the iwi organisation.

It is a challenge for a growing organisation like Te Runanga o Raukawa to hear the concerns expressed by some hapu about representation and active participation within the organisation. The constitution of Te Runanga o Raukawa allowed for hapu representation but may not have fully foreseen the role that these volunteers would have to play in an expanding iwi organisation. Given that such representation is likely to remain, some strategies will have to be developed about how hapu and iwi could more fruitfully work together. Strategic planning could allow for the organisation's strengths and weaknesses to be identified, including the opportunities and difficulties that it faces. The Runanga is currently reviewing its Corporate Plan. If this is carried out appropriately it has the potential to assist the iwi-hapu relationship. However clear strategies will be required to be put into action. If hapu criticises the gap between themselves and the iwi organisation then they need to realise the importance of having input into the Corporate Plan process in order to actively participate in the preparation of a plan which meets the needs of hapu within the iwi organisation. This could provide Te Runanga o Raukawa with goals and objectives identified by hapu (Mahuta: 1993).

It is vital however that the iwi-hapu relationship (particularly in a competitive fiscal environment, with the Crown favouring iwi), looks towards approaches where both can work together, where the iwi and hapu can clearly delineate their roles so that the iwi does not do what the hapu can do better and where a win-win position is developed rather than a them and us (Puketapu: 1994). Hapu competing against iwi, functions to perpetuate the position of divide and rule and can further marginalise the iwi and hapu politically, socially, culturally and economically. The Decade of Maori development witnessed the re-emergence of tribal structures. The continued development of such structures in the next decade will require both hapu and iwi to create a plan which focuses on the visions that are particularly important for their development. It will be even more important for hapu and iwi to take control of their world by clarifying the relationship between them, which will strengthen them when dealing with others who attempt to impose another agenda upon them.

Raukawa Social Services

The focus of this thesis is Raukawa Social Services. An important aspect of the research revealed a hapu-iwi debate around where the services are best located. Some felt they were best sited at hapu level while others felt that the iwi service offered a much broader focus. What creates the tension around this issue is the allocation of funding. Both the iwi organisation of Te Runanga o Raukawa and several hapu within the rohe of Ngati Raukawa offer social service options. While the Runanga originally planned to build the Service to a level so that there would be a kaimahi per hapu, the current funding and numbers of workers within Raukawa Social Services limit the opportunity to service each individual hapu. Some hapu believe that they would be best to run the Service with the iwi organisation seeking funding and then monitoring and facilitating the Service. The iwi organisation believe they focus on hapu but from a broader perspective rather than a narrower focus which the hapu advocate. The iwi Service consider that they offer a combination of preventative and intervention work, where hapu believe that the iwi focus almost exclusively on intervention and they think Raukawa Social Services should be focusing more on preventative initiatives within hapu.

Of course given that Maori feature so prominently in social service statistics (health, justice, welfare, education) both iwi and hapu options are vital, as both are necessary to reduce (not increase) the gaps evident between Maori and pakeha. Funding issues constantly plague Raukawa Social Services. However there is now some feeling of permanence such that the Service needs to work more closely with hapu in the future in the planning and delivery of services. The various models canvassed by Whatarangi Winiata in his interview should be considered, as while the Service currently ascribes to one model, that does not pre-empt other models being incorporated as the Service looks towards securing new contracts for different areas like youth work, sports co-ordination and adolescent health, to name a few. While some hapu have acknowledged that they are in a position to offer a service, other hapu feel that the current iwi service is meeting the needs of their hapu. Acquiring new contracts could mean that additional staff are appointed who represent more hapu from the iwi. The Committee has already suggested that staff should represent a range of hapu if possible.

The emphasis of preventative services is a theme which permeates many of the Ngati Raukawa initiatives. Raukawa Social Services do not want to band aid problems which then constantly re-occur. They want to be involved with proactive programmes like hui rangatahi (young people's hui) that can be seen as a means of transformative action. Such programmes are a part of a long term vision rather than providing short term interventions. The iwi of the Confederation in 1975 set their first goals to be achieved over a 25 year period up to the year 2000. Now that this time is fast approaching, they are already looking at the initial 25 years into the new millennium.

Raukawa Social Services have worked to involve prevention in their work in several ways: by creating proactive programmes within the Service, by linking into proactive initiatives offered at the wider iwi or community level and by looking at the specific way in which the kaimahi work. The kaimahi are more inclusive of whanau, hapu and iwi and use skills that are more appropriate to the cultural context. It is a service that is seen by mainstream services as preventative in the provision of its service but which still requires further progress in order to answer the criticisms of some of the respondents. If the Service originated through the expressions of people within the iwi, it is important to regularly evaluate and review, the way in which the Service meets the needs of the people.

The Service largely focuses on working with whanau who may be in a state of crisis. The Service may also need to advocate on behalf of those who have no voice. A number of whanau that the Service deals with does not have strong whanau, hapu and iwi links. It is important that the hapu-iwi structure do not doubly oppress these people but provide an option like Raukawa Social Services which enables them to be re-connected with their own.

Raukawa Social Services Relationship with the State

The criticism that the Service receives about the use of interventionist strategies could be an outcome of the contracts and the relationship that the Service has with the State, such as the Department of Social Welfare. This is a historical relationship, which eventually led to contracts with a rather narrow focus in service provision. Since the establishment of the Committee there has always been a strong focus on the well-being of

Ngati Raukawatanga. Those interviewed reminded the Service that in establishing relationships with the Crown, they should not be swayed to the extent that the vision fades or is lost. Such thoughts are in line with those of Mahuta (1993), who said the needs of the Maori have become programme driven rather than development driven. Some of those interviewed warned of the likelihood of this occurring if Raukawa Social Services was not careful. They felt that it was important for the Service to remember the successful initiatives that have developed within Ngati Raukawa in recent times, such initiatives not necessarily being successful due to adequate funding but because the people believed in the initiative and were prepared to put in time and effort to ensure that they were successful.

There were also those who noted that the persistence with which Raukawa Social Services attempts to challenge the State, due to a belief that iwi can offer a range of services which better meets the needs of Ngati Raukawa whanau than mainstream agencies. Ngati Raukawa has acknowledged social services as an important issue to be addressed over a period of time, with Raukawa Social Services being one of a culmination of outcomes for the iwi in this area. Raukawa Social Services thus continue to challenge the colonial state about their power base (Kelsey, 1993) by developing an iwi social service that is defined by the hapu and iwi, not iwi social services that are defined by the State. Those interviewed felt that the State has not appropriately redistributed its benefits to iwi and should therefore be continually challenged to do so. This they saw as one of the benefits of the Raukawa Social Services Committee, who operate at a service level but who are also aware of the political and policy issues that need to be addressed. The Committee are faced with constantly challenging the Crown about appropriate provision of services while working creatively with the contracts and maintaining the principles and visions of the Service.

These and other reasons may well be why Raukawa Social Services, despite being encouraged by the Department of Social Welfare to become a registered iwi social service, have resisted this offer to date. Interestingly, as this thesis nears completion, the Service is developing a Memorandum of Understanding which will be sent to the Department of Social Welfare in an attempt to clearly outline the position of Raukawa Social Services in any further negotiations between the iwi and the

Department. The Committee have realised the limits of the State's provision and the need to address Ngati Raukawa's social service issues in alternative and creative ways. This should prove a positive outcome for Ngati Raukawa, with ideas being driven by the people rather than the contracts with the State. Iwi must continue to rely on their own development plans and actions if social and economic conditions are to change (Mahuta: 1993). This requires educating our people out of a state of false consciousness. Mahuta (ibid) describes it as: "educating them out of the lie". It is also important for Ngati Raukawa to replace this situation with alternatives which leave whanau hapu and iwi with more control over their future. As Parata (1994: p160) states:

...the best way to predict the future is to invent it yourself and if you're not prepared to do that then you must be prepared to be a part of someone else's future.

A Reflection on Critical Theory

As has been stated in this thesis, critical theory has been utilised as a framework for understanding the historical and current position of Ngati Raukawa. Not only does critical theory offer an explanation for the structural impositions that face Maori socially, politically, culturally and economically but it is a theory that implies belief in the ability of people to transform themselves from being oppressed. Critical theory explores the collective ability of people to empower themselves while structurally analysing their situation by looking at how it evolved and how people can use education to move beyond their current situations. Critical theory believes in the importance of historical and political analysis to describe current reality but to also inform and create strategies for a different future. Chapter four and eight both show how critical theory was applied in terms of Ngati Raukawa.

When applying critical theory to Raukawa Social Services one can observe a model of iwi development which has arisen within the iwi forum of Te Runanga o Raukawa and where people have identified the development of social services as a critical issue that the iwi need to address. The focus on establishing a relationship with the Department of Social Welfare arose because many young Maori in the Horowhenua area were being lost or extruded from their whanau, hapu and iwi to the Department of Social

Welfare system. It was felt that the Department did not know how to deal with the many young Maori in their care. Nationally there were expressions of concern about the Department being institutionally racist (see Puaote-Ata-Tu). Ngati Raukawa and other iwi in the area believed alternative strategies were required to address this crisis and to them this development could best be situated at the hapu level with hapu coordinators utilising proactive initiatives. Ngati Raukawa have never departed from this belief, a belief that offers positive alternatives to the problems they face. Despite difficulties with funding and relationships with the Department of Social Welfare, Ngati Raukawa has continued to develop their ideas in this area.

Those that have developed Raukawa Social Services are aware that structures, policies, laws and practice have effectively marginalised and disenfranchised the whanau they work with. Critical theory shows however that these people have the potential through education to rise out of their oppression and to create a new reality for themselves. The theory offers a framework which helps people to analyse various situations that need to be transformed. Critical theory enables those involved with Raukawa Social Services to understand their reality and to see the potential for change. Critical theory also enables Maori to discover others who have similar perspectives and directions by making connections with other indigenous movements. Raukawa Social Services could also use critical theory to monitor the Service and to ensure that they maintain their visions and encourage others in the iwi to continue to work alongside them.

This particular theory has helped to analyse Raukawa Social Services and other activities within Ngati Raukawa as well as Maori ventures like Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori. It is not a theory that is static as Maori and iwi can adapt the theory to serve their own cultural imperatives. The development of Kaupapa Maori research could be seen to be one of these, as it clearly identifies critical theory as a framework underpinning the development of research for Maori by Maori. Such a theory allows culture to be an important and positive component within the theory. Its combination of structural analysis, development from below and its use of positive initiatives, all lead to emancipation for the people concerned, something that I think can be easily applied by Ngati Raukawa.

Reflections on the Research Process

As a newcomer to the area of research, I was aware that research had not treated Maori well, perpetuating the dominance and hierarchy of others and not legitimising the Maori world view as discussed in chapters five and six. Many Maori therefore had negative impressions of research. It was important therefore that the methodologies used in this thesis used Maori processes and procedures in order that those being researched felt included and empowered as a result of their participation. It was also important to have such processes and procedures acknowledged and validated within the academic institution.

Kaupapa Maori research still fights the battle for recognition within research contexts in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This is because until very recently there has been little research published by Maori, with Maori, for Maori and there has been little challenge of research that has been conducted "on" Maori. I saw this research as a possible contribution to the legitimisation of Maori approaches to research. Such as aspiration did not lend itself to a straight road through the research field, within the university or the iwi, this being highlighted in chapters five and six. I have had to tread carefully through a minefield of issues including: ethical approval, iwi approval and supervision, choosing, approaching and interviewing the participants and providing feedback to those involved. Such issues were a struggle but at the same time exciting, as I worked my way through each stage of the research. It assisted in the development of a growing understanding and appreciation that research can be undertaken correctly within Maori/iwi environments and that it need not be disempowering but could in fact be empowering. Research is not something that belongs strictly within the province of universities and academia but could and should be more actively pursued by iwi. It is important that more Maori are trained in research, because while the debate around Maori research highlights models that could involve others (other iwi or pakeha) in research settings, I am convinced that the quality or the richness of information that originates from people who undertake research with their own is different. Raukawa Social Services for example is a fairly general topic and yet because of the commitment of the participants to the topic and to myself, as well as my own commitment to the topic, I am convinced that I obtained information that may not have

been given to an outsider, or which would have been bypassed. This is an ethical issue that committees on research ethics may need to consider more in the future.

The attention to processes and procedures within the iwi context did not always fit neatly into a timetable-which extended the research project, beyond that which was initially envisaged. There were occasions when other hui or other kaupapa would prevent me from carrying out the interview, or which would require me to interview late at night- and then I would not get home until well after midnight. All the rituals of mihimihi, karakia, kai and poroporoaki were not things that could be rushed or deleted, all serving to extend the research process. These are all the rich elements that are a crucial part of research in a Maori context. The inclusion of cultural aspects within research offers a cultural legitimacy of Maori knowledge and values.

The methodologies used in this research were chosen carefully. Maori have often felt disempowered by research previously undertaken "on" them and have therefore have not always felt positive about allowing researchers into their lives. I was not prepared to risk disempowering those that I interviewed and was determined to find methodologies that could incorporate a kaupapa Maori research philosophy. A kaupapa Maori research philosophy was chosen because of my belief that the challenge for Maori research is to be more strategic, more proactive and more political in order to be more legitimated within the wider research field. This includes the use of Maori processes and a structural understanding of Maori society. My thoughts originally evolved from a critical theory perspective to the work of Maori writers/researchers who had not only faced the hard issues involved with legitimising Maori research, but had also worked towards some solutions. It was the ability to use Maori values and rituals which were at the core of the methodological approaches success.

The framework offered by qualitative research allows people to respond in a way which accurately represents their world view (Patton: 1990). A legitimisation of Maori values and rituals and iwi whakapapa or the nuances of whanau, hapu and iwi also allowed this to occur. The approaches used were a mixture of open-ended interviews, participant observation and analysis of written documentation. The open-ended

interview was specifically chosen as a means of allowing those interviewed to answer the few questions in story format. It was felt that this would enable them to share their ideas and knowledge. The open-ended nature of the questions allowed considerably more focus on iwi-hapu issues than was originally envisaged, the responses in this area heavily influencing the outcome of the research. Many of those interviewed thought that they were making outspoken comments but the dialogue actually produced a reciprocal development of ideas which in many instances led to the development of the themes. Like Brown (1994) it is hoped that the stories in this research will provide information and inspiration for others and that the issues explored will provide clarification, affirmation and direction for any social change that is required.

Participant observation and analysis of documentation was possibly a much more critical part of the research process due to a much more intimate involvement of the researcher with the topic area. While it might be thought that there is the possibility for bias in this case, it is my contention that being an insider of this kind has allowed me access to knowledge and information that might not ordinarily be available to a researcher. There was so much information at times that it was difficult to decipher everything and decide what should be used. With many Maori/iwi organisations now being very specific about who does research on them and what information they are given, this part of the research was a bonus for me in researching this area and is again an important consideration for research committees to be aware of.

Many of the lessons learned during this research are related to developing knowledge about the most appropriate ways of researching hapu and iwi. At times it has been a difficult journey but also an important learning experience which I propose to build on in the development of future research. There are some merits in continuing to explore alternative supervision processes for research in iwi contexts. The development of a productive supervision process has been a significant aspect in the success of this research. The supervision model is in itself a topic for ongoing research. If this model is to work effectively, guidelines, the articulation of explicit role definitions and the identification of specific expectations of all the parties in the supervision process must be clearly outlined. Another significant factor in this research is the development of trust

within the hapu and iwi of Ngati Raukawa. Given that I have been able to build a positive relationship with the hapu and iwi of Ngati Raukawa I have been privileged to see how research can be a positively enhancing tool to assist Ngati Raukawa with their future developments.

Further Research Opportunities

Further research could occur at a variety of different levels. In a wider field it would be interesting to research what is happening with other indigenous communities in the area of social services. Some of these communities will have experienced similar situations of oppression and structural inequalities that find their people struggling for survival. There could be a great deal of benefit in the sharing of ideas and in the sharing of initiatives that such research could make possible.

At a national level research across iwi around the issue of social services could assist in uniting iwi by looking at the differences and similarities of service provision and in so doing challenging the Crown to be more flexible and responsive to the development of Maori/iwi services. Iwi are so busy trying to survive and develop their particular ideas around iwi social services, that there is not a lot of cross fertilisation. Unity of iwi could be dangerous for the Crown but is imperative in terms of developing high standards of service. We cannot afford to fail and then give the agents of the Crown the opportunity to assert that iwi cannot do it for themselves. In addition, Ngati Raukawa along with other iwi have developed some exciting activities as a means of dealing with social service issues. There would be some benefit in research occurring across iwi in this area so that the material could be published, firstly in terms of what is working and secondly so that other iwi could access the information. This does not pre-empt the "kanohi ki te kanohi" approach from iwi to iwi but the combination of successful iwi initiatives available for all iwi to use could create a powerful force.

Within the iwi of the confederation I believe that there would be real benefits in the development of a research unit or units which could then attract research funding in order to carry out research within whanau, hapu or iwi or across iwi. This could be sited at Te Wananga o Raukawa and should include the aspirations of key iwi organisations as well as of

hapu. There are appropriate personnel within the three iwi who could look at this possibility.

Research could assist Te Runanga o Raukawa in deciding whether the "head office" model is the organisational model most appropriate for social service provision. Research could look at several different options ranging from a merger of all the social service areas (health, justice, education and social services) within the Runanga, to further contracts in order that more staff can be appointed, to the appointment of a hapu person that works at hapu level. In light of some of the comments made by those interviewed the Runanga needs to have strategies and reasons for their future development in this area.

For Raukawa Social Services an immediate, small but ongoing piece of research is reviewing the processes for the acquisition of contracts. This requires more time than the current workers have and while they see it as a priority, an individual needs to be assigned responsibility for this important task. In addition, I see the next stage for the Service is to look at the particular models of practice that are used and to eventually write these up into documents for use by themselves as well as by other social service workers. To date any writing that has occurred by people connected with the Service has been mainly prescriptive. It is important that rather than having others writing about them, that they start to take this opportunity themselves. It may be that there is a difference between workers who work at the iwi level and those that work at the hapu level. Such an analysis might confirm the comments made by some of those interviewed that the iwi workers are in good training to become hapu workers. The written documentation being generated around Maori models of assessment, intervention and various other areas of practice are on the increase but it would be interesting to see the similarities or differences when looking at approaches by a distinctly iwi service.

As for my future research aspirations there are a number. They are described here in no particular order.

- Within my family I see that women have played a very strong helping role with many having taken up employment in social service settings. I would like to do some research with Maori women within my hapu and iwi and to look at these generational trends.

- I would also like to look at the social service needs of Ngati Wehiwehi in order to develop a strategic plan on which the hapu can begin to work on,
- I would be interested in looking more specifically at the practice models used within Raukawa Social Services, in particular in the area of supervision.
- I would be interested in doing some research into the healing properties of harakeke and
- I would also like to work with a team of Maori researchers who are undertaking Maori focused research or Kaupapa Maori research in any interest areas that I might have.

Recommendations

Many recommendations have already been included in this chapter and in others. However there is a necessity to highlight a few of these in order that they are not lost.

The Corporate Plan for Te Runanga o Raukawa is currently being reviewed. It is obvious that this needs to be regularly kept up to date to serve the aspirations of those that the Runanga serves. It may be important that a core group is developed that not only works on the development of this project but monitors the Plan to see how it is progressing. Being a growing business that represents the iwi of Ngati Raukawa, it is becoming more important to ensure that the objectives outlined in the Corporate Plan are constantly being addressed.

Linked to this is the regular need to regularly review the iwi-hapu relationship. This needs to be carried out by Te Runanga o Raukawa as well as the Services under its umbrella. The interviews reflected that hapu believe good strong communication links are necessary between the iwi organisation and the hapu and that this needs to be accomplished in a variety of different ways. This might be by way of a newsletter, by holding some Whaiti meetings at hapu venues, by incorporating Runanga visits to hapu as a part of the work of the kaimahi of the Services, or in orienting new hapu representatives to the Runanga Whaiti so that they are much more active participants at a decision-making level.

Raukawa Social Services are about to look at the possibility of diversifying their contracts. If they are successful in securing a new contract, they might decide to look at a different model in assigning a kaimahi, by developing a stronger liaison with a particular hapu, not already covered by current kaimahi. This would certainly strengthen the link between the iwi organisation and hapu. In addition, it seems to me that a great deal of committee time is spent dealing with the administration of the current positions and it may be the role of the committee to look at other ways in which social service issues could be spread to the hapu, through hui or other means. Those interviewed stated that the Service is not visible enough; however I believe that the Committee is endeavouring to develop procedures for ensuring that the Service remains as effective for as wide a group as possible.

Final Word

Ngati Raukawa are determined to create a more positive future for their people and it can be argued that social services is a vital part of this development. The challenge for Ngati Raukawa is to continue to develop proactive strategies in order to close the gap between the "haves" and "have nots", both within and outside of Ngati Raukawa communities.

Raukawa Social Services meets some but not all of the aspirations of the people and it probably never could. What has been exciting in the process of carrying out this research is discovering how Raukawa Social Services is linked to other key initiatives promoted within the iwi. The challenge for the iwi is to ensure that the Service does not become removed from the voices of concern and aspiration, both in terms of the whanau that are supported by the Service, and the whanau and hapu to which the Service is responsible. As can be seen by the initiatives and stories explored in this thesis, Ngati Raukawa strongly advocates the development of its own future; and, in light of this, any initiatives that are developed are strongly influenced by the determination to meet this aspiration.

GLOSSARY

ahi kaa	title to land by occupation
aroha	show caring, respect, love towards
ata haere	go slowly, go carefully
awhina	help
hangi	earth oven
harakeke	flax
haputanga	culture of a particular hapu
hunga	generation
hura kohatu	unveiling of a headstone/grave
iwi matua	parent iwi/tribe
iwitanga	culture of the particular iwi
kai	food
kaiawhina	helper
kaitautoko	supporter, advocate
kaimahi	worker
kaitohutohu	counsellor, coach, instructor
kapa haka	entertainment (group)
kaumatua	elders
karakia	prayer
kaupapa	theme
kawa	values
Kohanga Reo	total immersion preschool, language nest
koha	a gift
komiti	committee
koroua/koro	old man
korowai	cloak (also used in this thesis as a cloak of protection)
kotiro	girl
Ko wai koe?	Who are you?
kuare	ignorant, lack of understanding
kuia	older woman
kupapa	Maori government agent (supported the Crown)
Kura Kaupapa Maori	total immersion Maori primary school
mama	mother
mana	authority, control, prestige, power, influence
manaaki	show respect of kindness to, entertain
manuhiri	visitors

marae	complex comprising of meeting house and associated buildings
marae matua	parent marae, main marae
maramataka	calendar, almanac
matua	parent (used as in matua programmes-parenting programmes)
mihi	to greet
mokopuna	grandchild
nga hapu katoa	all of the hapu/subtribes
No hea koe?	Where are you from?, Where do you belong?
noa	free from tapu
pakeha	a person of predominantly European descent
panui	message, publish, speak aloud
poroporoaki	farewell
powhiri	welcome
purakau	myth, story
putea	budget, fund
rangahau	research
rangatahi	youth
raupatu	seize, conquer, overcome
rewena	Maori bread
ritenga	custom, habit, practice
rohe	area, region
rongoa	medicine, antidote
ropu	group
rua	two
runanga whaiti	executive committee of a council
tama	son, boy
tamaiti	child
tamariki	children
tane	man, husband
tangihanga	funeral
taonga	treasure, property, anything highly prized
tapu	sacred
taurahere	group of iwi or mixed iwi operating outside of their iwi boundaries
tautoko	support
teina	younger sibling of the same gender

tikanga	custom
tipuna/tupuna	ancestor
tuakana	older sibling of the same gender
tukutuku	panels of weaving normally seen in meeting houses between the carvings
tumuaki	chairperson
tuna	eel
tungane	brother (of a female)
wahinetoa	strong woman
waiata whakangahau	party song
waiata tawhito	traditional old waiata/song
wero	challenge
whaea	mother, aunt
whaiti	compact
whakaiti	diminish, debase, despise
whakahihi	cheeky, vain, conceited, speak contemptuously
whakama	shy, shame
whakatinana	embody, implement policy
Whakatapuranga Rau Mano	Generation Two Thousand
whanaunga	whamere family (term mainly used among the iwi of North Auckland)
whanau whanui	relative, kindred
whangai	extended family
whare karakia	feed, bring up, nourish, foster
wharenui	church building
whare tipuna	the big house, generally associated with the whare
Whare Wananga	tipuna meeting house house of higher learning, university

Appendix One

CHILDREN YOUNG PERSONS AND THEIR FAMILIES ACT 1989

4. General Objects

Promote the wellbeing of children, young persons and their families and family groups by:

- a. Establishing and promoting, and assisting in the establishment and promotion, of services and facilities within the community that will advance the wellbeing of children, young persons and their families and family groups and that are -
 - i. Appropriate to the needs, values, and beliefs of particular cultural and ethnic groups: and
 - ii. Accessible to and understood by children and young persons and their families and family groups; and
 - iii. Provided by persons and organisations sensitive to the cultural perspectives and aspirations of different racial groups in the community:
- b. Assisting parents, families, whanau, hapu, iwi and family groups to discharge their responsibilities to prevent their children and young persons suffering harm, ill-treatment, abuse, neglect, or deprivation:
- c. Assisting children and young persons and their parents, whanau, hapu, iwi, where the relationship between the child or young person and his or her parents, whanau, hapu, iwi, is disrupted:
- d. Assisting children and young persons in order to prevent them from suffering harm, ill-treatment, abuse, neglect and deprivation:
- e. Providing for the protection of children and young persons from suffering harm, ill-treatment, abuse, neglect, and deprivation:

CHILDREN YOUNG PERSONS AND THEIR FAMILIES ACT 1989

5. Principles

Wherever Possible -

- a. Child/Young persons whanau, hapu, iwi and family group should participate in the decision making and regard had to their views as it affects the child or young person:
- b. The relationship between the child/young person and the whanau, hapu, iwi, family group should be maintained and strengthened:
- c. Consideration must always be given to how a decision affecting the child/young person will affect -
 - i. The welfare of that child/young person; and
 - ii. The stability of the whanau, hapu, iwi and family group;
- d. Consideration should be given to the wishes of the child/young person, so far as those wishes can reasonably be ascertained, and that those wishes should be given such weight as is appropriate in the circumstances, having regard to the age, maturity, and culture of the child/young person:
- e. Endeavours should be made to obtain the support of -
 - i. parents or guardians or other persons having the care of a child/young person and
 - ii. the child/young person
- f. decisions affecting the child/young person should be made and implemented within the timeframe appropriate to the child/young person's sense of time.

Appendix Two

**A PROPOSAL FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS UNDER
THE TREATY OF WAITANGI NATIONAL HUI AT TURANGI, 15-17
SEPTEMBER 1995**

1. This proposal provides for two cultures development and partnership in Aotearoa New Zealand. The focus is on parliamentary arrangements - set out on the reverse side of this page.¹ Work on the judiciary, executive and bureaucracy is to follow.
2. A Tikanga Maori House and a Tikanga Pakeha House are proposed; each would determine their own procedures. In addition, there would be a Treaty of Waitangi House which would comprise representatives of each of the Treaty partners.
3. The Maori partner would have the power to initiate, debate and promote legislation. Pakeha would have the same. There would be no restriction on the areas in which Maori or Pakeha may initiate legislation in their respective Houses.
4. Consistency with the Treaty of Waitangi and adequate consultation between the Tikanga Maori House and the Tikanga Pakeha House would be required for nay legislation to pass through the third House - the Treaty of Waitangi House - into law.

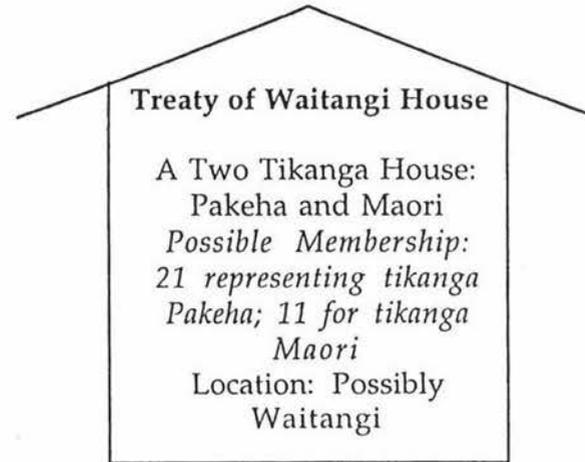
¹ These parliamentary arrangements appeared in submissions to the Royal Commissions on Electoral Reform and Social Policy. The Anglican Church embodied a matching structure in its revised constitution - implemented in May 1992; on 1 May 1995, Te Pihopatanga adopted a very similar model for its mission to change unjust structures in Aotearoa New Zealand; on 9 September 1995, a meeting of 350 tikanga Pakeha members of the Synod of the Diocese of Auckland was addressed by Te Pihopatanga and the Synod agreed to endorse the general framework.

5. The Treaty of Waitangi House would reflect the Treaty partnership through its voting procedures which would provide for equality of influence between the two partners. To be passed, motions would require a majority of tikanga Maori and a majority of tikanga Pakeha members of the Treaty House to be in favour.
6. Some members of the Treaty of Waitangi House would come from the other two Houses; some would come directly from each of the tikanga Maori and tikanga Pakeha electorates.
7. All persons of Maori ancestry would make up the tikanga Maori electorate; tauiwi, that is those who do not have any Maori ancestry, would comprise the tikanga Pakeha electorates.
8. Recommendations:
 - a. That this hui endorse the general framework of this proposal.
 - b. That a committee of five be asked to develop the proposal further in light of the discussion at this hui and of the results of wider consultation to be undertaken by this committee.
 - c. That this committee report with recommendations to a national hui to be called in January 1996.
9. This statement comes from the Raukawa Marae Trustees, a body representative of Ngati Raukawa ki Te Tonga, Te Ati Awa ki Whakarongotai and Ngati Toarangatira.²

² The Raukawa Trustees, and closely related groups, proposed this model to a national hui on the Treaty of Waitangi in 1984; they have been parties to presenting it elsewhere since; and, on 3 July 1995, they affirmed their continuing support for it.

PROPOSAL FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS UNDER THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

Voting: in Treaty of Waitangi House:
To be passed, motions will require a majority of the representatives of each Tikanga to be in favour.



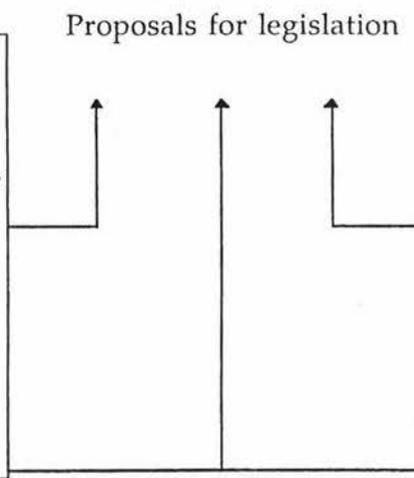
Job: of Treaty of Waitangi House: To:

- a. receive proposals for legislation legislation from the houses shown below, separately or jointly,
- b. test those proposals against the
 - Treaty of Waitangi and
 - rules for consultation between the other two Houses and
- c. if both tests are met, pass the proposals into legislation or
- d. if not, return them to either or both houses for further work

TIKANGA MAORI HOUSE:
Job: To produce legislation. Would operate within tikanga Maori

- own electoral system (to accommodate hapu, iwi, waka, pan-Maori, marae-based and those separated from marae)
- would probably avoid party politics

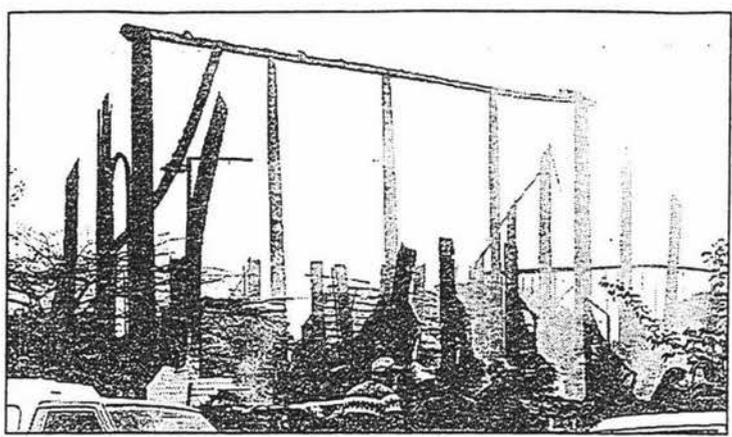
MEMBERSHIP: *Possibly 25*
 LOCATION: *Possibly Turangi*



TIKANGA PAKEHA HOUSE:
Job: To produce legislation. Would operate within tikanga Pakeha.

- own electoral system; probably MMP
- would probably retain party politics

MEMBERSHIP: *Possibly 75*
 LOCATION: *Probably Wellington*



The smouldering remains of Rangiatea Church. Picture: RAY PIGNEY

A parishioner's thoughts

THERE is a death in the family, that is the feeling of our people; not just Rangiatea parishioners or Anglicans of the diocese, not just Ngati Toa, Te Ati Awa and Raukawa iwi. It is a roimata whanau, a family bonded by their tears, a family that is spread far and wide, across race, across denomination.

Any anger is pushed aside by our grief, our sense of loss, and it is a deep, bitter grieving matched by our resolve to keep and renew this symbol of our unity.

Because of Rangiatea's unique history it was and will always remain God's house. In God's house there are many mansions and so it shall always be.

The teachings of Christ, of love for each other, of tolerance, humility, compassion and sharing are the ways to enrich our lives. We may each have different perceptions, different ways of expressing ourselves, but we all

feel pain, shed tears and will rejoice together.

The spirit that united our tupuna to build Rangiatea, the gatherings, the organising of resources, the koha, the problems, arguments and solutions, all these are happening again now. There is the same resolve, the same aroha. Times have changed, and technology. The spiritual needs of the people remain constant.

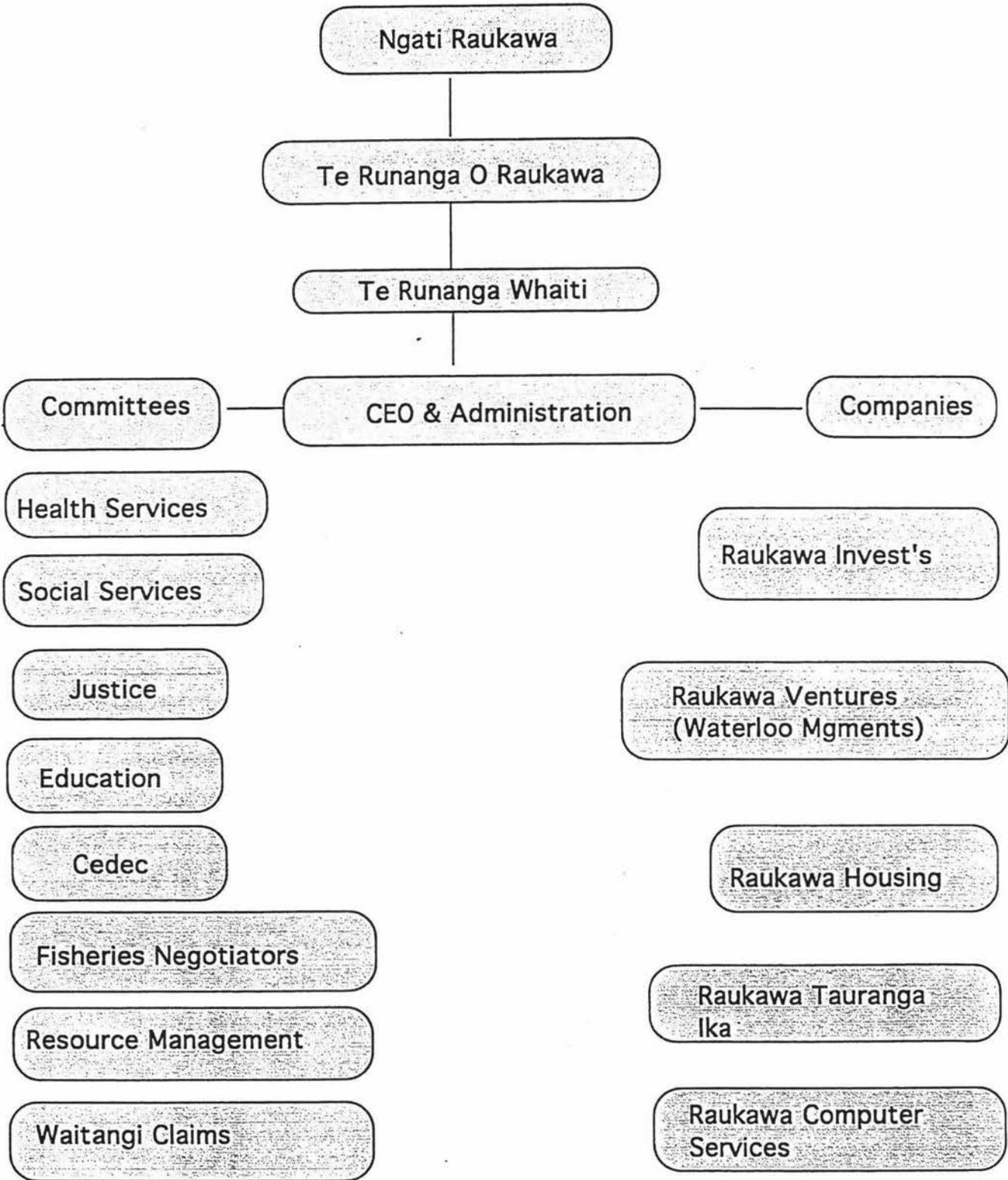
He kakane i ruiruia mai i Rangiatea. We are the seed scattered from Rangiatea. We are sad now but the day will dawn when those strong words will reappear above the altar of Rangiatea. I am the way, the truth and the light.

Ko ahau
Te Huarahi
Te Pono
Me
Te Ora

And we the people will be strengthened by our shared tears.

Kia kaha.
JOHN MOFFATT
Otaki

PRESENT MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE OF TE RUNANGA O RAUKAWA



Nga Patai, Questions

1. What is your knowledge of the Social Services offered by Te Runanga o Raukawa, and their development? How do you know this?
2. What progress have you seen them make over the years?
3. Do you think that the current Iwi service offered is different from other Social Services offered. Can you give examples of this?
4. Do you think that the Social Services is something that the Runanga (on behalf of the Iwi) should be involved with, or do you think the responsibility should lie elsewhere? Why?
5. Do you think that the current Social Service delivery offered by the Iwi is catering for your hapu adequately?
6. How do you think the Runanga Social Service fits in with the wider development of the Iwi.
7. What direction do you see the Social Services of Raukawa taking in the future? What should its priorities be?
8. How do you think this should all be funded?
9. Do you have any other comments you would like to make about the Social Service delivery of Te Runanga o Raukawa?

TE RUNANGA O RAUKAWA

P.O. Box 144,
245 Mill Road,
Otaki.

Phone (06) 3645121
Fax (06) 3645498

24 November, 1995

Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata,
92 Lyndhurst Street,
Palmerston North.

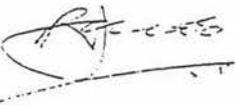
Tena koe Wheturangi,

I am pleased to advise that at the Executive Meeting of Te Runanga O Raukawa it was resolved:

1. That your request that Raukawa Social Services be the topic of your thesis for a masters degree in Social Work be approved.
2. That Professor Whatarangi Winiata be your Iwi Supervisor. (He has accepted the appointment.)

We wish you well.

Heoi ano,



Ran Jacob.Chief Executive Officer.

Interview Consent form

I have read, or have had read to me, the information sheet for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask more questions at any time.

I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, or to decline to answer any question in the study. I agree to provide information to the researcher, and have agreed that all information will be.

- confidential/or
- that details of my name, Hapu, iwi, and position can be used.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out on the Information Sheet.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

Verbal Consent.

(Please fill in section below if only verbal consent is given.)

Interviewers signature: _____

Interviewers name: _____

Name of Person Interviewed: _____

Date: _____

Provider Information Sheet

Who is the researcher?

Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata is of Ngati Wehiwehi, and Ngati Raukawa descent. She is currently completing her Masters in Social Work, and is looking at Raukawa Social Services as an Iwi Initiative.

Where can she be contacted?

Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata
92 Lyndhurst Street,
Palmerston North. (home)

C/- Department of Social Policy and Social Work,
Private Bag,
Massey University,
Palmerston North. (work)

What is this study about?

Individuals and Hapu who are involved at a committee or Runanga Whaiti level will be asked to talk about the development of the Social Services within the Iwi. How did the service develop, how has it progressed and in what direction is it heading and how does it fit within the development of the Iwi?

What will I have to do?

Answer some questions about your thoughts and knowledge of the development and work of the Social Services Committee and how or if it fits into the development of Ngati Raukawa Iwi.

How much time will be involved?

There will be an initial phone call to confirm your interest or other wise in being prepared to participate in this research. There will then be an interview which should take one hour. After the research has been written up, the sections containing comments that you have made will be returned to you, for correction and/or confirmation.

Who owns the research?

The outcome of this research will be used to complete the researchers Masters in Social Work thesis. The work will be owned jointly by the researcher and the Iwi. A copy of the thesis will be given to the Runanga Whaiti.

What are the benefits of the research?

The research will assist Ngati Raukawa in looking at the progress of this initiative, and seeing what directions they should take in the future. The research may also assist the Social Services Committee in developing its proposals to negotiate with the Crown, if that is seen to be the direction that they should take.

The research will be written up as a Masters thesis.

If you take place in this study, you,

- have the right to refuse to answer any questions or stop any time.
 - have the right to ask any questions you want about the research.
 - have the right to ask another person to be present at the interview.
 - have the right to choose to have your identity remain confidential,
- or
- have the right to choose to identify yourself by name, Hapu, Iwi, and/or organisation.
 - have the right to choose to be interviewed at a venue of your convenience.

Confidentiality.

If you ask for your information to be confidential then no identifying information will be used. It maybe still possible however for a reader who knows you to identify you as a contributor.

NGATI WEHIWEHI MARAE COMMITTEE

C/- 91 Lupin Road
OTAKI 6471

17 November 1995

W. Walsh-Tapiata
C/- Dept of Social Policy & Social Work
Private Bag
Massey University
PALMERSTON NORTH

Wheturangi, tena koe i roto i nga ahuatanga nei!

MASTERS IN SOCIAL WORK THESIS : MASSEY UNIVERSITY
RAUKAWA SOCIAL SERVICES, ORIGINS & FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Thank you for outlining your proposed thesis research project to the recent annual general meeting of Ngati Wehi Wehi whanau.

The marae committee of Ngati Wehi Wehi are fully supportive of your project and endorse your thesis topic and research proposal. We congratulate you on your choice of topic, and keenly await the completion of your thesis, as the Raukawa social services programme, has achieved considerable success with our people.

I have attached copies of this letter for your thesis supervisors and am also forwarding a copy to Te Runanga o Raukawa.

Heoi ano ra, anei te tohu o



Te Hope Huia Hakaraia
CHAIRMAN - NGATI WEHI WEHI MARAE COMMITTEE

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