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# **Pouakani: People, Power and Place**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements of the degree of

Master of Arts  
in  
Geography  
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Beverley Dawn Coburn 1993

## **Abstract**

Pouakani: People Power and Place is an investigation of structure, autonomy and change in a central North Island locality. It raises the question of who, or what, has the power to bring about or influence geographic change. A three pronged approach is adopted which resists linearity and encourages entry to the study via change and reproduction of the local environment, or through a survey of local power brokers, or from a theoretical basis, informed by relevant literature and presented in the form of a guiding framework.

In the last fifty years Pouakani has been transformed by government initiated farm development and hydro electric power projects. These major transformations and others of lesser consequence provide the changing contexts within which local actions are discussed. Knowledge, perceptions and power are considered along with facets of formal and informal decision making, implementation of decisions and long term as well as short term outcomes. Permeating the local contexts are supralocal structures, institutions and influences that combine with local contingencies to constrain and facilitate change.

Similarities with other localities are apparent, but Pouakani has unusual features arising from the Ministry of Works legacy and from Ngati Kahungunu ownership of Mangakino township and migration to settle on the adjacent farm lands. The roles of government, Maori owners, local residents and commercial operators shaped by legal, political, economic, social and cultural factors are all important in changing Pouakani.

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1993

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**Ko Pouakani te tangata**  
**Ko Pouakani te whenua**  
**Ko Pouakani te marae**  
**Ko Pouakani te totara**  
**Ko Pouakani kei roto i nga whakahaere a Taupo rohe**

Pouakani is used in this study to name a central North Island locality and encompasses all of the meanings above. The Pouakani people are the Ngati Kahungunu people from the Wairarapa who came to settle the Pouakani block from the late 1940s on. In 1896 after more than 40 years of negotiations they gifted Wairarapa Moana to the crown, thus relinquishing their rights to the traditional eel fisheries of Lake Onoke and allowing the artificial opening of the lake to drain low lying farm lands. In acknowledgement of the gift, in 1915, the former owners of the lakes and their descendants were named as shareholders in part of the Pouakani block.

The land is the Pouakani block comprising 12 000 hectares of doubtful heritage acquired by the government in the 1880s. It lies between the Waikato River to the east, and Pureora forest to the west, and is bounded by the Waiteti and Mangakino streams to the north and south respectively. Today it includes the Pouakani farms, Marāetai village and Mangakino township.

The Pouakani marae is a multicultural marae located in Mangakino. The buildings on the site have been converted from their original use as cookhouse and dining hall for the dam construction workers in the 1940s, 50s and 60s. Carvings have been added including those honouring Tamatea Pokai Whenua of the Takitimu canoe and the protocol of the marae is Ngati Kahungunu.

The Pouakani Totara, survivor of the giant second century AD, Taupo eruption, grows in the Pouakani Scenic Reserve, a remnant of the Pureora forest. It is reputed to be the largest and oldest living totara (Salmon, 1980, 63). The totara has lived through two dramatic transformations of the local environment. The Taupo eruption in the second century AD stripped the land of vegetation and coated it with pumice, then

about 1800 years later, it was stripped a second time and reclothed with exotic plants while the bordering river was raised in its gorge and harnessed for electric power.

Pouakani is a ward in the Taupo district. At its greatest extent, as a riding of the Taupo County, it included the Pouakani Maori Affairs Development Scheme as well as Lands and Survey development blocks from Whakamaru through to the north western shore of Lake Taupo and extended to Orakei Korako in the east. Pouakani also appears in the name of the Mangakino-Pouakani Community Board which has recently been the subject of a local government commission hearing initiated by local representatives who were resisting diminished representation. Mangakino was established in a corner of the Pouakani block and is now administered in a conventional way by this community board under the jurisdiction of the Taupo District Council, although it was initially controlled by the Ministry of Works.

The multiple meanings of Pouakani are paralleled to some extent by the varying definitions and changing composition of locality. This thesis uses locality to suggest a concept which has changed over time through shifts in local interactions and relationships and which varies at any one time according to individual viewpoints. For the writer it is a concept which brings together the dissimilar development trajectories which have transformed the district in the vicinity of the present day township of Mangakino from the 1940s onwards.

## **Research Directions**

The key question guiding this research is: who, or what has the power to bring about change in a locality? In particular how has Pouakani changed from 1940 onwards and which structures, groups, individuals, processes and events appear to have significantly affected the nature of past and ongoing changes. Questions are also raised about what alternative courses of action were, or are available and whether outcomes express intentions.

A tripartite discussion is tendered in an attempt to mirror the multi-pronged research

approach used. The linearity of conventional texts has been resisted as out of keeping with the underlying ideas and with the organisation of research on HyperCard, a computer programme which facilitates multi level linkages (see Appendix A). Readers are invited to choose their own entry points to the written thesis:

- Changing Pouakani:** the changes which have occurred affecting the river and the land
- or **The Power Brokers:** the individuals and groups who have produced local effects
- or **The Framework:** the research framework which can serve to introduce, structure, or explain the ideas in the other two sections

The body of the thesis, comprising complementary segments, internally organised in a loosely chronological fashion, brings together ideas from the three introductory sections and uses them to structure **Pouakani Contexts**. The contexts can be read in any order, with understanding being enhanced by reference to one or all of the introductory sections and to other contexts.

**Framework Revisited** highlights some points from the contexts and reviews them in the light of the framework and the associated literature. The ever changing and ongoing nature of the human experience in particular places is discussed in the final section; **Pouakani: People, Power and Place**

A computer disk is provided which carries the thesis skeleton and allows access to relevant raw data. The computer approach illustrates a flexibility to pursue ideas in various directions, which is not encouraged to the same extent within the restrictions of the linear text format. It is not fully developed because of the decision to use a conventional text presentation (see below). However, it offers an overview which some people may prefer to look at before reading the word processed text.

## Methods

The methods chosen to carry out this research project are consistent with the

framework used. The notions of mental and physical constructs embodied in the framework shape the nature and "validity" of data collection and analysis. Also in keeping with the framework and necessitated by the key questions, is the use of an historical approach that recognises change as an ongoing recursive process.

Evidence was sought to indicate who or what had the power to bring about or influence local change. This raised the possibility of beginning with people, individually or collectively and the structures they have created, to try to discern what effects they have had on the local environment. But to know which people, groups or institutions to investigate it was actually necessary to identify significant changes. This has led to the concurrent use of the two approaches. On one hand changes are noted and then the circumstances which spawned them are explored while attempting to discover underlying power relations. On the other hand the decision making record can be a starting point which is followed by the search for the implementation or non-implementation of these decisions. At the same time examination of the decision making process can reveal factors which impede or facilitate initiatives and suggest the existence of mechanisms which structure socio/spatial interactions.

A considerable volume of documentary evidence is available which records decision making and change. To this can be added the oral testimony of people who lived in the locality, or played a role in local development; observations of the present landscape and my experience of living in this locality. Assimilated from this evidence will be a personal view of Pouakani, changing over time. A view which represents the accommodation of personal perceptions into a framework of knowledge gleaned from geographic and sociological reading and everyday life. It is hoped that in making personal sense of aspects of power and local change some insights may be provided which will allow others to do likewise, and that some distinction may be made between ideas which are based on reasonably accurate and verifiable facts and those which are based on "false" premises. It is not suggested that it is easy to draw valid assumptions from single facts. For example a council member voting in favour of a particular resolution is a fact. This does not necessarily mean that the councillor was in favour of the resolution, that they understood what they were voting for, that their

reasons for supporting it were the same as those of other supporters, or that they perceived the likely consequences in a similar way to other council members.

Access to the knowledge and perceptions of individual decision makers may be, albeit impossible to obtain, but on a more general scale it is possible to use the public record to discover what decisions people were allowed to participate in, or be excluded from, and what alternatives were considered, or not considered. Interests or motivation may seem to be revealed or concealed by public utterances or silence. Despite this "public transcript" (Schwarz & Thomson, 1990) being at variance with the "private transcript" it is nevertheless indicative of power relations. Furthermore it is clear from records when decisions have not been implemented. This may also indicate a lack of power, or inefficiency, or a juxtaposition of circumstances which made implementation impossible or impracticable.

In contrast with public documentary and film evidence which is for the most part recorded round about the time when the actions happen, oral testimonies, as used in this project, are mostly separated in time from the events they describe, or the views and opinions they recall. This could be considered to limit their value, but it needs to be remembered that all decisions are made on the basis of people's perceptions of situations and although the perceptions of these people may have changed with time, they are still valid, and may be actively contributing to contemporary decision making. It is also possible to produce a fuller view of history when using varied resources and even inaccurate recollections may prompt questions leading to further research, or they may allow their inaccuracy to be shown and a myth dispelled.

Public decision making and action data is reasonably accessible through minute books, and court records. For this project data has been selected from Rotorua Maori Land Court records, and from the minute books of the Taupo County (later District) Council, the Mangakino Town Committee<sup>1</sup> and various minutes included in the Pouakani files<sup>2</sup>. Criteria for selection included; relevance to Pouakani in the widest

<sup>1</sup> This later became the Mangakino Community Board, the Mangakino Community Council and the Mangakino-Pouakani Community Board.

<sup>2</sup> A collection of papers, including minutes of meetings, covering aspects of the Pouakani Maori Development Scheme.

sense, the likelihood that the recorded decisions led to actions which produced local change, evidence of conflict and interactions with other social actors - a possible reflection of power relations, plus references to the Pouakani Block, the Mangakino Incorporation and the "Maori Owners".

Similar fields of enquiry were used to guide newspaper research which often supplemented the decision making record by providing evidence of implementation and short term consequences of actions, both intended and unintended. All available copies of the Mangakino Chronicle were surveyed. This comprised most of the papers from 1948 to 1970 and the final edition in 1974. The South Waikato Times was accessed selectively to follow up particular aspects and this resulted in examination of the years 1956, 1957, 1963 and 1978 plus collections of cuttings from the 1970s through to the present time. The first year's issues of the highly controversial Mangakino Spark, a Communist party publication and the first newspaper circulated in Mangakino, were located in the Auckland Museum Library. Along with the New Zealand Herald of April and May 1948 they provided a valuable insight into the worker/engineer power struggle investigated by the Dalglish Tribunal in 1948.

Data from local government minutes and the Mangakino Chronicle was entered directly into the computer in chronological order and loosely categorised according to aspect. Apart from the necessity to select items to enter, care was taken to avoid intrusion of the researcher's point of view. The computer was set up with separate information and comment fields (see Appendix A). In the information fields the intention was to produce a faithful rendering of the decision making process or descriptions of action through paraphrasing or using direct quotes. One side effect of this method is that it can allow direct access to the data, either to complement the analysis presented or as a stand alone collection of information which could be of historical interest to local residents. It could also be the basis for quite different, smaller research projects undertaken by local students. The comment fields have been used as part of the process of thesis production and they have provided a useful means of jotting down ideas adjacent to the data, but these can be hidden for other purposes as has been done on the accompanying computer disk.

Another aspect of this research has been its limited participatory nature. It would have been possible to leave out the current changes and avoid this situation, but at the same time it actually provides "insider" knowledge, admittedly biased, of the processes of local change; knowledge which is illuminated by other facets of the research process and which in turn may throw more light on past processes and power relations. A side effect of this involvement is that information is also being sought by other participants particularly when differences of opinion exist as to past actions and decisions. Mies states as a controversial postulate (Fonow & Cook ed, 1991, 63) that it is only through bringing about change that we can understand it. Did she mean that it is not possible to understand the process unless one has participated in it? Many dilemmas arise from the nature of participation in the research process. It could be argued that the researcher is always a participant, but the type of involvement will differ considerably depending on whether the research is dealing with documents, objects, landscapes or living people.

Related to the question of researcher involvement are slight feelings of ethical disquiet. When does a genuine interest in people, their views and circumstances become exploitive? These concerns are expressed by Acker, Barry and Esseveld (1991, 141) who

recognised a usually unarticulated tension between friendships and the goal of research. The researcher's goal is always to gather information; thus the danger always exists of manipulating friendships to that end. Given that the power differences between researcher and researched cannot be completely eliminated, attempting to create a more equal relationship can paradoxically become exploitation and use.

They are also reflected in the varying responses from local people which ranged from total support to caution and in one instance the suggestion that the only person to benefit from such a project is the researcher (Pers Com)<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> "Pers Com" is used to indicate personal communications. In some instances these are not attributed at the request of the person concerned. In other cases the information derives from casual social interactions, not from specific thesis interviews and I have decided that it would be inappropriate to specifically identify the source.

A further aspect to be confronted in this context is the formality and pretence of neutrality expressed in the avoidance of the use of "I" in most academic writing. It is as if the writer must disassociate him or herself from the words committed to print. This matter has been discussed by Short (1989, 85, ) who states that in

seeking the goal of the objective observer most academic writing is dry, boring, lifeless and dull because it lacks the life blood of personal experience and the presence of a committed 'I'.

A claim that arguments all have equal validity and should be accepted for what they are is not being made, but in part of the chapter on "Changing Schools" it has been considered appropriate to acknowledge that I was actively involved in the process of local change and parts of this section have been written in the first person to express that involvement<sup>4</sup>.

Beyond the empirical domain a search has been made through a wide range of literature for theories and concepts which could guide, express or crystallise some of the ideas which have emerged from examination of the local scene. Initially questions were raised as to the interplay of local and global factors arising from readings which often discussed topics such as global capitalism, multinationals, or restructuring from a top down perspective. A desire to approach issues from a local viewpoint and an awareness of a fascinating and largely untold local history led to a wide ranging perusal of the "localities" literature and connections with realism, feminism, and post modernism. This was complemented by historical geography studies. An outcome was the construction of a framework which linked local and supralocal processes and the decision to pursue the question of local autonomy as expressed through change and reproduction of the local environment over a period of time. The framework while providing direction to empirical research also guided continuing theoretical study. These two research directions provided mutual feedback. To attempt to answer the

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<sup>4</sup> Late in the writing of the thesis serious issues arose at the Mangakino High School, where I was teaching. These seemed to be symptomatic of a power struggle and the participatory nature of the project became overwhelming. I can never know to what extent my actions were influenced by my thesis research. The outcome was that I left Mangakino before I had intended to and cannot be personally involved in using my historical research material with Mangakino students. Also it will be difficult, because I am now living in another part of New Zealand, to make any further contribution to local historical research or to set up of a local history archive at Mangakino as I had planned.

key questions required more than the analysis of the data. Ideas such as those about perception, knowledge and power needed to be expanded and clarified and as this happened examples readily sprang from the local context. Conversely local occurrences, conflicts and consequences gave rise to theoretical notions which suggested new directions for research such as in the literature of law and sociology. The logical outcome would be to reconstruct the framework and alter the questions asked, but the need for coherence and focus overrides this and the framework has been retained as an organisational tool.

### **Computer Use**

From the beginning, the computer programme HyperCard has been an intrinsic part of planning, and data collection, organisation and presentation. It lends itself to an interweaving of elements and assembling and disassembling of information in various ways and it has been difficult to translate the concepts developed through this medium into the more linear thesis format. It is suggested that the various constructions which can be perceived depending on the entry point, reflect in an imperfect way the multiplicity of "realities" which exist within a locality.

A complete computer presentation was contemplated but the risks of presenting only a computer programme to people possibly unfamiliar with this format seemed too great. It in fact highlights the necessity of having a shared "grammar" to allow meaningful communication (Burns & Flam, 1987, 104). HyperCard's extreme flexibility is in itself problematic. If one allows the user complete freedom to explore, they may remain ignorant of large sections of the material. If the user is directed along certain paths then they miss the opportunity to pursue connections which they may find relevant. There was no way to ensure that those using it would gain sufficient familiarity with the way the material was organised to explore all aspects adequately. This led to the idea of catering for various entry points within a spiral bound booklet and finally the more conventional colour coded version offered, supplemented by a truncated computer programme allowing direct access to some of the information collected. The first section of Appendix A, describes the way HyperCard is used, while the second section provides the thesis reader with HyperCard instructions and navigation suggestions that are repeated on the disk itself.

## Changing Pouakani

Aspects of the local environment have been selected to "put under the microscope" in an effort to reveal the power relations which are embedded in and imposed upon the Pouakani locality. The picture which emerges could be likened to that seen through a multi faceted stained glass window, it lacks overall clarity, but affords changing glimpses of a reality which can be shared with others who may accept or reject it, partly or totally.

It is easy to identify major changes, and in this district the word major does not do justice to the magnitude and speed of human transformation of the environment. These make convenient investigative starting points, but one cannot ignore the "non changes", representing the intentional maintenance of the status quo or proposed changes thwarted by opposition or ineffective implementation, which may also be an expression of power.

The local landscape and development profile suggests a preliminary division of convenience into changes affecting the **river** and changes affecting the **land**. Aspects of the river considered include the **construction of the dams, the lakes** which formed and the local implications of changing **power generation** strategies.

The **land**, was in 1940 largely a scrubby waste inhabited in its northern reaches by wild horses and the mysterious Watson; and towards the south by apparently dispossessed Maori people with Tuwharetoa connections. Selected aspects of **forests, farms, industry and infrastructure** provide the entry points to discover who or what was responsible for the creation of today's much modified landscape.

### The River

The Waikato River bounding Pouakani falls more than 100 metres and in its natural state it had created major rapids and steep sided gorges. Its valley was the scene of minor thermal activity and at Mangakino and Waipapa there were rock shelters

containing rare examples of Maori art. Enterprising early surveyors, said their prayers and crossed the river at Whakamaru on a log balanced above the roaring waters<sup>1</sup> confined to the "gut" below (MKO Chron, 22 Mar 1963, 7). Much of this has changed. Rapids of scenic beauty including Moanakarakia are lost, thermal springs are submerged, remnants of the rock shelters crumble unviewed in the Auckland Museum (Neich, 24 Apr 1987) and vehicles cross the river via the curving top of the Whakamaru dam or the two lane Atiamuri bridge.

### **Dam construction**

The dams and power houses constructed in the 1940s, 50s and 60s to generate electricity were the products of decisions made and implemented by government. Maraetai I, Whakamaru, Waipapa, Atiamuri and Maraetai II, were built by a work force based on Mangakino; a work force comprising men already veterans of Karapiro and Waikaremoana, plus newcomers from town and country including a liberal sprinkling of post war immigrants. The right to dam the Waikato was legislated for by the politicians of wartime New Zealand and the basis of this government power to make decisions "in the national interest" is one aspect discussed.

A second aspect considered is the ability and the desire of the workers on these dam sites to influence the course of the construction work and the conditions they worked and lived under. Reports from the Dalglish Tribunal set up in 1948 to deal with a major industrial dispute at Mangakino, offer an insight into a struggle between engineers and New Zealand Workers' Union members. The tribunal is overhung by the spectre of Communism which invites comparison with the period of McCarthyism in the United States.

The third dam related issue dealt with is the stop-start construction of Maraetai II. This raises questions as to the reasons for mothballing a multi million pound project. What were the forces, acting upon the government of the day which produced the virtually unexplained halt and later resumption of work on this project. Was there any worker input to the decision making?

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<sup>1</sup> Jenks (Pers Com, 1992), involved with organising early bridging at Whakamaru recalls the flow as being quiet and dangerous.

## **Lakes**

Whereas dam construction was associated with dramatic events and major and/or sudden changes, once the lakes were formed the ways in which they have been used and the actions taken to facilitate or restrict this use have been much more low key. The ongoing lake use lends itself to discussion of themes over longer periods of time. Those chosen are recreation and pollution. While passing references are made to the other lakes, the focus is on Maraetai, its bed once part of the Pouakani block and the largest of the hydro lakes in this area (Photo 1).

## **Power Generation**

Power generation provides the *raison d'être* for all of the above and until recent years it has been associated with security of employment and comfortable, accommodation in well appointed hydro villages. The Department of Electricity has been replaced by Electricorp, now calling itself ECNZ. Sixteen houses plus a hostel are vacant in both Whakamaru and Maraetai hydro villages (January 1993), manning levels have been reduced producing many redundancies, and the Transpower's North Island control centre is being moved from Whakamaru to a new facility in Hamilton (South Waikato News, 20 June 1991, 1). Whether the change of "ownership" is responsible for these outcomes and what alternatives are available to the decision makers are matters of interest, but it would seem that little can be done to avert the further depletion of population that could be the death knell for some local groups, organisations and institutions.

## **The Land**

The area is a relatively level portion of the volcanic plateau, falling away from the more elevated portions around Marotiri in the south, towards the Mangakino depression in the north. It is visually dominated by the distinctive scarp of Kaahu and Whakaahu (Photos 2 & 3) near Whakamaru, and the old volcanic peaks of Pureora and Titirāupenga (Photo 4). Particularly in the northern section there is a lack of surface drainage with the Mangakino Stream, now an arm of Lake Maraetai in its lower reaches (Photo 5), being one of the few to cut through the pumice and ignimbrite and

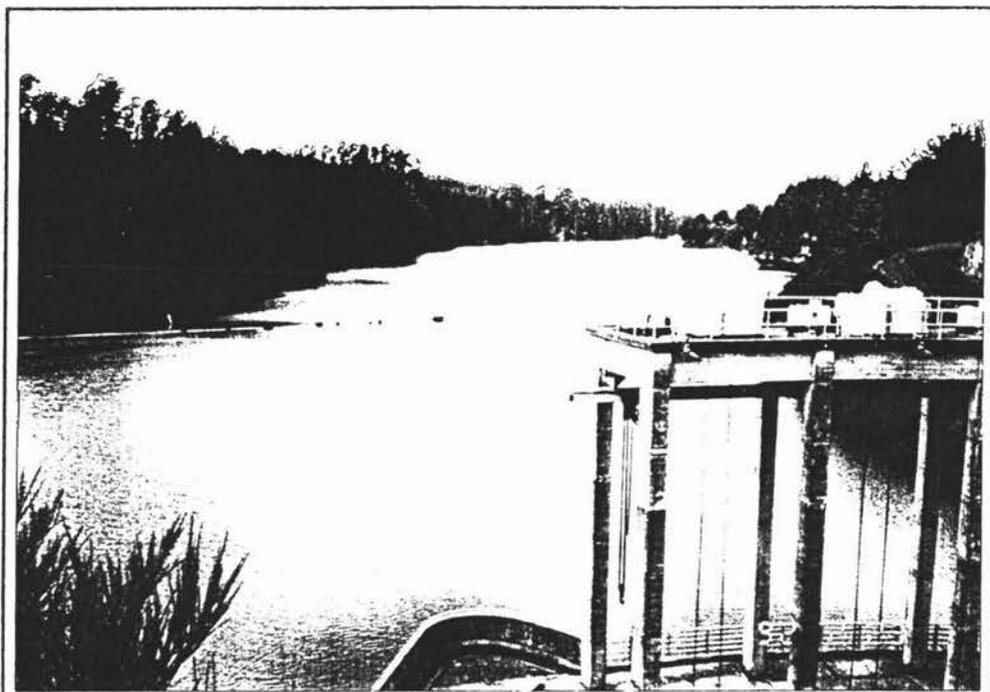


Photo 1  
Lake Maraetai, Waikato River



Photo 2  
Looking towards  
Kaahu and Whakaahu

Photo 3  
Near the summit of  
Whakaahu



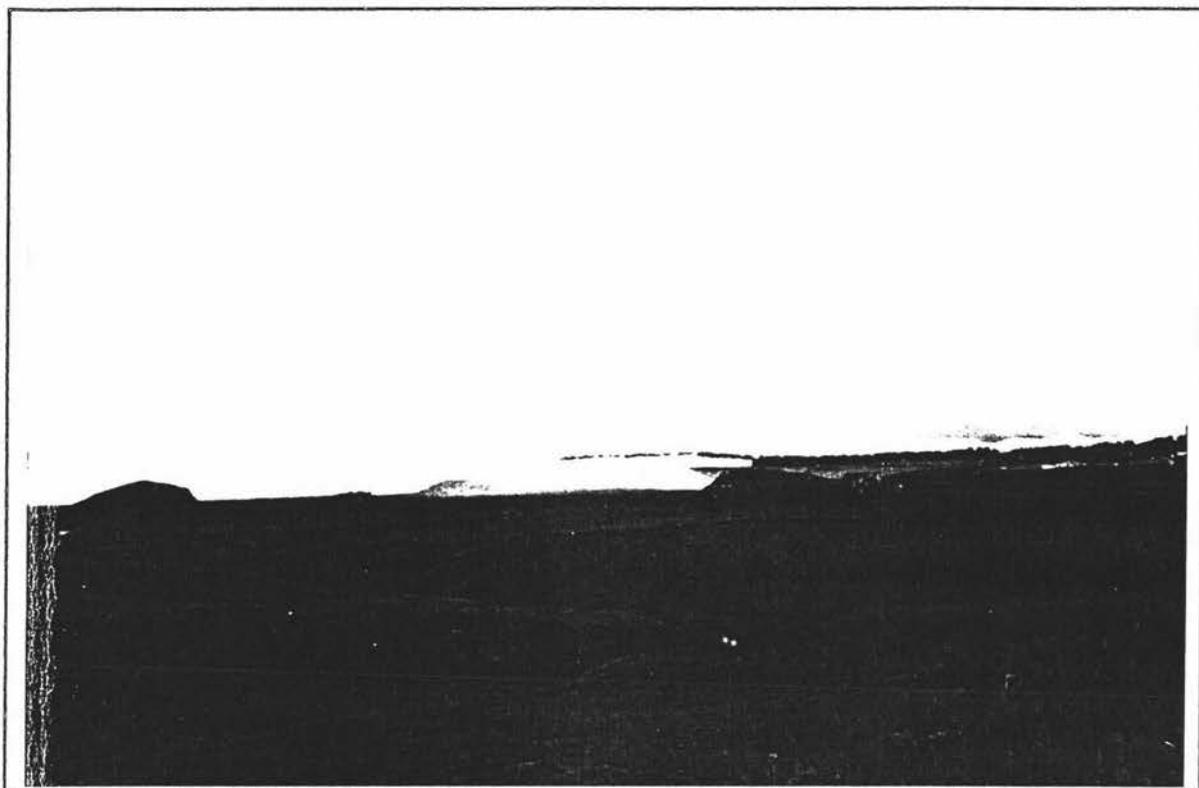


Photo 4  
Looking towards Titiraupenga and Pureora from Pouakani 2

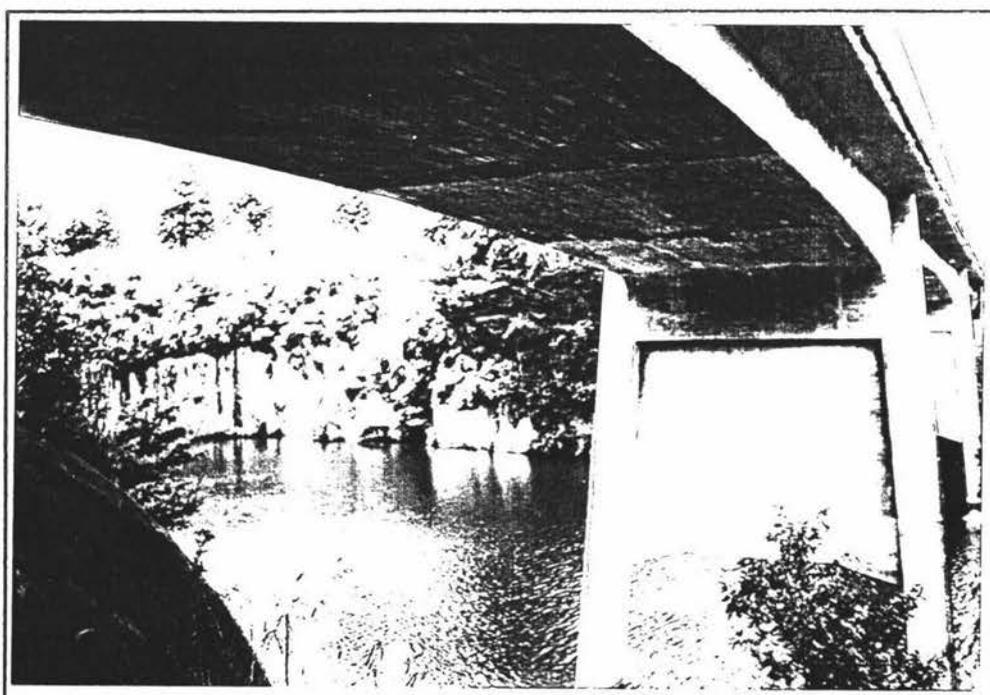


Photo 5  
Ignimbrite cliffs bordering the lower reaches of the Mangakino Stream

feed the Waikato River.

Ingnimbrite rock, characterised by vertical cracks formed when this volcanic material cooled, underlies Pouakani. It outcrops in small, irregular steep sided hills and is exposed in Waikato River gorges, road cuttings and very conspicuously at the Maraetai dam site (Photos 6, 7 & 8). Possibly not in 186 AD, but almost certainly in the latter half of the second century AD (Froggart, 1990), the massive Taupo eruption devastated this central North Island area burying the existing landscape under variable deposits of pumice, thin on the hill tops and deep in the valleys. The resulting yellow brown pumice soils are friable and free draining but tend to lack the necessary nutrients for plant and animal growth. Cobalt proved to be a key deficiency, but the trace element balance is delicate and applications of molybdenum superphosphate or lime upset the molybdenum/copper ratio and an indirect copper deficiency results. Similarly, frequent applications of potash are likely to produce magnesium deficiency. The ease with which the nutrient balances are altered is a greater problem than in more weathered soils with a higher clay content but in the development years this was considered to be "no reason for making less use of them" ((Ministry of Works, 1962, 42).

Another feature of the pumice country is the presence of "tomos"<sup>2</sup>. These have opened up under vehicles, drains and a swimming pool and tragically took a child's life. They often give little warning of their existence until a calamity occurs. Mangakino township is located on land which has been very susceptible to the development of tomos, and although there are no recent accounts of vehicles disappearing into them, small holes still develop undermining paths and buildings. Despite this known hazard, particularly evident in the early construction days (Jenks, 1992), there is no evidence that it in any way affected plans for the town.

Pouakani was acquired by the government prior to 1900, but the relatively easy country was barely altered until after World War 2. The failure of animals to thrive had seen a "black ring" placed on the map of the central North Island which denied finance to any would be farmers (Vennell, 1951, 238). In the case of Pouakani 2, New

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<sup>2</sup> Holes and tunnels in the pumice which develop particularly where there has been seepage of water.

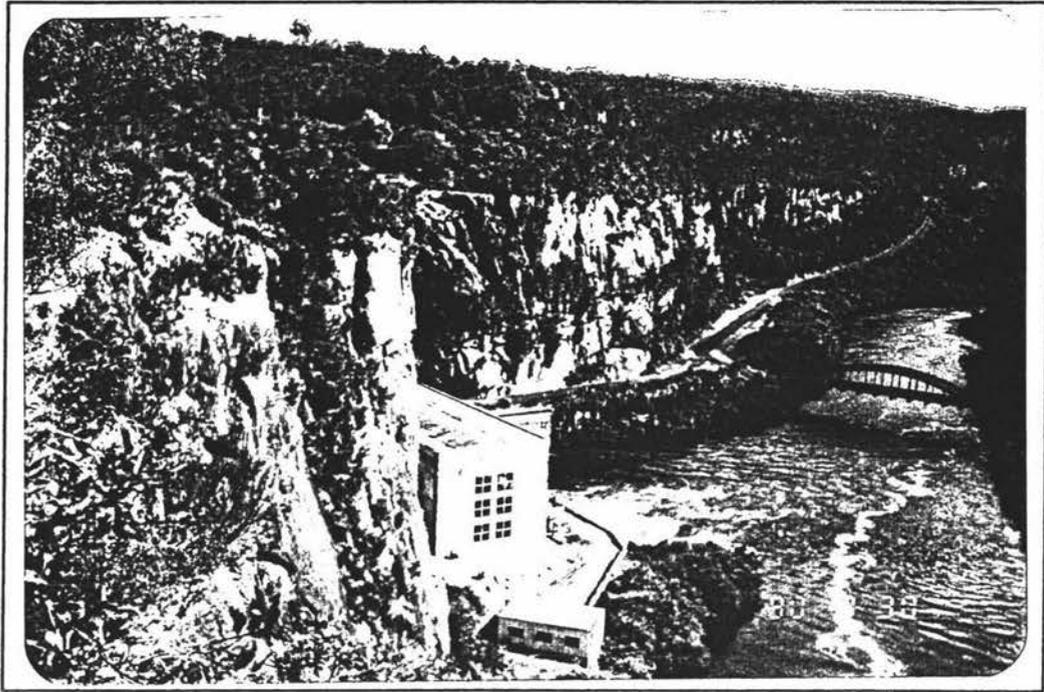


Photo 6  
Maraetai II powerhouse and Waikato River below the dam



Photos 7 and 8  
The Maraetai dam embedded in the ignimbrite walls of the gorge

Zealand Perpetual Forests' attempts to buy the land for tree planting had been thwarted by Sir Apirana Ngata (Carter, 1982, 79). Once the cobalt deficiency had been diagnosed and a remedy became available, the pioneering assumption, that land was there to clear and farm, was reasserted. At a similar time the need for electricity to supply homes and industry put pressure on the government to proceed with hydro electric power development on the Waikato River. Access and accommodation was required urgently and the surrounding area was seen as having the potential to provide perishable produce; vegetables and milk, for the influx of people (AJHR, 1945, D-1).

### **Farms**

Except on the tree clad peripheral hill areas, the natural vegetation of the Pouakani block was sparse. There was neither timber to mill to provide finance for development, nor natural grass growth to attract potential runholders. As with a number of other central North Island localities the inputs required to convert this land to farms were beyond the resources of individual investors and the government assumed that responsibility. Because Pouakani 2 was Maori owned its development came under the auspices of the Maori Affairs Department and a number of neighbouring blocks were developed by the Lands and Survey Department. The techniques adopted by the two departments were similar. Contractors were employed to crush the scrub using heavy machinery, the debris was burnt, then the ground was cultivated with giant discs, seeded with grass and clover and fertilised with cobaltised super phosphate (National Film Unit, 1954). The ensuing settlement strategies and farm ownership opportunities were different.

The backgrounds and experience of the incoming farmers varied greatly but despite examples of atypical entrepreneurship there have been important farming changes which appear to stem from local and/or supralocal factors affecting most farmers rather than from individual preferences for particular ways of farming. An examination of farm changes on the Pouakani 2 and adjacent Maraetai blocks attempts to find reasons for change and considers the extent to which the farmers have been masters of their own destinies. To try to get the feel of what happened there is a focus on a

Maraetai block case study, not because it is "typical", but in the belief that insights gained from its specificity may have more validity than general comments which allow the bringing together of information to suit the researcher's picture.

Discussion widens to consider the resettlement of the Whakamaru dairy farms and to outline some of the problems and successes experienced by the Pouakani settlers from the Wairarapa and other later farmers on Pouakani 2.

### **Forests**

The Pouakani forests; ancient and recent; ravaged and cared for, had or have their place on the Pureora slopes and on dissected hill country northwest from the Maraetai Dam. Conflicting themes of utilisation and preservation have affected the current status, extent and composition of the Pureora forests. The exotic forests nearer the Waikato are an investment following the dictum that land which is marginal for farming can be profitably used for commercial forestry. Incidentally, or intentionally they may also retard erosion. The source of the impetus to mill and plant, and the facilitating and constraining factors are sought in this study. As with the farm development, the forestry practices and people intermesh with other facets of this locality and influence its character while being in turn affected by local and supralocal factors.

One interesting aspect of forest utilisation was the extent to which "self sufficiency" was employed in the locality (MKO Chron, 1 Apr 1949, 4). Timber was needed for construction of the diversion tunnel and dam at Maraetai, as well as for private and public buildings in the townships and houses and farm buildings on the development blocks. Four hundred acres<sup>3</sup> of mature *Pinus radiata* grew on land to be flooded by Lake Maraetai. This needed to be removed before the lake was filled and there was a major shortage of timber in New Zealand in the late 1940s. Twenty nine suppliers used by the Public Works department from as far afield as Rotorua, Tauranga and Taumarunui were failing to keep up with the demand. Therefore the decision was made to set up a mill at Mangakino and thus gain control of the supply. This was done in 1947 and by 1949 the milling venture was so successful that surplus timber

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<sup>3</sup> 1 hectare = approximately 2.5 acres. Units of measurement used in an historical context and in interviews have been retained in their original form.

was being used for departmental housing contracts in Auckland, Gisborne, Napier, and Wanganui, and for other major government projects including Lands and Survey Department buildings. Initially only rough sawn pine was produced but a secondary processing mill was soon set up with an output of dressed and moulded timbers. Then came further extension of the milling activities to handle indigenous timber, mostly rimu which was transported to the site. "H.J." writing in the local paper and extolling the use of timber did recognise the cost of the extensive use of rimu, noting that it would require "the death of nearly five thousand more of these centuries old giants among the fast dwindling population of our lovely red pine" (MKO Chron, 1 Apr 1949, 4).

### **Infrastructure**

Prior to 1946 vehicle access was virtually absent from the Pouakani area. Maori settlements existed particularly in the vicinity of Titiraupenga and the only economic activity was associated with the mills at Mokai and Tihoi in the southern part of the area. Formidable barriers hampered access: the Waikato River plunged through its steep sided gorge on the eastern margins, the Mangakino River also deeply incised into the volcanic landscape offered only two crossing points for north/south travellers, and the forests of Pureora, Titiraupenga and the Hauhungaroa ranges lay to the west. Hydro, farm and forest development were all dependent on the bridging of rivers and the provision of road access. Travelling to Putaruru, the nearest town in the early development period, meant negotiating rough forest roads, and the establishment of accommodation and services near to the dam construction site was essential.

The planning of this town; Mangakino, opened a new chapter in the history of the Public Works/Ministry of Works Department. The town was probably not intended to be permanent and its growth, contraction and survival are aspects investigated. The Mangakino houses, basically "little boxes", give the township a distinctive character. They provide evidence of government provided worker housing of a particular era, but they also illustrate people's ingenuity in creating their personal living spaces. The provision of local amenities also reflects this transition from what the government provided to what the people desire, within the limited means available to the community, individuals and families. From these aspects of housing and the provision

of facilities come signs of local autonomy, albeit constrained and small scale, which contrast with other local changes imposed from "outside" .

## **Power Brokers : People, Groups and Institutions**

Cultural and environmental changes such as those described in this thesis obviously do not just occur. They are the products of the actions and interactions of people who may act on their own behalf or in their capacity as members of groups, informal and formal, or within institutional roles. The success of these individuals or groups in achieving their goals depends on their ability to identify feasible alternatives and make and implement decisions, amid a web of complex relationships involving relative degrees of power and powerlessness.

Power brokers affecting this locality are placed for convenience in four non discrete categories: Maori owners, local residents, local authority and central government employees and representatives, and commercial operators (Figure 1). Within these categories various social actors are identified according to the contexts of change being discussed. The definition of social actors chosen is in keeping with that of Hindess (1989, 4, 6 ) who posits that social actors must have the capacity to make decisions and implement them. Therefore individuals, groups, commercial and non commercial organisations, local and central government are all social actors but men, women and social classes are not social actors because they lack this capacity. The categories are related to roles and interests and must intersect because of the multiplicity of roles and interests people have. The loose, all encompassing grouping of local residents, allows distinctions to be made between local and supralocal initiatives and provides a basis for the consideration of local autonomy. In the contexts selected, particular attention is paid to the interactions between social actors based, or originating within the locality and those from "outside". It can be a difficult distinction to make but it appears to be relevant in considering change and reproduction of the local environment. For instance salaried Ministry of Works staff in Mangakino are considered in their work related roles as Government employees who were implementing government decisions and/or making and implementing decisions on behalf of the government. They may also have been members of a local church, which although part of a national organisation, had been requested and built largely through the efforts of local people, and they may have been members of a family which

## Power Brokers

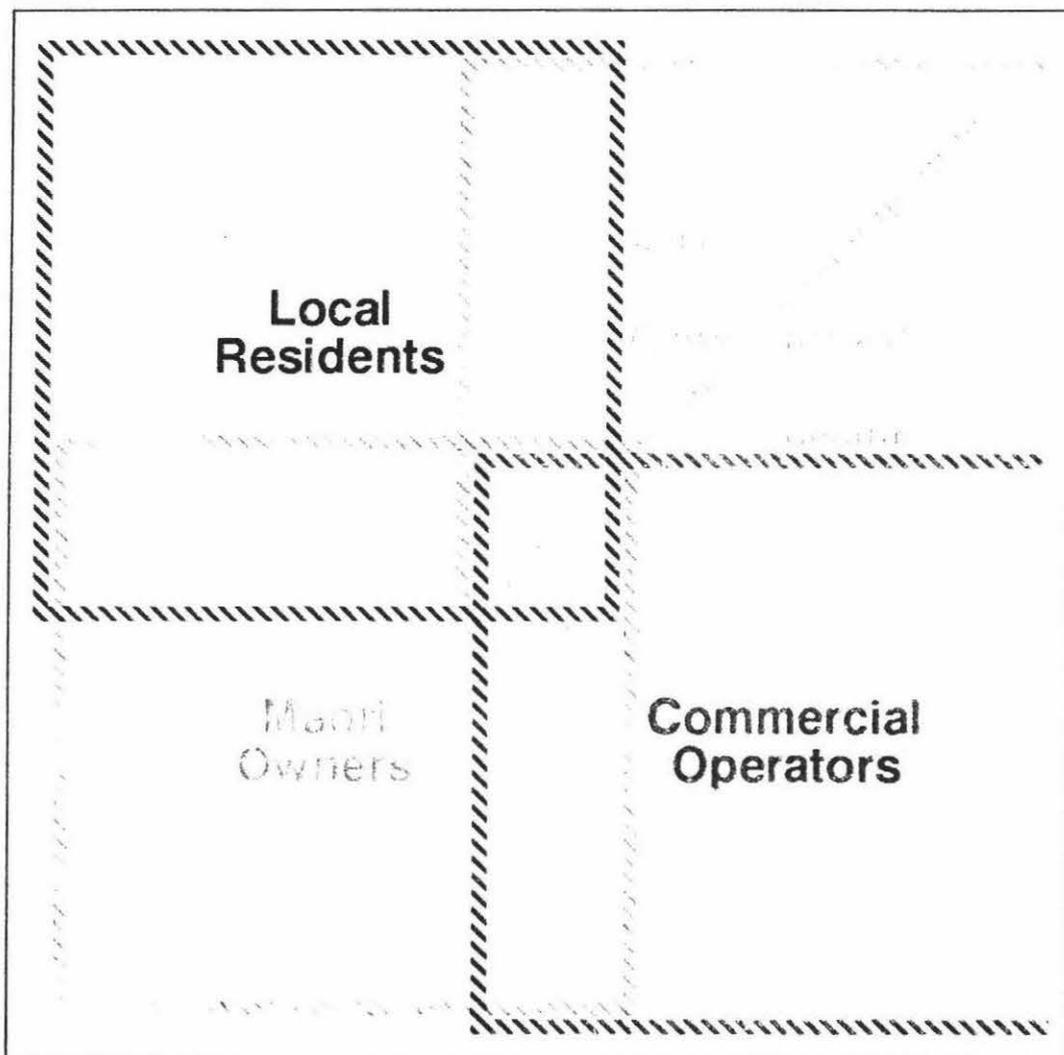


Figure 1

The broken lines indicate permeability. The absence of edges in some places represents openness to external influence and control. The overlapping rectangles show the multiple roles filled by some actors.

extended its house and modified its home environment in a variety of ways within the limitations imposed by the Ministry of Works. In the first case they were part of an a supralocal organisation which was changing the locality, while in the latter two instances they would be considered as local residents having the power, individually or collectively, to bring about local change.

Again in accord with Hindess (1989, 5) collective social actors are seen to be more than an aggregation of individuals. These groups, organisations and institutions are comprised of individuals but the power and capacity for action inherent in the collective context is different from that possessed by individual actors. They may be able to borrow money, impose their own code of rules, or undertake projects requiring coordinated actions. In addition the objectives of the social actor may not have personal relevance for the individuals pursuing the objectives, which argues against viewing these groups as aggregations of individuals. Because these collective social actors reproduce and change themselves as well as affecting the environment by their action or inaction, the nature of the social actor becomes in itself a target of the study. How have groups, or organisations changed? What are the factors which have perpetuated, extinguished and modified them and how has this influenced the shaping of the locality? Facets of local government are viewed in this light.

In the next section the social actors with roles to play in Pouakani are introduced. First the Maori who own an important portion of the Pouakani block, next local and central government, then a selection of actors in the local residents category, and finally the commercial operators.

## **The Maori Owners**

The phrase "Maori Owners" is used extensively in the archival material consulted in reference to the Ngati Kahungunu owners of Pouakani 2, but it must be acknowledged that Ngati Raukawa, Tuwharetoa and Ngati Maniapoto also have claims to, and own

parts of Pouakani.<sup>1</sup> In recent months the Waitangi Tribunal has investigated such claims. Ngati Raukawa kaumatua stand alongside Ngati Kahungunu on the Pouakani marae and the Ngati Raukawa Trust indicates its interest in the area by making funding available for young, local people. However, limitations of time have precluded investigation of their role in the locality and from here on, as a matter of convenience, the owners referred to are descendants of the Ngati Kahungunu who in 1916 were confirmed by the government as shareholders in the Pouakani block.

### **Ngati Kahungunu Owners**

In the seventeenth century Ngati Kahungunu from the Ahuriri (Hawkes Bay) area went to live in the Southern Wairarapa. An unbroken period of occupancy continued until about 1830 when they were descended on by tribes from the north and west equipped with muskets. Most of the Ngati Kahungunu fled and joined their kinsfolk at Nukutaurua (Mahia) and Ahuriri. In 1842 the Nukutaurua group of about 400, returned and reestablished themselves in the vicinity of Wairarapa Moana (Figure 2). The upper and lower lakes; Wairarapa and Onoke, were linked by the Ruamahanga river and separated from the sea by a narrow sandspit (Figure 3) (Photo 9). During most years Lake Onoke had no outlet in summer months and the hinapouri, as this was called, became an important time for Maori to gather at the coast to catch and dry large quantities of eels trapped behind the sandbar. At the same time water levels rose and flooded the low lying inland plains, but eventually the sandspit would be breached, the flooded land drained and the sea would begin to rebuild the barrier. (Bagnall, 1976; Carter, 1982 )

Shortly after the return from Nukutaurua, Pakeha whalers, flax cutters , surveyors and land seekers found their way to the Wairarapa. Despite its illegality a number of hopeful pastoralists entered into lease agreements with the Maori some of whom were eager to establish relationships with the Pakeha and moved to live not far from the settlers' crude homesteads. Several proclamations warned that private individuals could not buy or lease land from the Maori, but leases continued to be taken up until 1853 when it was determined that the Wairarapa would be acquired for the Crown.

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<sup>1</sup> A legacy of Kumeroa of Mokai may still dot the area. Ross (MKO Chron, 22 Mar 1962) describes him riding across the plains in 1940 planting poplar trees to mark the sites of special Maori significance.



Photo 3  
Wairarapa Moana - Lake Onoke and the Saltcheyf

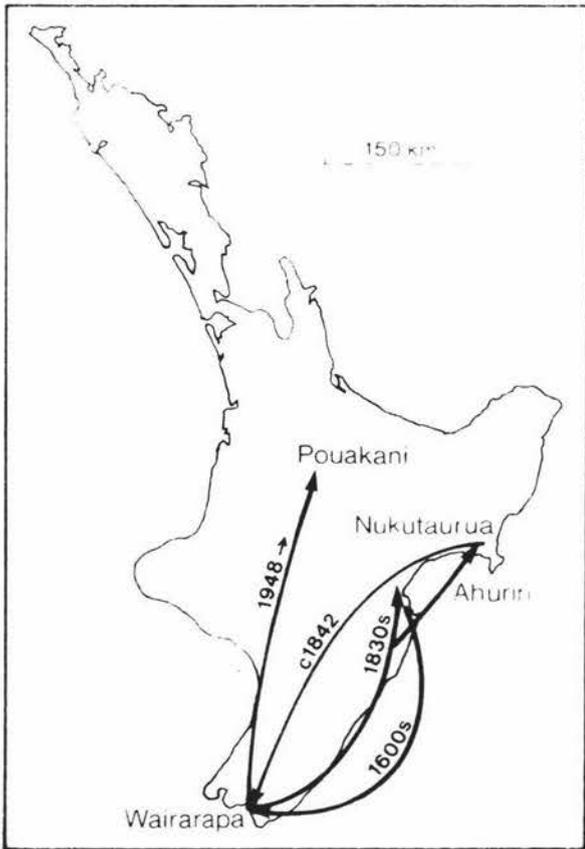


Figure 2  
Ngati Kahungunu migrations



Figure 3  
Wairarapa Moana  
(based on 1871 map in Ropiha, 1985)

During the visits of Governor Grey and Donald McLean about a million acres was sold. No proper surveys had been carried out and when a major earthquake uplifted land in 1855 this added to confusion over boundaries in the vicinity of the lakes.

The Ngati Kahungunu desire to retain their fisheries was incompatible with the settlers wishes to have floodwater drain from their land. Although artificial opening of the lake was expressly forbidden by McLean when he negotiated the land sales in 1853, this was done. Sometimes settlers paid for the privilege, but they were still not satisfied. In a bid to keep the lake outlet permanently open, they bought, for £1200, from Hiko Piata and 16 others, their rights to the lakes. This was challenged by Piripi Te Maari and 138 others. Claim and counter claim followed and at one stage in 1888 the Ruamahanga River Board inventively declared Wairarapa Moana a public drain and opened the outlet with spades in spite of Maori protest action. Eventually in 1891 a Commission of Inquiry was held and Commissioner MacKay's report (AJHR, 1891 G-4) recommended two months closure of the lakes during the fishing season and compensation payments for land between high and low water levels which had been sold by the Crown and not purchased from the Maori owners. However, again in 1892 despite initial passive resistance from Ngati Kahungunu a channel was dug to open the lake (Mathews in Carter, 1982, 78).

In 1895 the Native Affairs Committee, in response to a petition from Piripi Te Maari, supported the findings of the Commission, and furthermore stated "It is clear that the Natives have been wronged and the only question is whether the Local Bodies interested or the Government should compensate them" (Bagnall, 1976, 383). This did not eventuate. Piripi Te Maari died in 1895 and on January 13th 1896 at a meeting held at Papawai, near Greytown, agreement was reached. The Maori owners, now led by Tamahau Mahupuku, relinquished their rights and a decree was made vesting the Wairarapa Lakes in Her Majesty, as an estate in fee simple (Wairarapa Daily Times, Jan 15, 1896). A payment of £2000 was made and in addition it was agreed that the Crown "shall out of any lands which shall come into the possession of the government..... make ample reserves for the benefit of the Native Owners" (Bagnall, 1976, 383). The transaction culminated five days later in a monster picnic attended by Seddon, Cabinet Ministers, Maori and settlers.

By 1908 no reserves had been allocated to the owners and an appeal by H P Tunuiorangi led to £5000 being specified for this purpose. It was too little to purchase part of the favoured Whangaimoana estate near Palliser Bay. Later possibly because of a pending change in government (Bagnall, 1976, 384) the Ngati Kahungunu accepted inclusion of their names in the distant, mid North Island Pouakani block. In 1916 it was confirmed that Arete Tamahau and 229 others were owners of this 30,486 acre block (Carter, 1982, 82). Between that time and 1938 the owners were involved in court proceedings relating to shareholdings and decision making regards purchase offers, but it seems that there were no attempts to use, or live on the Pouakani block.

In 1938 the first timber negotiations appear to have begun. Then sons of the owners moved to Pouakani to work and settle on the newly developed farmland in the late 1940s and 1950s (Figure 2). After management of the land was taken over by the Native (later Maori) Affairs Department in 1947, the owners had their input to decision making through the Pouakani Advisory Committee. Subsequently in 1957 the Mangakino Township Incorporation was formed to deal with land matters and development in the Ministry of Works created township. This group was based in the Wairarapa and made occasional inspection visits to Mangakino. Although there were owners who had migrated to Pouakani, they did not necessarily have a voice except at Annual General Meetings.

It was not until 1983 that the Incorporation established its presence in Mangakino township. By this time the Maori Affairs Department had handed the Pouakani Block back to the owners. The Proprietors of Mangakino Township Incorporation, the Pouakani 2 Trust, responsible for the farmland and the Wairarapa Moana Trust which provides money for education are all administered from one set of offices (recently shifted to an out of town site on the Pouakani block). Annual General Meetings now alternate between the Wairarapa and Mangakino reflecting the fuller involvement of local residents as well as the strong ties to relatives and ancestral land in the Wairarapa.

The Mangakino Township Incorporation still owns the majority of the sections in the Township and is actively involved in trying to shape the future of the locality through its

support of the Waikato Lakes Development Corporation which organised a major publicity exercise in 1992. It has also become involved in the creation of rowing facilities, initiated by the North Shore Rowing Club from Auckland, and hopes to attract more rowers to the waters of Lake Maraetai, claimed to be superior to those of Lake Karapiro where the national rowing facilities are located.

It should be made clear that when the Maori owners are referred to it is as social actors and therefore discussion focuses on the Pouakani Advisory Committee, the Incorporation and the Trusts. The inability of the first group to influence or implement decisions, and the constraints placed on the other groups, unable to act without the agreement of local and central government, or without the legitimacy accorded by court rulings are discussed in "Wairarapa Moana to Pouakani" and "Our Town". Furthermore the ability of a committee to represent the interests of the individuals from which it is chosen and to act in a way which is acceptable to these individuals can be questioned, as was the case with the Incorporation which survived a court investigation in the 1970s.

## **Central Government**

Central government has obviously played a critical part in changing this locality. First it acquired part of Pouakani in 1884 when buying land for the construction of the North Island main trunk railway line. This was the land handed over to Ngati Kahungunu in 1916. Later the sale of the block to New Zealand Perpetual Forests was stopped by the actions of Apirana Ngata at that time Minister of Maori Affairs. According to Walter Nash, speaking at Mangakino in 1959, the government in the 1930s also made an offer to buy it back from the Maori owners. The offer was rejected (MKO Chron, 24 Apr 1959, 1). But while the government was involved in these paper transactions and discussions the broader Pouakani area remained virtually unchanged except for the everyday activities of small groups of Maori residents in the southern portion and sawmilling by the Taupo Totara Timber Company around Mokai. Through an Order in Council, November 1900, a portion of the Pouakani block still remaining in Maori hands had been exempted from the operations of the Native Land Court Act, 1894, allowing 4 075 acres of Pouakani to be leased for milling (Clark, 1951, 15).

In the 1930s and 1940s government employed surveyors carried out surveys and preliminary investigations for the proposed Hydro Electric schemes. The concept of utilising the waters of the Waikato for Hydro Electric power development had been "in the air" since 1903 (Jenks, 1954, 48) when a visiting American expert recommended a series of stations on the river. Well before the investigations were complete orders for turbines for Maraetai were placed in England and by time the war ended the government was poised to go ahead with its project. It had been decided to build a township at Mangakino which would be a centre for the construction of a series of power stations. This planning all occurred under the auspices of a Labour government within which Robert Semple, the Minister of Works, played an important part. Yet despite worker loyalty to the Labour Party, Maraetai became, early in the construction phase, the scene of a major confrontation between engineers, New Zealand Workers Union members and the government. This battle for "control" of the project (NZ Herald, 1948, March - June) resulted in the setting up of the Dalglish Tribunal and is discussed in "The Clapham Case".

The complexity of the intra and inter departmental decision making which preceded the Hydro Electric Power and loosely associated farming developments in Pouakani is hard to unravel, although the evidence of implementation of the decisions is abundant. One point emerges clearly; that the only questions arising were "when" (sooner than possible) and "how" the development would be carried out. There is no evidence of "if" there should be hydro development in the area and little suggestion that there was any debate over "where" except in the detail of the placement of the Whakamaru dam (Jenks, 1954, 64). This obviously ignored all considerations of land ownership, and "environmental impact" was not a phrase of the 1940s.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s there seems to have been one overriding objective guiding government action in the locality: meet the demand for power, do whatever it takes to get more generators running. The change of government in 1949 from Labour to National did not appear to alter this course of action. First planned to complement this goal, but later separated from it, was the concurrent farm development carried out by the Maori Affairs and Lands and Survey departments. The initial transformation,

largely completed by the mid 1950s, is possibly the largest and most rapid carried out by the government anywhere in New Zealand.

The planning, execution and administration of dam and town construction and farm development was all under the government umbrella although the social actors concerned; the Lands and Survey Department, Board of Maori Affairs, Ministry of Works, and Hydro-Electric Department (later Electricorp) can be clearly identified. The changes of parties in power, at least in the case of the cessation of work on Maraetai II, may have had an impact on the nature of local change, and definitely heightened the uncertainty which seems to have hung over the township of Mangakino almost since its formation. This uncertainty can only have been increased by the fact that Mangakino was in six different electorates between 1946 and 1983 when its pleas were heeded and it was placed within the Tongariro electorate along with the rest of Pouakani. Astoundingly the maps accompanying the reports of the Representation Commission (AJHR, 1946, 1952, 1957, 1962, H-46) do not show the town of Mangakino until 1962 although its population had reached nearly 4000 by 1951 and exceeded that number until the early 1960s.

The government influence in local change is so all pervasive that it is one of the elements discussed in most sections of this thesis. It is the prime focus in "Uncle MOW", and has very important roles in "Wairarapa Moana to Pouakani", "Ragwort and Grassgrub" and "Changing Schools", while government created legal structures assume considerable importance in "Our Town" which examines the powers of the 'Maori Owners' to manage change.

## **Local Government**

Local government was absent from Pouakani until 1954 when special legislation was introduced by central government "to bring the Counties Act of 1920 into force in the County of Taupo and to provide for the establishment of local government in that county" (NZ Statutes, 1, 1954, 137). A commissioner was appointed by the Governor General who could exercise any power, perform all the duties and have all the functions of a County Council, the Chairman of the County and if necessary, the

County Clerk. Pouakani extending from beyond Mangakino in the North to the shores of Lake Taupo in the south (Figure 4) became a ward of the Taupo County which was administered by the Commissioner assisted by an advisory group until 1962. The advisory group was appointed initially from a "panel of names chosen at one or more public meetings of residents and ratepayers" (NZ Statutes, 1, 1954, -139) but later elections were held although these were not required (or allowed?).

In 1962 the Taupo County was considered capable of running its own affairs and the first formal elections were held. One of the dilemmas of the new county was the existence within its boundaries of the town of Mangakino with its "sub standard" housing and "Maori owners". Mangakino was at that time administered by the Ministry of Works and the Welfare Committee (see below), but the County knew it would receive this unwanted legacy when the Ministry of Works decided to bequeath it. This eventually occurred with Mangakino becoming a county town in 1967. Separate representation from Mangakino township and the remainder of Pouakani continued until 1992. Now for the first time, changes approved by the Local Government Commission mean that either of these parts of the locality could be unrepresented. Only two representatives are allowed and they may come from either the township or the ward outside the township; areas with very different populations and economic circumstances.

A more detailed discussion of the role of the Taupo County in changing the Pouakani landscape and facilitating or constraining individuals, groups, organisations and especially the Mangakino Town Committees and Boards is offered in "The Taupo Connection".

## **Local Residents**

Local residents en masse are not social actors, but groups of them can take collective action and implement their decisions and individuals can act in their own right. The actions of individuals are examined particularly in "Initiative and Influence" which deals in part with entrepreneurs, and in the glimpses of home environments in "Houses and Homes". The casual visitor without knowledge of the town's history may

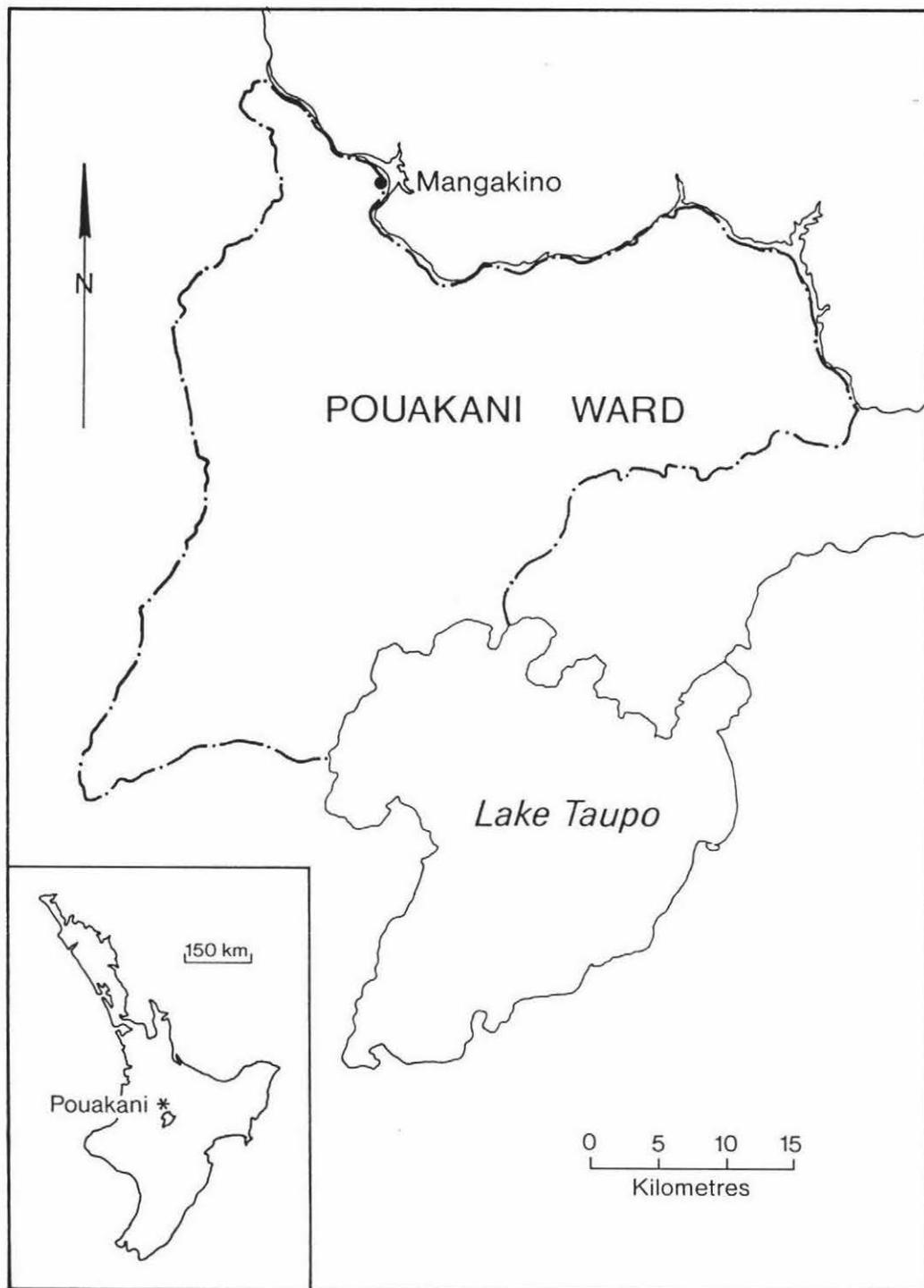


Figure 4  
Pouakani Ward, Taupo County

be bemused by the little box-like houses lining Mangakino streets. An appreciation of the construction town origins accompanied by a closer look reveals the ingenuity and effort of many individuals who have converted these ex Ministry of Works houses into homes to be proud of. There are "For Sale" signs on many fences but not many signs of neglect.

The groups selected include

informal interest groups:

those campaigning for basic needs; safe water and milk to drink

local branches of national organisations:

Federated Farmers, Lions and New Zealand Workers Union

an example of a local sporting organisation:

the Mangakino Golf Club

the Hydro Welfare Association:

at one time the parent body for 90 organised groups and

the Waikato Lakes Development Company Limited:

initiated by the Proprietors of Mangakino Township

The more formally constituted groups are introduced in this section, with attention being paid to their composition, structures and local roles. Particular clusters and sequences of decisions, actions and outcomes are described and discussed in context in other chapters.

### **Federated Farmers**

The strength of the local Federated Farmers was centred on Whakamaru, its membership comprising the farmers; many of them ex servicemen, who were settled on the land development blocks in the vicinity such as Maraetai, Kaahu, Marotiri and Hurirau. First references to the Federated Farmers are found in 1958 when they made apparently contradictory approaches to the Advisory Committee, on one occasion requesting that a County Council be set up, on the second wanting the Commissioner to continue. Despite this apparent confusion Federated Farmers was acting as a mouthpiece for the farmers who wanted some input to local government.

The local branch has its place in a clear hierarchy moving from local to district, provincial and national levels and it has used this structure to participate in changing local land use. In 1965 when sufficient numbers of the local members convinced Waikato Federated Farmers that the land they had been settled on was being wrongly utilised, their case was taken up with the Ministers of Lands and State Advances (MKO Chron, 16 Jun 1966, 1). This was the first step towards the setting up of the Amalgamation Committee and the eventual resettlement of 29 dairy farmers beginning in 1970. The role of this group and the interests they represented is discussed in the context of resettlement in "Ragwort and Grassgrub".

### **Hydro Welfare Association**

The Hydro Welfare Association was born at Karapiro and grew out of dissatisfaction with conditions in the Karapiro construction camp. Growing to maturity at Mangakino, it was reproduced at Turangi and South Island hydro construction sites such as Otematata and it was purportedly copied by the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Authority in Australia (Gardenier, 1975, 68). It does not fit neatly into any pigeon holes. The association comprised local residents acting as representatives of a host of social actors with various sporting, cultural and social objectives and controlled major assets such as the playing fields, cinema, library, social hall and various other facilities provided by the Ministry of Works. It set policies, granted permission for use of amenities and carried out day to day administration. As construction proceeded up river, it established and managed facilities at Atiamuri as well.

Overriding the authority given to the association was a clause in its agreement with the Ministry of Works "empowering the Project Engineer to veto the use of these assets, or the expenditure of funds accruing there from in any direction he may consider improper" (MKO Chron, May 27 1949, 1). The question of whether these powers should be granted to the Project Engineer aroused opposition in 1949. "H.J." wrote in the Chronicle at that time, that "the veto once in a while must be accepted as the voice of the taxpayers calling their tune" (MKO Chron, May 27 1949, 6). He thought that there would be small risk of its misuse but

in an environment like ours where private life is inextricably mixed with the

workaday, and where purely social issues are so easily clouded by industrial contentiousness, right of appeal to some impartial referee might be allowed for in circumstances where the Association executive as a whole strongly favours a course of action resisted by the Project Engineer (MKO Chron, 27 May 1949, 6).

"H.J." pointed out that there were misconceptions about the history of the association and its relationship to the Works Department, based on false premises such as the belief that "the Welfare Association was created by the people of Mangakino for their own benefit, and the Department has no right to interfere with what it does" (MKO Chron, 27 May 1949, 6). He then went on to detail the genesis of the association and contrast the dearth of social and cultural life at Karapiro with the lavish government spending at Mangakino. "H.J." also stressed that "the part played by the Association in bringing about the new order [had]... been an important one, but it [had]... been that of the playwright rather than producer" (MKO Chron, 27 May 1949, 6). At Karapiro, the government pressured by wartime commitments had left amenity provision to the YMCA and the camp environment spawned "social lethargy" (MKO Chron, 27 May 1949, 6). The association tried to bring "home to Cabinet and the Works Department the fact that the lack of social amenities there was largely responsible for a state of affairs detrimental to the well being of its work people and discreditable to the Department itself". They suggested improvements for Maraetai and "offered themselves as the medium through which the changes they had proposed might be brought to pass...That campaign succeeded" (MKO Chron, 27 May 1949, 6).

The success of its works behind the scenes in winning the whole hearted support of the government remains the chief accomplishment of the association, and that support should be guarded as its greatest asset (MKO Chron, May 27 1949, 6).

Knowing little about "H. J." or his role in the community, it is difficult to discern whether his motivation in writing the article was to inform or to persuade. He sees the necessity for people in conflict over an issue to have "full" knowledge of the circumstances. It seems that he may have been party to discussions between the Association and

government representatives, and he makes it clear which side he is on.<sup>2</sup>

A complicating factor in obtaining information about the Waikato Hydro Welfare Association is that the only documentary sources of information are the *Mangakino Chronicle*, published by the Association and *Mangakino in Perspective* (Hasman, 1975) a booklet commissioned by the Association. One would hesitate to question editorial impartiality, nevertheless, the latter booklet, written in 1965, was withheld from publication for ten years. One of the reasons given was "that the book stressed in a most readable form how explosive life could be in a new hydro town. It was considered unwise to publish such a book when a 'new Mangakino' was to be built at Turangi" (Gardenier, 1975, 67). It is unclear whether this was a government or Welfare Association decision, but the book has a foreword by the Commissioner of Works, J T Gilkison.

It is interesting that although the Association developed in Mangakino, its objectives were always those of catering for people employed in hydro construction and even before Maraetai II was completed, the Association wound up its affairs in Mangakino and shifted to Turangi, the project headquarters for the Tongariro Power Development scheme and its assets (financial) went to the "young and struggling" (Gardenier, 1975, 67) Tongariro Welfare Association.

The part played by the Waikato Hydro Welfare Association is mainly dealt with in "Uncle MOW" as it cannot be considered separately from that government department even though it was the vehicle used by local residents to meet recreational wants. As "H.J." said in 1949 the "Association possesses no capital and only trifling assets in its own right" and cannot remain independent and "function in an ambitious welfare scheme which demands both assets and capital in large measure" (MKO Chron, 27 May 1949, 6).

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<sup>2</sup> It seems likely that "H. J." was Harold Jones who was one of the organisers of a meeting at Karapiro which decided to form the association. If so he was also the first chairman of the association and responsible for drawing "up of a detailed memorandum on community facilities for the Ministry of works to consider when it was planning Mangakino" (Hasman, 1975, 26).

## **Lions Club**

This service group is a local component of an international organisation. It provides examples of both the top down imposition of global structures which have changed the nature of the local organisation, and evidence of the ability of local residents to collectively change their physical environment as well as attempting to contribute towards social change, as in their sponsorship of educational programmes for adolescents. It would seem that local people perceive there are benefits in belonging to an international organisation, otherwise it is rather difficult to explain why groups of people in New Zealand in the twentieth century should use wild animal imagery to name their office holders and clubs.

The Mangakino Lion's Club was chartered in 1965 with 27 members. In 1984 the club sponsored the Mangakino district Lioness Club which also began with 27 members "who soon carved their own niche with caring involvement in the community" (Wilson, 1993). As a consequence of international changes the Lioness Club was disbanded in 1992 and several members joined the Lions.

In matters of protocol the local Lions based in Mangakino follow the rules determined by the international body which evolved from the dream of a Chicago insurance man, Melvin Jones, who wondered why local business clubs could not look beyond purely business concerns and involve themselves with the betterment of their communities and the wider world. This set of rules is perpetuated through a constitution as is usual in many hierarchical organisations. If local members wanted to change the rules they would be bound by the rules they were seeking to change and to change these there would have to be a large ground swell of opinion from throughout the international Lions community as would have happened to admit women members.

The perpetuation of the structure, has meant in the context of Pouakani, an ongoing input into the local community. It is noticeable that groups having defined structures, and which deal with more general human needs, seem to have greater longevity than those which are formed for specifically local purposes. If this statement has validity the Waikato Lakes Development Company (see below) would be likely to have a short life span unless it can become commercially viable because of its totally local base and

goals.

The contribution of the Lions and Lionesses is consistent with their motto: "We Serve" and provides several examples of ways in which a social actor has been able to bring about change in the community. It is considered along with sporting organisations that have a conspicuous local presence in "Initiative and Influence".

### **New Zealand Workers' Union - Mangakino Local**

There were clear links between union activity at Kaitawa (Waikaremoana) and Karapiro and that at Mangakino (Hughes, Pers Com 1993). Before the town was built Union representatives at those sites sought to influence the living conditions in the new town to be. Many of them moved to Mangakino and it is obvious that the Mangakino Local branch of the New Zealand Workers' Union had significant effects on dam construction on the Waikato River. It also attempted to influence developments in the town itself and was criticised at times for its actions, such as when it protested about the cost of living, which was deemed to be political (Hasman, 1975, 48). It is doubtful if the Union in any way affected the long term physical outcomes, that is the construction of dams of a particular type and size for the generation of power. What it could influence was the way in which the work was carried out, the rate of work and relationships between the engineering staff and workers not only at Mangakino but at subsequent projects as well, as indicated above. Therefore the changes investigated pertaining to union activities are less obvious than many of the others discussed in this thesis.

The union operated under democratic procedures, at least on some occasions ( NZ Herald, 10 Mar, 1948), and elected at its annual meeting job delegates who were spokesmen for particular sections of the works, plus a president, secretary, check inspector and executive committee. There were set procedures for settling disputes as stipulated in the relevant award. A grievance was said to exist when a worker asked a Union representative to deal with a matter. The representative first went to the worker's immediate supervisor, then if necessary to the engineer in charge of the section. If the situation could not be resolved the union representative then handed it over to his executive who negotiated up to Resident Engineer level. Beyond that,

negotiation continued between the union branch secretary and the Project Engineer and possibly the head offices of the department (Hasman, 1975, 71).

Work on the site was organised through a system of co-operative contracts which offered each gang bonus payments for the amount of work done. This generated feelings of group solidarity and the workers were able to vote someone out of their gang if they chose to - but not off the site - which led to high productivity (Hughes, Pers Com, 1993).

As is shown elsewhere, when a major dispute arose at Mangakino the New Zealand Workers Union hierarchy and the Federation of Labour became involved. This relationship also worked in the reverse direction. In 1951 when the government introduced Emergency Regulations, giving itself almost unlimited powers to deal with the waterfront dispute, the Mangakino workers went on strike in support of fellow trade unionists.

An active group in Mangakino with union connections was the Women's Auxiliary. It was formed to "combat profiteering by the local shopkeepers" and was criticised at its inception by the Resident Engineer as being "largely comprised of those same elements which predominate in the local union executive" (Hasman, 1975, 48). This could only be so if the assumption was made that the views of these women could not be separated from those of their husbands.

Many interesting individuals were involved with the union in Mangakino and through them, some of the cross linkages with other groups and organisations are revealed. Sid Hart, a member of the Union Executive was elected to the Taupo County Council. Basil (later Sir Basil) Arthur, who was very active in the Labour Party and became Speaker in the House of Representatives was union secretary. Hone Tuwhare, the well known poet, was concurrently active in union affairs and in the campaign against racist tours.

This raises an issue applicable to most social actors within a locality. It is very difficult to know when people are acting as individuals and when they are behaving in their

capacity as representatives of collectives, in spite of whatever declaration they may make. It is, however, apparent in many contexts that the common composition of different social actors means that some constituents have knowledge not available to others within their group. This may be used in the decision making or implementation context. It is also apparent that some social actors can affect others via this common membership. "Insider" activities may be valuable in allowing better informed decision making, but these situations can also give rise to conflicts of interest and if one accepts the close link between knowledge and power, it can place "excessive" power in the hands of particular individuals.

Complicating Union affairs at Mangakino was the presence of an active, but probably small branch of the New Zealand Communist Party and a branch of the Labour Party. In some matters the interests of these three groups were compatible, but as is explained in "The Clapham Case" contradictions abounded. The Union although critical of communism and strongly supportive of the Labour Party took on the Labour Government in a confrontation in support of the Communist Union secretary.

The negligible impact of collective worker strength in Mangakino today contrasts strongly with its imprint on the local community particularly in the 1940s and 1950s, but also in the 1980s when it was home for many Kinleith workers. This is not only due to the absence of a major local industrial site, but also to the Employments Contracts Act which aims to have workers deal with their immediate employers at local level and removes from them the support of a hierarchy rising to national level, able to negotiate with those who have the power to change the structures within which employer/employee relations exist.

### **Waikato Lakes Development Company**

The Waikato Lakes Development Company was set up in 1991 to promote Mangakino and "spur the town's development" (Taupo Weekender, 21 Feb, 1992, 1). It had been preceded by a number of other "Dam Country" promotions and the Enterprise Agency set up in 1987 which failed when the government withdrew funding. This approach is different, in that a consultant was employed to "devise a way of promoting the town with the aim of providing income and jobs" (Taupo Weekender, 21

Feb, 1992, 1). The company is committed to

Promotion of a positive environment for business development. Improvement of the level of business and marketing expertise. Assistance in attracting new investment and business opportunities(Waikato Times, Feb 15, 1992, .22).

Setting up the company involved co-operation between the Taupo District Council and the Mangakino Township Incorporation. The secretary of the limited company is also the secretary for the Incorporation and the Pouakani Trust, as well as being a Mangakino - Pouakani Community Board member (in 1992).

So far the company has undertaken one major publicity exercise in the form of Mangakino Festival '92 which was held in February. This received support from throughout the community with very few local people not being involved in some way. Major organisations also backed the festival with Electricorp holding an open day at Maraetai Dam, the Waitomo Power Board and the Bank of New Zealand opening their facilities along with local retailers and the Rugby Union organising an invitation rugby match which attracted television cameras. Even the weather was kind, and although the attendance may not have reached the heights expected, many people were prepared to label it a success.

Further discussion of the company's role occurs in "Our Town" and "The Taupo Connection". What may be difficult to measure is the success of its promotion. Success may need to be conspicuous if ratepayer's money is going to continue to be made available. In view of the comments about survivorship of organisations, made above, the Waikato Lakes Development Company would be advised to establish a firm and profit making economic base, or provide some other tangible benefits, if it is to have a sustainable future.

### **"Special Needs" Groups**

Especially in the 1940s and 1950s when the people of Mangakino were forced to cope with local inadequacies and difficulties there were many attempts to take the initiative and try to find solutions to their problems. Meetings were held, special purpose

committees and delegations were formed, and in the case of the ongoing problem of algal contamination of drinking water drawn from the lake, a petition was signed by 1100 residents (MKO Chron, 14 Mar 1958, 5) and forwarded to the local member of parliament requesting that he make representations to the Minister of Works. The problems persisted in the short term, and were eventually solved, but it is difficult to tell whether there is a causal relationship between the local residents' actions and the solutions. As is so often the case they may have been able to influence the timing of the changes but not the nature of the outcomes. Problems which illustrate the difficulties are the struggles to establish suitable healthy supplies of milk and water dealt with in "Uncle MOW" and the legalities and illegalities of alcohol sales touched on in "The Taupo Connection". These issues brought together a number of social actors and individuals.

## **Commercial Operators**

As in any locality, business people comprise a mix of those who are relatively independent and those who are agents for large commercial organisations, with some of those owning their own businesses, such as garage proprietors having ties with national or multinational companies. In addition people have been strongly affected by firms which do not have representatives within the locality. These include New Zealand Forest Products whose input (valued and decried) is discussed in "Initiative and Influence", and stock and station firms and banks, some of which, no longer have a presence in the area. The latter were particularly important in exercising budgetary control over farmers on the development blocks.

Mangakino is probably unique in that its businesses were initially offered, in the late 1940s, to ex servicemen and housed in premises provided by the Ministry of Works. The government has built other towns but this has not been combined elsewhere with a rehabilitation base to local business. It is also unusual in that, despite the importance of farming in the locality, the township has not met the specialised needs of farmers. Tenure difficulties appear to have contributed to decisions to establish these services in the small township of Whakamaru, diminishing the potential linkages between Mangakino township and the surrounding farming community.

Commercial operators, particularly those in Mangakino, have been strongly local based, again probably because of tenure restrictions and Ministry of Works control of the town which inhibited the setting up of branches of large firms. The Waitomo Electric Power Board, the Bank of New Zealand, the various owners of the hotel and formerly the Post Office, would be the only outside "commercial" interests with an active and persistent presence in the township. Yet ironically, all the business premises are now owned by an absentee landlord, whose input to the town appears to be minimal.

On the other hand the business people have made significant contributions to the locality; as individuals and especially as members of local organisations. The Businessmen's Association of the earlier times and the still surviving local retailers' group do not appear to have had a great deal of power to influence change, perhaps reflecting their informal structures and lack of common objectives. However, business people have played major roles in other organisations and have been very strongly represented in local government from its inception in the area. They seem to have been accorded and have accepted the role of community leaders. Even in the hey day of the Ministry of Works, business people were being chosen to represent the local people. Rowe Hendry, shopkeeper and later landlord for all the shops, was the first locally chosen advisory council member. Buckingham, who ran a shoe shop and "Ned" Kelly, a former Ministry of Works employee who became a garage owner, were also very prominent in local affairs. Kelly's involvement which started in the 1960s is still being maintained with his reelection in 1992 as one of the two Mangakino-Pouakani representatives on the Taupo District Council.

When Mangakino offered cheap industrial sites and buildings during and after the Ministry of Works withdrawal from the town, this attracted entrepreneurial activity, often combining local initiative, especially from the Incorporation, with outside capital and expertise. The only obvious survivor is the Lodge which cares for ex-psychiatric patients and has extended its activities to running the residential home for elderly people in the former hospital. The ideas have been innovative, the enthusiasm to create something new undoubted, the support from the town forthcoming, but in the long term there is little to show for many of these endeavours. The problems and

limited successes of some of these undertakings are discussed in "Initiative and Influence" with an attempt being made to unravel local and supralocal influences.

## The Framework

The framework and indeed the whole project accords centre stage to a **locality**. This is the level at which people individually and collectively take the decisions leading to action and follow the routines which constitute everyday life. These decisions, actions and routines or habits are constrained and facilitated by social, political and economic relationships operating in a particular physical and cultural environment, in turn affected by the actions of other actors in this locality as well as by meso and macro scale processes. Through their everyday lives in a New Zealand locality people reproduce their own rapidly or gradually changing social milieu, while also reproducing the integrated production/consumption processes and landscapes of capitalism.

Localities cannot be ignored. They are not merely plots chosen for their fertility, to grow the seeds of capitalism, for harvesting and distribution by omnipotent capitalist god/(s). They comprise the homes and workplaces of people having varying degrees of autonomy, they are places giving spiritual and emotional solace (or despair); they can give birth to local movements which alter the course of history. If a notion of "free will" is accepted it must operate at local level. This does not mean that the lack of power of some individuals, groups or whole localities is not recognised, but even in the grimmest situation responses will vary, and the recursive fashioning of local processes will produce a distinctive locality. It is this particularity which is both a major attraction and a methodological nightmare for a researcher.

The accompanying framework (Figure 5) attempts to identify pertinent aspects of the multifaceted entity; locality. It was used to guide research relating to the key question: who or what has the power to influence or bring about change in a locality? It has underpinned the investigation from the beginning and although it has been tempting to make modifications, the original framework has been retained because of its integral part in the research process. In the following section surface features including relationships and processes illustrated in the framework are explained, beginning with the largely mental constructs brought to decision making and

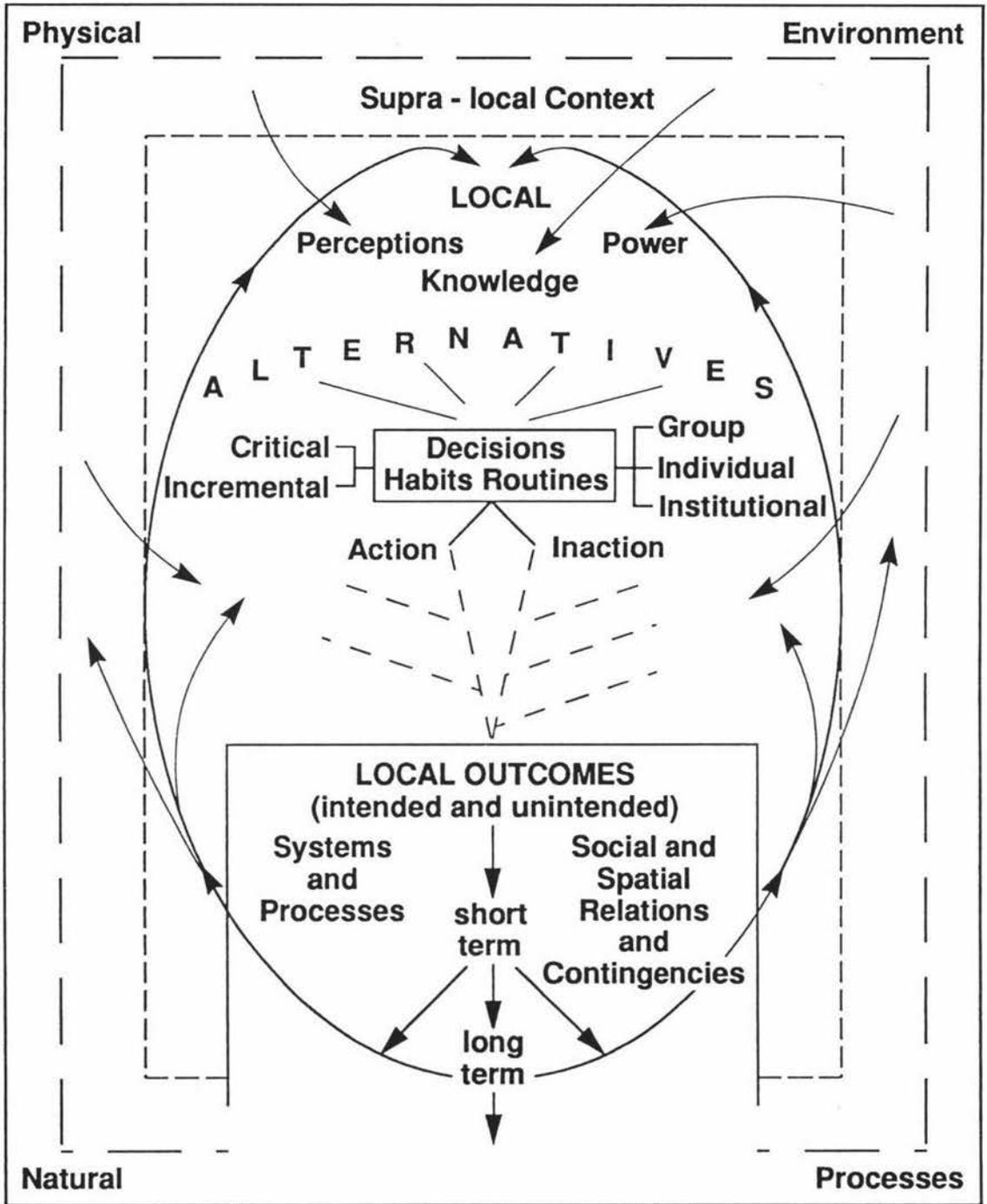


Figure 5  
Locality Framework

continuing with the physically evident actions and outcomes. Then concepts of structure and autonomy which lie beneath the surface are discussed. In a further section a selection of literature and theoretical perspectives related to the framework and the related research is surveyed.

## **Surface Features, Relationships and Processes**

### **Alternatives**

The framework focuses on a locality and makes a number of assumptions. Local perceptions, knowledge and power relations are seen as the continuously changing outcomes of processes occurring within and beyond the locality. These factors are in turn implicated in the alternatives perceived by local actors; collective (social) and individual. Options may be facilitated or constrained according to the relative power available, or perceived to be available, to people. Alternatives are also limited to those which are known and therefore can be changed according to the accessibility of particular knowledge. The same knowledge may however be perceived in different ways by different actors. People with many experiences in common and a common knowledge base are more likely to identify similar alternatives than those with differing backgrounds and knowledge. People living in the same locality may share experiences and local knowledge which leads to some convergence of thought. This will be countered, however, by each having their own perspective according to their particular place; spatial and social. When convergence of thought exists it may facilitate collective decision making and allow people within a locality to make choices appropriate to their local situation. It may also place significant limitations on perceived possibilities and inhibit change.

### **Decisions**

The aspects of the framework discussed so far are largely mental constructs. Linking these to more concrete and observable occurrences are the decisions made by the actors, including those which are internalised to the point where they become an accepted part of everyday life and are expressed as habits and routines. Whether decisions are made by individuals or by social actors such as formal or informal

groups and institutions, their implementation will occur within a particular context. Therefore the short and long term outcomes of decisions will be moderated by contextual interactions. A decision may lead to action or inaction, in that it may be decided either to proceed or not to proceed with a proposed undertaking. Inaction may also be the consequence of a failure to implement a decision because someone neglects to do so, because no-one is delegated to do so, or because circumstances beyond the control of the decision makers prevent action being taken. Even decisions which are not implemented, may have outcomes. These stem from perceptions that the decisions will be carried out and the local effects will vary according to the extent that the knowledge of the decision is disseminated. Media publicity given to the deliberations of decision making bodies becomes important in this context.

A further aspect considered, is the role of decisions in bringing about change. This is often recognised with hindsight. There may be multiple decisions made by many actors over periods of time that significantly, but slowly change the nature of a locality. There may also be single decisions or clusters of decisions which are turning points and initiate sudden or major change. Decisions may also be required to maintain stability and reproduce existing conditions.

### **Outcomes**

Although there is considerable focus in the literature on the decision making process and motivating factors (for example in Ketcham, 1987 and in Schwarz and Thompson, 1990) all this is of little importance if decisions are not implemented. The necessary time, energy and resources must be available and the actor must have the power to implement the decision. Implementation can be thwarted by physical factors and the contingent juxtaposition in time and space of actions stemming from various decisions; also by deliberate actions taken by other actors who intend to prevent the anticipated outcomes from occurring.

Outcomes, both short term and long term can be intended or unintended. Due to the complexity of the interactions in the implementation contexts it would be seldom that the carrying out of decisions is without some unintended consequences. A simple act

like planting seeds in the garden cannot ensure the expected crop. Apart from the vagaries of weather, or potential disease or insect damage which are known risks, there may be other unanticipated occurrences such as a hungry wandering cow, a new cat's enthusiasm for digging holes, or a partner's inability to distinguish weeds from desired plants, all of which can lead to crop failure.

Implementation occurs within natural and cultural contexts amidst ongoing processes and constant and changing relationships. All possible contingencies cannot be taken into account and risks have to be accepted. However, knowledge of processes and relationships and an appreciation of the ways in which power is exercised may enable people to make decisions that can be implemented and which have, at least in the short term, largely intended outcomes. This knowledge may need to extend beyond the locality and encompass regional, national or global perspectives elicited from "experts" possibly with competing viewpoints. A perception of control over outcomes may encourage effective decision making and implementation. A lack of control may be perceived if uncertainty is engendered by local or supralocal factors and if actors have a subordinate role in a power relation. This may lead to apathy, with change occurring by default; or resistance, and conflict may be precipitated.

### **Recursion**

The observable outcomes of local processes will modify the mental constructs which shape ongoing local decision making and contribute to changes in the physical and cultural environment. These outcomes may also have supralocal effects and they may modify natural processes beyond the locality which may in turn have some consequences for future local action.

### **Supralocal effects and processes**

Interactions with individuals, groups, organisations, institutions and systems extending beyond, or based outside the locality are an important part of the framework. The mental constructs integrated into decision making, the systems and structures setting legal and customary limits and directions, and the physical contingencies which may help or hinder the implementation of decisions may all, to varying extents, originate

outside the locality, or be subject to outside influence or dictates.

The framework provides a way of structuring an approach to studies within a particular locality but to attempt to answer the question of who or what has the power to influence or bring about change, a more in depth examination of ideas relating to power, structure and autonomy is required.

## **Beneath the Surface**

### **Structure, Structure and Autonomy**

A problem of nomenclature has prompted the duplication of "structure" in the subheading above. The term 'structure' is applied to an invisible mechanism underlying an abstract process such as capitalism. It is also used in this thesis to describe the "rule systems" which constrain and enable change and empower or disempower actors, as well as describing the institutional and organisational hierarchies and power relations which "structure" the ways in which decisions are made and implemented.

The abstract structures, their connections with the actors (or agents) and questions of autonomy, as discussed in Social Science literature surveyed below, are important. However, the focus is of necessity on their more accessible manifestations in the form of institutions and social practices. The application of the term "structures" to these manifestations is more akin to lay use. It is chosen because it seems to encompass the idea of boundedness inherent in formal and informal systems and the identifiable frameworks which configure intra and inter group relationships. Structure is hence used as a noun which refers to intangible and tangible, but definable factors, that appear to set the stage and in some cases direct the actors' performances. The term is also used as a verb to describe processes which create those actual and "real" structures.

### **Power**

Who or what has the power to change the environment? Implicit in this question is the

idea that power facilitates change. The corollary intended is that power may also block or prevent change. In a geographic sense it is also necessary to consider the maintenance of the status quo because action is required to maintain things "as they are" and to reproduce an environment similar to that which currently exists. Inaction by actors may produce change by default. For example failure to maintain footpaths eventually leads to the breaking up, or overgrowing of these paths due to the actions of others and/or natural processes.

But what is power? The word is extensively used and is not generally debated outside of academia, although people's concepts of power are likely to vary in detail. Recourse to the literature, particularly of sociology, reveals some important differences of opinion which are surveyed in a later section.

In this thesis the notion of power used is a two part one; potential power and exercised power. Potential power is seen as being inherent within the structures of society such as rule systems designed for, or evolving to exert social control. It is also seen as being embodied in collective and individual actors. This places it within the contexts for decision making and action. Potential power accords the capacity to carry out certain actions which may, or may not, prevent others from doing likewise; a capacity which may or may not be exercised. It has been argued (Foucault in Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, 219) that power only exists in action. Acceptance of this idea could mean ignoring perceptions and knowledge of power and power relations that people bring to decision making which may influence the range of alternatives considered.

Underlying this concept of power is recognition of the conflicting objectives of social actors and the impossibility of their attainment by all. Power allows one to succeed at the expense of another or may thwart actions by all in the "public interest". Reasons for the exercise of power may logically be to allow action in the "interests" of the actor having that power, or for the "public good" . But potential power tends to come in packages which mean it is generalised through sets of rules, laws, traditions and mores which are applied in variable ways. School rules, for example, cannot cater for all possible misdemeanours, nor can they be fairly applied in all circumstances

because contexts differ. Attempts to apply them results in power contests within which power arising from a contract; an agreement to abide by the rules, competes with the people power of students who may realise that one person cannot exert power over a number of people unless those people are compliant or physically restrained.

Compliance may be gained through the promise of rewards and punishment and social actors may balance one against the other, the immediate against the long term, in making decisions about what action to take. If compliance is the outcome of coercion, eventually people will find a way around it, unless physically prevented from doing so. This may result in changes in rule systems but does not necessitate revolutionary change. A sequence of non-compliance being ignored, then being accepted, becoming the norm, and being codified or legalised may occur. Examples of this sort of occurrence are apparent in the Pouakani context.

The exercise of power may also mean that actors are deliberately excluded from the decision making process, or they may be deprived or unaware of knowledge which could affect their decision making. They may of course choose to ignore available knowledge and misuse or not exercise power available to them.

Knowledge comes into power relations in two ways. As mentioned above one party to a power relation may have less knowledge than the other therefore their capacity to choose is limited. They may also have a greater, or lesser, knowledge of the systems, codes, laws, and rules which govern decision making and implementation leading again to an asymmetric relationship, that is one in which one party is subordinate to the other.

## **Literature and Theoretical Perspectives**

A range of literature and theoretical perspectives has influenced the topic choice as well as the approach adopted and has provided a wide range of concepts introduced in discussion. The development of a personal theoretical perspective is not easy to document because of the constant interaction between ideas of recognised and

unrecognised origins. From among the hundreds of thousands of words; here and there, phrases and sentences jump from the pages and make an impact often because they crystallise half formed ideas. Or they can provide fresh insight, explain the previously unexplained, or raise new questions. When one arrives at a similar position to another geographer, is it because one has followed a similar academic path and had knowledge of the same theories and literature; or do the events, processes and structures which one attempts to understand, explain or interact with, lead to "rational" responses which are recognised as such by other people pursuing related objectives?

The theoretical search follows a number of diverging and converging, yet well worn trails, but the recognition of links between theory and practice grounded in the empirical domain of Pouakani, offers the promise of new discoveries and perhaps new "off road" experiences.

It is not possible to attempt to retrace the maze of theoretical paths explored. Surveys of related literature abound. It is appropriate to select some of the literature which has seemed particularly relevant and which through the acceptance, modification or even rejection of ideas has helped to shape this thesis. Aspects of Locality Studies, Realism, Feminism, sociological and historical approaches to Geography plus snippets from the literature of Politics and Law have been chosen for further discussion. Locality studies are dealt with first as the rationale for this project hinges on the notion that locality can be used effectively as an organising concept and that a contextual study of one particular locality can have value. This is linked to structuration theory which can be seen as dealing with some of the perceived problems of locality studies. Other approaches are then considered followed by some material more specifically linked to the framework diagram.

### **Locality Studies**

Locality has been applied from the early 1980s onwards to various forms of "sub national, spatial variation" (Duncan & Savage, 1989, 201). It has been synonymous with the local labour market in the British Changing Urban and Regional System (CURS) initiative and in other contexts was used as a surrogate for town, place, case

study area, and region. The latter being reflected in Bradshaw's (1990, 316) description of the "so-called locality studies" as the most visible of the many new regional geographies. Locality has also been confused with the more specifically defined, and related yet different, notion of "locale" which emerged at a similar time in Giddens's structuration theory (1984).

The best known locality studies are those which constituted the CURS project which studied the interaction between each of seven localities in Britain and the economic restructuring process. The research teams investigated the functioning of localities by asking similar questions from a similar theoretical perspective. This led Cooke to state that

the extent to which localities function similarly in the face of a common, though multifaceted, experience of economic restructuring clearly cannot be prejudged. But whatever the answer it will, inasmuch as it rests on the study of seven very different places, be one of the stronger general conclusions of the whole research programme (1989, 9).

Pouakani is, however, the study of a single locality. It is suggested that just as Cloke et al, envisage New Zealand offering a "window on the world of rural change in advanced capitalist economies" (1990, 22) so can a locality offer a window, albeit one of many, for viewing socio-spatial changes within New Zealand.

Even Harvey, a reputed opponent of locality studies - despite his oft applauded work on Paris and Baltimore (Beauregard, 1988) - hints at finding a place for the local.

I think it is perfectly correct that space, place, and particularity (of every sort) must have a stronger place in our historical materialism, but that does not entail abandoning universal statements and abstractions ... I also accept that political organisation (as Massey insists) has to begin in the locality, be sensitive to the fragmentations, take them into account and listen well to what is being said, but that does not mean that we bow down to parochialist politics and abandon

the search for globalist solutions. (Harvey, 1987, 376)

Critics of locality studies (Smith, 1987) have tended to focus on theoretical shortcomings. Except in the eyes of some postmodernists the placement of locality research in a strong theoretical framework would seem to bring it into the mainstream of human geography, although others may contend that the unique i.e. the locality, cannot be theorised. Beauregard a strong advocate of practice, insists that

it is not the study of localities which dulls the practical and stifles the theoretical, but the way it is engaged in and the post-modernist gloss which some give it ... By linking daily experience with research and theory, it compels a sensitivity to the complexity and contingency of real world processes. (1988, 58)

Hints from the literature indicate that locality studies may have been a fad of the eighties (Walker, 1989), yet the elusive new regional geography (Thrift, 1990; Johnston, 1991b) continues to evoke interest. Fads or fashions aside it could be argued that the local scale is becoming of increasing importance. Empirical work in human geography has often in the past focussed on regional and national levels and industrial sectors, due to their perceived importance and the availability of data sets. In the present era of flexible production and the internationalisation of capital there is a capability and a tendency for transnational corporations to bypass the national level

seeking out profitable locations amidst a highly disjointed and fragmented mosaic of uneven development in which competitive places try to secure a lucrative development niche (Swyngedouw, 1989, 31).

The subsequent transformations lead to the "resurrection of locality and of local politics in a context of declining discretionary powers of the nation state" (Swyngedouw, 1989, 31).

Agnew and Duncan (1989) present a complementary view which highlights the diminution of state power through the emergence of the global economy, and its fragile

dependence on the combinatory effect of multiple instances of local consensus. If these views are accepted the global/local interface becomes a site of prime importance and research which insists on situating a locality in its global context as well as unravelling its varied processes, relationships and potential should be accorded high priority. The study of Pouakani focusses strongly on processes and contingencies discernible within the locality but cannot ignore the impact of global processes.

The tenor of use in the literature, allied to personal preference has led to Pouakani being described as a locality. Within the locality are a multitude of places ranging from townships, farms and forest to personal spaces. Various other terms can be used to indicate, or define geographical space. In partial explanation of the choice of terminology the following summary is offered:

A place is specific  
 Small, maybe secret  
 Special, nostalgic  
 Mine, yours  
 Someway belonging.

A district is general  
 Rural in feeling  
 But not in reality  
 Living in maps  
 And in some legislation.

An area is bland  
 Its open and spacious  
 No need for people  
 Vaguely defining,  
 Yet limits unspoken.

A community is people  
Relating and fighting  
Living and dying  
Organised power games  
School, sports and meetings.

Locale is a setting  
The place where it happens  
From public to private  
Its concrete, its physical  
A base for experience.

A region is formal  
Residing in books  
Stated in documents  
Tying up loose ends  
Defined and debated.

Locality is useful  
Containing our places  
Enfolding communities  
A setting, yet social  
A changing identity.

Criticisms of the locality concept variously targeted its unclear definition, inherent spatial determinism (Duncan, 1989) and empiricism associated with untheorised areal differentiation (Smith, 1987). Many of the arguments about locality research stemmed from the identification of dichotomies such as structure and agency, general and particular, theory and observation, macro and micro scale, and necessary and contingent relations which were viewed from polar perspectives. The replacement of the dualist thinking with recognition of coexistence of these pairs at various levels allows locality studies to join the mainstream of geographic thought but opens the door

to criticisms levelled at pluralistic or eclectic approaches.

### **Structuration Theory**

Structuration theory is one such attempt at accommodation that permits an emphasis on intentions that is in keeping with the thesis framework and is in keeping with the realist approach discussed below. It was claimed that humanists had failed

to grasp the structuration of human agency [and] that place is not a passive reflection of human intentionality but something actively constructed within a particular, localised context of material relations, that human agents live in contexts which are only ever partially determined by their (joint) actions and that not all human actions have intended effects (Jonas, 1988, 104).

The nature of the contexts within which the the actors make decisions and act, the outcomes of the actions, intended and unintended and the reconstitution of these contexts forms an important part of the body of this project. It could be argued that one cannot examine structures without studying their expression through local practices. It is through studying local experiences that one can discern the ways in which tangible structures constrain and enable actions and test the veracity of the intangible. The localities become as Lovering (1989, 10) suggests windows onto wider social processes.

Of considerable interest is Pred's (1985) incorporation of structuration into his study of social change in Skane (Sweden). He describes structuration as a materially continuous process, through which the practice and the structural properties of a social system "dialectically reproduce and transform each other" (Pred, 1985, 338). The "historically contingent becoming of any place" (Pred, 1985, 339) is viewed as inseparable from the unfolding of the structuration process in that place and in other places with which it has interdependent relationships. The recursiveness of the relationships between structure and practices is also stressed by Pred in his definition of the role of power relations which he places at the heart of the social structure: "...power relations underlying routine and non-routine practices are themselves

established, reproduced, and transformed by routine and non-routine practices" (1985,339).

Kellerman (1987), in discussing the implications of structuration theory for geography, identifies three possible foci for an integrative theoretical framework. These being the social, sociospatial and spatial views. The structuring of space in Pouakani is a clearly identifiable process largely imposed from the "outside". What is intriguing is the persistence of that structuring and the social influence it now exerts which emerges in the contextual studies. Mangakino does not have the characteristics of a rural town in a reasonably prosperous farming area. If it is not a service town for the rural area what is its function? Still the hub of the locality, the shrinking of space through improved access, has brought its competition closer and the locality is diminished and partially dismembered as people establish new allegiances and move in new directions. Local government may still accord Pouakani spatial unity and link it with Mangakino but sociospatial factors counteract this mapdrawn structure hinting that the social, the spatial and the sociospatial may tend towards ascendancy at various times. Or maybe each provides a differently coloured view of the locality.

Critics of structuration theory such as Gregson (1989) have claimed that it has little direct connection with practice. Giddens says (1984, 326) that its concepts "should for many research purposes be regarded as a sensitising devices, nothing more. That is to say they may be useful for thinking about research problems and the interpretation of results". Accepting the risks of criticism for eclecticism it is in the latter vein that this theory and other approaches have been drawn on for the framework.

### **Realism**

Ideas put forward by geographers (Sayer, 1984, Johnston, 1985; Chouinard et al, 1984) who have discussed or followed realist approaches appear to be compatible with those in the framework. Realism affords the opportunity to consider structures and mechanisms, explore causal relationships and explain events and circumstances in terms of interactions between social structures and human activity. The emphasis in this thesis is less on the distinction between necessary and contingent relations but

rather on the complexity of interrelationships and the ways in which the structures which constrain human choice are themselves social products, reliant on human activity for their existence. Yet as Chouinard explains, these structures, or historically institutionalised pressures are “more than the sum of individuals’ actions at one time” (1984, 358).

The philosophy of realism embodies three domains; the real, the actual and the empirical.

The domain of the real comprises the structures which underpin a society's operations, and which are necessary to it: in a capitalist society these comprise the continued accumulation of wealth through the creation of surplus value gained through selling commodities (goods and services) at prices exceeding the cost of production (Johnston, 1991b, 58).

These structures necessary for society to function in a particular way are brought into operation by the actions of people in the domain of the actual. Thus decisions and actions made within the framework of institutions, legal and political systems and less formal rule systems are part of this actualising process. The outcomes are visible in the empirical domain expressed in the geography of a locality, region or nation.

The realist approach allows credence to be given to local studies through its potential to link the concrete and the abstract. Sarre (1987, 7) who adopted a realist perspective for his Bedford housing studies stated that

the project would have been utterly different without the assumption, which we took from Giddens, but which seems to be shared by Sayer, that structures should not be regarded as being ‘out there’ but as permeating individuals and institutions as well as the relations between them.

Stemming from these approaches is the emancipatory potential of critical realism (Johnston, 1991a, 227). Can understanding aspects of the interrelationships between

structure and agency and their expression in a particular place enhance the opportunities for individuals to influence, effect or obstruct change? Social actors may bring about changes but the knowledge which is used in deciding to act or not to act is assimilated by individuals with varying power; potential or actual, derived from structures and/or personal abilities and knowledge. The magnitude of physical change as experienced in Pouakani, contrasts with the superficiality of other changes which leave underlying relations largely undisturbed, and show that despite the uniqueness of any locality and the timing and direction of its development, there are pervasive similarities which are apparent in other localities within and beyond New Zealand. The question to be asked about these similarities is to what extent the social actors in countries and localities learn from, or copy each other, and to what extent are their actions the product of imperatives arising from little recognised structures which lead them to follow similar paths? Is emancipatory change a genuine possibility? Is there any other worthwhile goal?

### **Postmodernism**

Postmodernism in accord with its nature seems to defy definition. In the context of human geography it suggests a shift away from grand theory and rational explanations of modernity, along with abandonment of the notion of progression towards a better life. It refuses to privilege one theory above another and replaces attempts to order knowledge with revelations of disordered complexities, uncertainties and ambiguous meanings.

There has been no intention to adopt a postmodern approach in this thesis, but others may find its traces in aspects such as the multiple meanings of localities, the focus on the particular, the varying views of "reality", and the wish to reject the linearity of text; although the latter arose from HyperCard planning rather than from reading postmodern literature. Some statements from postmodernist writing do seem pertinent and reference is made to Dear (1988), Soja (1989) and Warf (1990).

Warf describes, what is referred to above as the "changing identity" of localities in these terms:

In postmodernism, localities acquire different (even contradictory) meanings under different circumstances, including local labour markets, as products of changing divisions of labour, as arenas of collective action and consumption, or as spheres of everyday life and lived experience. Localities are all of these things, and more, for reality never fits neatly into the pigeonholes that modernists crave. (Warf, 1990, 588).

He also makes it clear that the purpose of locality research “is not to infer about wider processes, but to comprehend the dynamics of specific conjunctures” (Warf, 1990, 591). This has been a major part of the task attempted, but the recognition of broad similarities in outcomes and trends regionally, nationally and globally colours the view and raises questions unlikely to be pursued by postmodernists.

Dear accepts postmodernism although preferring to adopt what he calls a “limited relativism” (1988, 272). In his approach to defining local fields of “process and interaction” he uses the Giddensian term “locale” which he views as

a complex synthesis of objects, patterns and processes, derived from the simultaneous evolution of three different levels of social process, and operating at three different geographic scales .... And over time the various horizons of each locale accumulate like sediments over the patterns of the past. This locale is therefore, a complex amalgam of past, present and newly forming patterns which co-exist in the landscape. (Dear, 1988, 269 - 270)

This is in keeping with the idea that processes operating at various geographic scales intersect and are expressed in the variable entity: Pouakani.

Soja (1989, 1) uses the rhetoric of postmodernism and calls for deconstruction while seeking “a geography of simultaneous relations and meanings which are tied together by a spatial rather than by a temporal logic”. Others may not accept that his is a postmodernist approach but his goal of a tentative reconstruction “able to encompass all the scales of modern power, from the grand strategies of geopolitics to the ‘little

tactics of the human habitat ' ... " is of interest. The emancipatory struggles "of all those who are peripheralised and oppressed by the specific geography of capitalism" is a further concern of his reconstructed geography.

### **Feminism**

Many feminist geographers are also concerned with developing critical social theory. Studies such as those of D Rose (1989) and G Rose (1989) in Canada and Britain respectively, provide examples which deal with gender at a local level. Gillian Rose objected to

theorisations of locality which, used concepts originally formulated almost wholly by men, [and] seek the explanation of all things in the traditionally male sphere of waged labour (1989, 325).

She set out to demonstrate empirically that other perspectives have validity. The emancipatory aspect is also stressed by Johnson (1989, 85) who believes that "feminist geography involves recognising women's common experience of, and resistance to, oppression by men". "Like radical geography generally, the explanations that it produces are to be used as guides to political practice" (Johnston, 1991, 252).

As resistance to oppression is an aspect of power relations, feminist geography could be expected to be germane to the main questions under investigation. Mitigating against this is the gleaning of evidence from the public sphere. Women in the Pouakani locality may have been very influential, however, their relative absence, until recently, from the public record speaks for itself in general terms while precluding well informed discussion. It was also men, for various reasons, including their public roles, who provided most of the oral testimony.

The participatory nature of some feminist research, as mentioned in the section on "Methods" has also been influential. The views of Stokes with reference to Maori Geography are particularly pertinent.

The researcher must play many roles - to lead, advise, support, reinforce, be directed, or whatever is appropriate. The researcher may be facilitator, catalyst, advocate, negotiator and cope with the stress of cultural conflicts. The researcher may also be able to stand back and put both sets of cultural values into perspective and assess the real and potential conflicts. In this process the researcher must ensure high standards of accuracy, presentation and communication to retain credibility in the Maori world and translate with credibility for the Pakeha world, as appropriate. The sternest critics will be Maori people who expect some benefit from the research to accrue to them. (Stokes, 1987, 121)

### **Social Rule System Theory**

In addition to structuration, other ideas with a sociological basis have been explored. Fitting well with the framework is a cluster of concepts from Burns and Flam (1987) described as social rule system theory. The general principle underpinning their theory is that

Human agents - individuals as well as organised groups, organisations and nations - are subject to material, political and cultural constraints on their actions. At the same time, they are active, often creative forces, shaping and reshaping cultural structures and institutions and their material circumstances. They thereby change, intentionally and unintentionally (often through mistakes and performance failures), the conditions of their own activities and transactions. (Burns and Flam, 1987, 2)

Knowledge and power are viewed as essential components of social rule formation (Burns and Flam, 1987, 368 - 70). They are integrated into institutionally expressed forms of rule formation in modern, Western societies. These take three forms; hierarchical, rational-legal organisations; democratic forms and negotiative, contractual forms. In geographic parlance this means that the ways in which people live in a locality and the choices they have about what actions they take will often be

constrained or enabled by rule systems generated via one of those means. Judicial systems, administrative bodies, election processes and negotiated agreements are associated with formal rule systems, while the less formal rules may be accepted or contested within the community and within the family.

In the modern world it is common for expert advice to be sought in rule formation and interpretation. Knowledge, once acquired through a lifetime of experience and respected in the elders, is now often obtained from certified specialists (Burns & Flam, 1987, 370) with narrow viewpoints and no local (or national) experience. Incompatibility of rule systems can arise. Expert proposals on behalf of administrators may be countered by contradictory democratic demands, or the administrators with the power may refuse to accept the advice of the experts. Legal, administrative, or democratically legitimised rule systems may cut across cultural mores of minority groups.

The treatment of technology is of particular interest. It is "treated as a component or integral part of social action" which has its "impacts intended and unintended on the social as well as the physical environments" ( Burns and Flam, 1987, 293). There are associated rule systems which may be legal or administrative or relate to proper use of technology. Also technological development is linked with necessary rule system changes. These may lag behind and leave awkward gaps such as the lack of privacy in computer databases or aspects of telecommunication systems.

Understanding how rule systems can be created, transformed and implemented does not necessarily clarify situations because of the possibility of contradictions arising from intersecting rule systems. What the theory does provide is insight into some ways change can be effected with examples drawn from markets, government, wage bargaining, socio-technical and expert systems, and planning and policy making systems, while accepting that unintended consequences are also likely.

### **Decision Making**

Although an emphasis is placed on outcomes it is necessary to examine decision

making when trying to uncover how and why change happens and to illuminate power relations. Sociology and Political Science provide much of the relevant literature. A generous self interest component would be accepted in individual decision making. It has also been stressed by some who have written about collective decision making (Garson, 1978; Braybrooke & Lindholm, 1963). Acceptance of these ideas leads to consideration of social action as an outcome of the competing interests of individual policy makers legitimised through an agreed decision making process. An assumption of goal seeking behaviour is made (Schwarz & Thompson, 1990, 40) which ignores the importance of goal setting (49). Furthermore, "social institutions are viewed as aggregations of individuals and not as cultural entities" (Schwarz & Thompson, 1990, 49).

Again the question of equating the whole with the sum of the parts arises. In keeping with some of the views of Schwarz and Thompson (1990) it is contended that the decision making body is more than a forum for competing self interest. Rather, it has qualities of its own which arise from the dynamics of the group and the way the group or organisation is a product of, and embedded in local, social, economic and cultural contexts. Individuals could still be seen to be acting or not acting out of self interest, but in part this can be derived from their group membership and the way the group perceives itself and is perceived in the community. It is not merely providing an opportunity for the individual to promote previously held values and prior interests.

Collective decision making often differs from individual decision making in another way. There is more likely to be a distance, in space and time, between making the decision and carrying it out. Agents charged with carrying out decisions may allow their self interest, or their personal conception of the general interest to intrude and often actions cannot be monitored satisfactorily. Elster (1989) argues that people making collective political decisions often do not know what they want, do not know what they know, and fail to do what they have decided to do. He recognises that this can be said of individuals as well but they "have an organising centre ... that is constantly trying to integrate these fragmented parts. Societies, have no centre" (Elster, 1989, 181). Failure to act on collective decisions is clearly illustrated in the

case of the camping ground at Mangakino which is discussed in "The Taupo Connection".

The usual need to justify public decision making and to be accountable (Schwarz & Thompson, 1990, 54) should also be relevant, but if the process can be screened from public scrutiny as was done quite frequently in the Pouakani locality this becomes perhaps an ideal rather than reality. It also has to be assumed, in the case of elected bodies, that there are other people willing and able to replace those whose collective actions may appear to be unsupported. This need not be the case.

If decision making behaviour is to be allied with goal setting and goal seeking, further questions can be asked about how the bounds are set which limit the goals pursued, and the alternatives and means considered. Answers could reveal some obvious physical and economic constraints. Less apparent, but also limiting could be the lack of knowledge, perceptions of power or powerlessness and very importantly the lack of imagination. Decision makers need to be able to look into the future and imagine possible consequences of the actions they set in train, which implies an ability to grapple with a host of interwoven social, cultural and economic ideas. They can never foresee all possible consequences or know for sure how their actions will intersect with those of other decision makers, or with natural occurrences. Using imagination, based on experience and knowledge may, however, increase the chances of intended outcomes.

### **Power**

Asking the question "Who or what has the power to bring about or influence change?" presupposes a definition of power which is an attribute of people or structures. Evidence of the exercise of power may be sought in the intended outcomes of decisions and actions. In this thesis no theorisation of power has been accepted in its entirety, perhaps because of its enigmatic qualities recognised by Smart (1985, 73) who provides an appropriate introductory statement which is in keeping with the framework.

Within the Social Sciences the exercise of power has been conceptualised in terms of either the actions of individuals or institutional agents or the effects of structures or systems. Thus power has been defined as the capacity of agents to realise their will or interest over and against the will or interest of another ... this formulation has been extended to take account of forms of the exercise of power such as 'inertia' where an abstention from action or decision making is achieved, and 'concealment' whereby the 'real' interests of a party subject to power are displaced by others which facilitate co-operation and agreement and simultaneously signify an apparent absence of power. (Smart, 1985, 122)

Total acceptance of Foucault's ideas would change the nature of the questions asked and the way the framework is designed. To ignore his contribution to debates on power would be to lose valuable insight into power relations and the exercise of power. As a way of studying power relations Foucault (1982, 211) favours starting with the forms of resistance against different forms of power. Identifying resistance should reveal power relations and methods used. In examining this opposition it is expected that people will criticise instances of power closest to them; those with which they are immediately involved. It will include struggles against the effects of power which are linked with knowledge, competence and qualifications as well as secrecy, deformation and "mystifying representations imposed on people" (Foucault, 1982, 212).

Foucault's advocacy of a micro-level approach is in some respects compatible with the local nature of this study. He has argued

that analysis should proceed from a micro-level in order to reveal particular histories, techniques and tactics of power. Such an ascending analysis of power would in addition be able to reveal how mechanisms of power have been appropriated, transformed, colonised and extended by more general or global forms of examination. (Smart, 1985, 79)

This is contrasted with a top down approach "which conceptualises power as located

within a centralised institutional nexus and then seeks to trace its diffusion and effect in and through the social order" (Smart, 1985, 79). It is claimed that attention has to be given to how power functions "only then will it be possible to see how at a precise moment ... particular mechanisms of power become economically advantageous and politically useful" (Smart, 1985, 79).

Although Foucault recognises "capacity", a power which stems from aptitudes directly inherent in the body or relayed by external instruments" (1982, 217), that acts to modify, use, consume or destroy things, he distinguishes this from "power relations" which operate between individuals or between groups. Nevertheless he acknowledges the overlap between power relations, objective capacities and communications relations which "reciprocally support and mutually use" (Foucault, 1982, 218) each other.

Foucault is adamant that power exists only when it is put into action (1982, 219). This may seem to contradict the notion of potential power put forward in this thesis. However, the knowledge or perception of power is deemed to be too important to leave out of the conditions surrounding decision making. Furthermore, according to Fine, Foucault suggested a concept of power as an impersonal entity "and the individuals who exercise authority may appear to be appendages of power, rather than power being an attribute of them" (1984, 192).

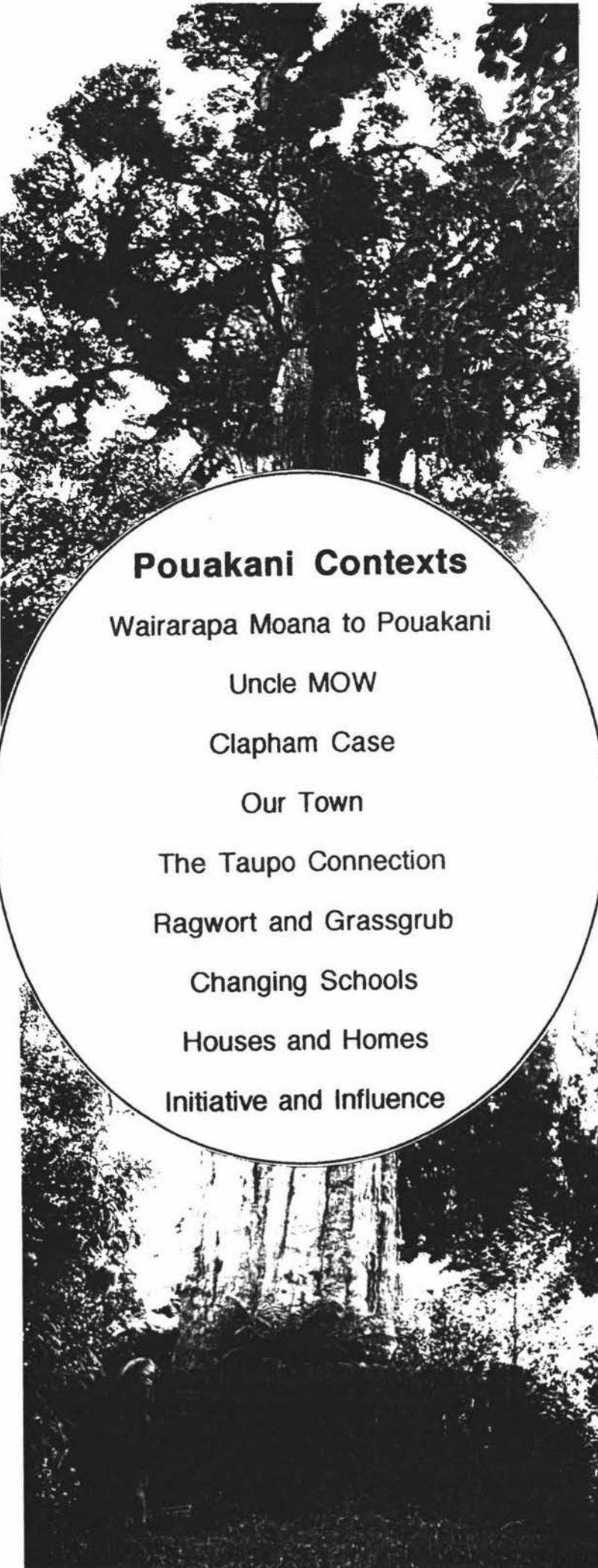
Some of the differences of opinion about power centre on the nature of influence. One school of thought holds that influence is synonymous with power in action and that power is the basis of influence. Another contrasts power with influence, contending that if one has power, influence is not needed, thus opposing power to persuasion and equating it with coercion, domination, forced submission and compliance (Turner, 1991, 115)<sup>1</sup>. In the context of Pouakani influence is accepted as being indicative of power in action, and in the public domain it tends to be made possible by the status or authority accorded to groups or individuals.

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that Foucault (1982, 225) rejects the extremes of coercion from his definition of power relations in keeping with his view that resistance must be possible; there must always be the potential for struggle.

Other differences exist between the primarily economic views embedded in Marxist conceptions of power and the non-economistic approach of Foucault. Foucault stresses the systems of differentiation, determined by law and traditions of status and privilege, which permit one to act upon the actions of others, that is to exercise power. These systems include "economic differences in appropriation of riches and goods and shifts in the processes of production" (Foucault, 1982, 223) but are extended to encompass linguistic or cultural differences and differences in knowhow or competence. He notes they are "conditions and results of every relationship of power" (Foucault, 1982, 223). As power is expressed through action, the recursive way it is fashioned within a particular context is in accord with ideas in this project.

Power relations may be associated with struggles and conflict, but the positive and productive aspects are equally important (Smart, 1985, 78). If people are empowered, this constitutes a boundary shift and means that they can affect the actions of others in a way that was previously denied to them. Sometimes this may be the outcome of legislative change. The institutionalised, legal basis of power, is of tremendous importance bringing into play the regulations and apparatus which contributes significantly to the structure of society, although Foucault (1982, 222) warns that the fundamental anchorage point of power relationships is to be found outside the institutions. Many will perceive change as being productive and beneficial, what may not be appreciated is that it is likely to be the outcome of the exercise of power, usually mediated by the legal system. Therefore legal structures must be of consequence in this thesis.



## **Pouakani Contexts**

Wairarapa Moana to Pouakani

Uncle MOW

Clapham Case

Our Town

The Taupo Connection

Ragwort and Grassgrub

Changing Schools

Houses and Homes

Initiative and Influence

**The Pouakani Totara**

## Wairarapa Moana to Pouakani

The story of the exchange of Wairarapa Moana for a portion of the Pouakani block (Figure 6)<sup>1</sup>, as outlined earlier, is long and involved. It is picked up at a late stage, when the Morningside Timber Company gained cutting rights to timber on the block<sup>2</sup>. Apart from the sale to the crown in 1884 (AJHR, 1907, G-1) (Figure 6) this appears to have been the first commercial use of the land. In the intervening years people passed through, but only the maps and reports of the surveyors (MKO Chron, 22 Mar 1963, 1), mentions in Taupo Totara Timber Company chronicles (Simpson, 1973, 283) and oft told tales of the almost legendary hermit; Watson, (G Ahipene, 1991; MKO Chron, 22 Mar 1963, 1; Jenks, 1992) provide evidence of that period in the history of Pouakani. There was Maori occupance, particularly south of the Mangakino stream. Whether this extended to the land north of the stream, given to the Ngati Kahungunu is unclear. Certainly trails passed through Pouakani with movement both east/west across the Waikato River (Jenks, 1992) and north/south via what was later called Watson's Crossing on the Mangakino Stream.

### Settlement

It is generally accepted that it was the government plans to construct a dam on the Waikato River bordering the Pouakani block which initiated settlement in the area (Pouakani Min, 17 Oct 1947, 21), and that the provision of road access for the hydro electricity projects facilitated the farming development in the vicinity. Farm development and dam construction proceeded concurrently in this locality and there was an aborted attempt (discussed below) to co-ordinate these developments so that perishable produce could be readily available for the influx of workers. The timing of the setting up of the Pouakani Maori Development scheme was linked to the acquisition of part of the block for government purposes. The Lands Department decision to proceed with breaking in the adjoining Maraetai block seems to have taken into consideration the development of a town in the neighbourhood. However, the nature of the local land use, excluding the dam and

<sup>1</sup> This map obtained from Rotorua Court records possibly combines different purchases made in the 1880s and 1890s. It is not clear whether they were added to before the exchange was made. It is known that, what later came to be known as Pouakani 2, was defined by streams rather than land block boundaries.

<sup>2</sup> There is passing reference to negotiations in 1938, but it is not clear when cutting commenced. It was underway before the arrangements were made with the crown for land development.

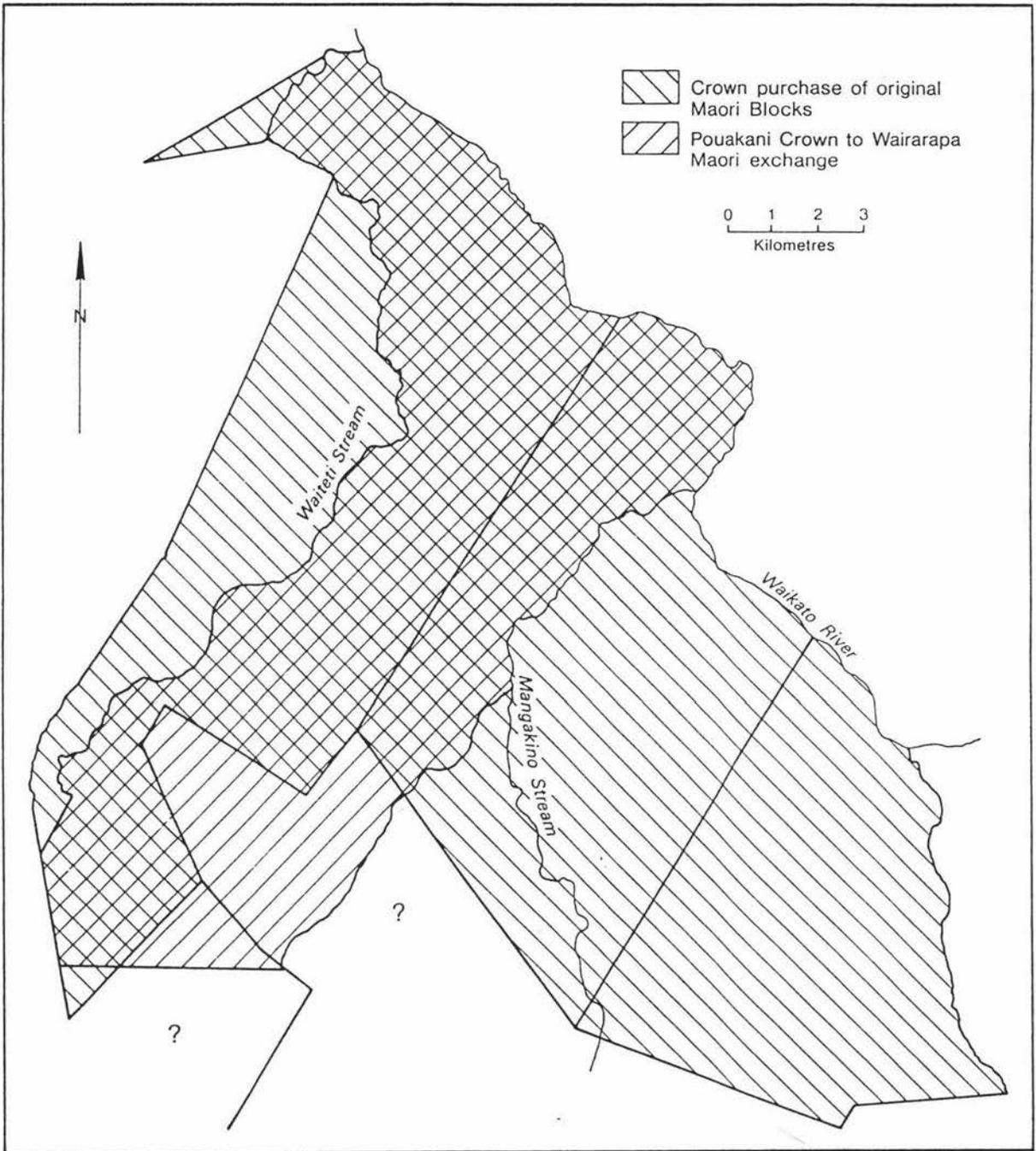


Figure 6  
 Pouakani Blocks ; Crown purchases and Wairarapa exchange  
 (MKO Inc Inv, 1978)

related town construction, may have been little affected by the government's electricity planning.

After World War 1 there was an expansion of settlement frontiers as ex-servicemen were given the opportunity to break in North Island hill country. Many of these efforts failed, but after the even longer conflict ending in 1945 there was again the desire to provide something tangible for the men who had risked their lives at their country's behest. In the 1930s a cobalt deficiency was recognised as an important factor in "bush sickness" which had inhibited development of many areas in the central North Island. Much of this land was relatively easy terrain and in the post war years this meant a new opportunity to expand the area of farm land while at the same time assisting the returned servicemen. Thus much of the area later to become the Pouakani ward of the Taupo County, became subject to settlement plans (Ward, 1956). The bridging of the Waikato, firstly at Mangakino and later via the Whakamaru dam, plus the hydro electric development in the area, undoubtedly influenced the order in which these blocks were developed. But in a country heavily reliant on primary exports there was also no doubt that once technology had solved the problems, Pouakani, along with other unforested areas of the volcanic plateau would be farmed.

The Pouakani Maori Development Scheme differed from most schemes of this type in that the owners chose to settle the property themselves rather than just have it developed. From the beginning single men from the Wairarapa, the sons of owners, worked on the property. After initial, large scale clearing, burning and cultivating was done by contractors. The better contoured land towards the Waikato River was subdivided and developed as individual dairy units; the remainder was farmed as a whole, with the intention of converting some of it into sheep units. The original 28 dairy units were eventually reduced to 18 by the 1970s in keeping with the trends towards larger herds. Technology had lessened the labour required for milking and more cows were required for economic viability. Sheep farms were established, and the rest of the scheme was set up as two stations; Mangakino and Mangatahae, run by the Department of Maori Affairs until 1983.

The desire of the owners to farm their land placed them in a different situation compared with other Development Schemes which could operate solely for the

financial benefit of the owners. It is possible that this contributed to the souring of the relationship between the owners and the Maori Affairs Department which led to a premature parting of the ways in 1983 with Pouakani 2 still carrying a substantial debt (Pers Com). The outcome of this situation may be subject to current litigation and is not discussed for this reason and because of inadequate knowledge.

## Forest

The other possible alternative would have been exotic afforestation. This was averted for Pouakani 2 in 1930, according to Carter (1982, 79) by Apirana Ngata's intervention which prevented sale of the land to New Zealand Perpetual Forests, already well established on the opposite bank of the river. Other references also mention this offer which lapsed in 1931 without recognising the part played by Ngata (MKO INC Investigation, 1978, 2). Economics, and the need or desire, for short term rather than long term returns, have led to a consistent preference for agricultural rather than silvicultural land use in New Zealand. Therefore once the possibility of farming the pumice was realised, forestry became relegated again to more difficult terrain deemed unsuitable for farming. It is mainly confined, in this locality west of the Waikato, to small areas of broken country and to the bordering ranges which have been stripped of their mixed podocarp forests.

Even in the absence of the motivation to clear the land for farming, it is apparent that the felling of native timber would have proceeded. The early European settlements in the broader Pouakani area were associated with mills at Mokai and Tihoi and Pouakani 2 timber was being milled at Barryville on its western perimeter by 1946. In fact the royalties from these timber sales may have exerted an influence (in more ways than one) on Maori shareholders and decision makers in the 1940s. Mita Carter (Pouakani File, 3-4 )

vividly recalls a meeting of the Morningside Timber Co. On a table were heaps of five pound notes a total of £2000 being an initial payment for timber royalties. This money was to be distributed after a resolution was submitted. Naturally the resolution was carried unanimously but it was later regrettable to see some of the owners being hauled off to the cop-shop after imbibing their payout in alcohol.

It is not clear when this meeting occurred but it would appear to have been between 1938 and 1945 as by 1946 the royalties were being passed to the Maori Land Board for distribution (Pouakani Min, 16 August 1946, 1).

Apparently the Wairarapa owners were involved in commercial transactions relating to their distant shareholding prior to the government commencing work on, and later formally taking and leasing their land. It also seems that the timber royalties figured quite significantly in these early negotiations, with the roles of some of the actors being far from clear cut. Judge Harvey, for example was involved with chairing meetings and conducting court hearings relating to Pouakani and it was noted in the record of a deputation to the Prime Minister (and Native Minister) in 1947 (Pouakani File), that the Judge and Mr Dillon (Native Department) "had recently visited the Wairarapa and made a dividend distribution of £6000" derived from the Morningside Timber Company. One cannot help but be reminded of the excursions made by Sir George Grey and Donald McLean to the Wairarapa nearly a century before when public displays of money preceded the purchase of large tracts of land from Ngati Kahungunu and others (Bagnall, 1976, 92-93).

The Morningside Timber Company, later absorbed into what has become the multinational company, Carter Holt, continued with felling indigenous timber from Pouakani until the 1970s. This overlapped with a new forestry development close to Mangakino township. In 1970 16000 acres of undeveloped Pouakani 2 land, was included in the Mangakino Township Incorporation. A joint venture was entered into with New Zealand Forest Products and farm forestry (MKO INC Investigation, 1978, 38) as well as conventional pine forestry is established on this land. The lease runs for 103 years which should allow several crops of trees to be taken from the land. This seems to have been part of a plan to provide an ongoing source of income from timber royalties.

## **Government Role and Legal Aspects**

By 1946 the Public Works department was undertaking preliminary work at the Maraetai dam site and a meeting of the owners of Pouakani 2 was held at

Greytown in the Wairarapa. George Ahipene (Transcript 1, 1991) recalls that it was called by Judge Harvey and attended by Peter Fraser and resulted in the Wairarapa people being given "the chance to do something with the land ... they were rehabilitating the soldiers and they were going to take that land back" . The arrangement made and gazetted on the 18th February 1947 declared the blocks "known as part Pouakani" to be subject to Part 1 of the Native Land Amendment Act 1936 (NZ Gazette, 1947, 238). This was done with the agreement of the owners, but if they had not agreed there was opportunity under the Act for the land to be acquired by the Board of Native Affairs (NZ Statutes Ed 8 1, 1936, 517)<sup>3</sup>.

The intentions of the Act were to "promote settlement of the land and more effective utilisation by Natives of native land...and to encourage Natives to engage in farming and other industries related thereto" (NZ Statutes Ed 8 1, 1936, 517). The powers given to the board of Native Affairs were wide ranging and in many cases actually or potentially relevant to the Pouakani circumstances. The board could "cut and remove trees or timber or take any other substance from any land" (NZ Statutes Ed 8 1, 1936, 521) subject to the Act. It could allow the owners agreed upon royalties, or fix the amount to be paid if no agreement was reached, or the amount could be used to reduce charges incurred by the owners through the operation of the Act. These included "a reasonable proportion of the administrative expenses of the Native Department" (NZ Statutes Ed 8 1, 1936, 523), all moneys advanced to the occupier, or lessee, interest (as decided by the Minister of Finance), charges for betterment where work done improved the neighbouring land and compensation for improvement which could be included in lease agreements. Rents received were also to go towards meeting these charges plus paying rates and taxes, although the residue could be paid to the owners or "retained as a reserve fund to be expended in the interest of the beneficial owners in such manner as the Board of Native Affairs may think expedient" (NZ Statutes Ed 8 1, 1936, 532). The board could "nominate any Native to be occupier" (NZ Statutes Ed 8 1, 1936, 523), whether or not they owned or occupied the land (or any other person occupied it). Leases could be determined if a lessee was negligent, careless or considered unsuitable for any other reason and owners could be fined or imprisoned for three months for wilful trespass. In addition where the Board thought it advisable to use this land

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<sup>3</sup> Subsequently Part XXIV of the 1953 Act.

for any industry other than farming, whether the industry affects anything on the surface of the land or below the surface, the Board may from time to time make such contracts as it thinks fit with any person for the purpose of promoting, establishing, or carrying on that industry whether by sale, lease, licence or otherwise (NZ Statutes Ed 8 1, 1936, 522).

No judgment is being made about whether the Board of Native Affairs misused the power inherent in this Act, but it did exercise this power in developing the land, deciding who to place on the farm units, removing those found to be unsuitable and claims of betterment were made against the owners. The restrictions of the Act also meant that unlike the neighbouring settlers on Lands and Survey development blocks the Pouakani farmers could not freehold their farms. Although this Act was not used to take land for the Hydro scheme it would appear that it gave complete freedom to the Board to dispose of, or use the land for industrial purposes.

The implications of this legal structure which empowered and constrained various actors are several. The Board of Native (and later Maori) Affairs was intended to have sufficient power to enable it to develop farm land, if possible for the Maori owners, without any long term cost to the government (i.e. New Zealand taxpayers as a whole). This is evident in the cost recovery measures included in the Act. The decision as to how much money was available at a particular time was in the hands of the government and its departmental officers. Pouakani requirements would have been considered alongside other proposed spending when inter and intra departmental priorities were being established. Consequently long term planning (if it existed) by government agents whether working in the field, or at a "higher" level, would have been impeded by uncertainty related to budgetary decisions. George Te Whaiti, an owner, expressed concerns about this when the first National government was elected, and was reassured by Judge Harvey that "plans are laid to complete development up to about 9600 acres considered suitable for development" (Pouakani Min, 13 Jan 1950, 30). This was supported by Ropiha from the Board of Maori Affairs (BMA) who thought that the new government agreed to the idea of developing all the usable land and hoped that they would proceed (Pouakani Min, 13 Jan 1950, 29). However, in 1954 Ropiha explained to a meeting of owners (Pouakani Min, 23 June 1954, 54):

that the time had come when the rate of development of the scheme area and the settlement of further units would have to be delayed for a while ... A large sum had been expended on the scheme and that it would not be possible to allocate further sums for development until some of the more pressing needs in other districts had been satisfied.

In 1946 an Advisory Committee was appointed at a meeting in the Wairarapa to assist the Department of Native Affairs, and this group representing the owners was given a voice in the development of Pouakani. Although they had no legal powers it is apparent that on some occasions at least their advice was heeded. They were involved with the selection of people to train on and subsequently farm the block, and they made policy decisions which affected the composition of this group. Initially, the sons of the owners were sent to Pouakani and these young men were the first to take up leases, but later the owners decided that it was their turn. This appears to have been put into practice, although there were complications when women wished to farm as the BMA would only deal with their husbands whom they said would actually be doing the work (Pouakani Min, 27 June 1955, 61).

Both "potential" and "exercised" power appear to be important in this context. Because of the provisions of the 1936 Act; that is, its potential power, the government could have ridden, rough shod over the wishes of the Maori owners. There is little in the minutes read to suggest that the owners perceived this to be happening. But if the differences between public and private transcripts, as discussed elsewhere, are taken into consideration it may mean that the diplomatic responses and thanks given to the department were more an acknowledgement of the owners' lack of power rather than an expression of strongly held views. However G Ahipene's oral testimony (Transcript 1, 1991) supports the idea that Pouakani settlers were grateful for the opportunity they were given to become farmers. The extent to which the Advisory Committee represented these settlers is another question. In the early years it was composed of owners, all resident in the Wairarapa.

Although it would be possible to argue that it is the exercise of power that is

important rather than the capability inherent in the Act, if the shareholders were aware of the provisions of the Act it could have aroused fears or hopes, which may have affected their attitude toward the development proposals and towards the government and perhaps Pakeha in general. Again the factor of uncertainty is introduced because of the leeway provided within the Act. For example an occupier could be required to give mortgages or other security which "whether or not repaid may be varied or wholly or partly discharged or cancelled at the direction of the Board" (NZ Statutes, Ed 8, 1; 527).

There is also the implicit powerlessness in the situation giving rise to legislation such as the 1936 Act relating to Maori land. If it is accepted that Maori interests in land are essentially different to those of the Pakeha, these interests cannot be effectively enshrined in legislation (if this is seen to be appropriate) unless Pakeha members of Parliament agree. There will be no pressure on them to do so unless it is politically expedient; for example if these measures are proposed by Maori members who hold the parliamentary balance of power. It is also possible that these Maori members of parliament, if they have worked within Pakeha institutions and structural frameworks for long periods of time may have more in common with their parliamentary colleagues than they have with the people they represent (Schwarz & Thomson, 1990, 60).

Related to the above considerations is the importance of knowledge to decision makers and its relation to power. Even if the owners of Pouakani had had the ability to influence the Advisory Committee and the Advisory Committee's wishes were heeded by the Board of Maori Affairs their capacity to consider alternatives would have been limited by the information provided to them by those administering Pouakani, and by their knowledge of relevant laws and farming. The men who migrated from the Wairarapa to work as trainees and farmers on Pouakani could have provided some first hand knowledge, but for many years they had no representation on the Advisory Committee and when this was granted in 1954 (Pouakani Min, 23 June 1954, 54), there was to be one person to liaise with the Settler Committee which was obviously at the bottom of a hierarchy.

The lack of knowledge or expertise, and faith in legal representatives is evident in the requests for a balance sheet to be provided to the owners (Pouakani Min, 26

Jan 1953, 29), the employment of lawyers to attend meetings on behalf of shareholders and the willingness to hand over important negotiations to a court appointed lawyer. In this last instance a compensation claim was to be heard relating to the hydro electric power development on land which was part of the Pouakani block. It involved land taken for roads, spillway and buildings, land to be flooded and rental for the 600 acres taken for housing. Judge Harvey chairing the meeting (Pouakani Min, 13 Jan 1950, 27 ) advised the owners:

I think you should be represented by a good lawyer. Possibly you would like some lawyer from Wairarapa to work with the lawyer the Registrar is appointing in Rotorua (Mr Roe). Mr Roe is able to handle the case but if you would feel better with one of your own lawyers, it is for you to say.

Mr Te Whaiti responded by suggesting "that the man on the spot could handle the matter satisfactorily" (Pouakani Min, 13 Jan 1950, 27). All present agreed. Eighty three Maori are recorded as being present at that meeting in Masterton, whether their decision was based on trust in the system, confidence in Mr Te Whaiti's judgment, or financial or other considerations is unknown.

### **Inter departmental wrangles**

Concurrent with negotiations between the Maori owners and the Native Department were plans and actions by government departments working together, separately and perhaps against each other. Some of these will be discussed in depth in later chapters but the introductory medley is relevant to the current topic.

What seems in retrospect an extraordinary conference, was held at Maraetai in mid 1947. The viewpoint provided is that of Judge Harvey (Pouakani Files, 12 Sep 1947, 15 - 6). The meeting was held "to go into the question of the needs of the State Hydro-Electric Department" and was attended by representatives of the Native, State Hydro-Electric, Lands and Survey and Public Works Departments. Harvey says "all that was done was to examine the opposing interests of the Maori people as against each and all of the departments concerned." There were no owners' representatives present nor had they been consulted about any of the building activity on their land up to that time. The State Hydro-Electric Department had originally intended that the Works settlement would be entirely self contained

and this required the taking of 5000 acres.

The area was to provide for all permanent requirements, all temporary accommodation requirements and for an area upon which to grow and supply vegetables, milk, meat and the like for the settlement. Later it appears to have been realised or ascertained that the neighbouring township, Tokoroa could supply these necessities and from that point I understand the proposal to take extra land and have it developed by the Lands Department was dropped. (Pouakani Files, 12 Sep 1947, 14).

Yet the Lands Department went ahead with plans to develop adjacent land separated from the Hydro scheme by the gorge of the Mangakino Stream while a Lands Department dominated, Board of Native Affairs refused the Native Department authority to develop Pouakani (which was on the right side of the stream to supply the new town) for the Maori people. "Benefits would have accrued immediately to the settlement" (Pouakani Files, 12 Sep 1947, 8) before the £30 000 bridge was built. Harvey comments that "The worst or best that could or need be said was that one Department in its zeal had jockeyed for an improved position against another Department which already had the better position if the rules were applied evenly" (Pouakani Files, 12 Sep 1947, 8).

Harvey also reports on the Native Department argument that Pouakani was different from other Native land. It had been exchanged for the Wairarapa Lakes to enable the Crown to avoid "a serious and pressing problem in the Lower Wairarapa" and "the Maori people apparently did not realise they were getting a block of land that would be worthless to them for 50 years" (see below). He sees it as a matter of conscience for the crown that some of its servants are trying "to take the maximum that can be taken without payment of compensation, i.e. by offsetting betterment against the area taken" (Pouakani Files, 12 Sep 1947, 7). He states that the Prime Minister has said that the owners should be recompensed with land and the Department considers that because of the *heke*<sup>4</sup> required to settle the land, the larger the area the better for the success of the scheme. This means that an equivalent area of adjacent flat land in Lands Department possession should be handed over. The outcome of this conference was that the Hydro-Electric and

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<sup>4</sup> Migration

Public Works Departments agreed to cutting back the area to be taken by at least 700 acres and that the other three departments would check up on the Prime Minister's promise to compensate the Maoris with land (Pouakani Files, 12 Sep 1947, 6).

Dealing with a single document as above, reveals some of the pitfalls of historical research and also the inability of people involved in negotiations to discern the motivation of other parties. Although present as a member of the Native Department delegation Judge Harvey seems to feel hampered in reporting because "it appeared to us that there may be some working arrangements between the other departments that were not ventilated at the conference" (Pouakani Files, 12 Sep 1947, 15 ). It would also be valuable to see reports written from other perspectives. The Judge seems to have written his letter some time after the event and acknowledges his bias by noting the "sharply opposing views and on the other side (of course) some rather contradictory statements" ( Pouakani Files, 12 Sep 1947,14).

It is also apparent with hindsight, the inadequacy or inaccuracy of some of the information on which these decision makers may have been basing their ideas. Harvey himself appears to have been misinformed about the nature of the exchange of Wairarapa Moana for Pouakani. In fact no land was specified at the time, and if it was spoken of it was almost certainly land in the Wairarapa, with the Whangaimoana estate later being considered. The suggestion that Tokoroa could supply the town could only have been based on the assumption that it would grow very rapidly and earlier than it did. In fact most early supplies came from Putaruru and this continued to be the centre for the area for some time. It is rather ironic that this early concern for supplying the new settlement should later turn to neglect. Local students did not receive free milk in their schools as happened elsewhere in New Zealand, and the townspeople tried for years to obtain a satisfactory supply of milk despite living in the midst of a dairying area.

A question to be asked is what were the actual outcomes of these attempts at Departmental co-operation or non co-operation. Pouakani 2 and the Maraetai block were both developed principally for dairy farming, but they largely supplied cream to be made into export butter. The Ministry of Works and the State Hydro-

Electric Departments considerably reduced their demands for land, but the claims of "betterment" were still being made and heeded in relation to compensation, in the mid 1950s when about 5000 people lived in the locality. The necessity of financial viability for farming operations and the difficulty of marrying this with catering for a small local market at a time of changing health awareness and hygiene requirements caused problems for the local residents. These problems were not likely to be of major importance to those involved with the Hydro Scheme unless labour became unavailable or militant.

The idealism and grand scale visions apparent in some of the early discussions could also have represented views of planners and others, such as the Prime Minister and Judge Harvey, who did not have to handle implementation. The apparent shift to a more pragmatic approach paralleled the implementation of schemes by people dealing with day to day practicalities who had jobs to get done, that is; dams and powerhouses to build, land to break in and farmers to settle, before moving on to repeat the exercise elsewhere. Also by 1949 the Maori land "problem" had been dealt with by proclamation and as Harvey suggested this may have been one of the main reasons for attempted inter-departmental negotiations.

## **Farms and Settlers**

Parallel to the narrative of departmental control and management runs the story of the Pouakani settlers; the Ngati Kahungunu people from the southern Wairarapa. The *heke* was not something undertaken lightly. First the young men had to convince the selection committee that they were worthy of the opportunity, then they had to face the hardships of breaking in new farmland remote from friends, relatives and most of the comforts available in post World War II New Zealand. The temptations of a raw construction town were offered nearby and when the initial enthusiasm had worn off some preferred the better wages offered by the Public Works Department (Ahipene Transcript 1, 1991). Alongside the impact of the influx of thousands of workers and giant machines brought to the dam site, the part played by the Maori settlers in developing the locality was relatively low key. The effects in the Wairarapa were possibly more significant. There were several migratory waves and when the third "echelon" left in 1952, 50 people shifted from

the little community of Pirinoa, reducing the school size by a third (Aburn, 1987, 52).

The Pouakani settlers were in a dual sense breaking new ground for their people. Pouakani was not ancestral land but it still inspired strong feelings in the leaders. George Te Whaiti (Pouakani Minutes, 23 Feb 1950) speaking at a meeting at Ohinemutu expressed these feelings: "We agree that the land be retained for all time, for our issue and their issue after them." There was pride in their achievement in farming their own land and great hope for the future. This block differed from many of the other Maori development schemes in being settled from the beginning by descendants of the owners (Thomas, Pers Com, 1992), thus giving many shareholders a close affinity with Pouakani as they followed the fortunes of relatives who had taken up the farming challenge. Nevertheless these young trainee farmers, and later leaseholders, were clearly at the bottom of the hierarchy and had very little influence on, or control over their circumstances.

After a trainee had proved himself he was given the opportunity to take out a mortgage and farm on his own behalf. At first these mortgages were for 21 years, with the right of renewal for a further 21 years and the annual rent payments were 5 per cent of the unimproved value. Terms for later mortgages varied and settlers continued to pay 5 per cent of the unimproved value plus 6 per cent of the value of improvements. When a lease ended the lessee received 75 per cent of the valuation of the improvements. This was paid by the owners and could increase the debt carried by the scheme. The more the farmer had done to improve the property, the greater the liability to the owners when he left. This led to the Advisory Committee passing a resolution which excluded a second house on the property from improvements (Pouakani Minutes, 21 Nov 1958); effectively constraining those who wanted to build for their parents or other relatives, or who wished to employ a worker.

As explained before, the Native Land Amendment Act 1936, and subsequently the Maori Affairs Act 1953 gave total control to the Minister of Maori Affairs, but the full power available, giving for example the right to sell the property, was seldom used

(Thomas, Pers Com, 1992). Authority was passed on to the Board of Maori Affairs and the Waiariki Land Committee administered Pouakani. Day to day running of the scheme was the responsibility of a Resident Supervisor employed by the Maori Affairs Department and above him were the visiting field officers who liaised with the Department and the Advisory Committee. For some time the settlers had no voice at all, unless they were shareholders and could speak at the annual general meeting. When they formed their own settler group it was not necessarily listened to even by the Advisory Committee, as was the case when the settlers sought extended periods of repayment. The point was made that the Advisory Committee served the owners, not just the people on the units and a resolution seeking changes to benefit the settlers was lost (Pouakani Minutes, 6 August 1963, 255).

Those attending Pouakani meetings adopted a "paternal" attitude towards the settlers. They were customarily referred to as "boys". Mr Wilson a Pouakani supervisor offered the following comments:

These boys who have the best of facilities and the best of dairy cattle, should succeed and any of them who misconduct themselves shall not be persevered with. There are still 6 of the boys single - this is not a good thing for dairy farmers - and the Committee should look around for suitable girls as wives for these boys. Leases are being arranged - this is now being done, and it is essential that they be trained to run their own affairs. They have to face their own futures once leases are granted and they have to meet their interest, rent and sinking fund etc. but this should not be difficult with the returns they get from their farms. (Pouakani Minutes, 20 Oct 1953, 3)

Whether the Advisory Committee acted on his suggestions is not known, but they did not succeed as some of the settlers never married.

It is difficult to tell to what extent the Advisory Committee resolutions were heeded by the Waiariki District Land Committee and the departmental officers. The tone of

the annual meeting minutes suggests that advice from the committee and from the owners was taken seriously. The degree to which policies passed at these meetings were implemented is less obvious. In the mid 1950s it was decided that the time had come for owners rather than the sons of owners to be given the opportunity to take up farms. The option was available for one son or daughter to be nominated in lieu of the owner (Pouakani Minutes, 13 Sep 1955, 71). Prospective farmers still had to be approved by the District Committee and Advisory Committee members sat in on this process. Agreement had to be reached by all present. This meant that the Advisory Committee could veto someone favoured by the board, but they could not ensure that a nominee they wanted was chosen.

As farming expertise was the main criteria for selection, after the training farm setup was discontinued, it was difficult to find people with the right qualifications. An established farmer in the Wairarapa had no reason to move to Pouakani. The suitability of women owners was judged on their spouse's skills, but they were given the option of being joint lessees and there were instances of Pakeha husbands taking up Pouakani leases. The budgetary restrictions were very tight and it is understandable that a number of settlers preferred the better income provided by working on the nearby power project. In some instance sharemilkers were put onto the farms and by 1964 several farms were vacant. Still the owners resisted leasing to outsiders and their wishes seem to have been heeded. The farms were taken back into the scheme and used mainly for cattle; a situation which was not ideal as they were small blocks of land separated from the remaining station areas. Rent was no longer being received, fertiliser was being applied, extra staff were employed, dog worrying was a problem and the income from these ex-dairy farms was not likely to compensate for the losses and increased costs.

It needs to be remembered that formal decision making was carried out by the Advisory Committee elected by and from the owners, and the owners at Annual Meetings, in conjunction with various Maori Affairs employees and the Board of Maori Affairs. Settlers who were not owners had little input to this process, but they were subject to the implementation of these decisions. Signs of dissatisfaction surfaced at annual meetings in the 1960s as shown in this example:

The farmers feel they are wasting time going to the annual meeting as they consider the owners are not interested in them as these owners will not listen to proposals to get around present repayments. There should be a better understanding of getting the farmers better terms of settlement. Mr Hannan had written that it was over to the owners to come to some agreement with the farmers and to obtain from the Maori Affairs their consent. (Pouakani Minutes, 26 August 1964, 3).

The departmental officers responded very reasonably to the concerns and convinced the owners that the farmers would receive whatever assistance was require providing they were farming properly. The reality was vacant farms, which may or may not have been the outcome of poor farming practices or lack of effort.

Important issues of knowledge and perceptions of the situation lie alongside the power relations involved in the farming of Pouakani 2. The settlers were able to make decisions about the day to day running of their farms. They were, however, seriously constrained by budgetary control and were not likely to be able to afford or obtain additional land or introduce technology to maintain their economic viability in a changing world dairy situation. The decrease in butterfat prices in the 1960s was significant and in addition they were faced with serious problems such as grass grub, ragwort and bloat which was taking a heavy toll. The farmers who experienced these problems were subject to decisions made by people whose knowledge and perceptions differed from their own. The decision makers lacked the first hand experience of farming Pouakani and they had other masters to serve.

The Advisory Committee usually visited the Pouakani block once a year- it was suggested this should be at the same time each year (Pouakani Minutes, 22 July, 1955, 68). The majority of its members (all, in the early years) and most of the owners who attended the annual meetings, lived in the Wairarapa, where the meetings were held. Decisions made were largely based on the information provided by the experts; the departmental officers. Questions at annual meetings, such as one asking for information on butterfat and requesting that it to be translated into monetary terms (21 Nov 1958, 94) indicate the knowledge gap. It would be very difficult to know what questions to ask the experts and people are often reluctant to reveal their lack of knowledge publicly. The Advisory Committee

which met more frequently, received more information, made visits to Pouakani and comprised some farmers who would have had more knowledge, but they were acting for the owners as a whole, not for the settlers in particular. Likewise the departmental officers, were acting for the department which had cost recovery as an objective, and incidentally for the settlers. The resident supervisor did have intimate knowledge of Pouakani and needed to show that he was running a successful farming operation. He does not seem to have been invited or required to attend all annual meetings. Advisory personnel who did attend would have had varying perceptions of Pouakani based on their own experience and they would have had a broader, but perhaps less practical knowledge of farming than those who did the day to day work.

Perhaps some of the powerlessness of the settlers is reflected in the landscape of the Pouakani block today. There are exceptions, but many of the farms show little sign of the stamp of individuality. Apart from the enlargement of the units which is not superficially apparent, there is little to indicate distinctive changes made by individual farmers. There is however one very large modern dairy unit now functioning under the auspices of the Pouakani 2 Trust.

The relevance of changing knowledge, to decisions made and actions taken, is also apparent in the history of Pouakani 2. When grass grub was seriously affecting pastures in 1958 (Pouakani Minutes, 21 Nov, 95) the owners were informed that applications of DDT made on a three year cycle could control this pest, therefore one third of the block was going to be treated with DDT. The problem was grass grub infestation; the solution provided by the experts was DDT application. There were probably no questions asked about safety factors or long term consequences because this was an acceptable solution to New Zealanders at that time, in view of the knowledge they had. Presumably the Pouakani farmers accepted without question the grass grub control measures. There were strong economic reasons for doing so and people with specialised knowledge were likely to be listened to. If they had doubts, could they have resisted? Probably not. World Health Organisation recognition of the dangers of organochlorine pesticides, threatened market losses and related economic consequences, led to a New Zealand ban on the use of DDT on grazing pastures in 1970. Thus, changes in overseas knowledge and opinions, resulted in alterations to New Zealand

legislation and farming practices.

It is apparent that the officers and employees of the Maori Affairs Department through carrying out tasks in accord with government policy and economic constraints were responsible for directing most of the changes to the Pouakani block. In fact it is their names which are commemorated in the roads on the block; Ropiha, Dillon, Mitchell, and Scott. However, despite their theoretical lack of power, the owners, through various means, have retained control of their land and what is less usual, have managed to have most of the area farmed by owners or descendants of owners, or their spouses. Gradually the bulk of the input from Wairarapa has been leavened with local contributions and now the Incorporation and the Pouakani 2 Trust operate out of a joint office on the Pouakani block and annual meetings alternate between Mangakino and the Greytown. Power has shifted from Wairarapa to Mangakino and from the government to the Maori owners, but the profitability of the Pouakani block farming enterprises rests on national and global factors mediated by government and commercial action as well as on farming knowledge and expertise and difficult to predict variables such as climate, pests and disease.



Photo 10

Pouakani 2: looking towards the north east

## Uncle MOW

The Ministry of Works (MOW)<sup>1</sup>, through its various constituent parts, has been the agent responsible for changing the Waikato river and the land, especially at Mangakino and at the locations of the other small hydro villages. It has also contributed significantly through the construction of the early roads and bridges which have influenced social and economic relationships within and beyond the locality. Mangakino today, and the hydro lakes and dams bordering Pouakani are a legacy of the flurry of construction activity between 1946 and 1970, with most of the major features being in place before 1960. Some of the options available to the Ministry of Works and the extent to which "Uncle" (Stokes, 1971, 2536 ) responded to requests and pressure and allowed those in "his" care to make their own choices, are examined in this section. The almost inevitable socio-economic consequences of the retention of the MOW designed housing stock and the overriding influence this has had on present day Mangakino are discussed in "Houses and Homes".

In hindsight, probably the most extraordinary aspect of the MOW transformation is that people paid little attention to the consequences of major changes; the dam, lake and town construction. Any conflict, resistance or pressure, and there seems to have been very little, related to factors which impinged on the everyday lives of local people. Getting "power to the people" was the accepted goal. A form of postwar patriotism is evident in the pride taken in these massive construction tasks (National Film Unit, 1950) and power cuts did not harm the cause. The decision making process is less available for scrutiny than in some other sections of this thesis, but the resources, alternatives, knowledge and potential and exercised power can be considered. There is also clear evidence of long term outcomes and indications of people related, short

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<sup>1</sup> The Minister of Works in the early 1940s had responsibility for the Public Works Department. Reorganisation of the Department in 1945 (Noonan, 1975, 181) made the Commissioner of Works responsible for Engineering, Architectural, Housing and Administrative divisions. The Hydro Electric branch which would eventually operate as a separate department was separated out because of its trading function as a supplier of electricity, while the MOW construction divisions were to continue to build Hydro Electric Power projects. It should be noted that the term MOW is used to include the activities of all the departments for which the Minister of Works had responsibility. Therefore at Mangakino this included the Public Works Department (before its name change to MOW) and the State Hydro Electric Department.

term consequences. Only glimpses of the whole performance can be offered because all the individual and collective actors in the locality are affected by the role of Uncle MOW. Aspects of dam construction, lake formation, infrastructure creation and problems, as well as community relationships are selected to provide these glimpses.

First the siting and construction of dams and townships is discussed, with the emphasis being on contemporary knowledge, feasible alternatives and the opportunities available for participation in the decision making process. This is followed by consideration of the "local government" role of the Ministry and the extent to which residents were able to influence outcomes. Attention is then focussed on the controversial decisions relating to Maraetai II and their local impact. Comments on the winding down of the Ministry operations at Mangakino are included in the chapter; "Out Town".

## **The Hydro Frontier**

In 1903 the New Zealand government obtained advice from an American engineer on the development of hydro-electric power resources for industrial purposes (Jenks,1954, 50). He identified potential sites on the Waikato River some of which were given detailed attention in the the 1904 report of the Engineer in Chief of the Public Works Department; "a classic document which [was] still being referred to by personnel in Head Office" in the 1950s (Jenks,1954, 51). Maraetai, Whakamaru and Waipapa were not named in the report possibly because of a lack of information about that section of the river. The government signalled its intention to develop water power resources on a national scale in the Water Power Act 1903 and authorised funding for such purposes in an Empowering Act passed in 1910. When plans for the North Island were drawn up in 1915, electrification of the railways was "one of the main objectives" (Jenks,1954, 52); an objective finally attained more than 60 years later. Arapuni was the first government power station on the Waikato and work commenced there in 1925. Despite a serious problem which occurred at Arapuni in 1930 that required two years of corrective work (Jenks,1954, 52), a decision was made to survey and investigate possible sites between Cambridge and Taupo and this began in 1933.

It was this survey which brought Harold Jenks<sup>2</sup>, surveyor, to the Pouakani area. He was a member of the 1933 party, led by Malcolm Fisher, and returned in 1938 to carry out work associated with the Taupo control gates. This was followed by preliminary investigations for Ohakuri, Whakamaru and Maraetai power stations. Jenks had on site responsibility for those undertakings. The base camp for the 1933 survey was on the east side of the Waikato River above the Moanakaraka rapids eventually submerged under the waters of Lake Maraetai. When Jenks returned in 1939 he camped first in a forest clearing on the east bank of the Waikato at Whakamaru. Later he set up a base on a terrace on the west bank of the river opposite the 1933 camp site and below where the new settlement was established in 1945. He moved into a Ministry of Works house in the rapidly growing Mangakino township in 1948 and remained there till 1951 when his work was completed. Jenks has a comprehensive personal knowledge of the processes of change operating in Pouakani at that time. Information used in this section is largely derived from his recollections.

Jenks describes a sequence in which the country is looked over and development concepts are formulated. These ideas are pursued by taking measurements. Next, geological and geophysical knowledge is called on and samples are obtained for testing. Before a final decision is made further investigation is done by construction forces and the results are used to finalise the design.

Anderson, an hydraulic engineer had responsibility for producing a development scheme. He devised a plan for taking the waters of Lake Taupo through a tunnel to the Mangakino River in the vicinity of Titiraupenga. This was investigated, but adverse geological reports counted against it and led to the adoption of a proposal to develop the river stage by stage from Taupo down, taking maximum advantage of the fall of the river. A canal plan for Whakamaru and low dams in the Maraetai gorge were other proposals which guided field work in 1933.

It was the job of the surveyors and geologists to provide reports indicating the feasibility of the proposals and to point out other possibilities. One of the limiting

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<sup>2</sup> Historical material in this section comes from interviews with Harold Jenks in September 1992, unless otherwise indicated.

factors affecting alternatives considered was the contemporary knowledge of dam construction techniques. This meant that a high dam such as that eventually built at Maraetai was not initially regarded as a possibility. The workers in the field did not have the power to make the decisions about which sites should be developed, but at the same time the decision makers had to be strongly guided by the information presented. It would have been irresponsible of them to have ignored the advice given.

In 1938 work on controlling the outlet to Lake Waikaremoana was halted by Semple, the Minister of Works, who had misgivings about the tunnelling required, based on his personal experience. This brought urgency to Waikato investigations as demand for power was rising sharply as New Zealand recovered from the effects of the 1930s depression. Now possessing new knowledge about dam construction, the survey team chose a high dam site in the Maraetai gorge. They also discovered an old river course at Whakamaru and were forced to change the proposed site of the dam and power station as a consequence. Impacts on the surrounding countryside and people were scarcely considered. Watson dwelling at the ford on the Mangakino stream was the only person living in the whole of the area from Ngaroma to Mokai and it is unlikely that anyone consulted him. New Zealand Forest Products were the only other local actors. They co-operated with the investigations by allowing supplies to be brought into one of their forest camps and an arrangement was made (which later fell by the wayside) for the payment of one shilling for each tree which had to be felled by the survey party.

Entry to Pouakani was gained via two river crossings (Figure 7) each with their own hazards. At Whakamaru the whole of the river was confined within a deep gutter which was initially bridged with a plank perched on two oil drums. Above the Moanakarakia rapids, at the present day site of Mangakino, an old Maori crossing point was used. A forest fire break provided "convenient" access to the river, and deep trenches were worn into the banks on either side suggesting that a canoe had probably been located at that point to ferry people across.

It might be expected that the development of power schemes of potentially national

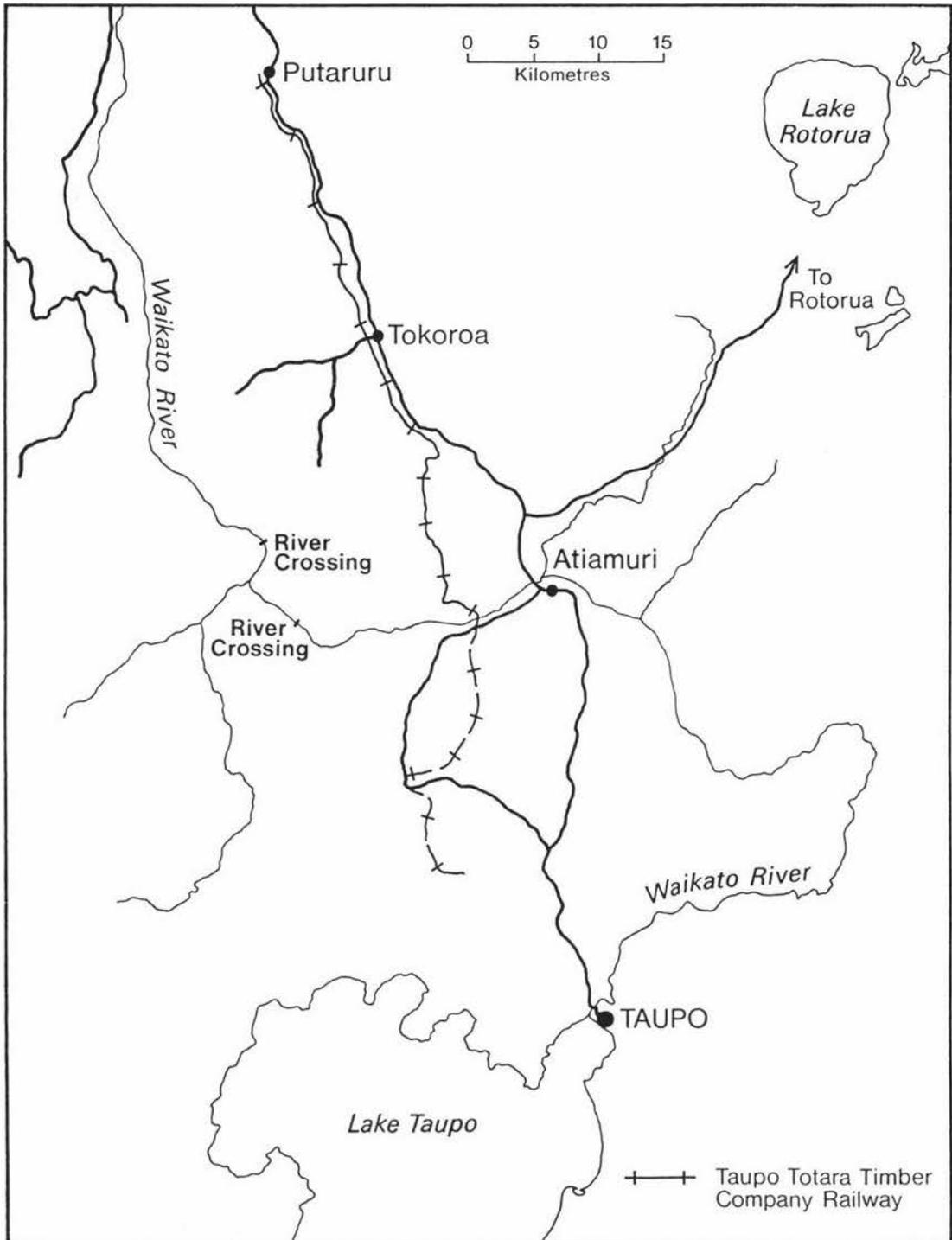


Figure 7 Access to Pouakani prior to hydro and land development

importance would have involved a large scale forward planning exercise, but possibly because of the focus on the war effort many decisions were made in the field as the need arose. Gaining access to Pouakani provides an example of this . The plank at Whakamaru and the dinghy used at Moanakarakia and at the Maraetai dam site were both obviously inadequate for bringing in vehicles and equipment. Even getting the dinghy into the water at the dam site was an extremely difficult task (Photo 11). Jenks dealt with these problems by acquiring steel joists to use as a base for decking at Whakamaru and by having a barge constructed at Karapiro to replace the dinghy.

The barge called the Wakamahi (Photo 12) was securely attached to heavy wire ropes, which allowed it to be winched across the river and prevented it from being carried away down the rapids. However, it gained a reputation for perversity, due to the circumstances in which it off loaded its cargo into the river. According to reminiscences in the Mangakino Chronicle (5 Aug 1949, 4) "the Wakamahi was a lady ... she would stop in mid stream... If the landing planks were not placed just so [she] would rear her far end out of the water and gently tip the unwary truck off the planks." When a traveller wanted to cross she was always on the other side leaving him the option of waiting for hours for someone coming the other way "or else risk his life by crossing the river on the head rope, a wet and most unpleasant task."

The Whakamaru bridge served its purpose in getting a five ton geophysical van across the river, but the earth ramps leading on to it were washed away when the waters rose to flood levels and it was subsequently replaced by a higher and longer span constructed by a contracting firm employed to do test drilling at Maraetai (Photo 13). The barge was used right up until the main construction force moved into Mangakino at which time it was replaced by the bridge shown in Photo 14.

The difficult access in at least one instance provided compensatory benefits. When a D8 bulldozer was required for investigations at Maraetai, one was obtained on loan from Auckland. It could not be brought across the river, so it was driven overland from Ngaroma which necessitated crossing the unbridged Waipapa and Waiteti streams. The Waipapa was negotiated safely by using the blade as a brake on the steep



Photo 11 Lowering dinghy into water, Maraetai Dam site c1943 (Jenks)

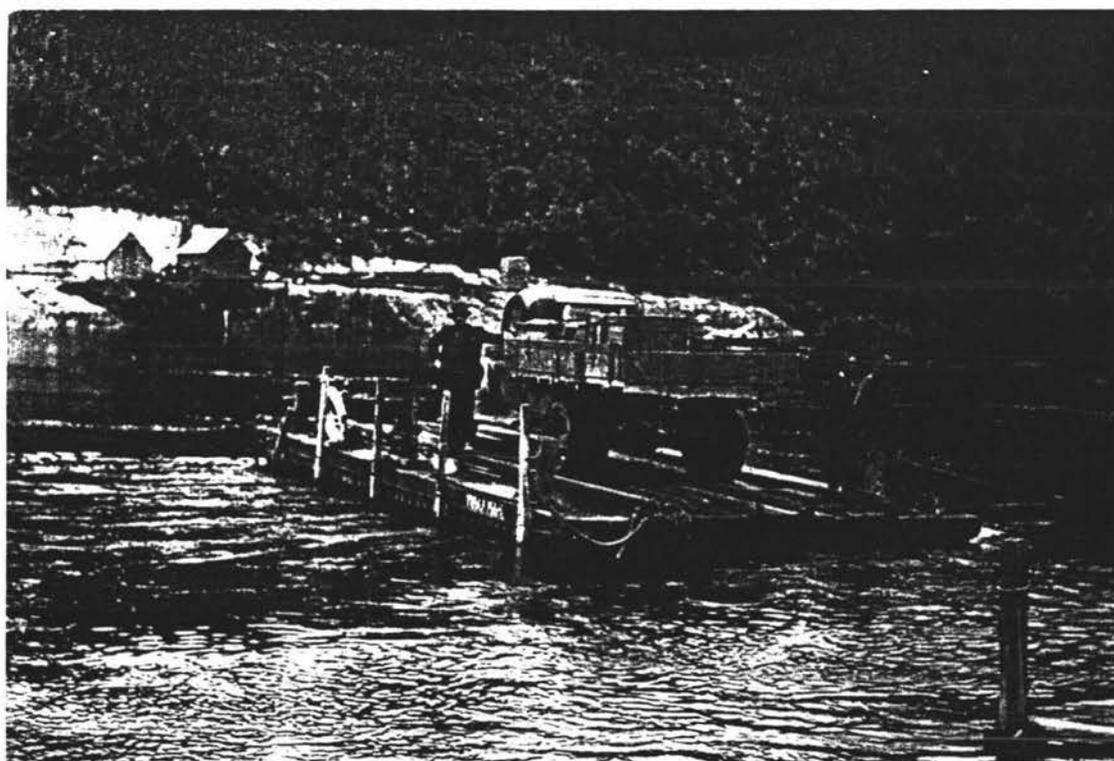


Photo 12 The Wakamahi crossing the Waikato River at Mangakino 1942 (Jenks)

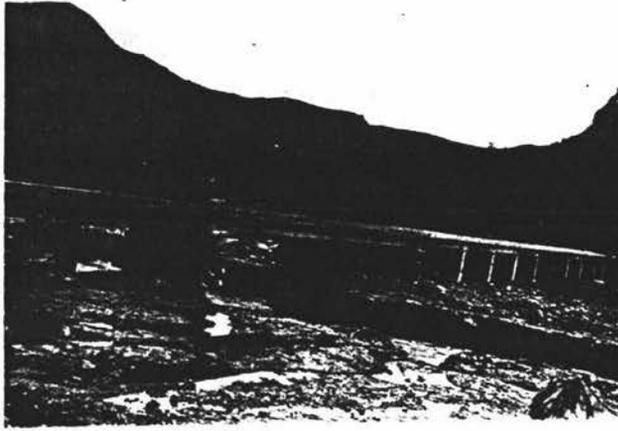


Photo 13  
Temporary bridge across Waikato River  
at Whakamaru c1943

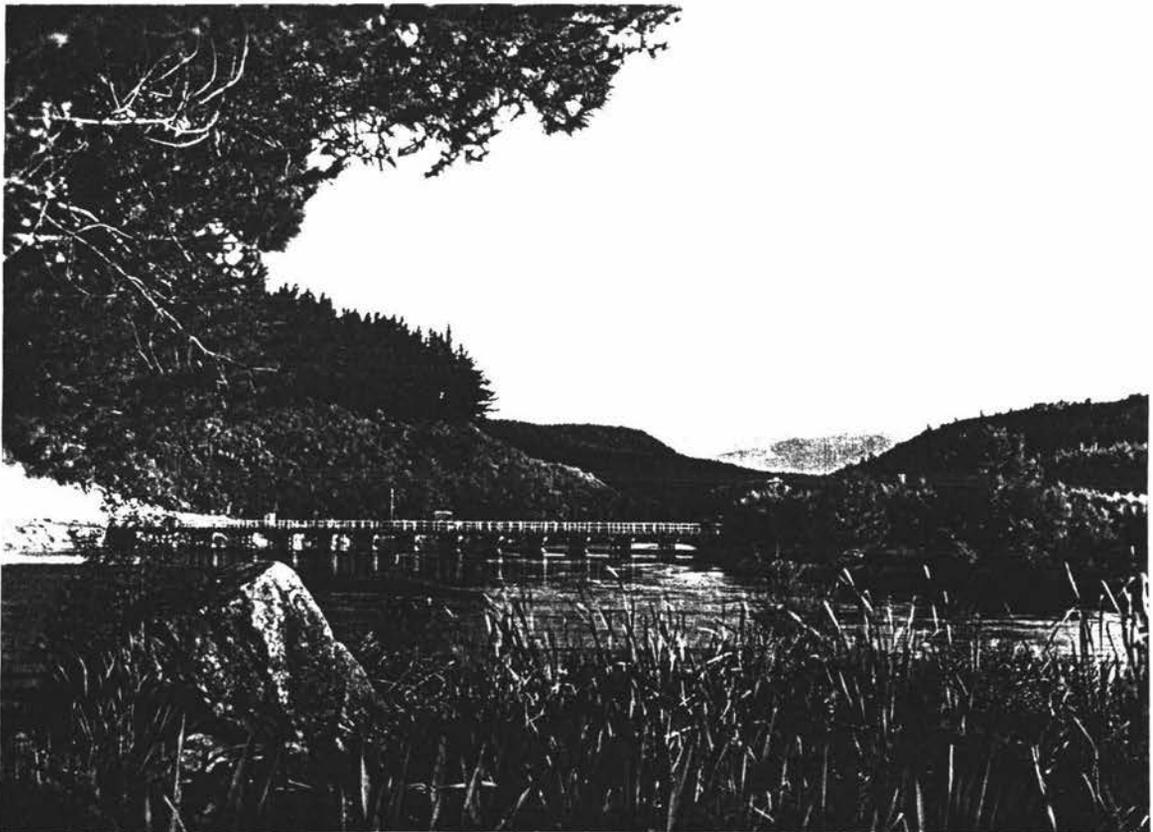


Photo 14  
Bridge built at Mangakino about 1946 to replace the ferry

downhill entry, but the machine became stranded between the banks of the Waiteti and had to be winched out with the D4 bulldozer, the largest to make the ferry river crossing. When the machine was requested back, it was suggested that they come and collect it. Needless to say it remained at Maraetai illustrating that actually having something in one's possession, even if one is not strictly entitled to it, can be a comparatively powerful position.

The way the access difficulties were handled also suggests that Jenks and his fellow workers had a strong desire to get their jobs done. There is no indication of sitting around and waiting for the department to construct the necessary access. In fact they didn't even have food supplies guaranteed at times. When out in "fly" camps on Pouakani they were distant from the supplies delivered to the forestry camp, and if rats or flies got at their meat they had to live off the land by catching trout or pigeons. In the early 1930s some survey cadets could not get jobs and it is understandable, given the difficulties faced by many New Zealanders at the time that harsh conditions were accepted. This didn't apply in later years when the willingness to endure hardships, and ingenuity and effort continued to be demonstrated.

The qualities these people had are often associated with frontier life. Whether the frontier attracts or produces people with these characteristics could be debatable. It is apparent, however, that the circumstances gave Jenks at least, a large measure of control over his everyday life and considerable influence, along with the geologists, on the shape of the project. Those involved with construction and design relied on the field assessments communicated by Jenks and others. The fact that he later found it much less satisfying working in an office in the Ministry of Works administration building, and eventually being answerable to the project engineer, is not surprising.

From a 1990s perspective it seems surprising that there was little concern about Maori associations with the locality except for belated "negotiations" with the Ngati Kahungunu owners of the Pouakani block. Jenks was aware of signs of early Maori habitation in the area and attempts were made by experts supported by the Ministry of Works to preserve the rock art found in a cave at Waipapa. The interest shown by

outsiders, including noted academics, resulted in a decision being made to remove the drawings before the Waipapa lake was filled. They were taken to the Auckland Museum, presumably with the intention of preserving them for posterity. There does not seem to have been consultation with Maori relating to their removal and now the Auckland Museum possesses a collection of rock fragments which "because of inadequate documentation at the time they came into the museum" cannot be reassembled" (Neich, 1987). This is an example of an unintended outcome from an action which won praise for the Ministry of Works in 1953 (MKO Chron, 20 Mar, 1). A rock carving was also found in the area to be flooded by Lake Maraetai. Its removal involved a difficult operation in which it was cut from the cliff face, secured with ropes and had floats attached to raise it up as the lake level rose (Mackey, 1987). This artifact was also taken to the Auckland Museum and is now on long term loan to the Waikato Museum.

According to Jenks once they became sensitive to Maori feelings about land they would consult with Judge Harvey in Rotorua who had a phenomenal memory. He would know who to approach about particular areas of land they wished to go onto. It was Judge Harvey that Jenks wrote to about the urupa which would be below the proposed levels of Lake Whakamaru. A meeting was held on the site with elders from Mokai who explained that the remains would have to be disinterred and buried again above water level. Costs were discussed. Jenks had initiated this action after finding these burial grounds marked on early survey maps and had to point out the sites to the Maori who had no knowledge of their existence. He had left the district by the time Lake Whakamaru was filled and although a token effort was made by a group of Maori, in the presence of a Ministry of Works representative, no remains were found and the urupa disappeared beneath the lake waters (Mackey letter, 1987). This highlights the fact that a person's power to act often comes from the position they hold, and in the case of a government employee, transfer to another work site can prevent them from following up decisions which have been made. This incident also seems to indicate the absence of tangata whenua with intimate knowledge of the locality. This could have been significant recently when John Paki, acting on behalf of the Titiraupenga Trust took Pouakani claims to the Waitangi Tribunal.

Natural habitats appear to have received less consideration than sites of Maori significance. It is possible that rare species disappeared without a voice being raised on their behalf. Jenks mentions the shy fern bird in river side swamp and the unexpected appearance of a freshwater crab in the camp water supply. The fern bird's habitat is gone. The lower reaches of many Waikato tributaries have become lake arms, in some cases subject to pollution either from industrial effluent or farm run off and the crab's survival in this area must be in doubt. No record has been found of any investigations of plant or animal populations, although the early residents of Mangakino demonstrated an awareness of their natural environment through a regular column on native plants which appeared in the *Mangakino Chronicle*.

When the construction forces moved into Mangakino from 1945 onwards the attraction of the area was diminished for Jenks. His camp, on the terrace above the Waikato with its own warm spring; and the dog lines nearer the river housing the canine companions that raced to ride the cages<sup>3</sup> with their men, were remnants of a frontier which was quickly transformed. Hundreds of people came (and went). The survey team's intimate knowledge of the untracked scrub vanished and they found themselves lost in the growing maze of roughly formed pumice roads. The planners' dreams for a modern hydro town were superimposed on the tussock and tomos of the Kopuaroa Plains. Control of the project shifted to the engineers. Apart from making the suggestion that the level area above the river was a suitable town site, Jenks made little further contribution to major change in the locality, although he continued to do the detailed survey work necessary for the execution of this major hydro electricity scheme.

## Construction

In 1946 all planning of state activities and local body projects was placed in the hands of the Ministry of Works. Semple "firmly believed that the day was past when works would be commenced without any proper consideration of their importance to the

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<sup>3</sup> Jenks operated three cages across the river to transport men and minor equipment from one bank to the other.

nation or their relative merits for priority" (Noonan, 1975, 188). There was also a move towards more careful planning of construction towns which had previously developed in a haphazard way. At Mangakino, which was designed to service several dam construction sites, the opportunity arose to put their plans into action. The township itself was planned, but the initial development in the locality was carried out without any title to the land and in a far from organised fashion.

Engineers moved to Mangakino in August 1945 and began work. They had been preceded by the surveyors and other people carrying out preliminary investigations yet it is evident from the 1947 meeting previously described, that many essential decisions had not been made. Jenks was present at the meeting of representatives of government departments held at Maraetai (see "Wairarapa Moana to Mangakino") and had prepared a sketch which suggested that half a mile around the dam site should be taken plus a roughly indicated area for the township. He recalls Judge Harvey being the stumbling block, which tallies with Harvey's own comments about reducing the amount of land to be taken and requiring compensation to be considered (Pouakani Files, 1947, 15 - 10). The gathering together of all these important people on the site suggests, that despite the commencement of preliminary work for the construction of the dam and the recognition of the need for a township to house the workers, there was no complete overall plan for development of the area and no strong arguments which could override Harvey's resistance. It is probable that Harvey's dominance alone would have been insufficient, but the Prime Minister, Peter Fraser was also the Minister of Native Affairs and listened in person to the concerns of the Pouakani owners (Pouakani Files, 1947 23 - 18, 6). Although he was not present at the meeting, knowledge of his involvement in "negotiations", may have restrained the more grandiose ideas of the Ministry of Works.

Already as Harvey reported (Pouakani Files, 1947, 13) there were "groups of buildings sprawled over a considerable stretch of country with large areas completely unoccupied sandwiched and contained within the built up areas." Construction work was well underway. The political decisions made in Wellington had set events in train which would not be stopped. The government employees on the site had to solve

problems of how to implement these decisions, but they could not change the underlying concept. Knowledge gained from further investigations conducted by the construction force prior to finalising the design could possibly have interfered with, or prevented implementation, but at Maraetai, there was little new to be learned. Whakamaru was very different. All sorts of difficulties emerged including a previously unknown ancient river bed, (Jenks, 1954, 64) but the problems were overcome, not used as reasons to change the site.

In scrutinising the role of the Ministry of Works it is apparent that a distinction can be made between the power wielded by the Minister through his position in government and that exercised by the civil servants in head office and in the field. Political action is necessary to initiate actions such as hydro-electric schemes. The alternatives placed before the politicians may come from civil servants, but usually these employees have undertaken the investigations, or research on the basis of enabling government policies. Sometimes the lack of official authorisation may not have been an impediment to those confident enough to take power into their own hands as was apparently the case with Judge Harvey. Jenks recalls an incident at Cambridge which suggests that some unauthorised steps may also have been taken in the early Waikato River investigations. In 1933 some of his men took advantage of a break in town to socialise in Cambridge. The subsequent newspaper reports of their activities on the river were promptly followed by orders to cease explorations and these were not resumed for more than a year.

The politicians take the critical and necessary decisions which enable a project to get underway. They may, or may not heed expert advice, depending on which experts provide it, how it fits with other political factors and the degree of consensus among the experts. Implementation then becomes the problem of the civil servants. In some hydro development schemes, as at Roxburgh, Clyde and Turangi, part of the problem solving was delegated to private companies. This was not the case at Maraetai where the Public Works Department and the the State Hydro Department under the Ministry of Works umbrella were in total control, although subject to technical and supralocal constraints. These people on the spot, aided by technical expertise, if necessary

gained through overseas visits, (Jenks, 1992) made the vast number of incremental decisions which produced a township, dam, powerhouses and lake, and subsequent dams, each with their own set of problems, at Whakamaru and Waipapa.

The thin arch dam was new to New Zealand and adaptations were made which permitted the use of local materials: the exotic and native timbers used in construction (MKO Chron Apr 1, 1949, 4) and the rhyolitic boulders crushed to form aggregate which necessitated the development of a less alkaline cement for use at Whakamaru. In the latter case an Australian failure had alerted engineers to the hazards of chemical reactions produced through the combination of acidic, silica rich rock such as Whakamaru rhyolite with alkaline cement and research resulted in the substitution of a more satisfactory, less alkaline product (Jenks, 1992).

Although the engineers, and to a lesser extent other workers took the necessary decisions, their alternatives were for the most part circumscribed by the technology of the time, and the availability of supplies. The large tracked vehicles which became available after the war, scraped and gouged the volcanic rock of the gorges. Could these dams have been constructed without them? Early in the construction stages Semple was very concerned about the supply of steel for reinforcing and travelled to Australia to make personal contact with representatives of BHP (NZ Herald, 13 Mar 1948, 10) who assured him of continuity despite the world wide post war shortage. Nevertheless, uncertainty of delivery encouraged the use, within physical limits, of the timber resource available locally and milled by the Ministry, thus within its control.

Thankfully the dam construction problems were solved more successfully than those encountered in building the Mangakino District High School swimming pool in 1949. This was also hampered by the lack of reinforcing and "research" was carried out which indicated that "tea tree"<sup>4</sup> could be used instead of steel (MKO Chron, 17 Sep 1948, 1) The eventual collapse of the structure into a tomo of its own making could have been viewed with alarm, as the builders were township residents drawn from a population comprising, almost solely, engineers and construction workers. Light relief aside, the role of technology was of great importance in the local transformation. The

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<sup>4</sup> Manuka (*Leptospermum scoparium*).

construction projects were created by people using the latest technology for people keen to adopt new technology in the form of electrically powered plant and equipment. The government had the resources to supply the technology. The attractions of a cheap, convenient, clean source of energy, capable of replacing human labour offered a strong incentive to get the job done.

Both the Hydro Welfare Association, set up at Karapiro, and the New Zealand Workers Union (Hughes, Pers Com, 1993) were able to make suggestions about the conditions and amenities which should be provided for the work force to be housed at Mangakino. The MOW provided housing in a limited number of types for staff and workers, shops allocated to retailers by the Rehabilitation Board, housing for these business people, school buildings, a hospital handed over to the Waikato Hospital Board, streets, water reticulation and sewerage systems, plus sports grounds and civic amenities including a cinema, gymnasium, social hall, billiard saloon and library. It was however, a few years before all these facilities were in place.

Jobs were plentiful in post war New Zealand, but housing was not and the provision of houses for families at Mangakino, plus the relatively high wages were inducements that ensured a steady influx of labour, countered by a substantial outflow of people disillusioned with the isolation, the pumice dust, the fog and initially the lack of amenities. One man who has now retired to Mangakino recalled his first visit to take up a job. When the fog had not lifted after three days, he left (Pers Com).

For the Ministry of Works to carry their scheme through as rapidly as possible it was essential to retain workers, and this necessitated changing the local environment to make it into an hospitable place to live. There were no trees on the plains of Pouakani and the empty, bleak landscape swept away towards the up thrusting ridge of Whakaahu and beyond (Photo 15) The first construction workers were housed in the orderly rows of the single men's camps exposed on the rising ground above the town site (Photo 16). Battens held down the malthoid roofing and the repair gangs battled against the winds to keep them securely attached. Perhaps to avoid the construction camp image the men's quarters were separated from the town which

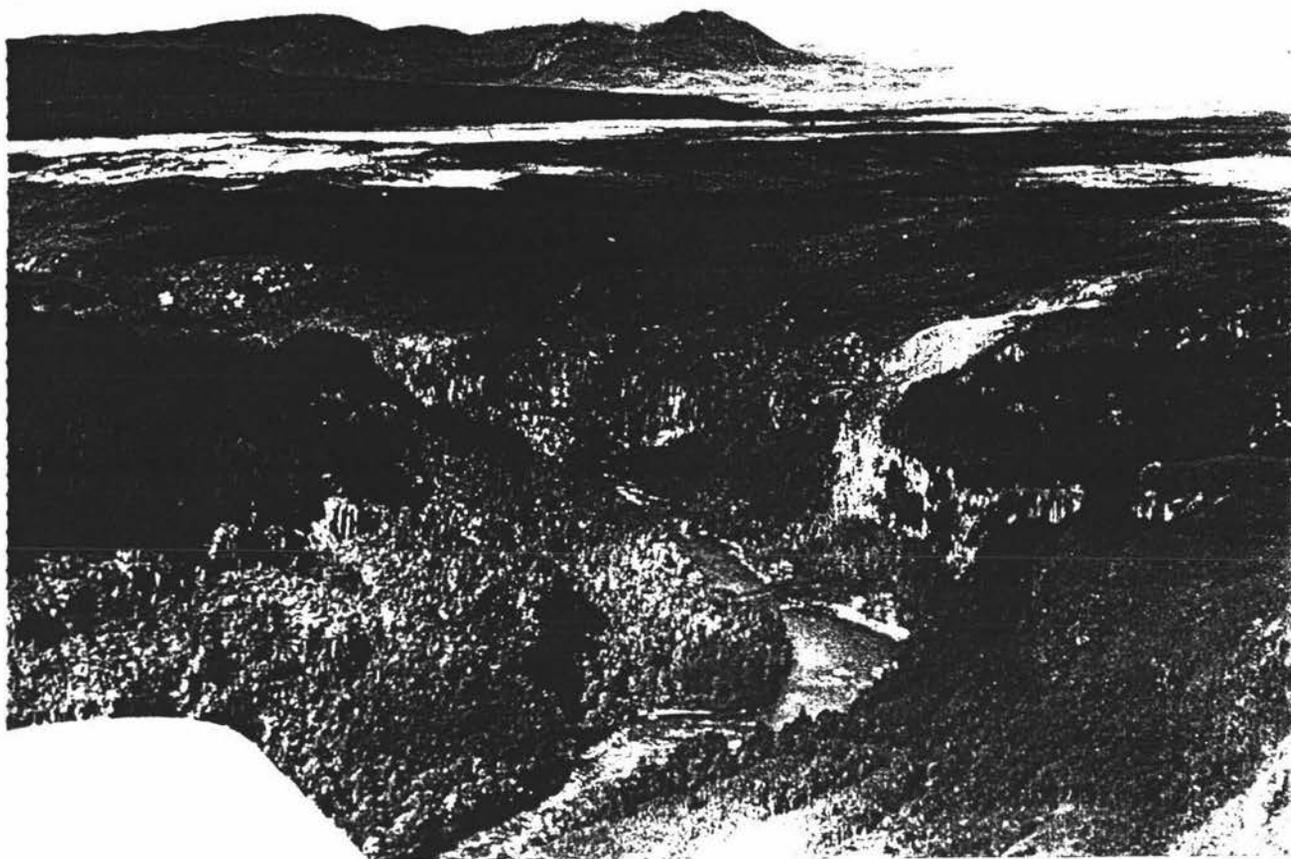


Photo 15 Maratai Gorge and Pouakani c 1941 (Jenks)



Photo 16 No 1 Single Men's Camp, Mangakino. Natural vegetation evident. (Jenks)

had no growing pains. Draughtsmen, surveyors and engineers planned and anticipated and with central control there were no acute differences as to the layout of the town so that Mangakino grew and progressed automatically (MKO Chron 8 Jul, 1949, 4).

The above picture of the orderly growth of a town obscures some of the differing perceptions people had. These are evident in the 1948 New Zealand Herald reports written when the strike and the subsequent Tribunal hearing were attracting national attention and in some Mangakino Spark comments.

At Mangakino the government was also spending over £800 000 on the construction of a model township which would be second to none in the world; where every married worker would live rent free in a house costing about £1000, where both maternity and general hospital were being provided, and where the layout and facilities were being planned on the most modern lines. (NZ Herald, 21 Apr 1948, 8)

Contrasting with that "evidence" given to the tribunal are some contemporary glimpses of Mangakino: "The population in the area mounts towards 3000". "The only shop at Mangakino worthy of the name is a co-operative store a mile away from parts of the main village". "There is no postal delivery". "Many of the planned facilities are not far off at least on paper". "The major streets of the township have been laid down and in some cases sealed" (NZ Herald, 22 Mar 1948, 9). "Today nearly 250 children attend the Mangakino School .... Our water supply is unsatisfactory; we have no washing facilities apart from one tap and several drinking fountains" (Mangakino Spark, 2 Aug, 1947).

The amenities did eventuate. The shops were allocated later in 1948 and the hospital was opened in December of that year. Roads were sealed and lighting installed, but few footpaths were made. The MOW vision of the model town nearly came to fruition but in the meantime, for women in particular, living in Mangakino may have been an unpleasant experience. While the men were busy on the dam site the women would

have coped with walking to get supplies and collect mail, perhaps pushing a pram or push chair along unformed road verges, dealing with the pumice dust which infiltrated every nook and cranny soiling clothing washed and unwashed, and keeping fires going for hot water even in mid summer. They may have also experienced the disappointment of having wild horses ravage a carefully tended garden and faced the fear of having a child born on the rough forest road they needed to traverse to a maternity hospital. A comparison with Belsen, allegedly made by the Mangakino Spark<sup>5</sup> and highlighted in the Tribunal hearings (NZ Herald, 21 Apr 1948, 8), seems quite unwarranted but life for a woman in the early days of Mangakino township could have been rather grim especially if her spouse shared his income with the "droppers"<sup>6</sup> and the "two up"<sup>7</sup> patrons.

It must not be forgotten that the Maraetai dam and Mangakino township were constructed in the immediate post war period. Labour, materials, plant and skilled staff were all in short supply. If the MOW was dilatory with implementing its planning this could have been in part due to circumstances beyond its control. There was a world wide shortage of qualified professional staff such as engineers who were greatly in demand for postwar reconstruction. This situation was aggravated by Public Service salaries which could not compete with those offered by private enterprise. Timber was in short supply, a factor overcome by the establishment of a local sawmill, and builders were in great demand as they attempted to catch up on a 20 000 house backlog. The personnel problems were not unique to this project. One of the solutions was to find immigrants with the required skills, irrespective of whether English was their first language, which had social and cultural implications for the developing town. Their diverse origins are well illustrated in a photograph (Hasman, 1975, 47) labelled Mangakino League of Nations which shows workers from Italy, Tahiti, Holland, Estonia, Poland, Ireland and New Zealand.

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<sup>5</sup> Issues 1,3,4,5,7,8 & 11 of the Mangakino Spark were found. They contain no unduly strong criticisms of the amenities and imply that local push is needed - "... this question is an immediate one and not one to be left to the other chap. Only organisation and drive can provide the required amenities" (Oct 4 1947, 3). The Belsen reference must be in one of the missing issues, but does not seem to be in keeping with the tone of the news sheet, unless it was a letter to the editor.

<sup>6</sup> People who illegally supplied alcohol. Mangakino was considered to be in the King Country, a no licence area.

<sup>7</sup> Illegal gambling game, attracting large attendances played in clearings in the scrub near the single men's quarters (Allison, 1981).

## Administration

The Project Engineer had on site control of the entire project, the scope of which can be gauged from the divisions, called features, used as a basis for costing: preliminary investigation, diversion tunnel, arch dam, power house, village, village streets. In the absence of local government this included the administration as well as the construction of the township. Certain responsibilities were delegated to the Welfare Association (see Power Brokers) and a Town Clerk was appointed. It is curious that although the Ministry of Works controlled almost every aspect of township life, dog registration was one matter of concern to the residents which they did not take it upon themselves to handle (MKO Chron, 13 Aug 1948,1).

Residents were given some opportunity to put their ideas forward, and in the interests of a co-operative labour force it was necessary for them to feel that they could influence happenings in the township. In addition to the Hydro Welfare Association, there was a Householders' Association formed in 1948. Its early concerns were about the need for a butcher's and a chemist's shop, pillar boxes for posting, the potential dust menace from ploughing surrounding farm land and the prohibition of parking on one side of the main street in the town centre (MKO Chron, 13 Aug, 1948, 1). The elected committee of this association in 1949 included the headmaster - who was also president of the Welfare Association, the postmaster, the president of the Shopkeepers Association, the wife of a senior engineer, two women office holders in the Plunket Society, Mr Emerson well known for his first aid knowledge and help, a man with library and sports interests, an engineer and the Vice President of the Welfare Association (MKO Chron, 17 Jun 1949, 1). This hardly seems to be representative of the construction force living in Mangakino at that time. But this is not at all an unusual situation. Business people would constitute a tiny proportion of the population, but along with high status civil servants they have dominated many of the elected bodies in the town. What proportion of the people voted is unknown, but it may be that people seek knowledge and expertise in their representatives, or merely vote for names they recognise, but in so doing they may find themselves represented by people who do

not share their goals.

Although people had channels for putting their ideas forward, it is possible that most of the changes that came about were going to occur anyway, but the pace of development was so rapid that everything could not be organised at once. Not all the houses were built on the spot, many in the early stages came from Karapiro, another dam construction site. The occupants shifted on the same day as their houses and moved into temporary quarters while water and power was connected. Sometimes there were not even suitable quarters available for those who arrived and the village overseer was continually being called on, day and night, to help "newly arrived families [who] complained bitterly about the lack of lighting, heating and water" (Hasman, 1975, 15).

While the Householders' Association made recommendations affecting the everyday living conditions of the township dwellers, the Hydro Welfare Association catered for their recreational and cultural inclinations. The Welfare Association at one stage had nearly 100 affiliated bodies under its umbrella (Hasman, 1975, 32). Representatives of these bodies elected a management committee annually and met for quarterly meetings. By May 1952 it employed 24 people to run and maintain the amenities which were divided into two categories; those which were leased from the MOW and those for which the association paid fire insurance only. In the former category were the commercial enterprises including the cinema and the billiard room. It is obvious from the ongoing record of sporting and cultural occasions in the Mangakino Chronicle that the outcome of this arrangement was to offer rich and varied leisure opportunities to local people. A sense of community was also engendered judging by the enthusiasm for the Christmas parades of the 1950s (Bonnar, 1991). This has persisted in post MOW times, as shown by market days and other community occasions such as the annual raft race, and the Open Weekend of February 1992 which attained a high level of community participation.

Co-operative efforts by the MOW and local organisations did not always produce the expected outcomes. When Lake Maraetai was created in 1953 the MOW graded the

lake edge to form bathing beaches and a safe shallow area for swimming. The Welfare Association provided changing facilities and first aid huts and the residents looked forward to a boom in water sports. Two years later it was reported with regret that vandals had wrecked the huts "and the beaches are in a filthy state. There is broken glass everywhere and the beaches are quite unfit for use" (MKO Chron, 27 May 1955). It is rather ironic that in 1993 the beaches are clean, an attractive grassy sward runs down to the lake side, well established trees provide shady picnic spots (Photo 17) but people hesitate to swim in the lake because of fears of Kinleith pollution and possibly because of unsightly weed mats (Photo 18). Where the children swim below Korari Crescent is downstream from the town sewage outfall and almost certainly polluted, but there are no warning signs.

Concerns about polluted water are not new to Mangakino and earlier problems which arose were both created and fortuitously solved by the construction work at Maraetai. The northern part of Pouakani has few streams and neither does it have good bore water supplies. Initially water for the new township was taken from the Waikato River which prior to farm and dam development gave a satisfactory supply. Later it came from the lake and after the first full summer complaints abounded. It was agreed that the taste was off, but assurances were given that there was no health hazard, the taste being due to "certain types of vegetation which proliferate in lakes when there is excessive sunshine" (MKO Chron, 24 Feb 1954, 1). Three years later a Mangakino Chronicle correspondent was still complaining about the poor taste, colour and smell of the water (14 Mar, 1958, 5) and a petition signed by 1 100 residents was sent to the local Member of Parliament asking that representations be made to the Minister of Works. This was followed by a letter to the Minister in June 1958. The MOW still insisted that it was not prejudicial to health and spelled out the alternatives which were limited by constraining factors such as farm run off and contamination from piggeries. Before making any major change the department offered to trial a full sized rapid sand filter and if that proved to be unsatisfactory it would supply palatable water to the school and to selected points around the village (MKO Chron, 20 Jun 1958, 1). Pressure from the residents had eventually brought about change, but it took three years and the argument was based on different premises. Residents said the water

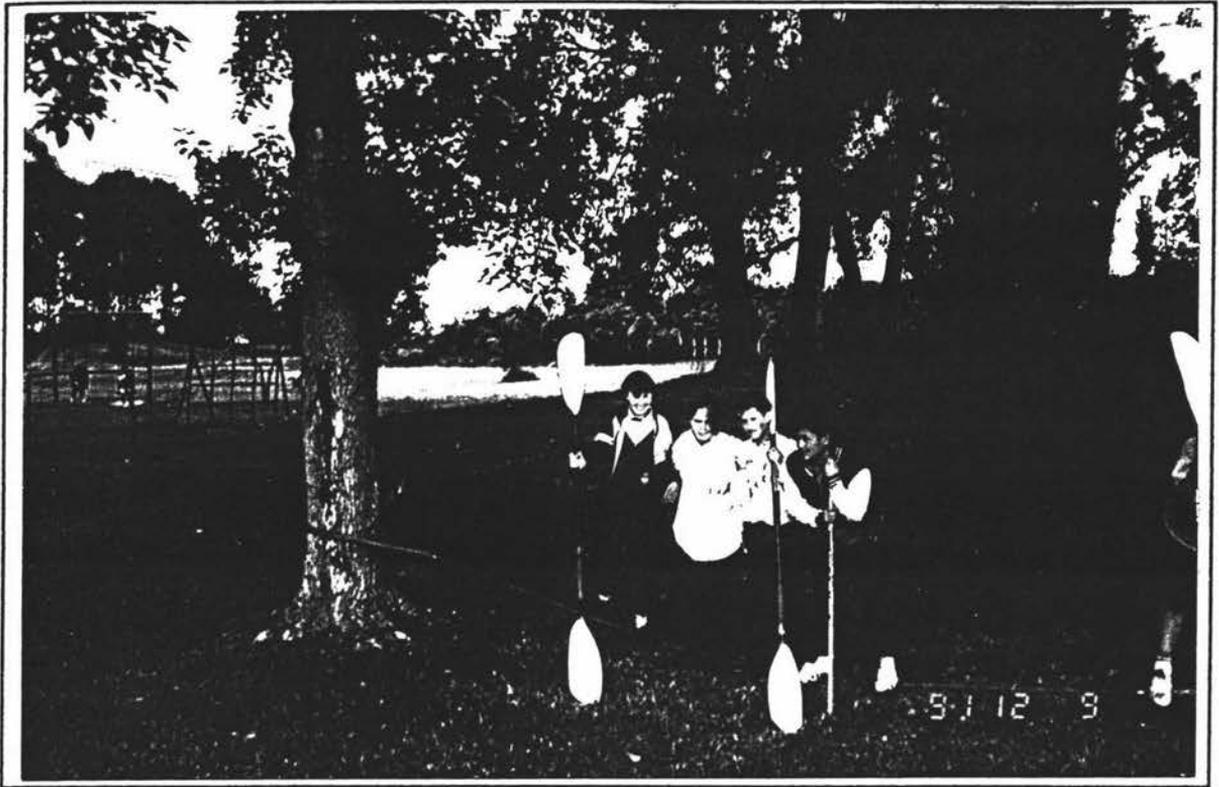


Photo 17  
High School students on Outdoor Education course, Maraetai lake front Reserve, 1991

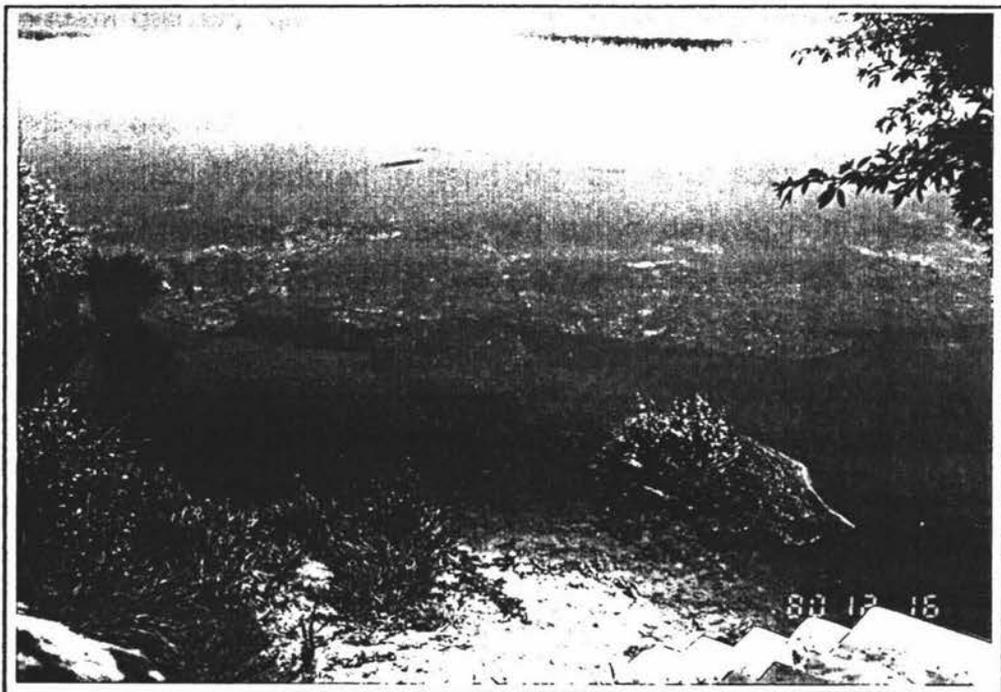


Photo 18  
Weed and algae, Lake Maraetai 1992

was unpleasant to drink, the MOW countered by assuring them it was not harmful. Probably children would have been most affected as they would not have been in a position to choose substitute drinks, during the school day, at least. The discovery of an unlimited supply of pure water when Maraetai II was being built subsequently provided a long term solution.

The water saga was paralleled by the ongoing milk problem. Again in these matters affecting daily living the MOW was reluctant to act. At a public meeting convened by the Householders' association (MKO Chron, 7 Aug 1953, 7), the Milk Committee, the Public Service Association, Plunket Society, Mangakino Housewives Association, Women's Auxiliary (NZWU) and Mangakino local branch of the NZWU put forward a number of proposals. They suggested the Welfare Association run the milk delivery and a Milk Council be formed comprising representatives of the consumers, producers and vendors. It was recommended that the township be divided into three areas, that three houses be set aside for milk vendors and that each vendor should personally do their own deliveries. A deputation met with the MOW and informed them of irregular and infrequent delivery, shortages of milk, unsatisfactory handling and no satisfactory token system. The MOW acknowledged that it had the authority to withdraw milk vending licences, but it had already made a verbal arrangement with the three vendors and was not prepared to heed the residents' suggestions. The situation did not improve with unpasteurised milk still being delivered in billies in 1958 (MKO Chron, 14 Mar 1958, 5).

In those days of free milk in schools this was also denied to the Mangakino pupils. The nearest milk treatment stations were at Hamilton and Rotorua and according to Holyoake then the Minister of Agriculture, schools could not be supplied when costs were too high (MKO Chron, July 2 1954, 1). It seems strange that buses could run daily to Auckland and Hamilton, cream could go out of the district to dairy factories, but it was not possible for milk to come in. The only beneficiaries of this set of circumstances were the local farmers supplying untreated milk to the town.

Some farms in the Whakamaru soldier settlement had been set up as larger units so

that they could milk all the year round and supply the town. This could only have occurred after the Mangakino Stream was bridged in September 1949. Such co-operation may seem laudable, but why was an arrangement for milk supply not made with the Pouakani Maori Development scheme, immediately adjacent to the township? Was this an outcome of underlying inter departmental relationships hinted at by Harvey (Pouakani Files, 15 - 10).

In addition to concerns about the inadequacy of the supply and pumice dust in the billies, letters and articles in the Mangakino Chronicle reveal controversy over pasteurisation. Although the MOW was so strong in reassuring residents that the water was safe to drink it did not seem concerned about unhygienic milk deliveries or the lack of pasteurised milk. There were no reassurances, these aspects were just ignored.

It is apparent that the MOW from the mid 1940s until 1955 had almost unlimited power to act in Mangakino, and that through its power project, and roading and bridging activities, it had considerable impact on the Pouakani locality. What it felt like to submit to such a degree of control could only be answered by the residents at that time. As the employer, local authority and landlord the MOW could and did discipline its workers on and off the job. People described as "creating a public nuisance" could find themselves without employment or being dealt with by the Maori wardens or Maori Tribal Executive which co-operated with the MOW (Hasman, 1965, 94 -95).

At its formation the Householders' Association sought to work with the MOW in forming and enforcing local rules (Hasman, 1965, 96), but its actual role was to work towards getting a reasonable standard of civic amenities and when this was achieved in the 1950s it disbanded. In the late 1950s the township gained representation on the Taupo County Council Advisory Committee, but this was seen by one Mangakino committee member as being futile and at one stage it was suggested that the MOW should send a representative instead (Taupo Adv Council, 2, 12 Aug 1958, 115 -116). There was certainly no pressure from Mangakino residents to have the County assume a larger role in their town and after the initial "teething" troubles their seems to

have been a measure of satisfaction with local administration as handled by the MOW and the Welfare Association.

There is no doubt that the MOW was a law unto itself and the Taupo County was relatively powerless. For example, after the County had assumed regulatory functions in the town, the Ministry of Works (and the Police and Health Department ) gave the go ahead for the construction of the local hotel, without a building permit having been issued. The temporary building was considered a fire hazard, but the County (Mr O'Keefe) recognised that there was little that could be done about it (Taupo Adv Council, 1, 7 Jun 1956). Again just when the town was being handed over to the County, the MOW put in Commerce and Karamu Streets which according to Councillor MacDonald (MKO Chron, 27 Feb 1964, 3) was an unapproved change to the town scheme and would have resulted in prosecution if done by a private individual. It has been noticed on a number of occasions in this study that having the audacity to act, whether it is strictly legal or not, can achieve the desired outcome as other actors may be unable or unwilling to undo what has been done. Similar outcomes can result from genuine misunderstanding when actors have believed that they had approval or were following the correct procedures.

Despite the power wielded by the local officers of the MOW, there were times when they were overruled; for example when it was agreed with the Taupo County that ten houses north of the hotel should be removed to extend the commercial area. This was not approved by the head office in Wellington (Taupo Adv Com, 1, 3 Sept 1956). It is also very unlikely that the MOW personnel who were deeply committed to completion of a major project would have willingly acquiesced to the cessation of work on Maraetai II which is discussed next.

## **Maraetai II**

In 1958, shortly after coming to power, the Labour government authorised the construction of a peak load station called Maraetai II. The second powerhouse was to use water already impounded behind the existing dam and was to be located a short

distance downstream from the Maraetai dam and powerhouse (Photo 19). This gave further security to the Mangakino workers who were just completing Atiamuri and currently building Waipapa. Maraetai II was intended to complement the output of Wairakei, Meremere and the proposed Tongariro scheme. Later, National Government members viewed it as being a political alternative to the Inter Island cable which would bring South Island power to the North (NZ Parl Debates, Vol 328, 1961, 2365) but Labour pointed out that it was actually undertaken instead of the planned Korokoro gas turbine station which was to have run on imported oil and would have cost £500 000 annually in overseas funds (N Z Herald, 30 Sep 1961, 3).

In September 1961 after the single term Labour government had been ousted, and when at least half of the work on Maraetai II had been done, the project was suddenly halted. Goosman, the Minister of Works, said that he was approached by the Commissioner of Works, F M Hanson and the General Manager of the Electricity Department A E Davenport who "recommended that suspension of the scheme should be considered" (NZ Herald, 30 Sep 1961). This was then taken to the cabinet and finally agreed to by the Power Planning Committee. The reason for the mothballing seems to have been a short term economic one:

... there was still time to defer the expenditure of £2 million for a long period. Under any circumstances this would be an important matter. Under the present financial circumstances, it was even more important and so the government had decided to take the step of halting the Maraetai II project and transferring its generating equipment to Matahina. (NZ Herald, 15 Sep 1961, 1)

It is difficult to reconcile this reasoning with an approach from government employees, unless they had been asked to find ways in which money could be saved. One of the criticisms levelled at the project was that it would not generate any extra electricity, in fact the combined output of the two stations could be less than that of one (AJHR, Vol II, 1961, D4-C). This ignores the fact that hydro electricity cannot be stored, other than as potential energy in lakes and that the capacity to meet peak level demands is of critical importance.

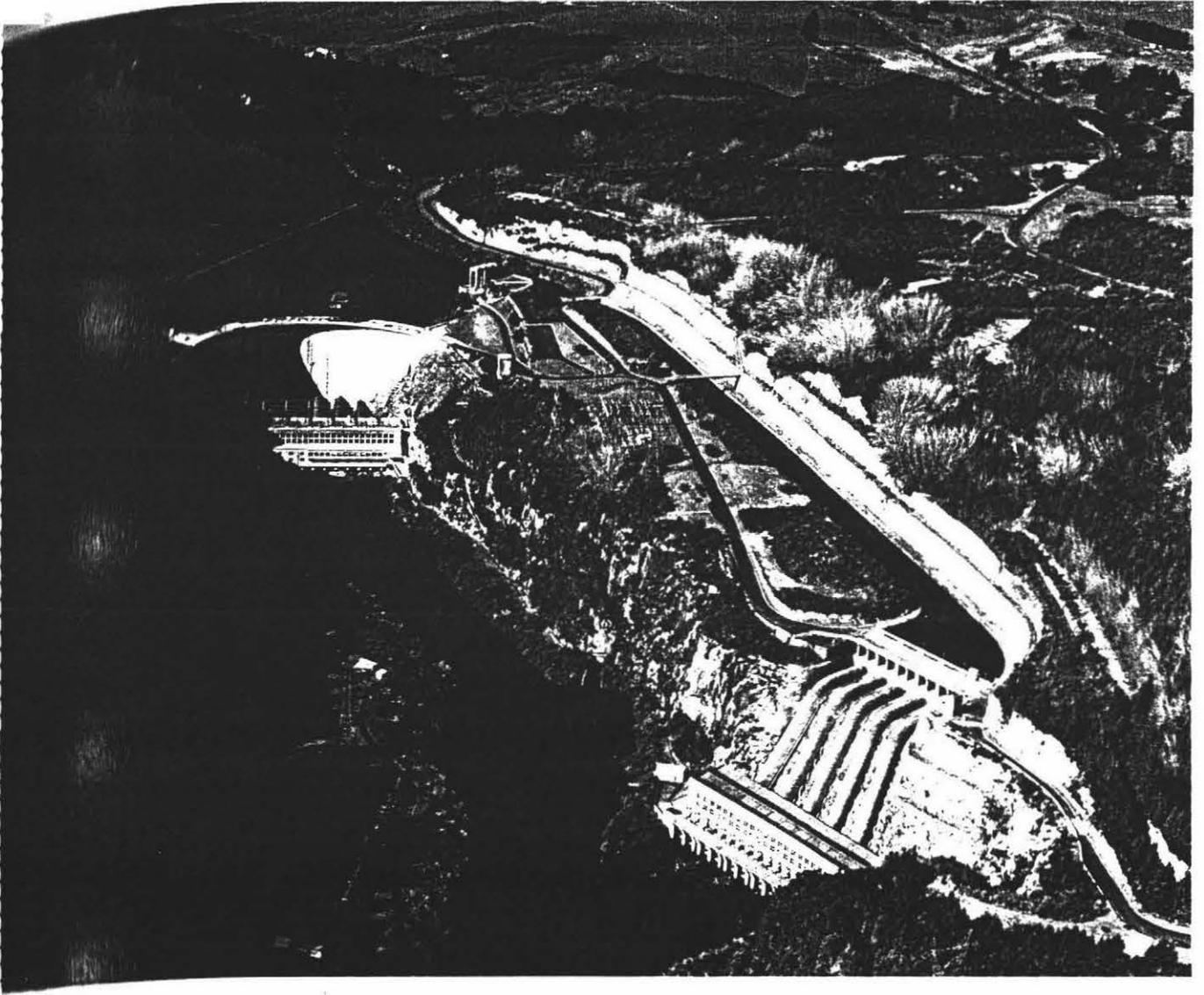


Photo 19 Maraetai I and Maraetai II (Air Logistics)

The Power Planning Committee in its 1961 report (AJHR, 1961, Vol II, D4-C) stressed that:

the future of the 500 men employed on Maraetai II was a most important matter and that it would be necessary for government to bear this in mind in coming to any decision to stop a work so far advanced as Maraetai II even though it is for the time being rendered redundant due to changed circumstances. From a purely monetary point of view the matter is clear, from the human angle care would have to be exercised in implementing any decision to halt this project.

Consideration was obviously not given to the 500 men, two thirds of whom were married. The first official notice they received was from the engineer in charge of the Waikato Power projects who told them that the only information available was that published in the press (NZ Herald, 16 Sep, 1961, 1). A few days later they were "reassured" by the MOW Assistant Chief Engineer that redundant employees would be allowed to stay in their houses at Mangakino, but it would be up to them to find other jobs (NZ Herald, 23 Sep, 1961, 1). Eventually NZWU representatives met with the MOW head office and by 27 September they had been offered more generous assistance than was normally available to MOW employees when a project finished, but were denied the usual aid given to MOW men on transfer (NZ Herald, 27 Sep, 1961). By the following day the NZWU officials were said to be pleased and satisfied with the arrangements made, with transfers and alternative work having been arranged for many. One cannot help but wonder whether the co-operation of the union was gained by a changed stance towards finding employment for the workers, or whether it might have had something to do with a Voluntary Unionism Bill before the house at that time (NZ Herald, 27 Sep, 1961).

In 1968 work resumed on Maraetai II with the aim of completing it at the time when the Tongariro scheme would have diverted an increased flow into the Waikato River and enhanced the capability of Maraetai II as a peak load station. The cost of completion had now escalated and, considerable expense was required to compensate for the damage done by vandalism and the weather, and to meet earlier contract obligations for unwanted generators.

The outcome was as planned; a peak load power station. The way in which it was achieved had considerable effects for Mangakino and its residents, adding to the uncertainty about the town's future when major changes relating to tenure and administration were underway. Decision making cannot have been easy for the local MOW personnel, the Mangakino Incorporation, the Taupo County Council or any of the residents. Uncertainty means actors do not know which knowledge they should use as a basis for action, it interferes with planning and it affects people's behaviour. In small measures it may engender hope and stimulate action, but in large measures it can stifle positive change. Uncertainty has hung over Mangakino since its creation. The government could be blamed in the past, but in recent times some of the uncertainty seems to have been generated by merchants of doom. Semple's idea was to have coordinated national and local long term planning done by the Ministry of Works (Noonan, 1975, 189). If this had been implemented becoming Mangakino may have been a less painful process.

## The Clapham Case

Len Clapham did not work on the Maraetai Dam site for long, but his forced transfer became the trigger for the first major strike on the river. This was according to the engineers a power struggle between workers and engineers, with the objective being control of the project (N Z Herald, 12 Mar 1948, 6). It was an intriguing confrontation which at one level was simply workers standing up for their fellow worker whom they claimed had been victimised. On another level it was an expression of post war communist fear focussed on a small group of workers in an isolated, rural, New Zealand locality. The drama played on the national stage, superseding other industrial confrontations, and brought widespread publicity to the Maraetai Dam site, the town of Mangakino and a previously insignificant local news sheet; the Mangakino Spark.

The Clapham case illustrates the way in which supralocal factors permeated a local dispute and the shift in power which occurred when a fairly confident NZWU submitted its case to a legal tribunal. In the short term it brought work to a halt, economically disadvantaged most parties involved and brought stress to individuals in and beyond the community. In the long term it delayed construction work and one would expect boosted the engineers' faith in the arbitration process while denting that of the workers. Yet subsequent events appear to show that it may have generated a fear of worker action which was still present after the project had wound down in the late 1960s. It is ironic that Clapham who believed strongly in the need to understand New Zealand's role in a changing world (MKO Spark, Nov 1947, 1/7, 3), should have succumbed to forces originating outside the country.

While focussing on the Clapham affair, opportunity is also taken to provide a broader view of Mangakino at that time; especially of the ways in which important actors; local branches of the NZWU, the Labour Party and the Communist party attempted to influence and initiate change.

## Dispute Narrative

Clapham started work as a tunneller at Maraetai in 1947, having previously been employed on the construction of the Karapiro dam, also on the Waikato River. He was soon elected as secretary of the Mangakino local branch of the NZWU and was an avowed Communist. A Communist group commenced publication of a news sheet called the Mangakino Spark in August 1947. When Clapham first applied for a job at Mangakino he was turned down, but after Union representations he was accepted and given a personal warning by the Minister of Works that "if he caused any trouble on the job he would go 'down the road'" (NZ Herald, 22 Apr 1948, 8). What Clapham actually did at Mangakino to draw forth the ire of the engineers is not apparent despite the statements made to the tribunal.

In November 1947 five of the engineers, including the Acting Engineer in Charge said they would resign if Clapham remained on the job. In December 1947 Clapham was advised that he was to be transferred to Auckland. Negotiations between the Government and the NZWU continued from December 12 to March 11 with no agreement being reached (MKO Spark, May 1948, 1/17, 1). Eventually the decision to cease work was taken as the result of a secret ballot of the union members in Mangakino. The local union executive stated that:

Mr Clapham's political opinions were in no way concerned in the dispute. Mr Clapham did not refuse his transfer on his own account, but by the Union's instructions. It was considered that the transfer was a flagrant case of victimisation. (NZ Herald, 11 Mar 1948, 6).

The case then became a national matter with the NZWU seeking to have a tribunal set up to consider the case. This did not meet with a favourable response from the Professional Engineers Association (NZ Herald, 8 Apr, 6), or, initially, from the Mangakino local executive, and the matter was referred to the Federation of Labour (NZ Herald, 22 Mar 1948, 6).

On the local scene, the Mangakino branch of the Labour Party was revived. At a meeting attended by about 150 people, it strongly affirmed support for the strike and passed a motion pledging "to support declared Labour nominees only in all their local affairs" and to "boycott all Communist newspapers printed in New Zealand" (NZ Herald, 23 March 1948, 8). The implications of this motion were debated and it was confirmed that the intention was to prevent Communists from gaining office, even in Sports Clubs; but reading of the *Mangakino Spark* was permitted as long as it was not bought! (NZ Herald, 23 March 1948, 8). The ambivalence of local worker attitudes is illustrated in the accompanying cartoon (Figure 8, New Zealand Herald, 24 Mar 1948, 8).

About three weeks into the strike the parties decided to allow a tribunal chaired by Judge Dalglish to arbitrate. The Union agreed to return to work and the engineers accepted the stipulation that Clapham be reinstated for the duration of the hearing. Although the dispute originated from the Clapham transfer and the engineers' ultimatum, the adversaries before the tribunal were acting on behalf of the Public Works Department and the NZWU. The first question to be answered was whether the Commissioner of Works had the right to transfer Clapham from Mangakino. Secondly evidence was sought to determine whether he

was engaged in any policy or activity prejudicial to the harmony, smooth running and effective execution of the work and if so whether his conduct in this case was such as to justify transfer" (NZ Herald, 21 Apr 1948, 8).

Most of the evidence against Clapham boiled down to people saying he was a communist and a troublemaker. No evidence of actual happenings at Mangakino as a worker, or as the Union secretary could be provided to substantiate the claims that he disrupted work. In fact there was evidence that he had spoken against strike action, that he had urged the lifting of a ban on building a new camp until amenities were provided for existing residents, and that before Clapham took office "there had been several disputes which led to threat of stoppages of work" (NZ Herald, 23 Apr, 8). However, his association with the publication of the *Mangakino Spark* which on



MANGAKINO SALUTE

Figure 8 Mangakino Salute (New Zealand Herald 24 March, 1948)

occasions satirised or criticised members of the government and the engineers did not present a favourable impression.

After over a week of hearings the tribunal reserved its decision, then much to the surprise of the Union on May 11 found in favour of the Commissioner of Works' right to transfer Clapham for "reasons other than Clapham's activities as a union official" (Hasman, 1975, 44). The outcome was accepted by the local unionists; the tribunal having been set up on the condition that the decision would be binding on all parties. Clapham left Mangakino and his close colleague and editor of the Mangakino Spark replaced him as Union secretary; an appointment which became a full time paid position thus denying the Ministry the opportunity of removing future officeholders.

## Discussion

Was this dispute about resisting or implementing change or about perpetuating a existing system of industrial relations? The engineers may have seen it as a struggle to maintain a form of industrial relations which enabled them to get the construction work done to the best of their ability. Post war shortages and the need to discover new methods and deal with problems unique to the site must already have been testing them to their limits. They desperately needed a co-operative work force. From the engineers' perspective Clapham was a troublemaker and they could not afford to let his ideas disrupt work. A perceived communist threat, rather than the behaviour of Clapham either on the work site or as secretary of the union, seems to have been the main reason for the engineers' actions. During the strike they became increasingly extreme in their anti communist stance and were hesitant to accept the tribunal because "to be of any purpose at this stage a tribunal would have to determine whether the other dozen or so communists on the job would have to go along with Mr Clapham" (New Zealand Herald, 8 Apr 1948, 6). The engineers claimed that :

A large number of the men have worked happily and in harmony on various jobs for almost a lifetime with the Mangakino and other Public Works Department engineers ... these men want nothing to do with Communists and

Communism. It was not until Mr Clapham and his fellow Communists arrived that suspicion and unhappiness prevailed (NZ Herald, 8 Apr 1948, 6).

The engineers' fears were fuelled by recent industrial activity in Queensland, nevertheless it seems extraordinary, that they should attribute to the "dozen or so" communists<sup>1</sup>, the power to manipulate around a thousand workers. A range of alternatives did not enter into their public assertion that:

There seem to be two alternatives. One is to give the engineers, under the Minister of Works, the authority to organise and manage the jobs with the workmen of their choice as in past years. If this is not acceptable the jobs might well be handed over, lock, stock and barrel to the Communists. (NZ Herald, 8 Apr 1948, 6).

The engineers' actions suggest that perceptions of potential power can be very significant motivating factors. The continuation of communist input into union affairs after the Tribunal decision in their favour, and their inability to act against the new secretary must have made Clapham's removal from the site a rather hollow victory.

To put the engineers' and Government stance in context some appreciation is needed of the contemporary national and global political climate. In addition to the Queensland strike, there were fears generated by the Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia and the spread of Communism in Eastern Europe. America had reintroduced conscription in the face of the Communist threat. In Britain the Labour Government had taken action to prevent people guilty of "subversive" activities from occupying key positions, while on the home front the Opposition Leader was announcing that:

If the Government will take the steps necessary to deal with the menace of Communism to the security and well being of the country it will have the whole hearted support and co-operation of the Opposition members (NZ Herald, 5 Apr, 1948, 8).

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<sup>1</sup> At the tribunal hearing the number of members of the Communist Party at Mangakino was given as seven.

From another point of view the struggle was about whether Maraetai was a union site, or not.

Success will mean the difference between a Union and a non-Union job, that is the ability of the Union to protect its members and to maintain their conditions, or the complete subjection of Union membership to the whims and fancies of individuals. (MKO Spark, 1/15, Mar 1948).

It was also about upholding "the trade union principle of recognition of democratically elected and accredited trade union representatives" (NZ Herald, 5 Apr 1948, 6), and despite their condemnation of Communism, the union was prepared to support their secretary.

Beyond the immediate participants there were wider concerns as was pointed out in the New Zealand Herald:

The strike at Mangakino differs in its effect in important respects from a strike in the field of current production or service, in that it threatens serious hardships in years ahead. What is being held up is the timely launching of a project for future power needs ... any substantial delay now means the setting back of the whole Waikato project and the certainty of a prolonging and intensification of power shortages after 1951. (15 Mar 1948, 6 )

As North Island power authorities were being forced to make 5 per cent savings at that time and were imposing restrictions on water heating and shop lighting and bans on sports floodlights and electric radiators, any group of people seen to be interfering with the progress of power schemes may have found it difficult to gain popular support.

It could be assumed that the Clapham case was totally work related, but the work and non work environments were closely bound together in Mangakino township. Underlying differences were reinforced by the way in which the town was planned and the differing accommodation supplied for "workers" and "staff". As in other

"Hydrotowns" housing was graded and allocated by staff according to status and in Mangakino there was a fairly clear division between parts of the town allotted to staff and parts allotted to workers. Staff had electric hot water heating and electric stoves, (not appreciated when the compulsory cuts due to shortages of electricity occurred); workers did not. Staff had their own hostel for women and men quite separate from the single men's camps. Staff held separate social functions. In this situation the engineers had become the "bosses" and although the generation of electricity was accepted as being for the benefit of New Zealanders, the Communists in Mangakino, at least, did question the end result. Clapham writing in the Mangakino Spark (1948 1/7, 3) stated :

To make our sweat & blood in the building of the Mangakino Dam really effective, we workers of Mangakino have an obligation to study the changes taking place in the world about us. We must take a positive attitude towards the broad political problems, national and international, in order that the great project we are helping to completion will be to the benefit of our working and farming population. We have an obligation to see that the factories that are built to use the power we produce are used to make the goods that will raise our standard of life. That the workers who operate those factories own and control the products & that the product of our labour is not appropriated by a class of parasites & bludgers in the form of New Zealand editions of Randolph Churchill<sup>2</sup> and the like. That is our obligation. Let us strive to meet it!

From the public utterances of the striking workers (NZ Herald, 23 Mar 1948, 8) it seems unlikely that many supported Clapham's extreme views, but the Communist Party did persist in Mangakino for many years. A measure of its acceptance in the community may be found in the inclusion of the "Mangakino Communist Spark" in the list of donations made by the Maori Housewives Association an organisation which aimed "to help all the Maoris in the whole of Mangakino" and also to help local Pakeha funds (MKO Chron, 1 Jul 1949, 1).

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<sup>2</sup> Randolph Churchill, British politician, had just visited Australia and made comments about Australian workers not working hard enough.

Decision making pertaining to the dispute provides examples of a majority decision with effects extending well beyond those who made the decision; power, based on technical knowledge being exercised by a small group, and a formal legal decision, presumably made by a Judge whose attitude towards the law, as described below, seems a little curious.

At the Tribunal hearing, evidence was given about opposition to secret ballots being published in the Mangakino Spark. Clapham had given to the paper what was described as "his personal opinion" that trade unions would be alarmed at legislation that would enforce secret ballots on strike and lockout motions. His argument was that it amounted to "unjustifiable interference in the affairs of trade unions" and that there was "already ample provision in Union rules for secret ballots" (MKO Spark, August 1947, 1/1). When the motion to strike was put to the Mangakino workers "agitators in the audience called for a show of hands for those in favour a a strike" but a "highly organised" ballot "was conducted with all the solemnity of a general election" (NZ Herald, 10 Mar, 6). It was scrutinised by two Justices of the Peace and the result was 353 voted in favour of the strike and 330 against. The argument was raised that some people entitled to vote were absent and that this could have affected the result. Concern was expressed by the Union executive that some people did not accept the majority decision and were canvassing for support to have the decision overturned (NZ Herald, 12 Mar, 6). When a second union meeting was to be held it was suggested that the matter would not be able to be discussed because it was not on the agenda (NZ Herald, 15 Mar, 6).

Arising from this sequence of events are a number of points relating to democratically made decisions. Implicit in majority decision making, and explicit in many constitutions, is the rule that majority decisions must be binding on those in the minority. In practice this may be necessary to make democratic systems workable, but this can mean that people must accept and act in accord with decisions to which they may be strongly opposed on ethical, moral or other grounds. The situation becomes more problematic when the decisions are made at a level one step away from those directly affected, that is by elected representatives. They may then have the power to

permit or prohibit further consideration of the matters. If such decisions are made in meetings, the chairperson who has total control over the meeting can be placed in a very powerful position, not through influencing decisions, but through determining what decisions are possible. Furthermore these "majority" decisions may then affect many other people who were not party to the decision making as with the truck drivers and private contractors involved with aspects of the construction work at Maraetai and Whakamaru.

In the case of the Mangakino workers there is no evidence of large scale worker dissatisfaction and the matter was taken to the Tribunal fairly promptly, but it would have been possible for the Union Executive to have curbed moderate levels of opposition by not providing a decision making forum. Protesters without an organised voice may find petitions one of the few means of making political statements as was attempted by the union dissenters (NZ Herald, 12 Mar, 1948, 6). They have been used on several occasions in Mangakino, as people try to support or overturn decisions made by recognised social actors. A petition allows people to express a viewpoint as directed by the petition organiser and its significance is related to the amount of relevant information available to the potential signatories and the type of persuasion used. Neither petitions nor majority decisions made in formal meetings necessarily give people the opportunity to acquire relevant knowledge, to consider a range of alternatives or to take the time that might be needed to make an important decision.

The decision to transfer Clapham was apparently made by A E Clark, Resident Engineer who had resigned in October 1947 because "I felt that neither I nor any other engineer could carry on that very important job under existing conditions" (NZ Herald, 22 Apr 1948, 8). Clark said that he gave Mr Clapham little information about the reasons for the transfer but did "tell him that he would not stay on the job if he [Clapham] did" (NZ Herald, 22 Apr 1948, 8). Mr Hair representing Clapham and the Union told the Tribunal that when discussions were held with the Minister of Works prior to the strike the Minister stated that:

... no specific charges could be made against Mr Clapham. He had pointed

out that the action of the engineers in resigning unless Mr Clapham was shifted was a matter that had to receive his considered attention. As the job could not proceed without the engineers he had agreed to Mr Clapham's transfer as a solution. (NZ Herald, 23 April, 1948, 8)

It is clear that the technical knowledge of the engineers was a critical ingredient in the project. Although they claimed that they would be seriously disadvantaged by leaving the job; at a time of a world wide shortage of engineers and public service rates of pay which were lower than those in the private sector, this could be regarded with some scepticism. They also believed they were fighting for a principle and presumed to speak for all New Zealanders:

We are not fighting the Union. We have always had the greatest co-operation from them. It must be obvious to everyone in New Zealand, who must realise the seriousness of the issue, that we cannot have worker-control of our schemes. (NZ Herald, 12 March, 1948, 6)

This decision is interesting in that the person responsible for the transfer used his own resignation as a lever to support the transfer, as it would seem that no specific grounds could be found. It is clear that he had power from his expertise and his position in the hierarchy of the Works Department but because of resistance from other actors he needed support to be able to implement his decision. Eventually implementation was made possible through a legal process which all parties bound themselves to accept. Despite wide differences, acceptance of the legal structure allowed the situation to be resolved.

The third decision to be considered is that made by the Tribunal. As it comprised a workers' representative, an employers' representative and a chairman; Judge Dalglish, it is likely that Dalglish played an important part in the decision to support Clapham's transfer. He said that he would first give the other two members of the tribunal a chance to reach a decision and if "they were unable to agree he would join

them in consideration" (NZ Herald, 28 April, 1948).

What may seem unusual for an impartial chairman, is Judge Dalglish's role in industrial matters at the time of the Mangakino strike. He was chairman of the Waterfront Commission which was engaged in a dispute with waterfront workers in Auckland over the unloading of a shipment of wheat from the Mountpark. Union proposals were put to Judge Dalglish that there should be a legal hearing about the Mountpark, before a magistrate, as soon as possible; that all other ships in the port should be fully manned and overtime resumed immediately and that work on the Mountpark should resume as soon as the legal hearing was over. The judge rejected the proposals and said "he was not prepared to accept a magisterial decision" (NZ Herald, 17 Mar, 6). According to the Union the actions of the Waterfront Industry Commission in refusing to let Union members work as usual while the Mountpark issue was decided constituted a lockout (NZ Herald, 17 Mar, 6). Dalglish's part in this dispute suggests at best an alignment with employer, rather than employee. As far as the Clapham case is concerned it is likely that he was solely responsible for the final decision and all were bound to accept it.

What changed as a result of the dispute? Very little as far as can be told from this distance. There was no critical transformation of industrial relations on the project. Uneasiness between staff and the union executive, if not the workers, continued. Mangakino workers along with others joined in the agitation about the rising cost of living that escalated throughout New Zealand in 1950. One factor fuelling the unrest was the removal of subsidies from six vital food items by the new National Government. This was followed by the waterfront strike/lockout in 1951 which attracted supportive strike action from the Mangakino branch of the NZWU protesting at the Government's Emergency Regulations. Previously drawing on support from above for a local dispute, the Mangakino branch now gave their support to a dispute of national consequence and stayed out on strike for a month.

The engineers continued to complain about the lack of co-operation from the allegedly communist union executive in the 1950s. The seriousness of the situation must be

doubted. There were no further strikes on the river after 1951, despite reemployment of "disruptive elements" (Hasman, 1975, 50). Considering the magnitude of the projects and the full employment situation it should have been easy for a strong union to have exerted pressure. The absence of stoppages does not suggest a communist dominated union executive pursuing an agenda of industrial disruption, as the engineers would have one believe. But fears obviously persisted, as in the decision previously described, to withhold publication of a history of those times until the mid 1970s.

Did the local members of the NZWU, the Communist party or the Labour Party, obviously overlapping groups, contribute significantly to local change? Apart from the one flurry of activity during the strike, the Labour Party seems to have been fairly dormant, although voter support was strong. Both the communists and the union executive made overt attempts to improve conditions for workers and residents.

Through the medium of the Mangakino Spark, the first, and from August 1947 until March 1948, the only provider of local news, the Communists had the means to communicate with local residents. From the notoriety it gained from the Tribunal it might be expected that it was a propaganda sheet, but a perusal of 17 of the first 22 issues does not support this idea.

Sports items (29)<sup>3</sup> appeared nearly as frequently as those relating to union and worker affairs (32 - including six on the Clapham case). References to communism occurred in six articles and five letters to the editor, some of which opposed communist views, but there was also light relief (21) including subtle and not so subtle references to "droppers" and "casinos"; school (16), personal (11) and "Co-op" items (10). In terms of space, the ongoing articles of Miira Te Tomo, expressing a Maori viewpoint on a wide range of topics, dominated 11 issues.

Provision of amenities (12) also received attention and after several articles the "Spark" was able to claim success when the method of allocating shops in the new

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<sup>3</sup> Numbers in brackets give the total occurrences in a particular category.

shopping centre was changed. It had been pointed out that choosing the highest tenderer, could mean that the person with realistic local knowledge might miss out while the successful tenderer would need to increase prices to cover their costs. The new system of set rents and balloting was regarded more favourably, although it still did not allow those who had been supplying the township for some time a reward for their efforts.

The editors of the "Spark" perceived their constant publicity for residents' demands for amenities and services may have significantly affected the attitude of the authorities (MKO Spark, Aug 1952). Hasman (1975, 51) felt this was not a fair claim. Her comments fit well with the newspaper evidence although it is doubtful if the Communists really gave themselves as much credit as she assumes.

The government had given Mangakino many of its amenities on the recommendation of the Ministry of Works staff, who had always supported the Welfare Association and endorsed its requests for improvements in the town. To blame the Communists in Mangakino for all the industrial strife on the river was as unfair as to credit them with having obtained all the amenities Mangakino could boast of by 1952. Certainly the Communists had supported the residents' claims for civic amenities, and no less certainly they supported the unionists' claims for improved conditions. But they no more obtained the latter single handed than the former. (Hasman, 1975, 51).

Len Clapham was a contender for the presidency of the New Zealand Workers Union at the time of this turmoil. He later returned to Mangakino to be married and then seems to have slipped into obscurity. Could he have won his case against the Government? Fraser the Prime Minister said when addressing the Mangakino workers that "with the members of the Communist Party it was a straight-out fight. ....Wherever Communists were in office in trade unions there would be trouble." Semple, Minister of Works, at the same meeting stated that "the Communists were bent on destruction ... they were trying to get inside trade unions and put an iron curtain around the country" (NZ Herald, 5 Apr, 1948, 8). Despite the Mangakino

workers' support how could Clapham possibly have won his case? The red peril and power shortages loomed large in the minds of New Zealanders (Figure 10 NZ Herald, 11 Mar 1948, 8).

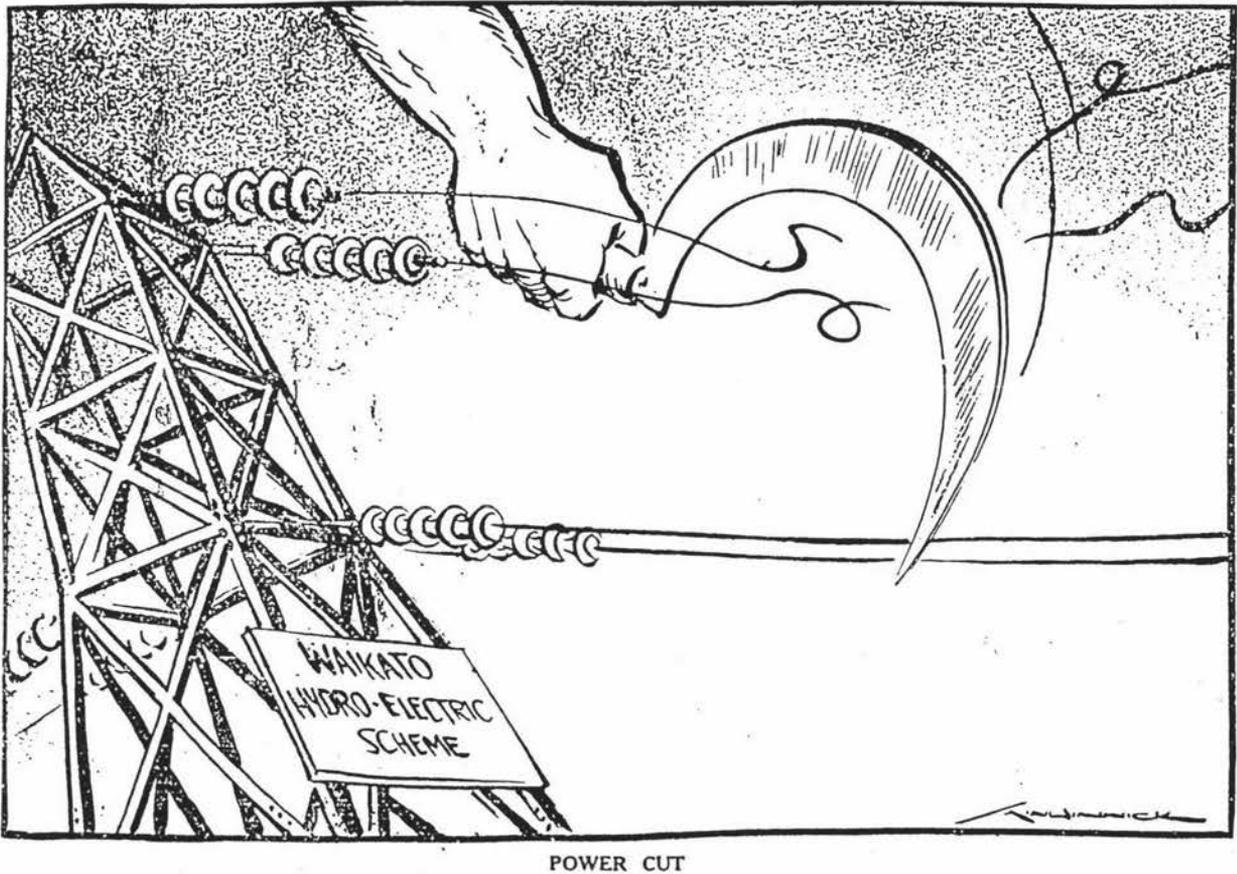


Figure 9 Power Cut (New Zealand Herald, 11 March 1948)

## Our Town

The Mangakino Township Incorporation would have good reason to describe Mangakino as "Our Town". The Incorporation still owns about three quarters of the town. It has had to take responsibility for surveying subdivisions as required by the Taupo County. In addition it has provided, free of charge, all the land required for public amenities including hospital, schools, and churches. It has facilitated the setting up of the Pouakani Marae and supported various ventures intended to benefit local people and/or to make a profit. Perceptions of the Incorporation tend to focus on its landlord role and in some quarters it is a convenient scapegoat on which to place the blame for all Mangakino's perceived ills. It is seen by some local people as an impediment to the development of the town. While accepting that these perceptions do affect local development and change, it is possible that the Ministry of Works housing legacy is a much stronger influence than the property rights and policies of the Incorporation.

As with the Ministry of Works it is not possible to gain an intimate view of the decision making processes of the Incorporation, but glimpses are afforded in the investigation conducted by Judge Sheehan in 1978 and changes are apparent. The shift of administration from the Wairarapa to Mangakino in 1985 would appear to be of particular significance in signalling a closer relationship between the Ngati Kahungunu owners and their central North Island property.

What power has the Incorporation had to choose a path for the development of Mangakino? How committed is the Incorporation to this place? What alternatives have been available, and in what ways might they have affected the town? To what extent has consultation and co-operation occurred between the County and the Incorporation, between the Ministry of Works and the Incorporation, and between the Incorporation and local residents? How effectively has the Incorporation acted, or been perceived to act, on behalf of its shareholders. What would be the likely consequences of freeholding more, or all of the town? These are aspects considered in this chapter. In an attempt to make the complicated negotiations more

comprehensible the material has been organised in chronological order as is shown in the accompanying timeline (Figure 10).

## **Birth of a Township**

There is a persistent story that Mangakino township was built on private land by mistake. Spiers, the Incorporation Secretary for more than 20 years, wrote in 1978 that compensation of £30 000 was offered to the Maori owners "when it was discovered that the town had been built on privately owned land rather than crown land" (MKO INC Inv, Spiers, 1978, 1). This seems hard to believe as there was no adjacent crown land. Research for this thesis has produced no evidence to support the story nor did Judge Sheehan during his investigation (MKO INC Inv, 1978). Jenks who did the investigative work and surveying for the hydro projects also rejects this idea (Pers Com 1992).

It is understandable that people sought a rational explanation for the government negotiating a lease with the owners after they had built a township on the site. There were several hundred houses in the town, the shops were built and occupied and a hospital was already in use before the lease proclamation was issued in October 1949. The government had been in contact with the owners, at least from 1946 onwards as described in "Wairarapa Moana to Pouakani". Building had commenced in August 1945, leaving room for doubt, but the "mistake" notion is not consistent with the recollections of Jenks who was present at that time.

It is likely that ownership of the land was for practical purposes irrelevant, as the government had the power to take land as required for works of this nature and had declared its intention regarding hydro development on the Waikato River by Orders in Council in March and November 1940 (NZ Gazette, 1940). It must also be remembered that during World War II the government legally increased its powers to allow it to deal with emergencies, cope with shortages and act promptly "in the national interest". Mangakino was planned, and building commenced, while wartime measures were still in force although these may not have specifically covered

# he "Maori Owners" and Mangakino Township

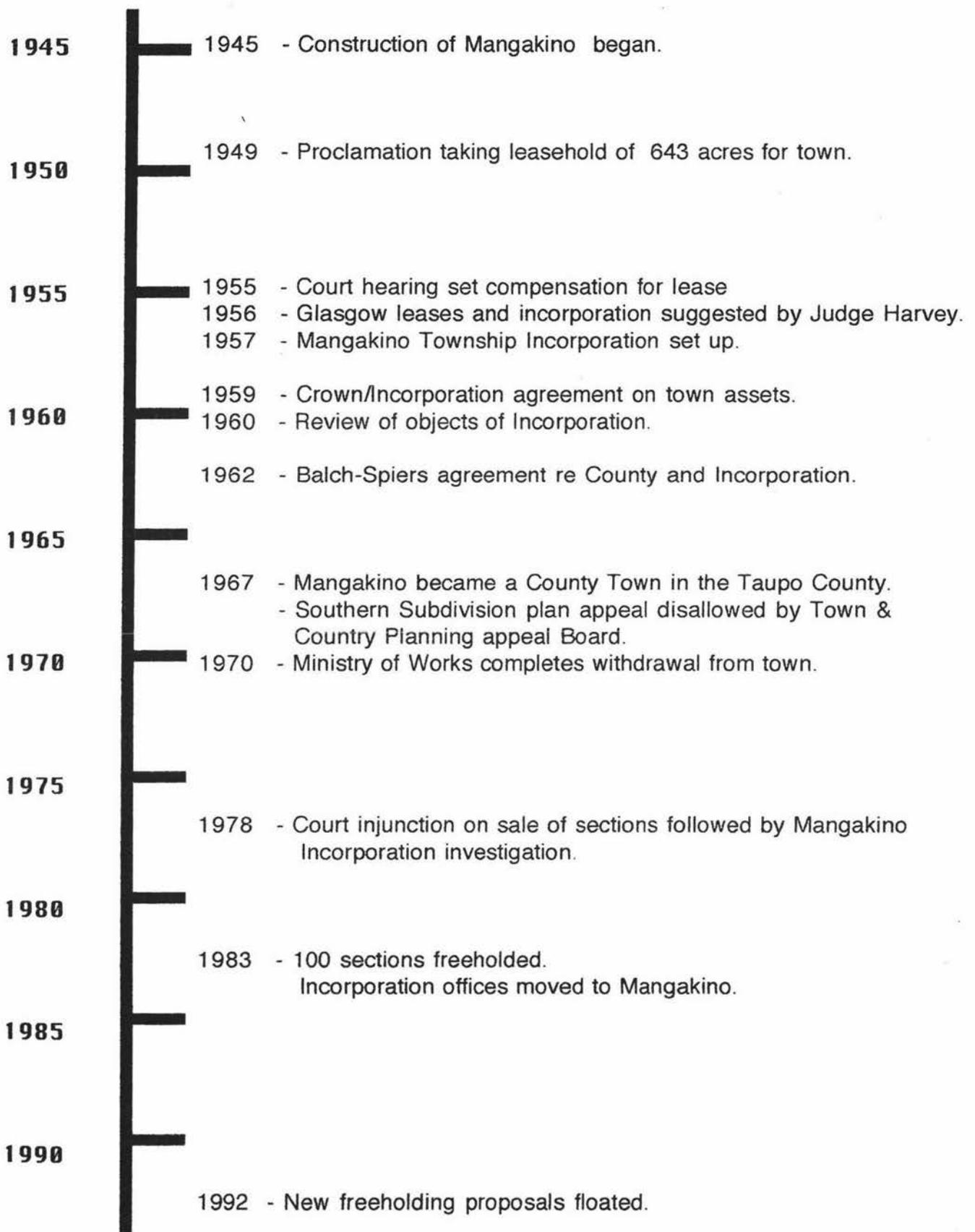


Figure 10 Mangakino Township Timeline

undertaking hydro works. The idea of getting on with the job without consultation, would have been quite in keeping with wartime political administration. Also, because governments make the rules they play by, whether the country is at war or not; whatever the obstacles were to obtaining the land, they could have been easily overcome as long as the government of the day had an adequate majority. Even if people had been informed, and had so desired, who would have been able to prevent the actions taken in a place where the only access was via a ferry operated by and for a government department?

In more "enlightened" times when environmental impact reports, consultation and the provision of information have been required in the planning process for major projects, the government has still legislated to overcome opposition when necessary. The only legal brake on this authority being the need to retain power, thus giving some weight to public opinion especially if an election is nigh. Even the strongest protest action can seldom have an effect unless it is expedient for the government to be seen to make concessions. Many cases dealing with Maori land issues have in recent times been heard by the Waitangi Tribunal, but this only has recommendatory powers and ongoing suggestions (NZ Herald, 8 Jun 1993) that the government should make changes relating to this tribunal highlight the ease with which a government can change the "rules of the game".

It must be noted, as mentioned elsewhere, that the amount of land to be taken by the government was greatly reduced after consultation with the Board of Native Affairs. Moreover, it seems possible that the leasehold arrangement was entered into after the Maori owners turned down the opportunity to relinquish their rights in return for a cash sum. There was no leverage which could be applied, except perhaps four Maori government members and an election looming. Probably the owners' bargaining power was non-existent, therefore whatever they gained was dependent on the goodwill of the government. Stevens who has acted on behalf of the Incorporation in legal matters for many years says that:

The crown would no doubt allege that the owners were able to negotiate freely

with the government. Even if there was an element of negotiation, the Crown was the more powerful party to the negotiations and the Maori owners really did not have much option as the Crown would certainly have acquired the land compulsorily if the Maori owners had not agreed to the compromise arrangements. (Pers Com, 1992)

Under the proclamation the government took the freehold of the land that it required permanently, and took the leasehold of the 683 township acres until 1970 or one year after the completion of the construction projects, whichever was the sooner. Whether it originally intended any part of the town to survive is difficult to know. Roxburgh Hydro and Mangakino were planned and developed at similar times and on the Roxburgh plan there is a small area away from the community centre and shops designated "site for permanent village" (NZ Heritage, 1971, 2534). This would be the equivalent of Maraetai village and designed to house power station employees. Campbell who studied Roxburgh as an example of the "hydrotown" concept concluded that "Hydrotown was a transient settlement with little past and no future"(NZ Heritage, 1971, 2531). However, doubts persist, because Mangakino, unlike Roxburgh Hydro was close to major farm development schemes, and Turangi<sup>1</sup> which followed it was "planned by the Ministry of Works as a permanent town, mainly a tourist centre but also backed by some land development in the region" (NZ Heritage, 1971, 2533).

The accepted local "mythology" is that bare land was to be returned to the owners. Yet in early 1948 the *New Zealand Herald* stated that "plans have been approved for a permanent school which will remain after the need for some of the existing temporary buildings has passed" (22 Mar, 1948, 9). Moreover, in July 1949, prior to the lease proclamation, it was reported in the *Mangakino Chronicle* that progress had been made on 30 houses for staff "close to the new administration block...[which] will, no doubt, one day be part of the permanent town of Mangakino". Two years later local people were trying overtly to influence the course of events and wrote to the Prime Minister outlining arguments for making Mangakino permanent (MKO Chron, 18 Jan 1951,1). As will be seen below the owners provided the necessary conditions to allow the town to survive but there was also local support which indicated that

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<sup>1</sup> Turangi, unlike the other two existed prior to its hydrotown phase.

people wanted this to happen. A town without people would have had no value for the landlord.

## Compensation

No compensation agreement was made at the time of the proclamation and this was left to a court decision made by Judge Harvey in 1955. The Judge's role seems to have been both extraordinary and contradictory. He chaired meetings of the owners and government departments, he distributed royalties, he was associated with the Board of Native Affairs and yet despite his close, and as indicated before, partisan involvement he was called to rule on the matter of compensation. This is where the contradictions occur, or perhaps his legal training overcame his non legal opinions expressed elsewhere. The key issue in the compensation hearing was that of "betterment". In 1946 Harvey made himself very clear when he expressed his concerns about servants of the crown attempting to take land without compensation by offsetting betterment against the area taken (Pouakani Files, 7). Yet in his judgment in 1955 he uses "betterment" as the reason for remitting half of the small amount of compensation to be paid by the Ministry of Works and sets what seems a very low figure of £534 for the land actually taken for the dam and power house construction and lake bed. Previously he considered the length of time the owners had to wait to get any benefits from their central North Island land grant, and emphasised that power from Maraetai was advantaging other than the Maori owners. In 1955 this was supplanted by his opinion that:

the works carried out under the authority of the proclamation conferred great benefits on the remainder of the land and that the restraint exercised by the Hon. Minister in taking a temporary tenancy only, over the land for which he had but a temporary need will result in great advantage to the almost landless owners of this block. The Minister asks that 50% of the gross amount found to be payable as gross compensation should be offset as betterment in favour of the Crown. The court considers that this claim for betterment is fully justified in the circumstances and will frame its decision accordingly. (Rotorua Min Book, 1955; 102, 189)

There can be no doubt that David John Harvey was a power broker par excellence. To explain his role it is necessary to know that the Maori Land Board was the administrative arm of the Maori Land Court. While all sales, leases and successions to Maori owned land went through the court the board collected and distributed rents. The judge of the Land Court was also the Chairman of the Board and there was "frequently difficulty where administrative and judicial functions conflict[ed]" (Butterworth, 1991, 60). The 1952 Maori Land Amendment Act ended this situation by amalgamating the Land Boards with the Maori Trustee. It may, however, have made little difference to Harvey who was nearing the end of his career and possessed a vast amount of accumulated knowledge and experience.

It is clear that Harvey's position as Maori Land Court judge and Maori Land Board chairman afforded him the opportunity to initiate and implement change. Butterworth includes him among judges of "extremely strong personality" and describes "a colourful tale of private enterprise ... which must have haunted the sleep of orderly-minded administrators" (1991, 60). He does not mention Harvey's involvement with Pouakani but discloses how "using unclaimed monies and other funds from the Waiariki District Maori Land Board, Harvey set out to hack through the tangle by the quickest possible route" and created an almost self sufficient house building industry at Rotorua (Butterworth, 1991, 61). Although Judge Harvey was nearing retirement in 1955, and his authority had been reduced by the Maori Land Amendment Act 1952, he had obviously lost none of his desire to push for action and he played an important role in negotiating the incorporation of Mangakino township.

## **Incorporation**

Along with his compensation hearing judgment Judge Harvey sent a memorandum to the Court Registrar (Rotorua Maori Land Court, 15 Nov 1955) which expressed the opinion

that unless something constructive was done to transmute the temporary township of Mangakino into a permanent one, valuable revenue would be lost

to the owners and the suggestion of incorporation and Glasgow leases was mooted.

In the memorandum he told of a visit to the Wairarapa to meet with the owners of Pouakani. Aware of the power the government could bring to bear he warned the committee

against taking the view that ... the Works Department would leave the land on the 1st October 1969 and that the buildings and amenities now on the land would either have to be moved by the department or sold to the owners at demolition values for the reason that the Works Department had such a large amount of public money tied up in the area that if pushed too hard it would be forced to take the land and pay full compensation for it. This compensation being the amount of unimproved value. (Rotorua Maori Land Court, 15 Nov 1955, 2)

Harvey also warned of the consequences of inaction as Commissioner O'Keefe had people clamouring for the laying out of a township at Whakamaru where the "tradesmen of Mangakino could shift their shops and set up permanent businesses" (Harvey, 1955, 2). He stressed that "there was no time to lose otherwise the pressure on the Crown and the County Commissioner to have a permanent township established at Whakamaru" might become more than they could withstand.

Harvey had by now assumed a new role, working along with George Te Whaiti to incorporate Mangakino Township. This was approved unanimously by a meeting of owners in April 1956. As Sheehan (MKO Inc Inv, 1978, 16) saw it:

[That the] judge was the "architect" of the Mangakino Incorporation scheme is I think clear and it is equally clear that George Te Whaiti (since deceased) was the "engineer" and a very able one acting in concert with the judge.

This provides an interesting example of an individual's capability to influence change.

It must be noted, however, that this capacity came from the knowledge Harvey had gained through his role in court hearings and meetings relating to the Pouakani block and from his status. The latter meant that a note expressing opinions was heeded by others and that respect for his views was such that he was able to convince Te Whaiti and eventually all those present at the meeting of the benefits of incorporation.

Before giving all credit (or blame) to the Judge it is worth noting that the idea of incorporation was not new to the Pouakani owners. In 1920 a contested application to incorporate was made, on behalf of the owners, by G Elliott acting for Whatahoro and others. He suggested that "if incorporated we propose to negotiate with natives to work timber on royalty - and to assist Natives to farm remainder by financing them to enable them to buy stock" (MKO INC Inv, 1978, 6). A further option open to the owners was to have their property administered by the Maori Trustee. This would have shifted the landlord's responsibility away from the owners while giving them less opportunity to have a say in the running of their property.

Another perspective on the reasons for Incorporation is provided by Stevens (1992, Pers Com).

When the time came for winding down of the town, the Ministry of Works was keen to recover the value of the houses and an order of incorporation for the Proprietors of Mangakino Township provided for the granting of Glasgow type leases over the land, and that was the procedure that was followed as properties became surplus to Ministry of Works requirements.

In other words the Ministry of Works would not have been able to sell any of the houses *in situ* without suitable property tenure arrangements being made.

At a Pouakani meeting in 1956, (Pouakani Min, 29 Feb) H J Voice the Ministry of Works representative, while protesting otherwise, made very clear the relative strengths of the Pouakani owners and the Crown.

The main question is whether you are proposing to negotiate with the crown to make Mangakino a permanent township. I am not using this as a lever ... If you are going to take too long to make up your minds, the opportunity will be lost. Do not think you can dictate terms to the Crown. We have come here to discuss on a fair basis, largely as a result of my own personal interest. We could stay there until 1969 and you could then wait and see what happens. Are you going to be so careful in scrutinising small things that you are going to lose sight of the main issues. You should appoint some person who can negotiate and in whom you have confidence. I have not come to hold a pistol at your heads. (5)

Although Dave Thompson (Rewi Tamihana) spoke forcefully at the same meeting saying "the land is ours and no person should tell us what to do...we should tell them what to do" (Pouakani Min, 29 Feb, 1956), it is understandable that the outcome was that desired by the Ministry of Works.

To what extent did incorporation constrain, or enable the Maori owners in the management and development of their property; in preserving or changing the local environment? To answer those questions it is necessary to consider the objects for which the body corporate was established. The full text of the amended version (Rotorua Min Book, 1960) is provided in Appendix B but some salient points are now raised in discussion.

The first of the principal objects is to "preserve develop and extend the Township of Mangakino" which gave the proprietors a clear mandate to initiate the Southern subdivision proposal which was quashed by the Taupo County Council. The second requires management of the township area "for the financial benefit of the owners" implying priority to producing dividends for shareholders. The third and fourth objects gave authority to negotiate with the Ministry of Works, other government departments, local authorities, corporations and individuals relating to the surrender of the Crown lease. The Incorporation was also granted the right to lease any land, but it was denied the right to sell or transfer land except that subsequently purchased or required by the Crown or other specified bodies as outlined below. There is an apparent

contradiction between this object and the final one which allows the Committee of Management to sell up to one twentieth of the block at its own discretion and more with the consent of a General Meeting of shareholders (Rotorua Min Book, 1960).

The Crown rights granted were very broad and allowed the taking of any land with or without compensation during the currency of the present lease

for the following purposes whether present or future:

- (i) Roads
  - (ii) Hospitals and schools
  - (iii) Post Offices, Police Stations, Fires Stations
  - (iv) Public buildings or such other public works or purposes as are connected with administration of Government services in the Township of Mangakino.
- (Rotorua Min Book, 1960 )

In addition the Incorporation was permitted to transfer land to be used for religious purposes and required to set aside a "suitable area of not less than two acres in a central position as a Maori Community Centre for social cultural and spiritual purposes for the Maori people". It was also required "to transfer to the local authority, or to the Crown on terms specified by the said local authority... such areas as might properly be required for reserves by the local authority under any legislation relating to the subdivision of land" (Rotorua Min Book, 1960).

All of the above are obviously intended to ensure that a viable township with full amenities could continue after the withdrawal of the Ministry of Works. It lets the Incorporation be seen as the donor of land for essential services whilst allowing the Ministry of Works and County to take what land is required for their purposes. An option was left open for the removal of all roading, sewerage, drainage and water services installed by the Crown or for their surrender to the Incorporation for "an agreed upon percentage of rentals under the perpetually renewable leases for an agreed upon period" (Rotorua Min Book, 1960). The option of removing those services

would seem to have been a strong bargaining tool having the potential to be used when "negotiating" the percentages of rent money payable to the Crown.

### **Glasgow leases**

To hear some local people talking one would think that the Mangakino lease format is an unusual one but Harvey made the suggestion in the knowledge that many prosperous towns in New Zealand had been built on the Glasgow lease form of tenure (MKO INC Inv, 1978, 16). The leases are for a set period; initially it was 14 years, and they are perpetually renewable on the same terms, but with a rental review at the end of each lease period. The question to be asked is, in what way do these leases restrict the purchaser's ability to use or develop their property? Stories are told of people being prevented from doing as they wish and of difficulties in obtaining finance. The former probably comes into the realms of local myth and may arise from a complicated situation involving the County and a house for the Doctor <sup>2</sup>. The latter has had some substance (Hughes, 1993) and probably arose at least in part from ignorance on the part of the lenders.

There have been difficulties, at times in borrowing money to purchase houses in Mangakino. Reasons suggested for this include the nature of the leases for which no compensation is payable on forfeiture, and the fact that it is Maori land (Crawford, 1992, Pers Com). It could well be that another factor not stated, was the supposed credit worthiness of the borrower. People choosing to buy cheap houses would often not have owned property elsewhere and may have been subject to much greater scrutiny than those who had previously owned property. What these factors illustrate is the power that financiers have, whether they are government departments or other types of institutions, in constraining people's choices. They also show the difficulties which can face low income, first time home buyers, especially if they are not following the accepted channels of the time; for example in the 1960s buying a new house using family benefit capitalisation for a deposit.

Before labelling the financiers as the "ogres" it would be wise to examine the

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<sup>2</sup> The County apparently did not realise that it had leasehold sections as well as freehold ones obtained under the Balch-Spiers agreement.

structures within which they operate. Government departments have responsibilities to taxpayers to see that their money is used prudently. How this is gauged will depend on the policies under which they operate. If housing people is considered, at least in part, as an essential social service, there may be a greater willingness to take lending risks. If on the other hand it is purely a commercial operation, profit making can be the only criteria used. To lend money at a sufficiently high interest rate to make a good profit, while maintaining or extending the corporation's market share must be the main objective. Who sets these priorities? A government which is also trying to balance its financial accountability, that is, its profit making, against meeting the social needs of people while keeping enough support to continue as the government. Current first world trends towards criticism of welfarism (TV1, Frontline 31 Aug 1992) may indicate which direction future New Zealand governments will take, especially when deficit financing makes international credit worthiness a matter of importance.

Private lending institutions are likewise caught in a similar bind, with their prime responsibilities being to their shareholders. There is also the need to survive in the commercial world, where a bank or company losing its profitability or market share will not be able to perpetuate itself. Again the balance must be sought in the face of competition from other organisations. This may seem very remote from Mangakino, but if you ask who lends to local buyers, major lending institutions will be to the forefront. In only a few cases will it be local sellers and some will pay cash. These lenders have in the past been (unreasonably?) cautious about local lending, although Treaty of Waitangi fears may now also be affecting the availability of money. If Mangakino was owned by a church, under similar leasehold provisions, as are significant portions of urban New Zealand, would the criticisms of tenure and questions asked about finance be the same?

### **Crown-Incorporation Agreement**

Negotiations between the Crown and the Proprietors of Mangakino township were very protracted. Representatives of the Crown were involved before the objects of incorporation were finalised in 1956, and several of the special objects, which are ancillary or supplementary to the the principal objects, relate specifically to

arrangements with the Crown. Discussion stalled in 1957 (Taupo Adv Com Min 2, 7 Oct, 1957) but agreement was reached in June 1958. Terms of the agreement obliged the Incorporation to pay £55 000 to the Crown for the assets including water and sewerage systems which they were to receive. According to special object 2(f) this was "not to involve the Owners in making any payments to the crown other than an agreed upon percentage of the rentals under the perpetually renewable leases for an agreed on period" (Rotorua Min Book, 112/199) The proportion agreed on was half, but the arrangement was later amended to a thirty year mortgage which does not seem to be permitted by object 2(f).

In May 1961 the Ministry of Works announced that it was going to reduce the number of houses in the town by 300 and in September of that year the building of Maraetai II was suddenly halted. As the Ministry of Works began to withdraw from the town there was an urgent need for arrangements to be made between the Taupo County and the Incorporation. The Ministry of Works owned houses it wanted to get rid of, the Incorporation owned land it needed to sub divide. For Mangakino to continue as a town the County had to accept responsibility for the maintenance of services and roading. If the Ministry of Works was going to sell its houses on Incorporation land, the Taupo County had to accept the sub division plans of the Incorporation. It was also necessary to reach agreement with the Incorporation on the value of the assets it was to receive from the Ministry of Works, and the amount of upgrading necessary to reach County standards.

### **Balch-Spiers Agreement**

In 1962 the County employed Andrew Murray Associates, consulting engineers to handle negotiations with the Incorporation. Balch was assigned to the task. Spiers, the Incorporation secretary, acted for the Proprietors. This seems a great responsibility for an accountant to take on, especially as the County saw the need to employ civil engineers. A valuation of the services the Incorporation received from the crown, including water and sewerage systems, was required. This was to be offset against the cost to the County of upgrading these amenities and providing necessary roading and stormwater drainage. The difference was found to be £7 600 in favour of the

County and the Incorporation agreed to transfer to the County freehold land to that value comprising the County depot and 17 township sections. Later this became a contentious issue as the Town Committee believed that income from the sale of these sections should be credited to Mangakino Township and should not disappear into the general County coffers, especially as it was difficult to obtain sufficient rates from Mangakino for local administration and maintenance.

In return for accepting the dedication of the township roads the County also required the Incorporation to "arrange for the surveying of the balance of the sections in the township at the rate of not less than 200 sections per annum" and "immediately submit a scheme plan for the subdivision and roading of the township area". The roads were accepted "at their present standards and without any responsibility for any immediate improvements" (Taupo County Min 5, 30 Jan 1964, 3-4) in spite of the fact that the Incorporation was debited \$82 250 including the cost of roading.

Despite references to the Balch-Spiers agreement (Sheehan, 1978) it was not a straight forward matter, as the County accepted a motion not to be bound by agreement reached by its representatives (Taupo County Min 4, 14 Nov 1961, 2) and matters had still not been resolved in August 1964 when the County exerted leverage to gain acceptance. An ultimatum was presented to the Incorporation saying that agreement had not been reached with Spiers and that the County must have "unqualified assurance that all conditions except (h) (see Appendix C) be complied with" (Taupo County Min 5, 25 Aug 1964). As soon as the letter of acceptance was received the County went ahead and approved the seven sub division plans which had been held up. This lever was used again in 1967 when the engineer's report stated that there should be no further subdivision because the Reserves had not been transferred to the County ( Taupo County, Jul 1967).

A clouded picture emerges, from behind the closed doors of in committee discussions in the 1960s, of an asymmetric power relation between the County and the Incorporation. In the case just cited, when agreement could not be reached the County imposed its conditions. In an earlier instance when the Incorporation offered

Commissioner O'Keefe (the county), sections at half the rental and without payment of the premium being charged to other lessees his response was to say that "he would not stoop to horse trading" and would take land at Whakamaru instead (MKO Chron, 10 Jun 1961, 1).

It is possible that the Incorporation was being unreasonable and laggardly in playing its part in town development, but instant acceptance or delayed acceptance may have been the only alternatives available. What else could they have done? What levers did the Incorporation have to use? In theory the town services, acquired from the Ministry of Works could have been withheld from the County, but in the 1960s water and sewage were still being used and maintained by Government departments and the Crown lease of the town was still in place. If roads were not handed over, what difference did it make? They would still be in place and used. If their deterioration affected the functioning of the Ministry of Works it would have repaired them. In fact the creation of new streets by the Ministry late in its term of lease (MKO Chron, 12 Mar 1964) raised the ire of the County Planner, but what could be done about it? Furthermore the special objects of incorporation obliged the proprietors to co-operate in transferring land to the Crown and to the local authority for specified purposes and to arrange surveys, road dedications and other requirements (See Appendix B).

Even if negotiations had been delayed until after the completion of Maraetai II and expiry of the lease, an uncooperative Incorporation could have been left with a town site devoid of houses, and the possibility of it being rezoned rural and subdivision prohibited, as happened with the southern sub division (see "Taupo Connection"). One farm surrounding a site reserved for public amenities such as a hall and school could have been the fate of Mangakino township. Another alternative of selling the land to the Crown would have been on the Crown's terms and it was not likely to have been wanted at that stage. Sale to a private developer could have been another option. Overall the impression gained is that if the Incorporation wished to retain the land as a functioning town it had to do whatever was required by the County or Crown, under whatever conditions were laid down. Nevertheless there may have been a considerable amount of goodwill forthcoming from these actors.

## Freeholding

With major negotiations all completed and the lease expired, by the early 1970s the future of Mangakino should have seemed relatively settled. However, uncertainty persisted. Land tenure continued to cause concern and featured in two important documents produced in the 1970s: Crawford's study undertaken for the Taupo Regional Development Committee (1976) and Judge Sheehan's report (1978) arising from an investigation of the Incorporation and particularly the actions of its secretary.

Crawford identified four possible strategies for future development:

1. "She'll be Right - No Interference"
2. "Implement the decision of the original lease - Rural Land Alternative" <sup>3</sup>
3. "Total Community Planning - Normal balanced Community goal"
4. "Specialisation in Function - Recreation and Waikato River Corridor" (1976, 35)

If the first strategy was adopted he believed "land tenure would preclude the necessary attraction of finance to assist rebuilding and investment in the community" (Crawford, 1976, 35). The second option was a solution assuming "that no decision will be made to release land upon a freehold or very long leasehold base" (Crawford, 1976,37). The third strategy was seen as requiring the "creation of freehold lands for residential, industrial and commercial development" (Crawford, 1976, 38). Concerns about land tenure also featured in the final alternative with a "commitment to land tenure... [being] not only basic but essential before any attempt at provision for accommodation in its simplest form was commissioned" (Crawford, 1976, 39).

Obviously Judge Harvey's optimism of the 1950s, regarding Glasgow leases, was not shared by the Taupo County Council Planner of the 1970s. It would be easy to jump to the conclusion that the outcome had not been as Harvey anticipated, but there is not a

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<sup>3</sup> The only documentary evidence of a lease which has been located is the Proclamation of 1949 taking the leasehold of the township area (NZ Gazette, 1949).

single comment about land tenure among the 68 recorded from the random sample of 104 surveyed in the Regional Development study (Crawford, 1976, 18-19). It is possible that perceptions of the residents differed from those of the planner or the County, although the opinions of those who had decided **not** to move to Mangakino may have been of more consequence.

Even though Crawford had seen no signs of a willingness to alter land tenure in Mangakino township, the Incorporation took steps in this direction during 1977 and 78 and almost tore itself apart in the process. At that time 623 residential sections were leased to people who owned the houses on them (Sheehan, 1978, 10). This could have left few, if any vacant sections and indicates that the Ministry of Works had succeeded in selling all the houses it chose to leave behind. The reason for freeholding was therefore not to enable residential land to be used. It may have been to encourage the replacement of "construction town" houses with larger more permanent ones, but this could have only happened gradually because as Crawford (1976, 18 -19) says many of the existing inhabitants had come to Mangakino because they could afford the cheap houses.

Freeholding may also have encouraged commercial or industrial development by giving a greater sense of security to investors. A further reason could have been to boost the Incorporation's capital allowing it to invest in the Wairarapa where the shareholders were tangata whenua<sup>4</sup>. or elsewhere. The latter provided a good rationale from the Incorporation's point of view and a circular sent out to shareholders (MKO Inc Inv, 1978, 11) explained that a capital fund would be established from the sale of sections which could be used to buy land elsewhere "that would prove to be a good commercial investment", buy commercial buildings and provide "loans to shareholders to purchase businesses if it can be shown that they are viable commercial enterprises" (MKO Inc Inv, 1978,11).

The above reasons are in keeping with principal Object 1(b) of the Incorporation which is to manage the whole of the block for the financial benefit of the owners. This is supported by the 1967 Maori Affairs Amendment Act which explains that

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<sup>4</sup> Belonging to the land.

A Maori Incorporation ... is the means by which the owners of a piece of Maori land acting through an elected Committee of Management may utilise their land for some profitable enterprise the profits being divided among the owners... (in MKO Inc Inv, 1978, 12).

Acceptance of Incorporation was acceptance of the profit motive.

By September 1977 the Committee of Management had decided to begin a progressive freeholding of Mangakino township<sup>5</sup>. It recommended to the Annual General Meeting that 10 per cent of the leased residential sections be sold annually. The motion proposed by the Chairman was lost on a show of hands (MKO Inc Inv, 1978, 23). When the matter was raised the following year at a Special General Meeting authority was sought for the Committee of Management to "sell on such terms as it thinks fit, the Freehold Title to any land in Mangakino zoned residential" (MKO Inc Inv, 1978, 48). A poll was sought and votes recorded, according to shares held, gave a majority in favour of the motion.

Subsequently a group of shareholders took out an injunction against the sale of sections and requested an investigation into whether the Incorporation Secretary should continue to hold his position. In the investigation report Judge Sheehan states his view that "investment is not paramount in many minds" (MKO Inc Inv, 1978, 49). He questions secretary Spiers' view that "Pouakani is not ancestral tribal land but land given as a business investment and could be regarded as such" (MKO Inc Inv, 1978, 49). He also comments on the growing attachment to Pouakani and suggests that the test is not where people live but where they are buried.

The sad irony of this and many other situations pertaining to Maori land is that traditional values become subjects of debate within a legal setting of British origin and Maori are commonly represented by Pakeha. In this instance a judge, presumably Pakeha, is passing comment on the views of the Pakeha Incorporation Secretary. Both

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<sup>5</sup> This contrasts strongly with a 1968 Annual Meeting at which shareholders present unanimously agreed not to "give owners resident in Mangakino the right to purchase the freehold of residential sections in Mangakino" (MKO Inc Inv, 1978, 46).

have an outsider's knowledge. Where is the Maori voice?

Incorporation allows Maori to retain links with the land. It allows land to be used in a way beneficial to the owners. Incorporation meetings may be held on a marae, kaumatua may comprise the Committee of Management chosen by and from the Maori owners, yet the affairs of an Incorporation are tightly bound by an Act passed in a parliament where the Maori vote seldom carries weight.

Included in the legislation is the right to have proxy votes. The intent of this is to allow people who are unable to travel to the meeting to have the opportunity to influence the decision. An unintended consequence is that it allows people with knowledge, the opportunity to attend meetings, and an agenda to pursue, to collect large numbers of proxy votes and perhaps exert undue influence on the outcome. Allegations of canvassing for proxies levelled at the secretary were disproved in this context but Judge Sheehan expressed his uneasiness at the outcome:

The resolution to sell shows a two to one majority but I am concerned at the size of the "against" vote and this may always turn on proxy holders and it will, I feel, always be an emotive issue ( MKO Inc Inv, 1978, 56).

The short term outcome of the investigation was that the secretary was able to retain his position and was praised for the work he had done for the Incorporation despite some procedural irregularities. The dissatisfied shareholders also should have been appeased as further consideration was recommended before the freeholding of sections other than those in Korari Crescent which had been approved previously.

The long term outcomes are still unknown, and subject to the collective will of the owners. Eventually in 1983, 100 freehold sections were made available for sale to lessees who wished to avail themselves of the opportunity. Again in 1992 inquiries were invited from people wishing to freehold their sections (Dam City Advertiser, 6 Apr 1992), followed promptly by a notice of reminder that the matter had to go before a general meeting. To freehold or not to freehold, is obviously still an important question

in the minds of some Incorporation shareholders. Current interest rates may influence buyers and sellers. The disparity between the percentage of the land value paid in rent and the interest rate charged to borrowers, prompted Judge Sheehan in 1978 to say that he could not "imagine a retired person ... asking for the opportunity to raise even a few thousand dollars at 12 per cent when that person has it already at 5 per cent" (MKO Inc Inv, 53). At present the disparity would be much less, making retention a better option at the same time as leaseholders may be more tempted to buy.

One thing is certain, if large scale freeholding is planned the objects of the Incorporation will have to be altered, as sale of the land would be incompatible with at least one of the principal Objects:

To manage for the financial benefit of the owners of the whole of the block taken under a lease to Her Majesty the Queen by a Proclamation dated the 19th October 1949 for the development of Water-power (Sheehan, 1978, 47).

One of the aspects of rule making exemplified by the above is the impossibility of taking into account all possible future circumstances and the contradictions which may emerge. This was the case with "Glasgow leases", the rent from which was "annihilated by inflation" (Sheehan, 1978, 51). Long term leases, not subject to review can give security to the lessee and be inequitable for the lessor; short term leases with right of review can seem less secure to the former, while being more equitable to the latter. Land which is sold provides money for investment which, if it is in property, may have similar pitfalls to that relinquished. For those owners with roots firmly in the Wairarapa, the answer may lie in taking the best possible financial advice (at a price). Pouakani, with Mangakino as its hub may have stronger personal attachments for the people who live locally. It would not be surprising if the factions mentioned by Judge Sheehan (MKO Inc Inv 1978,1) still exist 14 years later. As with any group, or organisation if a common purpose is lacking, effective action will always leave some disaffected members. Alternatives to effective action may be delays and inefficiency, or a compromise not strongly favoured by anyone.

## Entrepreneurial Efforts

Apart from the attempted southern (re)subdivision the Incorporation and other Maori groups have been involved in a number of development efforts, both in the township itself and on nearby land. Many have been joint ventures. Success may not be obvious, but there has been sufficient imagination and energy to keep hope and interest alive. To uncover reasons for success, failure or persistence is beyond the scope of this study, but the Maori owners, in conjunction with other actors have significantly changed the locality, albeit temporarily in some instances. Some of these changes are now surveyed.

The MOW administration buildings located on a prime site overlooking the township spawned several interesting proposals. The most elaborate being from the College Rifles Sports Club in Auckland which wanted to develop a recreational complex. As with many bright ideas this one did not reach fruition. Eventually in the 1970s the Incorporation entered into an arrangement with a travel company and Lake Maraetai Lodge was opened to accommodate travellers. This was a very short lived venture, but the Incorporation retained ownership and found a new lessee. Many changes have occurred but the buildings are still in use, at present housing ex psychiatric patients. This has had an unexpected spin off as the people running this institution also took over the Residential Home for the elderly, housed in the Hospital building, when the Waikato Area Health Board was going to close it in 1991.

Horticultural and forestry experiments have been tried. In 1978 the Incorporation leased 15 acres close to the township for planting in grapes, small fruits and potatoes, with the intention of calling on the pool of female labour for harvesting (MKO Inc Inv, 1978, 15). Despite a promising start this did not develop into an economic proposition. The farm forestry trial is more successful although there were higher than expected tree losses in the early years from cattle damaging the bark. The forestry leases with New Zealand Forest Products (NZFP) were not considered to be on terms very favourable to the owners and after several years of trying, the deal was renegotiated in 1991 (Prop MKO Township, 1991, 2). This includes joint venture arrangements with

NZFP and is starting to yield increased returns as thinning gives way to clear felling of trees now around 20 years old.

A change of a different order has been attempted in the efforts made to perpetuate totara growth in the Pouakani Totara reserve. Part of the New Zealand Native Forest Restoration Trust native tree planting programme, this undertaking used only seedlings raised from the giant totara. Local kaumatua took part in the first day of planting and this was continued by a team from the Pouakani Marae (South Waikato News, 28 June, 1983, 11).

At that time the Marae had a Work Skills programme for young people underway which gave the trainees the opportunity for practical experience in catering, general maintenance, farming, arts and crafts, horticulture and general maintenance (South Waikato News, 3 Mar, 1983, 5). This too has ceased, but ongoing support for local Access and Maccess programmes<sup>6</sup> has been provided by the Wairarapa Moana Trust<sup>7</sup> in conjunction with Ngati Raukawa (Prop MKO Township, May 1991).

The formation of the Waikato Lakes Development Company and involvement with the North Shore Rowing Club (see "Initiative and Influence") have been recent moves made by the Incorporation to promote Mangakino. Promotion of the town can assist sell the few vacant sections and keep rent paying tenants in Incorporation properties. After all the main role of the Incorporation is as a landlord and this is the subject of the next section.

## **A Resident Landlord**

Absentee landlord, has connotations of disapproval and this was the case with the Proprietors of Mangakino Township Incorporated until 1985. Judge Sheehan (MKO Inv, 1978, 11 - 12) noted that the Incorporation chairman, saw some benefits in the

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<sup>6</sup> Programmes offered by government approved providers, that offer training and work experience for unemployed people.

<sup>7</sup> A charitable trust set up in 1956 "to look after the cultural, educational and welfare needs of the descendants of the original owners of Pouakani 2 Block, whether or not they are shareholders" (Prop MKO Township Inc, May 1991, 5).

failed southern subdivision planning application of 1968 (See "The Taupo Connection").

It did though to some extent succeed in a different way because the evidence we were able to give did show the local people how much interest we have in the development of Mangakino and how much goodwill has resulted.

However, Crawford in 1976 reported to the Taupo Regional Development Committee that:

One of the primary social problems faced by the community is the assumption that their landlord the Proprietors of Mangakino Township Incorporated has no real interest in the future of the community. The Incorporation faces the problem of an absentee landlord and its lack of presence within the community is a considerable disadvantage to the community and itself .... (34)

The 1980s decision to site the combined office for the Incorporation and the Pouakani 2 Trust on the Main Street of Mangakino close to the shopping centre would appear to have been a positive move. The Wairarapa links are still maintained, but the grandchildren of Pouakani settlers now live in the locality and other people with Wairarapa connections have moved to this locality possibly for family and proprietorial reasons. Carter (1982, 83) mentions the question asked of the Pouakani shareholders:

Is this land ancestral?

Is this land traditional?

Is this land turangawaewae?

One of the answers given is that "Pouakani is neither traditional or ancestral but in another generation would be a turangawaewae<sup>8</sup> " (Carter, 1982, 83). Eleven years later there is a strong Ngati Kahungunu presence in Mangakino centred around the Pouakani marae. The ties may be strengthening as time passes. How, or if, the 1992 office shift to premises on the Pouakani block, several kilometres from the township will affect the landlord/tenant relationship is yet to be seen.

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<sup>8</sup> A place to stand.

The Pouakani Marae has considerable status in the town. An impression has been gained that there has been a gradual shift from a partly realised role of a multicultural community centre to a more "traditional" marae with Ngati Kahungunu protocol. Its standing in the community is recognised through reservation of a place for a Pouakani Marae representative on the High School Board of Trustees. The Pouakani Marae cannot be equated with the Mangakino Township Incorporation or the Pouakani 2 Trust, but naturally shareholders have important marae roles and in a cultural as well as an economic sense the Ngati Kahungunu people from the Wairarapa have made Pouakani theirs.

## The Taupo Connection

"In any given socio-political context, what are the structural opportunities and constraints defining different actors' capability to reform or transform specific social rule systems?" is a question asked by Burns and Flam (1987, 9). Extending this question to include transformation of the physical environment and applying it to the Pouakani locality provides an entry point for consideration of the impact of local government and the inbuilt, institutionalised relationships between the Taupo based County and the Pouakani and Mangakino representatives and committees. Aspects discussed include the transition from a one man to a collective County, roading and its unintended consequences, parking and people power, the southern subdivision conflict and other disagreements, camping ground vacillation and the ambivalence associated with the Taupo connection.

### One Man, One County

Attention is given to efforts made to bring about the change from a singular to a collective county, the way in which Commissioner O'Keefe exercised his powers as County Commissioner and the contribution he (as the County), made to changing the locality during his term of office.

As early as 1956 U R MacDonald one of the two original Mangakino-Pouakani appointees to the Advisory Committee was suggesting that as the Council had been in existence for longer than 12 months greater responsibility should be being given to the members of that committee (Taupo Adv Com Min 1, 7 Jun 1956). A further approach was made by the Whakamaru branch of the Federated Farmers in 1958 requesting that an elected County Council be set up and this was followed by MacDonald writing a long letter to the Taupo Times asking for an independent report on the area's readiness for normal County status (Taupo Adv Com Min 2, 14 Oct 1958, 148). In the opinion of one Advisory Committee member they were not ready for this step and he felt that all ratepayers should have a say (Taupo Adv Com Min 2, 12 Aug 1958, 123).

The status of the County could be changed by representations from people in the area, government departments, or the Commissioner. The Commissioner did not seem to be in any hurry to hand over his authority. He expressed the opinion that organisations such as the Roads Board might have more confidence in a person known to them, than in a council of unknown people (Taupo Adv Com Min 2, 12 Aug 1958, 129), thus implying that material benefits could accrue from maintaining the status quo. Government departments showed no interest in making the change either and local residents appear to have had quite mixed feelings about the matter. MacDonald the most ardent proponent of change strongly refuted the Minister of Internal Affairs' comments about sectional criticism of the Commissioner. He said that there was no criticism of the Commissioner but widespread criticism of the Taupo County Act which he claimed was "the most dictatorial piece of local body administration on today's statute book. Complete and absolute control is placed in the Commissioner's hands" (Taupo Adv Com Min 3, 12 Apr 1960, 75). It would seem that potential power, rather than the way power had been exercised by the Commissioner was his concern. O'Keefe identified the position clearly when proposing that the Advisory Committee should have more power and responsibility. He noted that they could not legally have power, but in practice they could, and he delegated to them the right to make some decisions such as those relating to sub divisions (Taupo Adv Com Min 1, 14 May 1957).

Earlier when representatives of the Whakamaru Federated Farmers and the Mangakino Businessmen's Association met with the Commissioner, a range of opinions had emerged. MacDonald, a Whakamaru farmer, sought a ratepayer poll; Hendry, a Mangakino businessman, wanted residents included in the poll, and the Federated Farmers had shifted ground and wanted the Commissioner to continue. Although the Pouakani riding had been divided to give separate "representation" for the township of Mangakino and the surrounding area it seems that some of the dilemmas inherent in the diverse composition of Pouakani (and the Taupo County as a whole) were emerging. Mangakino residents would have been excluded from a ratepayer poll and, if they were of like mind, privileged in a residents' poll. As the Commissioner pointed out, a referendum in which half the residents (the 6 000 living

in Mangakino) had no say, would not carry much weight (Taupo Adv Com Min 2, 18 Nov 1958, 153-54).

This was, however, largely being contested in the light of some mythical democracy favoured by a few, because in fact the people of Mangakino were snugly in the embrace of the Ministry of Works and were realistically showing little interest in the County. When the second Mangakino Advisory Committee member resigned in August 1958 he said that there were no ratepayers in the town, no questions were asked about his actions on the committee and it was a waste of time attending meetings (Taupo Adv Com Min 2, 12 Aug 1958, 115 -116). He suggested that the Ministry of Works send a representative to the meetings. This was later opposed on the grounds that such a person would represent sectional interests and would not be democratically chosen (Taupo Adv Com Min 3, 10 Nov 1959). In view of the fact that this was merely an advisory committee with no power it seems to be a case of unnecessarily "going by the book". After all the Ministry of Works was administering a town within the Taupo County and as early as 1957 (Taupo Adv Com Min 2, 2 Dec 1957) it was recognised that the County would eventually have to take over and administer Mangakino as a county town. To have had close liaison with the Ministry of Works would seem logical, but there appears to have been a strong attachment to the notion of representative local government, even when it did not exist.

Criticism of the Commissioner's actions either in the Mangakino newspaper or in the Advisory Committee minutes is practically non-existent. This may reflect the fact that major and rapid developments were proceeding little affected by the County, or that there is little point in complaining about the only person who can help you achieve your objectives. Or he may simply have been a fine administrator who got on well with people. At this distance it is not possible to discern how his actions were regarded. One person who was employed developing land in the Taupo County, during the Commissioner's era described him as a "great old chap" with a liking for alcohol. He commented on the ease with which it was possible to get things done when O'Keefe was making decisions, compared with the later frustrations of working with the County. O'Keefe would come out to have a look at the situation and would ask for 24 hours to

consider the proposal and then give permission to go ahead. In contrast, the Council employees would not leave their offices and decisions could be delayed for up to two years by which time they would have convinced themselves that it was their idea in the first place (Pers Com, 1992). This illustrates some of the impediments to action inherent in joint decision making and consultative processes.

Although the above describes some opinions expressed relating to local government, it leaves out the actions of the Commissioner and the changes which occurred during his period of administration. The three tasks he outlined beg some questions. He was to set up the machinery of local government, balance the budget and recommend boundary adjustments. Meeting or discovering local needs does not feature in the list. The above priorities perhaps explain his view that:

The most urgent question was to push ahead with work on the roads and get the money spent. It would be embarrassing and disastrous if, at the end of the year, some of the National Roads Board special grant was unexpended. Because of the urgency of getting work pushed ahead it was almost impracticable to lay detailed proposals before the committee in the early stages. (Taupo Adv Com Min 1, 16 July 1955)

The commissioner evidently did set up the machinery of local government with the employment of people such as road construction and maintenance staff and inspectors, the setting and collection of rates and the appointing of representatives for ridings which would eventually become the administrative subdivisions of the county council. He also balanced his books successfully with a significant reduction in the debt incurred in setting up the county being recorded, as well as an accumulated fund (Taupo Adv Com Min 3, 12 Apr 1960, 75 ). But did he, in his role as the Taupo County Council Commissioner, significantly influence the development of the Pouakani riding? Possibly to a lesser extent than one would expect.

At the time O'Keefe became Commissioner, the few roads in the area were all maintained by the state, private firms or individuals. The county took over and

maintained these roads as they were brought up to a suitable standard. The road from Mangakino to Whakamaru including a major bridge crossing the Mangakino Stream was of highway standard and most of the other roads had been constructed as part of farm development schemes. The only major urban development in the County; Mangakino, was practically outside his jurisdiction because of the Ministry of Works' assumption of responsibility. Nevertheless there was some effort made to enforce building codes and the whole commercial area of Mangakino was belatedly zoned a "brick" area in which permanent materials only could be used (Taupo Adv Com Min 1, 2 Aug 1956). There was early recognition of the fire hazard posed by the existing 10 year old shops built in temporary materials. They are still in use more than 30 years later and do not appear to have been significantly altered, but parts of the hotel, and the Bank of New Zealand agency and neighbouring Waitomo Electric Power Board shop are built of "permanent materials" .

Noxious weed control was an early concern (Taupo County Min 1, 18 Oct 1956). Ragwort no longer rears its yellow head prolifically, but this may be largely the consequence of diversification and the shift from dairying, while broom, one of the first plants to be declared a noxious weed in the county is certainly well established. Declarations, of course are of little value unless enforced. The Commissioner did make a few successful prosecutions, but the problem was such a major one that the State Advances and Maori Affairs offered some assistance to farmers to rid their farms of noxious weeds.

Possibly the most significant contribution which could be attributed to O'Keefe would be the approval of the Whakamaru subdivision. This allowed the establishment of a small farming service centre, about eight kilometres away from Mangakino. It provided a site for stock and station and veterinary firms, shops and garages, unhampered by the complexities of the relationships between the Ministry of Works, the Mangakino Incorporation and the Taupo County which made it very difficult to proceed quickly with commercial development in Mangakino. The intention, at that time would not have been to affect the future of Mangakino. The intensity of land development supported a sufficient population to warrant the establishment of a township and despite the

number of empty houses in its "other half" the neighbouring, hydro village, Whakamaru survives today (Photo 20).

Whakamaru was favoured by the subsequent development of the Western Access road, opening land to the west of Lake Taupo and connecting with Poihipi road to provide a direct route to Taupo. Now its location at an important road junction (Photo 20) (Figure 11) maintains the need for services for the travelling public. Within commuting reach of Tokoroa, Taupo and Rotorua, handy to lakes for fishing and water skiing and close to the outdoor attractions of Pureora forest, there would seem to be good prospects for the future of Whakamaru. Prospects of a different nature to the farming centre probably envisaged by Commissioner O'Keefe.

O'Keefe also used the County machinery to enable a special rating area to be set up to finance the construction of the Whakamaru Hall, campaigned for, by local farmers, for many years. Yet there is an inconsistency in his support of the siting of a hall several kilometres away from the township. The choice of the hall site indicates the importance an existing situation may have on future proposals, and possibly the difficulty of changing course once formal decisions have been made. The new building was to replace an old one left by the Lands Department which had been used as a social centre for the new settlers, who had struggled for seven or more years to bring their project to fruition. Along with the Whakamaru Domain, also approved by O'Keefe who became the one man Domain Board, it provides clear evidence of the capacity of local people to collectively modify the environment according to their wishes, but within the administrative framework provided by local government legislation and practice. The fact that Whakamaru has two halls, the settler one at a distance, and the Hydro Hall in the township may in itself be seen as a comment on the lack of unified government /local government planning, or alternatively the logical outcome of meeting the needs of different groups of local people. The settler's hall serves the farming district extending towards Tihoi and is still regularly used.

Other actions by the Commissioner included the provision of financial support for the Mangakino Library, the St Johns Ambulance group and the Mangakino Promotion



Photo 20 Road junction, Whakamaru township. Whakamaru Hydro village right centre. (Air Logistics)

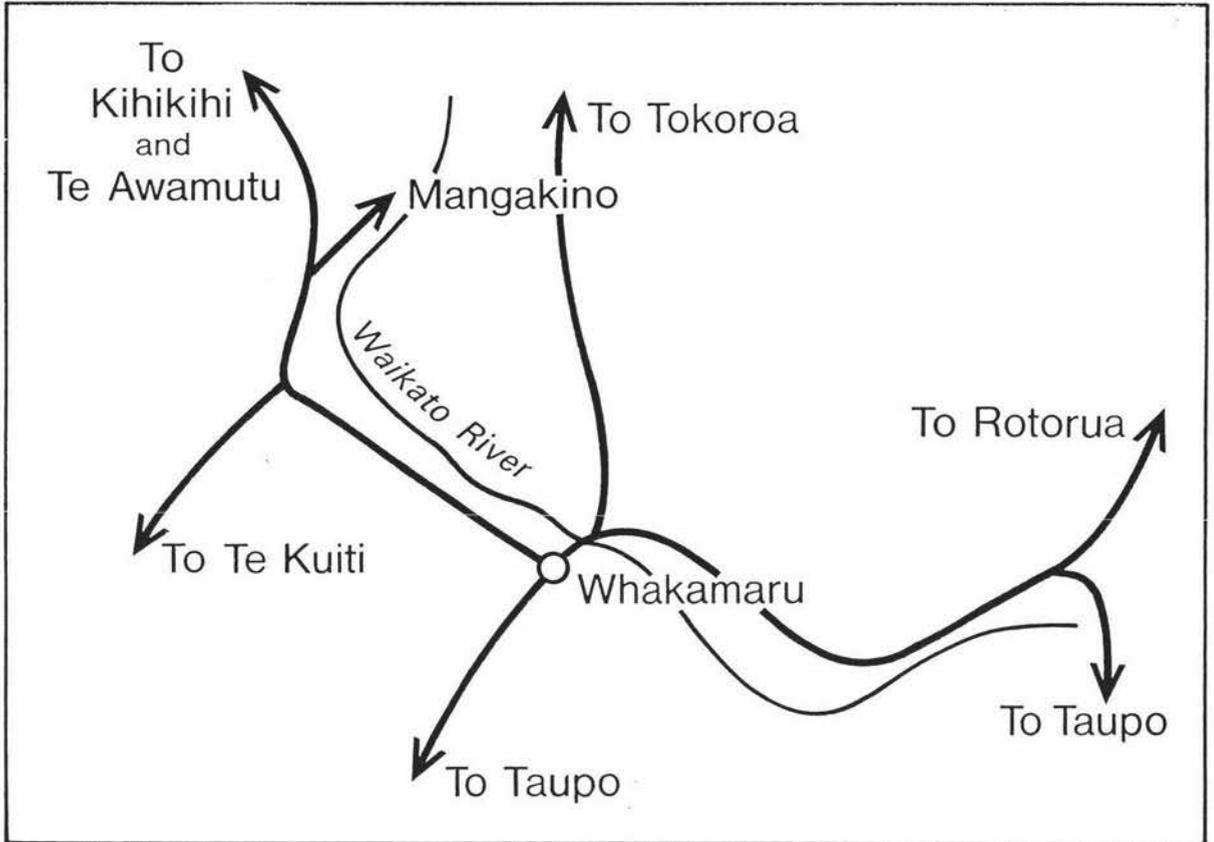


Figure 11  
Road junction at Whakamaru

Committee. In each case supporting an already existing organisation. It is probable from comments noted above that his actions facilitated land development by granting prompt approval for essentials such as fire permits. Inaction on his part would probably have been dealt with at departmental level, it would not have been allowed to interfere with major land development schemes, but it could have caused delays and financial loss to contractors. As will be seen as further actions of local government are discussed, the opportunity available to influence the course of development, particularly in rural areas, is rather limited. From "above" comes the legislation which empowers, guides, and gives responsibility to the local actors. From "below" comes the pressure for services and the lobbying by individuals and actors with sectional interests. Economic constraints operate, with some ratepayers unwilling and some unable to meet increased rate demands. Except in some cities and high profile places, does local government do much more than strive to maintain the status quo; with costs, the availability of new technology and changing norms brought about by the dissemination of information, being contingent factors that may incidentally lead to changes in methods and the upgrading of facilities. If one travels through a number of small towns and rural areas in New Zealand are there significant differences in the standard of amenities provided and serviced by local government? Can one tell when crossing the boundary from one local government district to another? This point will be picked up later.

## **Parking Problems**

Concerns about parking in the main street of Mangakino may seem almost laughable to today's residents, but in 1959 when 2 009 vehicles was considered a low count for a day, (Taupo Adv Com Min 3, 8 Sep 1959, 13) it was an important issue to the Taupo Council and to some local actors. So important that it kept surfacing in Advisory Committee meetings over a period of six years from 1956 when a by-law was introduced to provide guidelines for angle parking on Rangatira Drive.

How parking is organised may seem trivial, but the sequence of events does illustrate a number of points: that decisions made by legitimate authorities can be nullified if

there are not adequate means of enforcement, that the decisions of collective actors may differ from aggregate decisions made by individuals, that an inordinate amount of time can be spent making decisions which have no effect on the perceived problem and that it is very difficult to suddenly change the customary way people do things.

The parking saga began with the introduction of the by-law. Perhaps seeing that it was being ignored, Mr O'Keefe on two occasions invited comment by writing a letter to the editor of the Mangakino Chronicle (MKO Chron, 24 Jan 1958, 7). He was disappointed that the only responses came from organisations and he did not consider these could represent public opinion. A sensible decision was then made to amend the by-law as it had been ignored for over a year. There had been no recent letters of complaint and the Ministry of Works and the Transport Department were aware of, and satisfied with the parallel parking being used (Taupo Adv Com Min 3, 8 Sep 1959, 8). However, Mr Hendry, the Mangakino representative was not satisfied and after a visit to Mangakino, a public meeting and a special meeting of the Advisory Committee, it was decided to have parallel parking on one side only, which was not the advice received from the traffic officer present (Taupo Adv Com Min, 3, 11 Sept 1959, 20). The decision was in line with the view expressed by the local branch of the NZWU, which it was claimed, represented 1 500 workers.

During the following year Hendry continued to bring to the attention of the Advisory Committee the non enforcement of the parking by-law. It was still an issue in 1961 and as the result of a deputation a poll was arranged. The result was 229 in favour of parallel parking on both sides, 21 for one side only and 4 informal votes. As a final act of "people power" the No Parking signs were removed by the public, not the County (Taupo County Min 1, 13 Feb 1962, 1). The end result was to legitimise the way people had illegally decided to park.

This highlights one of the ways in which "rule systems" are changed according to Burns and Flam (1987, 239):

Typically, local or subordinate actors lack the power resources to change the

formal or official rule systems... Hence the common pattern that adaptations and reformulations of official systems in practice are carried out surreptitiously. The unofficial, implicit or unwritten rules become widespread and equally as important, if not more so in some instances, than the official rules.

The official rules may then become redundant, or they may be changed to recognise the reality of practice. Legitimacy also implies support unless some form of coercion is being used. Obviously decision making, no matter how carefully considered and apparently supported is futile if implementation does not follow. The results of the poll also call into question the validity of representatives expressing opinions, or taking action on behalf of their constituents. No change occurred as a result of the County and Advisory Committee actions.

It may seem to be pointless to have given the parking "problem" so much space, but this reflects the importance it was accorded at the time. In this instance the powers given to local government were completely ineffective in attempting to change the everyday practices of like minded people and the status quo prevailed. It was not the only issue over which the Commissioner seemed powerless in the face of local behaviour. When the sale of alcohol was first permitted in the area a hotel was built without a building permit. It was constructed of temporary materials and was considered to be a fire risk (It also didn't contain the accommodation required by the licence). It was decided that there was not much point in prosecuting the company for building without a permit as the fine was nominal and it was "obviously impracticable to insist on the removal of the hotel" (Taupo Adv Com Min 1, 7 June 1956). As with the parking and the trees cut down without permission on the golf course (MKO Com Council Min, 6 April 1986, 361), it can be difficult to change a fait accompli.

## **The Southern Subdivision**

By 1966 Mangakino had become a County Town with its own elected Town Committee which put forward recommendations to the Taupo County. The Ministry of Works had substantially wound down its operations in Mangakino and in the process

there had been a contraction of the town boundaries with houses from the perimeter being moved to more central, vacant sections. The population had reduced from a peak of nearly 6 500 in 1962 (TCPA, 2, 1967, 81) to 1 456 in the census of 1966 (Dept of Statistics, 1966, 22). One large area at the southern end of the town had been completely vacated (Photo 21). It was returned to the Maori owners and zoned rural in the draft district scheme. The Mangakino Incorporation put forward a proposal to develop this area of about 80 acres in stages by subdividing it into 364 residential sections and moving existing houses on to most of the sections, but leaving some for building. The area had roads and water reticulation but had been disconnected from electricity and sewerage.

The Incorporation submitted a scheme plan of subdivision to the Council. Approval of the plan was declined on the grounds that it was detrimental work as defined in the Town and Country Planning Act 1953. The incorporation, working in conjunction with land agents acting for the Ministry of Works to dispose of surplus housing stock, had already sold the leasehold of 183 sections complete with cottages within the town boundaries. Because of the demand for cheap housing they saw no difficulty in filling the proposed subdivision and they had the full support of the Town Committee which recommended to the Taupo County that the proposal be accepted (Taupo County Min 7, 26 Sep 1967).

The Incorporation then took their case to the Town and Country Planning Appeal Board where it was again rejected. The Board accepted that there was a demand for the houses but came to the conclusion

that this proposed major extension of the town's residential area, fostered as it would be not by normal pressures of expansion, but by the chance availability of cheap cottages, is not in accordance with the proper principles likely to be embodied in the Council's district scheme (TCPA, 2, 1967, 82).

Providing cheap accommodation for people who would otherwise be unlikely to own their own home, utilising the amenities established to cater for a larger population,



Photo 21  
Southern subdivision, Mangakino 1955. Comparison with photos 48 and 49  
shows the extent of the change. ( Air Logistics)

whilst possibly making the Incorporation a more viable financial enterprise was apparently not a worthy goal.

The Town Committee expressed their displeasure with the refusal of their parent body to approve the project, by passing a vote of no confidence in the Taupo County (MKO Chron, 19 Oct 1967). All of the committee voted in favour of this motion except for the Mangakino Riding representative who was a County appointee to the committee, but also their voice on council. The County dealt with this by receiving and adopting the Mangakino minutes with the exception of two items. It was considered not competent for the Town Committee to move as they had done and the items were declared "out of order" (Taupo County Min 7, 31 Oct 1967, 8) thus prohibiting any discussion of the matter.

As discussed in more detail in "Houses and Homes" the issue of sub standard housing in Mangakino was an ever recurring one. The houses built by the Ministry of Works did not comply with Taupo County building by-laws. Enforcement would have meant the loss of almost all the houses in the town, as the structural timbers were not up to standard. Compromises had been made which permitted the survival of the kernel of the town, and approving the subdivision plan would have necessitated bringing back (from Atiamuri) or bringing in, similar Ministry of Works, or mill township houses. If successful, the outcome of this would have been an increase of about 60 per cent in the town size. The area was immediately adjacent to truncated streets. It had previously been used for housing and some parts would have had a lake view.

What would the detrimental effects have been? It would not have been out of keeping with the character of the town, but it must be admitted that a corresponding area on the opposite side of the main entrance to the town now has a few uncared for houses and sections .

### **What is the Connection?**

In the 1940s when a new settlement phase began to alter Pouakani there was no

functioning local authority . One informant claims that it had been a sort of “no man’s land” from the days of the Land Wars when “the boundary between the Maniapoto and Tuwharetoa was defined by the Pakeha” (Carter M in Henwood & Payne, 1991). Pouakani lay in between. As in other sparsely or unsettled areas north of Taupo there was no need for local government. The Waikato river was a very effective barrier not permanently bridged in this locality until around 1946. That bridge at Mangakino (Photo 14) permitted vehicle access for the first time to the northern portion of Pouakani and established links with Putaruru, in the Matamata County for supplies, high schooling and public bar facilities. This was the prime link until 1952 when the bridge disappeared under the lake (Photo 22). An alternative route then looped to the south, via the new bridge over the Mangakino Stream and the Whakamaru dam, before heading again towards the fast growing Tokoroa, and Putaruru (Figure 12).

Rapid farm development in what was to become the Pouakani ward continued, with the main centre of population being at Mangakino where 3 815 people resided by 1951 . Taupo by comparison, had 1 358 people (Dept of Statistics, 1951, 1-4, 90) by this time and it was cut off from the farm settlements to the northwest by the absence of road access. It is interesting to note how these settlements appeared to a researcher in 1954:

The two urban areas, Taupo and Mangakino, represent two different facets of the Taupo County. The former, with its rapidly increasing population, recent timber mills and new shops, is indicative of the change from an older ‘tourist based’ economy to one dependent on geothermal steam and farming. Yet many characteristics of the small tourist town remain - unsealed roads, scrub covered sections, and large numbers of holiday cottages which remain empty for most of the year. In contrast, Mangakino, compact and well laid out, with sewerage, sealed roads, electric power and other amenities, is an example of modern town building. Yet the temporary houses show that the town is representative of a developmental rather than a permanent stage of occupance. (Ward, 1956, 122)

Lake Taupo with its wide vistas and natural beauty probably has greater appeal than

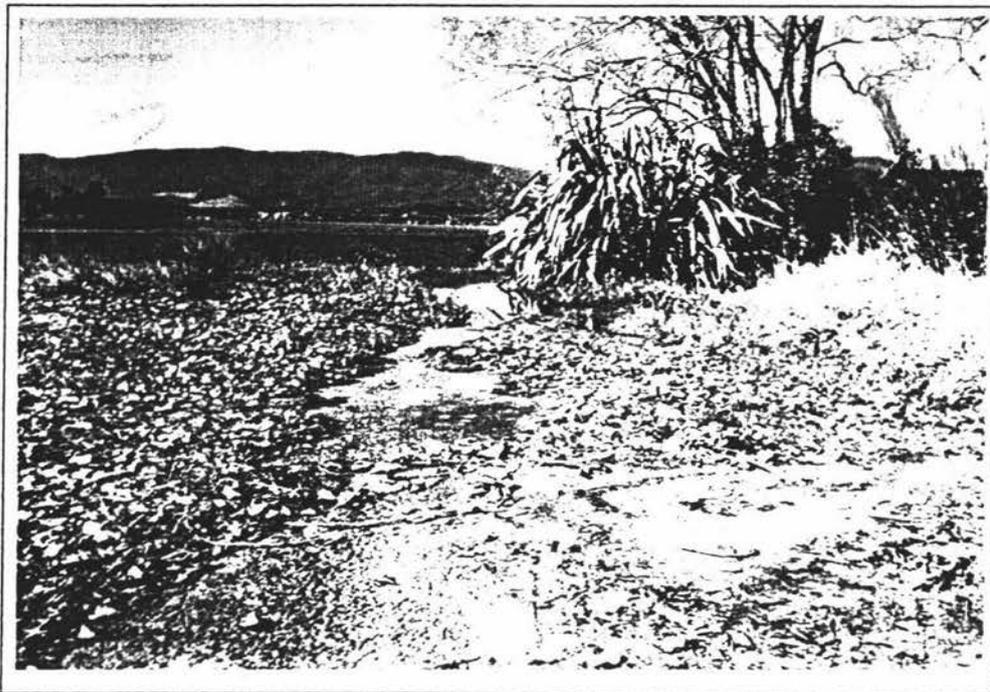


Photo 22 Lake Road disappearing into Lake Maraetai

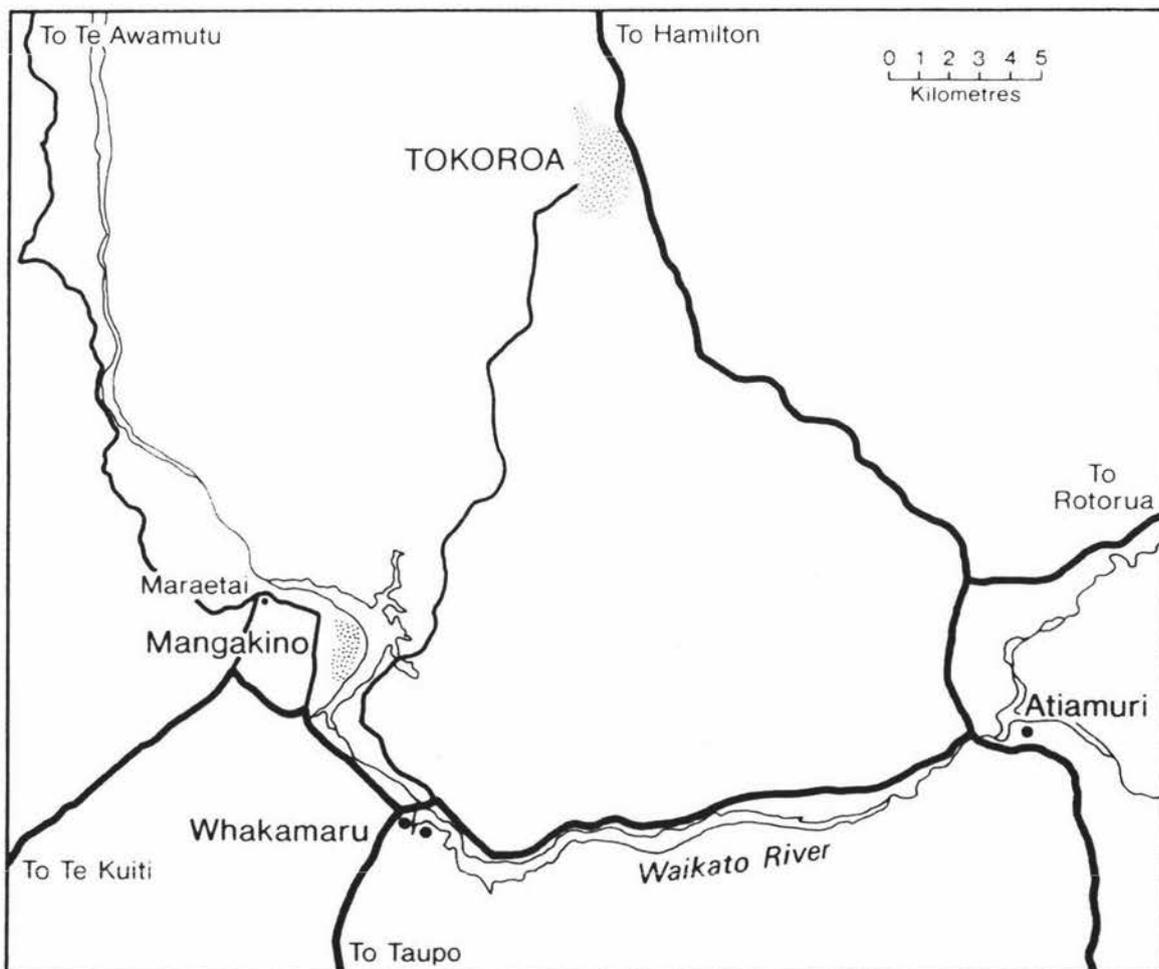


Figure 12 Access to Mangakino

man made Lake Maraetai but what if the Ministry of Works had built slightly better quality staff houses and left them in Mangakino, instead of leaving the smaller sub standard cottages? What if Mangakino had become a local government centre? Looking at the map of land use in the Taupo County in 1954 (Figure 13) it is apparent that there was a large area of undeveloped land separating Mangakino and Taupo, yet ever since 1955 Mangakino and Pouakani have been within the boundaries of the newly constituted Taupo County with its headquarters in Taupo.

The boundaries of the Taupo County have retracted considerably since 1954 removing all the land across the Waikato River from Pouakani. Maintenance of the Taupo links has been questioned from time to time but improved access has lessened the reasons for change. Ironically, the construction of the Western Bays Road (State Highway 32) and Poihipi Roads, greatly improving communication between Taupo and Mangakino and providing arterial routes through the Pouakani ward, have been detrimental to Mangakino (Figure 14). Farms formerly serviced from Mangakino have become closer to Taupo. Mangakino High School must now compete for students with the larger Taupo schools (as well as those in Tokoroa). As early as 1959 such consequences were appreciated by the Waitomo Electric Power Board. In considering whether to build more houses in Mangakino, the board noted that the construction of a first class road through private land to the north of Taupo might divert much of the north and west farming custom to Taupo (MKO Chron, 7 Aug 1959, 1).

Did local residents choose to have their area administered by the Taupo County? Initially there were lines on maps which delineated a large portion of the central North Island named the Taupo County. As the County did not exist, except on paper, the question was irrelevant. When the Commissioner was appointed to introduce local government to the area he was also given the task of recommending boundary changes. People in the Pouakani riding apparently accepted inclusion in the Taupo County as there were no submissions to the contrary. In any case most of the people lived in Mangakino and were largely unaffected by the county administration.

The only limited dissatisfaction expressed regarding inclusion in the Taupo County

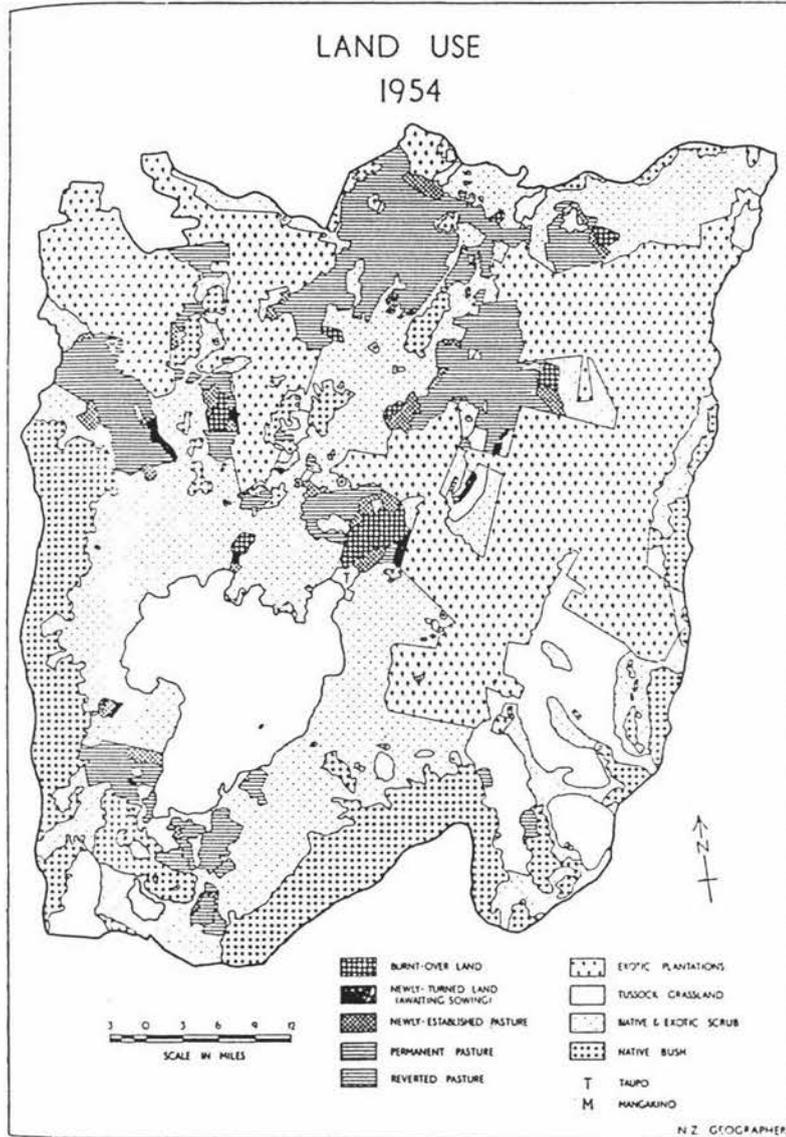


Figure 13  
Land Use Taupo County 1954 (Ward, 1956, 123)

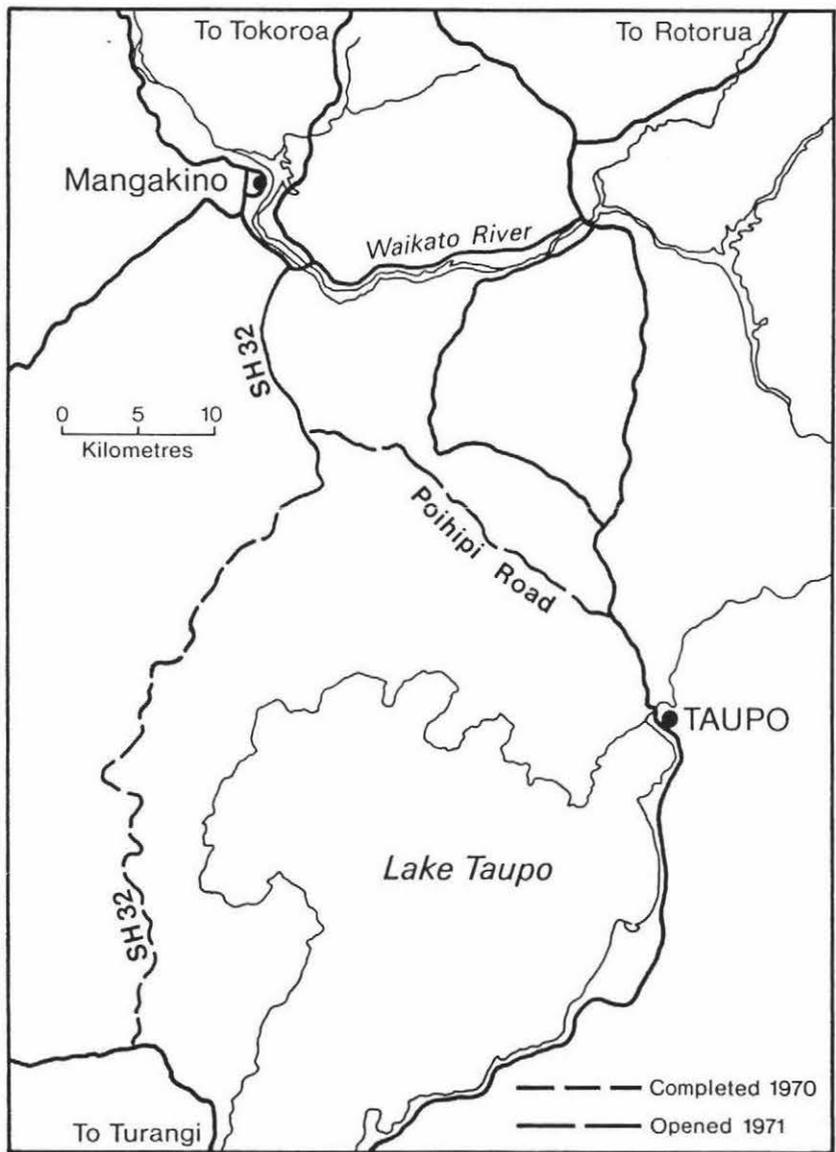


Figure 14  
Changing road access, Taupo County

has come from Mangakino. This is logical, as rural Pouakani extends from the shores of Lake Taupo to beyond Mangakino and its population mostly live on farms and have some experiences in common. Negotiations for the handing over of Mangakino to the Taupo County, as discussed in "Our Town", were so complex that it is understandable that there was no attempt made to further complicate the issue by seeking local opinion about administration. It is possible that the Taupo County would have gladly relinquished the responsibility and that no other local body would have wanted to take it on. There was, however, strong interest from local people with fifteen seeking election for the seven places on the interim town committee set up in 1964 as a transition measure (MKO Chron, 30 Jul 1964, 1). They were already used to having an input to local affairs via the Welfare Committee (see "Uncle MOW") and could reasonably have expected greater autonomy once Mangakino became a county town. There were early signs that this was so. In 1966 the Town Committee was given power to act where the permission applied for complied with the Council's by-laws and ordinances.

Relations between town and county soured a little in 1967 and there was some ongoing dissatisfaction until 1970. Apart from the southern subdivision issue which united the Town Committee (except for its appointed chairman), in opposition to the County Council; other issues which received newspaper publicity may have arisen more from individual grievances. A Town Committee member was censured for objecting strongly to the County striking a higher rate in the town of Mangakino, than it did in the rest of the County, without the prior consent of the Town Committee. This action was claimed to contravene Section 423 of the Counties Act. A rejoinder from the County denied that Mangakino was a County Town within the meaning of the Act and reminded the Committee that the rate would be higher still if it was not for the agreement with the Crown to meet the shortfall in rates (MKO Chron, 17 Aug 1967, 1).

This incident and another one in 1970 which led to the resignation of a Town Committee member, afford a glimpse of the way in which the local newspaper was used to publicise dissenting opinions. In the second instance a prominent Town Committee member, R Hendry, was turned down by the Council as a nominee for a

vacancy on the Waitomo Electric Power Board and subsequently resigned. This was considered newsworthy on at least five occasions over a period of nearly two months. In one of these reports Mr Hendry spoke about his concerns:

There is a strong case for the Local Government Commission to look at legislation for town committees of the type of Mangakino. The authority given to the Town Committee is not consistent with the amount of effort put in by the members. Legislation similar to that used at Tokoroa could be investigated. (MKO Chron, 6 Aug 1970, 1)

Although the Committee was clearly subordinated to the parent council and powerless in a disagreement if the Council "played strictly by the rules"; members of the Town Committee did have the opportunity to air contentious local issues in the Mangakino Chronicle, by this time under private ownership. Whether this was just a futile exercise which stirred up feeling which could have no constructive outlet, is open to debate. It is possible, as Councillor Skilton claimed, that an issue could be blown up out of proportion (MKO Chron, 30 Jul 1970, 1). It is also obvious from reading many years of local newspapers, that the newspaper is an important social actor playing its part in forming perceptions, transmitting knowledge and interacting with groups and individuals in the locality. This notion is relevant to all contexts dealt with, not only local government relations, and is reviewed in "Framework Revisited".

Dissatisfaction with other aspects of the 'Taupo Connection' also surfaced in 1970, prompted by a proposal from the Mayor of Taupo, that his borough replace the Waitomo Power Board as the supplier of power to the Mangakino and Pouakani Ridings. The editor of the chronicle warned people of a possible rise in costs and urged them to think carefully about the consequences and not wait until after the decision was made. A meeting was held at which people could hear both sides of the proposal and it did not go ahead (MKO Chron, May 21 1970, 1). This decision may have been influenced by public opinion. Certainly the Town Committee made their views clear in rejecting either a merger with Taupo or with six supply authorities based on Hamilton. However, the Electricity Distribution Commission which made the final

decision would have looked at the Waitomo, Taupo and Hamilton submissions in their entirety and the outcome may have had little to do with the opinions of a few people in the Pouakani area.

Concurrently with the power supply proposal, the Mayor of Taupo proposed amalgamation of the Taupo County and Borough to the Local Bodies Commission. This was not debated locally but contemporary remarks alleged that "Mangakino has no community of interest with Taupo, our business and social lines of communication lying to the east, west and north<sup>1</sup>" (MKO Chron, 28 May 1970, 2).

Nevertheless over the next two decades the Mangakino Community Council and later Community Board which replaced the Town Committee, consistently favoured staying within the Taupo County. They objected in 1976 to a Local Government Commission suggestion that Mangakino be included in the Waikato area (MKO Min 5, 7 July 1976). Shortly afterwards an invitation to meet with the Tokoroa borough was at first accepted then declined, while affirming the desire to stay with Taupo. The inclusion of Mangakino in the Tokoroa/Putaruru free toll dialling zone in 1977 did not change opinions, and in 1985 when local government reorganisation was discussed, staying with Taupo was still considered the best alternative. It was stated that Mangakino had been situated in the Taupo County since its inception and had received very satisfactory service. Retention of the Waikato River as a natural boundary was advocated, and it was pointed out that Tokoroa was not the service centre for Mangakino as the people relied on several centres for service, therefore the community of interest with Tokoroa was minimal (MKO Min 6, 29 Aug 1985, 251). Again the wishes of the people, if they are represented by the local body members, appear to have been heeded but it may just be fortunate that they coincided with the those of the real decision makers; the Local Bodies Commission.

Although the Community Council wanted to retain the status quo, when amalgamation surfaced again in 1986 they accepted it as preferable to other options (MKO min 7, 9 June 1986, 297). They seemed to accept the "inevitability" of change. The idea had been around sufficiently long for people to get used to it and is in keeping with the

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<sup>1</sup> This was prior to the construction of Poihipi Road which considerably shortened the distance to Taupo.

trend towards larger "regional" rather than smaller local government units. A trend which seems to be at variance with moves to give more responsibility to local decision makers in education.

How will being part of the new Taupo District Council affect the Mangakino-Pouakani Riding and the Mangakino-Pouakani Community Board? Local representation has been reduced, with three sitting members contesting the two remaining seats in the 1992 election. A possible outcome was that Mangakino may not have been represented at all on the District Council, as two of the candidates were from the rural area. Would this really matter? What impact can one, two or even three councillors have in a council of nineteen? The original intention was that Mangakino should never become a drain on the rest of the County and one can only surmise that this must still be an overriding principle. On one hand the Taupo District Council is able to build the multi million dollar Great Lakes Centre ahead of schedule and debt free, on the other, Mangakino continues to pollute its main attraction, the lake, with sewage. Mangakino could have had a future as a holiday resort, but is it really likely that Taupo would foster a competitor? Possibly it could cater for ordinary people as Taupo prices itself out of their reach, but not until the town and the pulp and paper mill at Kinleith cease polluting the lake.

## **Developing Mangakino**

In this section the opportunity is taken to consider two ways in which the Mangakino representatives and the Taupo County, and later district Council have worked together in the interests of the town. The development of a camping ground and the changes to the Civic Centre are both matters which were debated by the community representatives over a considerable period of time. The physical outcomes of the first could pass unnoticed; the outcomes of the second are visible in the shape of refurbished buildings put to practical new uses.

### **Camping facilities**

Visitors may camp, free of charge at the lakefront at Mangakino, but very few do so.

There are toilet facilities, tables and fireplaces, extensive, regularly mown grassed areas, pleasant surroundings with large trees providing shade and a boat ramp (Photos 23 & 24). There are no restrictions on the use of the lake waters, which are on occasions used by water skiers and canoeists in addition to the rowers. There is an adjacent golf course. Why is the facility not used? Probably because few people know that camping is allowed and because Mangakino is not located on a main highway.

Since the early 1970s the promotion of camping at Mangakino has been seen as having value. However, a combination of perceived constraints, economic considerations and failure to implement decisions, appears to have resulted in the present situation. The town council was informed in November 1974 that a developer was working with the Taupo County Council planner on a proposal for a camping ground (MKO Min 4, 4). Nearly a year later a camping ground was again mooted, this time as one of the development proposals for Matekuri Island, linked to shore by a causeway (MKO Min 4, 24 Sep 1975). In 1978 there was a request from the Aquatic Centre officials seeking permission for overnight caravan parking at the lakefront. This seems to have contravened the Taupo County Council policy on camping and a dispensation was sought (MKO Min 5, 4 Dec 1978, 1). The matter was followed up the next year; one of the local councillors being of the opinion that the future development of Mangakino depended largely on the development of the lakefront and the establishment of a caravan park.

It was decided that a discussion should be held with the Mangakino Incorporation ((MKO Min 5, 12 Mar 1979). This could have been with respect to obtaining a suitable site, or it may have been thought that the Incorporation would consider investing in such a venture. The outcome of this meeting was that the need for overnight camping was established, but the location was not resolved. Neither of the areas zoned to permit camping were on the lakefront (MKO Min 5, 17 March 1979, 3). The structure set up by the County Council to control land use in the town, thus impeded the development of local initiatives, although evidence of continued efforts to obtain a dispensation, or a suitable site is lacking.



Photo 23 Reserve where camping is permitted, Lake Maraetai

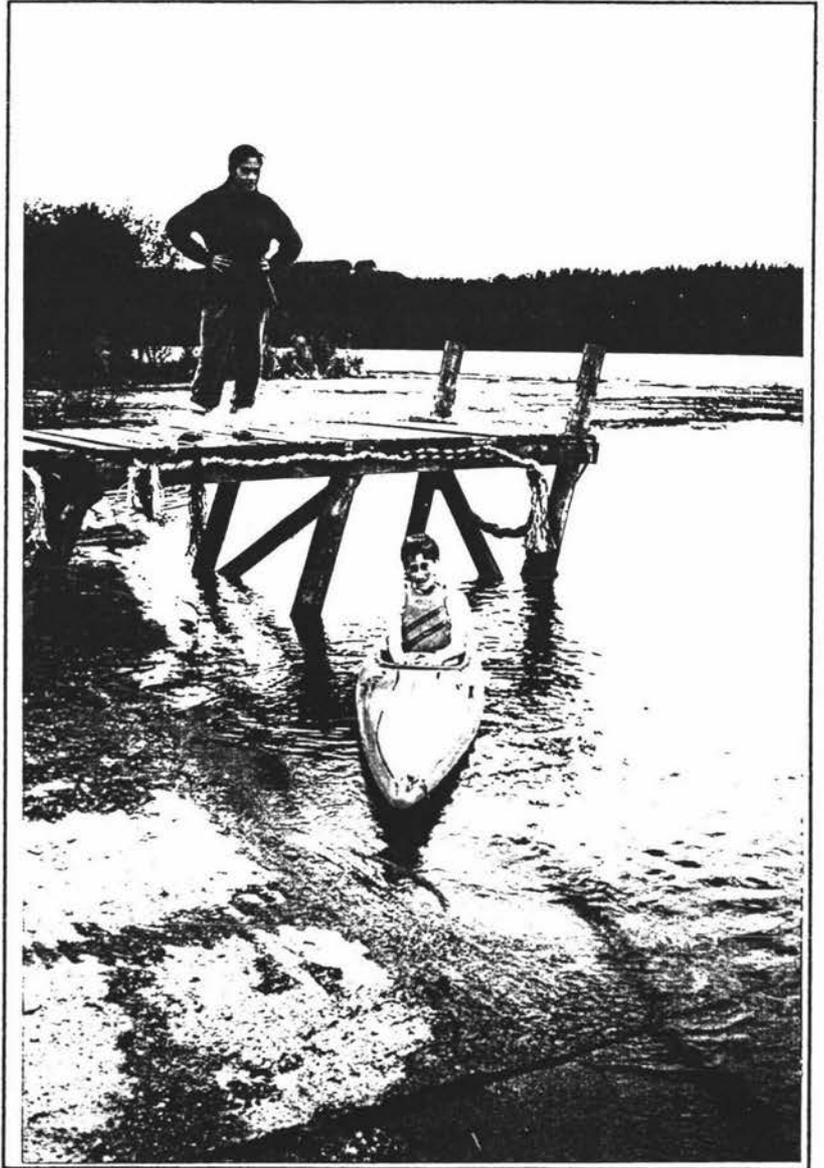


Photo 24  
Boat ramp  
Lake Maraetai

The next time the Community Council turned its attention to the provision of camping facilities was towards the end of 1982 and this time concrete proposals were put forward. The site was up a short hill from the lakefront and was adjacent to the Bowling Club. An offer of \$11 000 was to be made to the Ministry of Works for a sub standard house from Turangi which could be used as a facilities block. A layout of the site had been prepared (MKO Min 6, 11 Oct 1982, 105). A team of PEP<sup>2</sup> workers was requested to prepare the site, a house was available, and only an inspection was required from a Supervisory Inspector before the final decision could be made (MKO Min 6, 8 Nov 1982, 108).

The first glitch in the planning came with the illness of the health inspector, who was unable to report on the facilities block (MKO Min 6, 6 Dec 1982, 114). By time the County Clerk reported that the permission of the Minister of Lands was required, because the site was designated recreation reserve (MKO Min 6, 14 Feb 1983, 116), another summer had slipped away. Financial considerations were the next impediment and it was decided that the matter of the camping grounds be held over for consideration in the 1983-84 estimates (MKO Min 6, 13 Jun 1983, 127). News was then received that the consent of the Minister of Lands was not required for the camping ground (MKO Min 6, 11 Jul 1983, 132), but at the same meeting it was decided to delete \$20 000 for camp buildings from the estimates (MKO Min 6, 11 Jul, 130). Eventually in October of that year the camping ground project was "shelved indefinitely" (MKO Min 6, 18 Oct 1983, 142), when the County Planner pointed out that it would require Town Planning approval until the District Scheme was approved.

In 1985 camping was again on the Community Council agenda. This time a report was to be prepared on the provision of minimum camping facilities in Mangakino (MKO Min 6, 13 May 1985, 230). At the next meeting the council was informed that the lakefront area by the toilet block could be used, as providing that no charge was made it would not be covered by Camping Grounds regulations. Upgrading of the toilets was discussed, along with ground formation work by PEP workers and a formal report was to be prepared (MKO Min 6, 13 June 1985, 236 - 37). Urgency was not apparent and it

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<sup>2</sup> Project Employment Programme : a scheme which gave employment to those registered as unemployed.

was later recorded (MKO Min 6, 14 Oct 1985, 261) that the Supervisory Inspector would check on the situation with regard to the upgrading of the toilets and installation of an outside tap. Additionally, signs indicating the provision of camping facilities would be erected by the Automobile Association. A year later it was decided that power points would not be provided for campers because of the lack of supervision and consequent vandalism. The question of signs publicising the camp was also raised (MKO Min 6, 13 Oct 1986, 321).

Next, prompted by a letter from Noel Scott, the local Member of Parliament, representing the Tongariro electorate, it was decided that a camping ground was necessary, that it should be provided by private enterprise and that the land adjacent to the bowling green be declared available for public lease (MKO Min 6, 10 Nov 1986, 331). The area was now zoned to permit camping and a development plan was required for the proposal (MKO Min 6, 10 Nov 1986, 338). One objection was received to the scheme from the Men's Bowling Club which was concerned about the security of its greens. This was disallowed as appointment of a caretaker, as required by the lease, was seen as improving security (MKO Min 6, 9 March 1987, 352). Still nothing concrete appeared to happen and by December of the that year concerns were again expressed about advertising the free camping at the lakefront. It was suggested that this could be taken up by the local Tourist Promotion Committee.<sup>3</sup>

Two more summers passed before the matter was again raised by the Community Council at which time it was explained that the previous plan (presumably the one involving a lease to private enterprise) did not proceed after the Commissioner suggested that a management plan be prepared for the whole area before development went ahead. Now it was confirmed that a camping ground be established on the lakeshore reserve and that "a management plan be prepared to this effect as a matter of priority" (MKO Min 7, 13 Feb 1989, 2).

In view of the fact that council members were united in their desire to see a camping ground established, it is difficult to understand why the situation is as it is today. Being of like mind and making decisions was insufficient. The decisions had to be

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<sup>3</sup> This committee was initiated by the Community Council but it did not have the status of a sub committee.

implemented. They were not.

### **The Civic Centre**

In some respects use of the Cinema, one of the main buildings in the Civic Centre, followed a similar path to the setting up of a camping ground. Decisions were made but the intended outcomes did not occur, then two people took it on themselves to put forward a viable proposal and to see it through to completion.

As early as 1963 it was reported that cinema attendances were well down (MKO Chron, 12 Dec, 1963, 1). At that time it was still run by the Welfare Association, which was planning to wind up its affairs in Mangakino by March 1964 even though the Taupo County Council was not ready to take over the town. A Residents and Ratepayers Association was formed to liaise between the interim Town Committee and the community and one of its concerns was the closing of the cinema (MKO Chron, 12 Dec, 1963, 1), illustrating that local people were quick to try and fill a possible vacuum left by the impending departure of the Ministry of Works and that they were concerned about keeping local amenities functioning.

The County Council did accept responsibility for the cinema after it took over the town, but by 1968 it was trying to arrange a lease subject to no liability to the County (Taupo County Min 7, 26 March 1968, 4). Over a period of three months it terminated the services of the cinema manager (4), rejected his offer to lease the cinema because it was uneconomic (Taupo County Min 7, 29 March, 1968), met with the Lions to discuss possible reopening (Taupo County Min 8, 30 April, 1968, 5), and decided it was prepared to consider any reasonable proposal (Taupo County Min 8, 28 May 1968, 3).

Rival cinema propositions were being considered in late 1979 (MKO Min 5, 13 Dec ) but no long term solutions were found and use of the vacant premises by a Te Kuiti shoe factory was mooted in 1986 (MKO Min 7, 13 Oct, 326). This did not eventuate, however, acceptance of a lease with K Rata was recommended the next year (MKO Min 7, 13 July 1987, 381 -82). The council agreed to reroof the building and Mr Rata intended to alter the sloping floor and provide for indoor roller skating, indoor cricket, a

creche, discos, video games and a cafe in the foyer indicating recognition of changing recreational preferences and technological change. After Mr Rata decided not to go ahead with his plans (MKO Min 7; 8 Feb 1988, 1) the Community Council decided that the site, holding a central position in the shopping centre, should be converted into lawns and gardens

First the building was to be advertised for sale (MKO Min 7, 13 June 1988, 3 - 4). A demolition offer of \$12 000 was received and rejected (MKO Min 7, 14 Nov 1988, 6) and later it was suggested that demolition should be deferred and the rooms offered rent free to the proposed Enterprise Agency that was attempting to get under way in Mangakino (MKO Min 7, 13 Feb 1989, 3).

This legacy of the Ministry of Works, situated on a prime site, had sparked many ideas for continuing or changed use over a more than 25 years. The responsibility of making decisions about the cinema's future had shifted during this time from the Taupo County Council to its subsidiary; the Mangakino Community Council, and latterly the Mangakino/Pouakani Community Board. Eventually, after much meandering with no apparent sense of purpose, two people with a clear idea of what was desirable and possible, initiated constructive change.

Councillor Andrews and her husband brought to the Community Council a plan for the cinema. It was to house the library, council chambers and information office. Government departments and the Enterprise Agency were to be approached about possible use of office space. The Andrews were congratulated on their plan and a committee of three was appointed to work on the scheme (MKO Min 7, 8 May 1989, 6). Mrs Andrews followed on with a letter outlining costs, materials, colour schemes and plans for redevelopment (MKO Min 7, 10 July 1989, 3) and by 1990 work was underway. The refurbished Taupo County Council Delivery Centre and Library serving Mangakino today provide a very good example of individuals being able to bring about change. They were assisted by Mrs Andrew's position as an elected member of a decision making body and by their joint expertise. On their own they did not have the power to make this change, but the attractions of the proposal and the work they put

into it must have been sufficient to persuade a majority of the decision makers. No major, inhibiting factors interfered with implementation of their plan and the desired outcomes have been achieved. A plaque in the foyer of the, now well used, building acknowledges the contribution of Mr and Mrs Andrews.

## **The Current Connection**

Today Mangakino continues to pollute one of its greatest assets, Lake Maraetai, while Taupo, managed by the same District Council, is able to open the \$9 million Great Lakes Centre, debt free. The Mangakino Community Council has considerable control over its own affairs, but it is hampered by a small rating base, generated by properties low in value compared with others in the Council district. There would seem to be no reason for the numerically dominant Taupo interests in the district to foster attempts to develop Mangakino's lakeside potential. On the other hand a clean Lake Maraetai might attract people from Tokoroa. Already the dragon boat enthusiasts regularly beat their way through its waters.

The farming areas in the Pouakani Riding have clear links with Taupo and many people use it as their service centre. A few Mangakino students also travel there daily. People connected with the Taupo County have demonstrated ongoing concerns about the development of Mangakino and the areas north of Taupo in general (Crawford, 1976), (La Varis, 1986). Nevertheless the formation of the District Council emphasises the disparity between Taupo and Mangakino. A complete turn around has occurred since 1954 (Ward, 1956, 122) when the amenities of Taupo were compared unfavourably with those of Mangakino. Now both come under the umbrella of the District Council and in terms of both amenities and population Taupo has long since outstripped Mangakino. Concerns have arisen especially when

Taupo urban councillors examined the prospects of a likely deficit for the Mangakino town area at the end of this financial year [1991] and questioned the continuing viability of the Mangakino-Pouakani Community Board (S Waikato News, 13 Jun 1991).

The Mangakino-Pouakani Community Board has extensive delegated functions, duties and powers pertaining to service delivery, regulatory functions and finance. It cannot make by-laws, set rates, borrow money or determine planning matters and must operate within the approved budget (Taupo District Council, 1991). It can therefore, oversee the running of the town within the parameters set by the District Council, but it could be very difficult to initiate significant changes. "Does the connection with Taupo benefit Mangakino?" and "Are there any alternatives?", are questions which could be asked.

## Ragwort and Grassgrub

The Pòuakani locality was settled by dairy and sheep farmers; the easier contoured land being allocated to dairying and the more difficult and higher land to sheep. It was all converted to pasture through the large scale actions of government departments (Photo 25a & 25b). The fortunes of farmers varied, and the major transformation, apart from the initial farm development, occurred in 1969 -70. Twenty years after families arrived to take up farms in the initial Whakamaru soldier settlement, ragwort and grassgrub had taken their toll and the government heeded local pleas for farm amalgamation and resettlement. This major change, along with a case study also set in the Maraetai block, forms the basis of this section.

Physical processes and supralocal, including global factors assume a greater importance as an attempt is made to unravel the circumstances surrounding the farmers' changing land use. Some comparisons can also be made between the Maraetai and Pouakani block farms which are separated by the Mangakino stream and have many shared characteristics, although settled on quite a different basis by people chosen according to different criteria. The changing nature of the locality as experienced by the farm settlers is another facet considered.

### Maraetai Case Study

The family interviewed was not among the first to settle on the Maraetai Block. They arrived from the Rotorua area in 1957. It was midwinter but the fog which shrouded their farm for the first week didn't hide the scotch thistles crowding the front paddocks. They were the only sheep farmers on the road, the first to have a full house<sup>1</sup> and were fortunate enough to have good soil on their farm. These factors did not initially endear them to the other settlers.

Their story however begins at an earlier time, for in 1944 PJ<sup>2</sup> had been through the

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<sup>1</sup> Part houses, designed to be added to, had previously been built on the settlement blocks. See Photo 26.

<sup>2</sup> The couple are referred to as PJ and AJ at their suggestion.



Photo 25a  
Land development: Maraetai block near Whakamaru 1947 (Air Logistics)

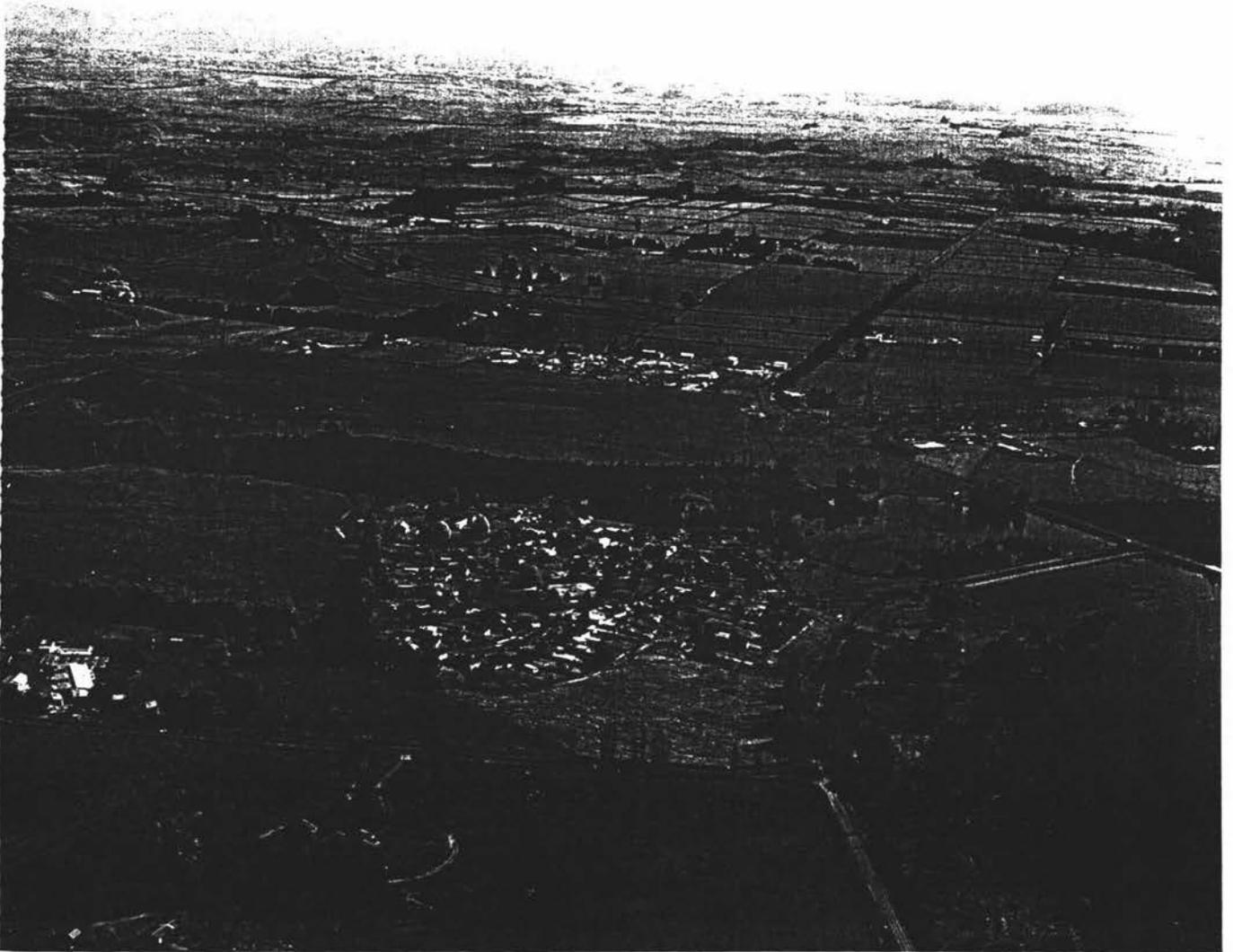


Photo 25b

Maraetai block 1992. Cultivated area shown in 25a is at centre right.  
Pouakani 2 lies across the Mangakino Stream upper right and centre.  
Whakamaru hydro village is in the foreground. (Air Logistics)

area as an instructor with an army group. The only access at that time to the unroaded west bank of the Waikato River was via a Bailey bridge at the future site of the Maraetai Dam. One sight to impress a man with a farming background was a remarkable, fence high stand of red clover, growing in isolation not far from where Mangakino township was later established. This had been planted as a trial by a Lands Department Superintendent from Te Kuiti and he presumes that it was grown to see whether the land was suitable for development for the Maori owners. The vegetation was mainly a low blackish "saltbush" plus the introduced white "heather"<sup>3</sup> with stands of manuka in the damper areas and fern on the better soils. This was the only knowledge PJ had of the area when he later entered a ballot for a farm in the Whakamaru area.

PJ had grown up on a farm and had shepherding and mustering experience in the South Island High country and in the Gisborne district. The family were keen to have their own farm after the war and when PJ was approached to be the Supervisor on a Lands and Survey block he accepted, providing it did not interfere with his chance to gain a ballot farm. He was given this assurance but soon after, in 1948, the Minister of Agriculture changed the rehabilitation policy in order to reduce the waiting list for settlement and those who had a job lost the right to enter a ballot. This remained in force until 1957. When PJ became eligible again he tried for anything going and won his Henderson Road farm.

It was a 600 acre property, sub divided into three large paddocks. Half of the farm was developed and the remainder was clothed in native second growth including five finger and matipo. It had two buildings; a house and an implement shed. Initially it was planned as two dairy farms, with 200 acres to be left as an undeveloped reserve. The reality of the terrain did not make this feasible and for this reason the family were settled as sheep farmers in a dairying area. Later it was argued that much of the Maraetai block was unsuited to dairying and had been inappropriately settled (Photo 27). However, the ballot farmers were financed by the State Advances Corporation and were placed under budgetary control in their early years which meant that they

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<sup>3</sup> Possibly Spanish heath. *Monoao* (*Drachophyllum subulatum*) was one of the main types of scrub present; "an erect shrub up to 2 metres high, with long slender, rather twiggy branches bearing at their ends the rigid leathery, needlelike, sharp pointed leaves 8 - 30 mm long" (Salmon, 1970, 143).

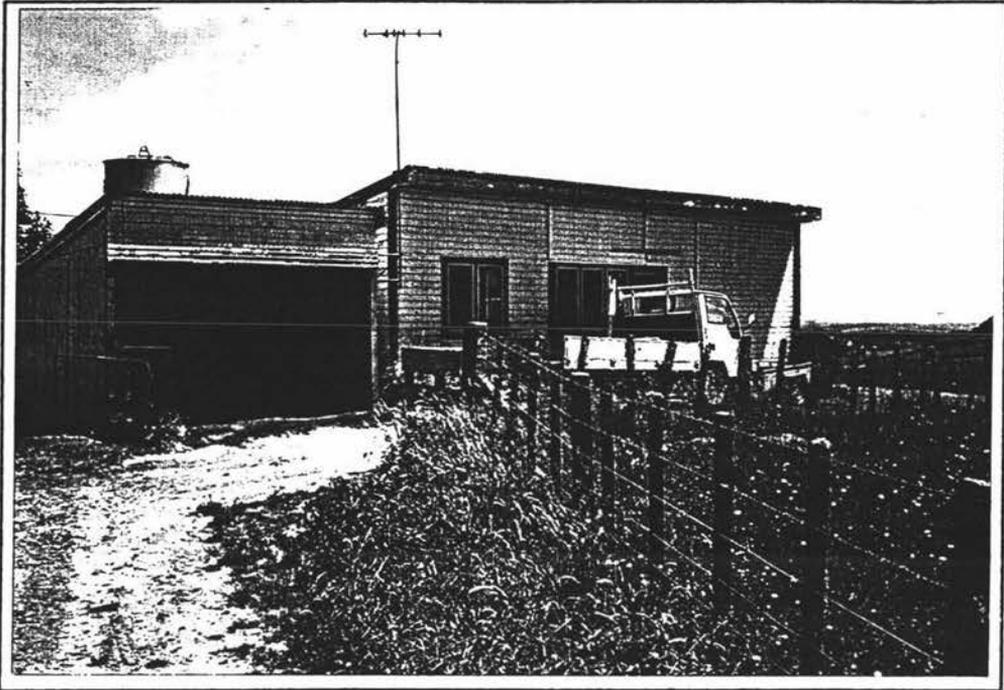


Photo 26  
Part house, Maraetai Block 1993.



Photo 27  
Land originally settled as dairy farms, Maraetai Block.

had little choice as to how they stocked their farms and the smaller dairy units would have been too small to support sheep farming.

Within these restrictions the farmers did make their own decisions about farming methods and priorities. PJ had a mind of his own and from an early stage got around the financial controls and established Romney and Angus studs. He sacrificed numbers for quality and bought in the stud stock he required. Woolshed, haybarn, airstrip and fence construction were early priorities. Costs were kept low by using bits and pieces of available material and working on the projects along with employed workers. Letting contracts for the jobs would have been considerably more expensive. Even the products of the c 180 AD Taupo eruption were put to good use, with totara which was glassy inside, rather like petrified wood, being used as strainer posts. One son had the idea of making money by salvaging charcoal from the buried timber, but a sudden collapse of pumice where he was digging, made him appreciate the dangers and put an end to that project.

Costs were reduced further by being as self sufficient as possible. A house cow supplied milk and later a small herd of about 18 cows was milked in a single stand shed, to take advantage of the cream collection passing the gate. Vegetables and fruit were grown and in the first three years in particular, magnificent crops were obtained. There were no birds in this treeless domain and strawberries flourished, swedes were small basketball size and potatoes cropped heavily.

The thistles also flourished. Thistledown in the autumn piled up to the third wire of the fences and scabby mouth was a problem with the sheep. Ragwort arrived in the second year. Only one attempt was made at spraying and after a frightening experience with a runaway tractor, rotational management practices were used, taking advantage of the fact that sheep would eat the crowns of the ragwort in winter leaving the plant to succumb to the frost; a method which was not available on the ragwort infested neighbouring dairy farms. The thistles required different treatment and PJ carried a hoe for attacking the plants wherever he went, while AJ kicked them out on her frequent excursions to take "smoko"<sup>4</sup> to her husband and other workers. The

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<sup>4</sup> Morning and afternoon tea

thistles and ragwort were brought under control in the first few years and later farm settlers looked with envy, not realising the hard work which had gone into controlling these weeds.

PJ used his own "three tier" system of farming to break in scrub covered parts of the farm. This contrasted with the big machine and burn methods of the contractors employed by the government departments. First he put sheep in to eat the grass growing among the "second growth". Next mobs of cattle were used to eat the five finger, matipo and tauwhara as high as they could reach. In stage three the scrub was felled allowing the cattle access to what had been beyond their reach. The rubbish was left to lie on the ground and hay was fed out on it during the winter months. The trampling of the cattle broke down the debris and the hay provided seed to establish grass and clover. This required extra effort as bales were carried away from the tractor to get good coverage of an area. Hay was bought in from the Pouakani block and it tended to disappoint as haymaking was left too late and "fog" grass was the main species. However, this turned out to be a blessing in disguise, as delaying harvest allowed the ryegrass and clover to mature and set seed and consequently dominate the resulting sward which did not contain any "fog" grass.

As far as insects were concerned there was a definite lull of about 10 years between the original development of the land and reinfestation with grass grub and other insect pests. PJ noted the sequence on blocks developed at different times and believes that the fires used in the development process may have destroyed the grass grubs and that about 10 years was required for the numbers to be reestablished to pest proportions. At their worst the the adult brown beetles stripped the silver birch foliage and hung in large clusters on the branches like small swarms of bees. In loose soil where a tree had been planted they seemed to ooze out of the ground in a never ending stream, little affected by petrol poured on them. The buzzing of the beetles disturbed the night. The increase of grassgrubs in the drought years of the late 1960s was one of the factors leading to demands for assistance for the Maraetai block farmers, and eventually to resettlement. PJ didn't fight them with DDT as others did. He compensated for the lack of grass by feeding out hay. On the dairy farm taken over

by his son heavy stocking on the worst areas, saw cattle belly deep in loose soil, but seed from the hay resulted in good growth the following spring and grass grub numbers were not excessively high.

PJ and AJ were probably older than many of the other settlers, being in their early forties when they moved onto the farm. This meant that PJ had accumulated many years of practical farming experience which gave him the knowledge to make wise farm management decisions. The government directed, rapid, large scale development of the area apparently produced unintended consequences both desired and unwanted, such as the initial reduction in insect pests and the overwhelming growth of thistles, but the family were able to gain a large measure of control over their own circumstances by building up good quality stock and using natural, possibly slower, but effective measures to break in land and rid it of pests.

They were favoured in one sense by drawing a farm which happened to have dark loam soils, which others said were the best in the district, but they also drew on their allotted acres some of the roughest country. This emphasises the "lottery" aspect of farm settlement. It was not only a question of whether the returned serviceman would win a farm in a ballot, there was the additional uncertainty attached to the suitability of these farms. They originated as fairly arbitrary lines drawn on maps, this had to be translated by the "winners" into the reality of self supporting farm units. Initially they were constrained in their decision making by the budgetary controls of the lending institution.

Local changes of note which occurred during their time on the farm included the alteration of soils and claimed improvements in climate. The soil changes resulted from topdressing with cobaltised super phosphate which enabled grasses and clover to grow, and from the subsequent manuring by the stock and decomposition of organic matter. The soil became more fertile, but at the same time the free draining qualities of the pumice diminished and mud began to appear. Informants (Ahipene 1991, Transcript 1) have insisted that the winter temperatures are much higher than they used to be. PJ attributes this to the grass and exotic forest cover and the animals

introduced via the farm settlement programme. Climate data is not available to verify this statement but there is anecdotal evidence to suggest it is true. In both these instances the efforts of the farmer have brought about changes in the physical environment. In the latter case the cumulative effect of the actions of many people may have produced a desirable but unplanned outcome. In the former example each farmer has had the capacity to make decisions which have affected the soil composition and structure. The practices chosen have, however, been influenced by the nature of the existing soils and by the need to farm profitably. On a small scale, as in the farm garden, there was an almost unlimited capability to bring about change. AJ and PJ went so far as to even bring back worms for the garden when they travelled out of the district, as these were absent from local soils.

A change which PJ feared was the depletion of ground water supplies. There are few streams in the area and the largest; the Mangakino which bordered the property, flows in a steep sided gorge and for the most part is inaccessible to stock. As on other farms in the district water had to be pumped from a depth of 500 or more feet (150 metres) at considerable cost. Remarkably, it was soft drinking water, but what was unknown was whether the water table was being lowered. In 1964 when severe drought hit the area and the Federated Farmers called for the district to be declared a disaster area, PJ pushed to have the Agriculture Department conduct a ground water survey, but to no avail. The knowledge gained could have assisted farmers with planning for the future, and to a small extent it may have lessened the uncertainty associated with the unpredictable business of farming.

Further significant changes occurred in other dimensions. These included improved communications and road access and the dwindling importance of Mangakino. In the early years Mangakino, the hydro town, was their main shopping centre, although groceries were delivered from the nearby Sandel Road shop. A trip to Taupo such as those PJ had to make when he was an Advisory Committee member and councillor, took about an hour, but Tokoroa was closer and was used for shopping on occasions. In the 1970s the situation changed considerably with the completion of Poihipi Road which halved the time taken to travel to Taupo. This was instigated by the Taupo

County Council but it would have been supported and possibly sought by the Lands and Survey Department which was still engaged in farm development in the area at that time. Along with the bridge at Waipapa, it was actively campaigned for by the Federated Farmers, to which PJ belonged. Their aim was to provide a road link from the Pouakani area to the Waikato and with the support of Rona Stevenson, the Member of Parliament for Taupo, they achieved their goal.

Telephone communication also improved dramatically. At one time the family had to compete for time on an 11 subscriber party line. Later the Mangakino exchange was automated and free calling extended to the wider Putaruru/Tokoroa area. These technological changes leading up to the Standard Toll Dialling now in use illustrate the ways in which overall trends and local impetus intermesh. The changes in technology have eventually become available to practically all New Zealanders, but the timing of these changes in particular localities may have been influenced by the efforts of local lobby groups and the clout of particular members of parliament.

Lobbying even via a national organisation did not however ensure success. PJ recalled efforts made to get an emergency helicopter service in the 1960s when he was as a member of the Federated Farmers national Hill Country Committee. The power brokers of the time were unconvinced, yet today an air ambulance serves the whole of the Waikato and puts Pouakani within half an hour of a base hospital.

The improvement in road links with other towns paralleled the winding down of the construction projects based on Mangakino and this once busy town of 5 000 people was reduced to a township of 1 800 by 1971 (Dept of Statistics, 1977, 24). The construction site whistle had been a constant reminder, even to the Maraetai block farmers, of the passing of time and the presence of the town. Now it had ceased and Mangakino, undeveloped as a farming service centre, lost its dominance of the locality. Or rather the locality was changing its outline as people adjusted to new distance/time relations facilitated by an expanded and improved road network.

## Resettlement

The Maraetai block was settled not once but twice in less than 20 years. Signs of pending stress for the 62 dairy farmers on the block emerged in the dry year of 1964. Late in the following year a sub committee of the Federated Farmers visited the district and reported to the Minister of Lands and the State Advances Corporation on problems and possible solutions. The main problems were seen to be ragwort and wrong land utilisation. Changing the land utilisation necessitated redistributing land to provide the bigger blocks needed for sheep and cattle farming. However, sheep farming also had problems, these being of international origin. The local Federated Farmers' branch sought action to alleviate the effects of a fall in wool prices and "supported a motion that funds kept in reserve by the Wool Commission should be used to retain the price at its present level" (MKO Chron, 30 Mar 1967, 1).

Pressure continued to be applied by the Federated Farmers and in August 1969 they were able to report that a decision had been reached to resettle farmers on the Maraetai block on a voluntary basis (MKO Chron, 28 August, 1969). John Luxton, a Member of Parliament was given credit for working towards resettlement, as was the Minister of Lands who, U R MacDonald claimed, had convinced his government colleagues that intervention was necessary (MKO Chron, 4 September 1969, 1). To coordinate action at a local level the government set up a Maraetai Utilisation and Amalgamation Committee which included local people.

A serious rift in the Whakamaru branch of the Federated Farmers surfaced at this stage. One member claimed that wrong land utilisation was a myth and stated that the farmers choosing to go wanted justice for themselves, while those wanting to stay wanted justice for all (MKO Chron, Nov 6 1969, 1). It was not a simple matter of individual farmers deciding to accept the government offer and leave. Their actions affected those who remained in many ways. Because the main argument of the group seeking to leave was that the land should not have been settled as dairy farms, no assistance was sought for those who wanted to stay. If help had been available more might have chosen to remain farming in the district, thus weakening the position of the

other group and confirming that the land was suitable for dairying. Furthermore a drop in the number of dairy farmers could, and did, affect the viability of dairying, as tanker collection was no longer warranted.

As long as the shared objective of its members was to sustain viable local farms the Federated Farmers was able to act effectively and retain members' support. The amalgamation and resettlement proposals produced a conflict of interest within the organisation as some farmers were coping and had no desire for change. Others could increase their farm size, and a third group just wanted to get out. Valuations which suited the outgoing group would have been less pleasing to those seeking to buy. As some farmers had lobbied for the change for a number of years, once agreement was reached in principle it was probably too late to turn back, yet none of the details were decided at that stage and many farmers were at the mercy of circumstances they could not control, although their local representatives had initiated the action.

The impetus to leave gained momentum in 1970 when drought occurred again and the whole of Pouakani was declared a disaster area by the Whakamaru branch of the Federated Farmers. Farm workers were put off (MKO Chron, 19 Mar 1970, 8), the hay production of the average farm was said to be down by 1 000 bales and the Pouakani 2 block production dropped by 10 000 bales. By June the first stage of resettlement affecting 29 farmers was underway and U R MacDonald, the provincial delegate of the district branch of the Federated Farmers was one of the first to leave (MKO Chron, 4 June 1970, 1).

The public focus on pests and disasters; ragwort, grass grub and drought, plus suggestions of government ineptitude in sponsoring inappropriate use of the land, hid other aspects which were suggested by an overall view of newspaper articles and confirmed by informants. The sixties produced good as well as bad years, and this allowed stocking rates to be increased and production boosted. Warnings about lifting stock levels on the basis of an exceptional season were not heeded. An active Farm Improvement group sought advice from Advisory Officers from outside the district. One

of these officers promoted extra production through running more stock. This meant taking on an extra labour unit and building an extra house. Two years later the farmers realised that the employees were earning more than they were. An alternative would have been to have run some sheep, at least they would have controlled the ragwort (Pers Com). Another advisor pointed out the benefits of housing, and more profitably farming, the pigs being raised on the skim milk. Capital was invested in piggeries and then the tanker collection which had been sought for 10 years eventuated. Some of the problems of the farmers, had therefore resulted from their acceptance of advice from experts and some rather extravagant spending. The common sense farmers who had not rushed into new schemes were less affected (Pers Com).

A further factor, not ever hinted at in the newspapers of the time was identified by one of the incoming settlers who arrived in about 1970 (Garland, 1992) He drew attention to the age of these farmers. They had returned from active service in 1945 and 25 years later they were middle aged men or older, they had grown up families and in some instances health problems that were a legacy of the war. These people may not have had the resilience or drive of younger farmers to withstand the vicissitudes of climate; of several dry years and grass grub out of control.

What did bring about the need for resettlement? Grass grub had once again become a serious pest after the banning of the use of DDT on dairy farms (MKO Chron, 19 September 1969, 4). Supralocal factors such as freezing works strikes (MKO Chron, 19 Feb 1970, 1) and falling prices were having an effect, but more on sheep farmers rather than on the dairy farmers pushing for change. Despite the serious climate and pest problems the efficient farmers appear to have had the capacity to sustain the long term viability of their farms, but this was affected by the collective actions of the group which wanted to leave. It should not be a surprise to find such a concerted effort because these people had mostly reached a similar stage in their lives because of the criteria for, and block nature of land settlement. Through the Federated Farmers, an organisation with an hierarchical structure permitting local problems to be aired at national level, they were able to convince people of the validity of their claims. They

were not without merit in that an economic dairying unit was increasing in size, but their solution was to abandon dairying altogether.

It is interesting to note that 20 years later, this choice is being reversed and dairy farms are once again being established on the Maraetai Block (Photo 28). As conversions are made the tanker collection is progressively extending its limits, making it feasible for yet more sheep farms to be converted to dairying. These decisions are in many instances not being made by farmers with local knowledge. They are in some cases absentee owners and the farms are part of their investment portfolios. The increased profitability of dairy farming, stemming from improved overseas prices, Dairy Board success in expanding markets in developing countries and more favourable exchange rates; plus the relative cheapness of land in the Pouakani ward compared with that in old established dairying districts are likely reasons for the "reversion" to dairying.

Who has the power to bring about these changes? The superficial answer is, those with the necessary financial backing and the policy makers in the dairy companies that service the area. They in turn are affected by fiscal incentives and constraints imposed by government, plus government policy decisions which may affect interest and exchange rate and consequently the profitability of farming. Beyond that are the vagaries of international trade which, if we can judge by the recent kiwifruit fiasco (Parker, 1993, 94 - 101 ) are difficult to predict or insure against. New Zealand dairy farmers have all this century been largely dependent on overseas receipts for their produce. In the fifties and sixties when the Maraetai block produced cream and milk, dairy demand and prices were not subject to severe fluctuations but fear was growing about the effects of the European Common Market by the end of the 1960s.

Viewed from the perspective of local reports, resettlement appears to have been prompted by some local farmers and implemented through their ability to influence those with the power to effect change. A wider view reminds one of the importance of overseas markets and shows that the Maraetai block changes were consistent with national trends and policies. Cornwell, writing in the *New Zealand Farmer* (December 11, 1969, 12) commented on the serious consequences for New Zealand's butter and



Photo 28

Dairying established for the second time, Maraetai Block 1993

cheese markets, of the United Kingdom joining the European Economic Community (EEC) and noted that "The outlook isn't good. If present national farming policies continue unchanged, chronic world surpluses of dairy products will persist well into the foreseeable future".

Scherer (J of Agr, Dec 1969, 101) also expanded on this theme:

For the dairy industry these are troubled times ... the fact is that the bulk of its production is being unloaded abroad at prices which represent less than producers are being paid out for it. And now, domestic surpluses are beginning to accumulate ... The industry is being supported by the Reserve Bank credit on terms which if it were a purely private enterprise venture, standing or falling by market economics, would have driven it out of business years ago. In the national interest that cannot be allowed to happen.

Scherer refers to the fact that the Dairy Board had been reviewing the industry for most of 1969. He also mentions subsidies introduced in the budget for farmers who switched from milk to beef production and more recent "drastic measures to help dairymen improve their farms or to take out of production farms not suited to dairying". These included:

a scheme to help amalgamate marginal farms or to see them absorbed by neighbouring farms, to compensate small farmers selling their holdings to enable consolidation into larger units, and for the conversion of some properties to non-farming uses such as forestry (J of Agr, Dec 1969,101).

Consideration was also being given to the provision of annuities for older farmers who sold out and moved to town.

Taken along with the steady annual drop of about 5 to 6 per cent in the number of dairy farmers it becomes apparent that the resettlement of the Maraetai block was in keeping with trends in dairying. Certainly local farmers took the initiative, spurred on

by problems with ragwort, grassgrub and drought, but perhaps their demands were only acceded to because of general concerns about the EEC and the future of dairying.

## **Comparisons and contradictions**

Only the Mangakino stream separates the Maori Affairs developed Pouakani 2 block from some of the Maraetai block farms. In both blocks farmers were initially settled on dairy units. Terrain and soil types are broadly similar yet the response to problems such as ragwort, grassgrub, drought and deteriorating markets has differed.

As early as 1962 the local paper was reporting that Pouakani 2 farmers were experiencing financial difficulty (MKO Chron, 9 Mar 1962, 1). This led to vacant farms and some amalgamation of units. Drought struck in the 1963-64 season and the local Federated Farmers branch, comprising mainly Maraetai block farmers called for the declaration of a disaster area. Difficulties continued to be experienced in the 1965-66 season and this time assistance for the Maraetai block was sought from the local member of parliament. Problems were identified as ragwort infestation and wrong utilisation (MKO Chron, 16 Jun 1966, 1). Contrasting with these latter reports are statements applauding the striking development figures of Maori farmers on the Pouakani block (MKO Chron, 5 May 1966, 1).

This disparity of views became even more apparent two seasons later. The Pouakani Executive, meeting with Maori Affairs officers was told that farming was in good heart and had had a good season (MKO Chron, 21 Mar 1968, 7). The advisors of the Central Plateau Farm Improvement Club which included 28 of the 62 Maraetai block dairy farms reported that 1967-68 was one of the worst in the area for many years, with drought being followed by an army caterpillar invasion (MKO Chron, 25 Jul 1968, 1). Considering these different views it is not surprising that dissimilar actions were taken. Pouakani 2 proceeded with further amalgamation; bringing together three farms into a trial large scale dairy unit in 1969 (MKO Chron, 27 Nov 1969, 1) and continuing with dairying on other units, while resettlement and conversion to sheep took place on the

Maraetai block.

In fact it seems that production figures had fallen significantly on both blocks as indicated from the Farm Advisors' comments and production figures from a Pouakani block farm (Figure 15) (MKO Chron, 12 Jun 1969, 1) but the Maori Affairs personnel preferred to focus on the positive outcomes. During the visit when the production figures were quoted, the "headaches" caused by ragwort and grassgrub were acknowledged, but at the same time, attention was drawn to the new low line herring -

Year	lbs butterfat
1965 - 66	35 200
1966 - 67	34 900
1967 - 68	30 100
1968 - 69	23 000

Figure 15

Production on a Pouakani block farm

bone shed and the amazing regeneration of pastures infested with grassgrub which was attributed to the fertility of the soil (MKO Chron, 12 Jun 1969, 1).

Could it be that the Maori Affairs people needed to show that they were doing a good job on Pouakani, while the Farm Improvement experts needed to emphasise the factors outside their control, to account for the difficulties encountered by farmers taking their advice. As only about one third of the Maraetai block farmers were in the Farm Improvement group it would be interesting to know whether they were spread across the cleavage in the Federated Farmers, or whether they were united as supporters of resettlement. It is obvious that there were varied perceptions of the viability of dairy farming in this locality and also varying constraints on the choices made by the farmers. Some achieved their goal of conversion or moving to a new life elsewhere; others lacked the power to resist change, or in the case of the Pouakani

farmers, alter their circumstances, although at least one made valiant efforts as discussed in "Initiative and Influence". Pouakani 2 dairy units were amalgamated in the 1970s reducing the number of farms to 18, but unlike the Maraetai block this did not accompany a change in land use. This was in keeping with the claim made by Maori Affairs representatives, in discussion with the New Zealand Dairy Company in 1970 that "there was no real relationship between the problems at Whakamaru and Maraetai with the situation at Pouakani where the land was fertile and the contour much better" (Pouakani File, 27 Apr 1970, 2).

## Changing Schools

The title for this section is deliberately ambiguous. In one sense it is taken to mean the changes which have occurred in the provision of schooling in the Pouakani locality from the 1940s up to the present day. In the other sense it brings forth some issues relating to the decisions which local caregivers make to send their children to particular schools both within and beyond the locality and to change schools when they are dissatisfied.

As far as changes in the schools are concerned, it would seem obvious that where there are children the government will provide schools. What influence the parents, staff, students and wider community have had on the siting of the schools, the provision of facilities and the educational opportunities offered, is a matter for investigation. Attention is focused on the first local school, formerly the Mangakino District High School, currently the Mangakino High School, but the view is broadened in some contexts to include other local educational institutions. Associated with identification of change is a realisation of the extent to which the same struggles have been fought many times in superficially different contexts and there is an impression of considerable effort being expended to make "changes" which in the long term may be seen to have perpetuated the existing system or have maintained the status quo.

In discussing the second aspect the actions of individuals take on greater importance and the effects of aggregate rather than collective decision making and action are considered as well as the implications of government induced change in the education system. The latter pulls both aspects together. "Real" or perceived changes in today's schools perhaps having the capacity to prevent or encourage students changing schools tomorrow.

### Past

Early in 1946 the first "school" building was moved to Mangakino. It was sited near the river and was used to provide primary schooling for the half a dozen families

already living on the job. The few secondary students in the first year travelled under a canopy on the back of the supply truck making a daily return trip to Putaruru. However, at the beginning of 1947 this was discontinued and the growing number of secondary students was left without any schooling for two months until they were again allowed to travel to Putaruru after media attention had been drawn to their plight (Sherman, 1973, 11).

When school belatedly reopened in 1948, after the national closure in response to the polio epidemic, Mangakino had a District High School housed in temporary buildings on the present High School site. This school grew extremely rapidly (Photos 29 & 30) until, with 1 500 students in 1958, it could claim to be the largest school in New Zealand. Overcrowded buses and facilities led to calls for more schools resulting in the opening of Whakamaru and Mangakino North Primary schools by 1960. Further change was sought, with a full post primary school being requested. After offering initial support, then turning down the request, the government finally opened the secondary school in 1964 and the primary children joined those at the Mangakino North School (which became Mangakino Primary). The government had been rightfully doubtful about Mangakino's ability to support a viable post primary school (MKO Chron, April 13, 1962, 1) and there was soon local agitation for it to be translated into a Form One to Six school. This occurred in 1967 and the number and types of local schools have remained the same up until the present, although there have been significant changes in roll numbers (Photo 31).

During the years of greatest need Mangakino students were not well catered for. One year after the school opened the Mangakino Spark reported on an unsatisfactory water supply providing "no washing facilities apart from one tap and several drinking fountains" and a lack of sports fields and sealed areas. However, it was optimistically predicted that "the enthusiasm of the teachers and committee backed by the solid support of all parents and people interested in the school can make this one of the finest learning institutions in the country" (MKO Spark, 2 Aug, 1947). Yet eight years later the Women's Auxiliary was drawing attention to the fact that school milk had never been provided in Mangakino. In 1957 overcrowding and school buses carrying



Photo 29 Mangakino District High School 1949 (Air Logistics)



Photo 30 Mangakino District High School 1955 (Air Logistics)



Photo 31 Left of centre - Mangakino High School with buildings clustered similarly to the present. Primary school above, beyond playing fields (Air Logistics, 1976).

double the recommended number of students caused grave concern. The following year the unpalatable water turned the Minister of Education's attention to the welfare of students, and many of the temporary buildings were still in use in the early 1960s.

It is apparent that in those early years there were at least five important influences on the speed and the way in which the school developed and changed: the Ministry of Works, the Government, the South Auckland Education Board, the parents and other townspeople (particularly the School Committees and later the Board of Governors) and the teachers.

The major decisions came from the Government, but the extent to which local pressure affected these decisions is hard to gauge. It is possible that a Labour government was more responsive to the needs of a community with a solid trade union base than were National governments. The second Labour government 1957-60 started the Maraetai II project when a winding down of local operations was imminent and also gave the go ahead for the construction of schools at Whakamaru and Mangakino early in its term of office, after the South Auckland Education Board had refused to even meet with a local delegation. There had been a concerted local campaign involving 19 different groups representing school, farming, trade union, Maori, and business interests which had attracted national media attention. The new Ministers of Works and Education were contacted immediately after their appointments and informed of the "three to four years protracted negotiations and unnecessary delay" (MKO Chron, 24 January 1958 ) leading to a visit by the Minister of Education, site inspections and assurances that everything possible would be done to try to have the schools ready for 1959.

Only the Government had the power to authorise the expenditure, but this was not sufficient to ensure that the work was carried out. This task fell to the South Auckland Education Board and it appeared, at least to local people, to be uncooperative. The Board's response to a letter from the Taupo County Commissioner was described as being "unsatisfactory and discourteous" making it probably not worth while to pursue the matter further (Taupo Adv Com Min 2, 11 Feb 1958, 68). The schools were not

completed until 1960 and it would seem that in this instance the outcome was affected by a complicated interplay of factors relating to the persistence and unity of local groups, the change of government and the practicalities of construction which may have genuinely hampered the South Auckland Education Board's efforts to carry out the work. Although if media reports give a true picture, the board at least failed in the public relations sphere.

New Zealand schools for the most part do not differ greatly in the facilities they provide for young people's education. Yet many of these facilities and significant items of equipment are not fully funded by government. Communities appear to accept that they need to make contributions and work to give their children parity with those in other areas. This is particularly apparent in rural areas where the rate paying population is insufficient to support public amenities such as swimming pools. Many of the items for which fund raising is required are also examples of the new technology of the time.

At Mangakino people went well beyond meeting the deficits in government funding and took steps to provide for their own educational (and religious) needs. By 1950 a convent school had been opened to cater for Catholic students. There was also a strong focus on preschool education at a time when it was not particularly fashionable. The remarkably youthful population; 722, or 18.4 per cent under the age of five in 1950 (Herbert, 1951, 2), undoubtedly contributed to this. A thriving Nursery Play Centre was functioning in the 1950s when the movement was mainly confined to a few cities.

The wide range of people coming from diverse backgrounds throughout New Zealand and from overseas would have ensured that varied ideas and experiences were pooled. Mangakino was new to everyone and people obviously sought to make contact via their interests; close to 90 clubs and organisations being at one time affiliated to the Welfare Association. The social contacts afforded by the fund raising activities may have had more attraction than the desire for the actual projects to be completed. The recurring story appearing in the local news is of very successful fund

raising ventures and poorly attended subsequent working bees placing undue demands on a few enthusiasts. This was evident in the field of education where raising money for the first swimming pool proved to be the easy part of the exercise.

Right through the history of the local schools, as would be customary throughout New Zealand, there are indications of partnerships between government and local parents. The differences from one school to another, arise mainly from the timing of the community supplement. Especially in the field of technology, schools eventually get whatever public opinion considers desirable. In Mangakino's case this began with the radios and projectors of the 1950s and continuing with the gestetner and banda machines, the calculators, the overhead projectors, the photocopiers, the video players and camera, the computers and the various upgrades of specialist equipment in the science laboratories, home economics, commercial and technical areas. The question to be asked is to what extent these physical changes, along with improved buildings, administrative translations of the school type and dramatic changes in size actually alter the nature of the educational process. It is not appropriate to examine education in depth in this thesis, but some ideas on significant continuities and changes, are discussed in the last section of this chapter.

Other components bringing about change within the school are the teachers and more importantly the student/teacher relationships. Teachers initiate change through putting forward ideas and through the ways in which they respond to the students. The outcomes are sometimes ephemeral and disappear when teachers or students leave, or new relationships are forged; others become a physical part of the school and are developed, modified, used or abandoned by the teachers and students who follow. A well equipped, unused horticultural shed and adjacent unmowed area bear witness to teachers' dreams, as do the marae complex, the eager students using the computer room out of school hours and the vehicle maintenance bay awaiting use.

The effects of change are not confined to one educational institution. The consequences of one set of decisions can be traced through a period of years, leading on logically, but not inevitably to a series of linked outcomes. The desire of parents to

foster Te Reo Maori, part of a nationwide move towards equity for Maori people accompanied by a strengthening of cultural identity in the 1970s led to the establishment of Te Kohanga Reo in Mangakino. This brought adults and pre school children together at the Pouakani Marae five days of the week giving these people new semi formalised relationships as well as fostering the language for all generations.

As in other places, the need then arose for these children to be catered for in the schools and in 1987 the first bilingual class was set up at the Mangakino Primary School. This in turn created the situation where a group of bilingual students has entered Mangakino High School in 1993 and a class has been set up to meet their needs. There has been limited government assistance provided to enable this to happen. The development of national guidelines and coordinating bodies has given access to the shared knowledge and expertise, but the fact that young Mangakino children are having the opportunity to learn the Maori language can be largely attributed to the efforts of local people, particularly those who established and have continued to run Te Kohanga Reo. But their children are then taken out of their hands, by custom at the age of five, and legally at six and placed in institutions which may restrict access to parents and caregivers.

In theory the children are being given opportunities beyond those offered by Te Kohanga Reo, but the transition from home to pre school and from pre school to school involves major changes in the ways in which the children's lives are structured in space and time and in their social relationships. Children learn through contacts with adults and through rich and varied experiences, yet they are moved into situations where the age range of people they associate with is reduced, as is the number of adults and in some cases the actual learning environments become increasingly sterile as the students "expand" their learning. Time and learning are fragmented into blocks and anchored to particular places. Rather than enhancing learning, for some individuals, this may provide considerably less stimulus than the unstructured learning of the playground, the streets and home.

## Present

The Mangakino schools have not had an easy time coping with post Picot changes. The Mangakino Primary School has passed through a period in which a Commissioner was required in lieu of a Board of Trustees. The High School had several Board of Trustees changes in the first few months. It was also, in 1992, required by the Minister of Education to employ a consultant, to write a report and advise on issues of governance and management.

Concerns have been expressed about the future of the school at Board of Trustees' meetings and strong efforts have been made to bring about some sort of change. However, the side effects of these efforts have been to divert people's energy from the business of making the school function effectively from day to day and planning for the future. Targets of criticism "covering their backs" and struggling for survival are not in a position to take the risks associated with measures which may make significant change in the school environment. It is evident that the physical changes I have seen in the last three years, though possibly necessary and valuable, are insufficient to bring about major change in the learning environment of the school. It also seems as if there are mind sets in staff, students and caregivers which lock them into roles which prevent significant change from occurring. Or is the school merely a product of the community and as such lacking the capability for change, unless the community changes? Does the school have the power or the right to change itself and/or the community? Is, or can, the school be a force for change in the community?

The easily identifiable physical changes have included the complete refurbishment and shifting of the Maori classroom from the "back" of the school to its new location and contested role as a "marae" at the "front" of the school. Two old classrooms have also been gutted and redesigned as a technical block incorporating such extras as a motor vehicle maintenance bay. A well equipped computer laboratory has been set up and already upgraded. The old metalwork room has been carpeted, heated and furnished to make a comfortable transition room. New tuck shop facilities have been provided and several classrooms have received new furniture and carpets. Yet some

staff, some students, some caregivers and the Board of Trustees express dissatisfaction with aspects of the school. Obviously it is the people and their relationships which have the capacity to change the school environment. This raises the issues of the efficacy of collective decision making, the access to power of groups and individuals, and the need for common knowledge and a common purpose if those people touched by the school are to feel satisfied with the way it functions.

Is it possible for congruent goals to be set and striven for? While seventy percent of the students are of Maori ancestry, this is the case for only two of the 18 staff<sup>1</sup>. Only three of the nine parent representative and co-opted members members of the Board of Trustees have children of their own attending the school, one in fact, removing a child round about the time of accepting co-option to the board. Six of the eight staff members with school age children have children at school outside of Mangakino. This arises from choice and/or reflects the fact that they live at a distance from the school.

In spite of the above facts some valiant efforts have been made to comply with the Education Amendment Act 1987 and have a Board of Trustees which reflects the diversity of the community, the gender division of half male and half female, the character of the community (geographical and otherwise) and includes representatives of special interest groups. The people eligible to vote at the elections, presumably including reasonably equal numbers of males and females, voted in an all male board in 1992, with a large gap between the men elected and any of the four women candidates. The board then sought to co-opt people to correct this imbalance and meet the other criteria in the Act. The survivors from the previous board had approached "one Pakeha female" and "one Maori female". Individually it was moved that each be a co-opted member. A new member's suggestion of a suitable person was turned down because he had not approached the person first. (He had not had a written agenda for the meeting and had thought that co-option would be discussed by the Board first before people were approached). Names of other suitable people were not allowed to be put forward for consideration until each one moved had been dealt with, and little consideration was given to any attributes other than race and gender.

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<sup>1</sup> This section of the thesis refers to Mangakino High School in 1992. There have been a number of changes since then.

When a vote was taken the majority abstained. Two in favour and one against led to a co-option. Is this what equity is about? Or is this a gross travesty of the intentions of the Act. Were those provisions merely included to pay lip service to equity knowing that you cannot legislate for it. Or does the legislation break down barriers which eventually may lead the people of Mangakino to consider that women are worthy of being voted into positions on the Board of Trustees.

The above sequence of events observed at a Board of Trustees meeting (Aug 17, 1992) highlights two aspects of the thesis framework. The actions of the previous board members demonstrate clearly the part knowledge plays in decision making. They knew the rules and the chairperson appeared to choose to follow a sub set of rules which ensured that the outcome was that desired by the "old" board members. There was nothing improper done and the result may have been the same even if the power bestowed by position and knowledge had not been exercised. The other relevant aspect is that of intended and unintended outcomes. Is this what the people who drafted and passed the legislation would have wanted to happen. Can it really be in the interests of a community to be counting up the number of representatives, dividing them into sex and gender, comparing this with ratios in the community based on impressions - false (not statistics such as census information) - and then filling positions on the basis of what was described as a "numbers game". Could it not have been possible that the abilities of these people may have been relevant as one or two Board members suggested?

In fact rather than gaining diversity what seems likely to occur with co-option is that people felt to be compatible, or to have something in common with the elected board members will be co-opted, thus reducing diversity of thought, but perhaps increasing the likelihood of making decisions.

Further aspects of change are currently affecting the school. As the school roll is falling and redeployment and loss of job status are reality, uncertainty pervades much of the planning, options for students decrease and they express dissatisfaction with what is available. This is likely to lead to further loss of students to Tokoroa and Taupo

secondary schools. Groundless (I think), school closure rumours circulate and the rapidly falling primary school roll gives them some credence. Accelerating the decline is the bussing of students from Mangakino to Whakamaru daily. Ironically these students travel on the bus which is contracted to bring students to Mangakino High School and very few of the students who commute to Whakamaru Primary School ever return to Mangakino High School<sup>2</sup> which is a Form 1 to 7 school. They prefer to stay until Form Two and then go on with their peers to other high schools. In this case the parents make an initial decision to withdraw their children from the primary school or not to enrol them there; the long term outcome is a falling roll at the High School and an underused, well maintained and well equipped educational facility.

The waste of this facility and the abilities of the people who staff it is further accentuated by the nature of courses being offered in the community. Students are leaving school to go on Access type courses, which may not offer the equipment or the skills already available in the school. But economics are dictating where these people get their education from and for those not old enough to receive a student allowance, paid courses can be an economic necessity. Would it not be better to use the existing facilities and staff in new ways to continue these young people's education?

Advertisements in local papers seeking trainees for TOPs programmes give further cause for alarm. These courses are part of a major government initiative, they are government funded, and one would have thought that a valid educational goal was to strive for excellence. The criteria for acceptance are all hallmarks of failure; six months unemployed, less than two B2 passes in School Certificate<sup>3</sup>, and attendance at courses run for unemployed people. At the same time the school leaving age has been raised and a report asks for more relevant and interesting courses for the "extra" students who will stay on at school (Waikato Times, 29 Dec 1992), although at Mangakino few 15 year olds leave school and those who do are usually pregnant, or have a history of truancy or disruptive behaviour.

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<sup>2</sup> This was the situation in 1992. In 1993 two buses are involved in a new arrangement.

<sup>3</sup> There is ongoing change in the criteria for admission to these courses, but the necessity to have "failed" prevails.

Using school facilities in new ways is an option, but it requires imagination, initiative, finance and open minds. Across the board bulk funding to schools could offer the opportunity for more flexibility, but considering the difficulties experienced at Mangakino in having Boards of Trustees who can facilitate the effective operation of schools within the present constraints and guidelines, an increase in power would not appear to be the answer. Unless the educational process is revolutionised, not tinkered with, Boards of Trustees are faced with the necessity of having teachers implement their policies. Policies must therefore be interpreted by the teachers and that interpretation will not necessarily produce the outcomes expected by the Board of Trustees, assuming that as a group they do have shared objectives which appears very unlikely to be the case in Mangakino.

With the roll falling at present, alarmists are predicting the closure of the school and recent actions of the Board of Trustees (including the summary dismissal of the principal) could be viewed as efforts to keep the school open. As a number of the board members do not have children at the school and "in committee" meetings or parts of meetings are common, it is difficult to identify motivating factors, but it could well be that the outcomes, including Employment Court action, may not be those intended by some of the board members. Perhaps the board could even precipitate rather than forestall a change in the status of the school. Perhaps this is what is being sought?

It is apparent that some local people seek and believe that an attainable outcome will be a better school with rising roll numbers. Their beliefs could be based on flawed or inadequate knowledge. Despite this, if strong support is given to incoming teachers and the community perception is that the school has been turned around it could even be possible that the current downward trend could be reversed. Although how this could happen without parents and caregivers first giving their support to the local primary school is very difficult to imagine.

One of the recent changes which could have been expected to blend together physical changes in the school property, and changes in relationships, within the

school, and between the school and community; was the setting up of a school marae complex. The classroom used for tuition in Maori was moved from its peripheral position in the school grounds to a prime place adjacent to the school entrance. Its roof shape was changed, a porch added and the interior was refurbished, in such a way as to permit the later addition of carvings, kowhaiwhai and tukutuku panels. The building was then linked to a new catering facility added onto the assembly hall. The project was instigated by the then, Deputy Principal strongly supported by the Principal and funded by the Ministry of Education. Discussions were held on the Pouakani marae about naming the whare and other related matters of protocol. It was also supported by a group, originating in the Parent Teacher Association, which raised money for the carvings and organised catering.

After the official opening of the complex, by local kaumatua, it was used to host school and Maori Women's Welfare League groups and efforts were made to find carvers to add their work to the building. Despite one of the speakers at the opening commenting on the length of time taken to make the decision to open the building, stressing consensus and that it was the "right decision" (personal observation), dissent was apparent from early on in the form of newspaper comment from a kaumatua (S W News, July, 1991). This appears to have led, a year later, to the promulgation of a Whare Maori policy by the Board of Trustees (September 1992) which allows use of the building only as a classroom and requires the board to have the "express approval of the local kaumatuas and the Tamatea Pokaiwhenua Marae Committee" for any changes in its use. The reasons for this being necessary were said to lie within the Education Act (1989) and the Mangakino High School Charter (1990). The only relevant section of the Education Act reads as follows:

62 Views and concerns of Maori communities to be considered -

(1) Before preparing a proposed charter for a school, or a proposed amendment to a school's charter the Board shall take all reasonable steps to discover and consider the views and concerns of Maori communities living in the geographical area the board serves (40).

The Mangakino High School Charter directs the Board to

exercise their powers of governance in a way that fulfils the intent of the Treaty of Waitangi by valuing New Zealand's dual cultural heritage [and] use the Maori community's (or communities') own processes to consult with the Maori community (25).

Neither of these requirements appear to give sufficient cause for the Board of Trustees to delegate their power to a particular Maori group, but it may have been considered diplomatic to do so.

The complexities of the situation are enormous, but one of the pertinent aspects would seem to be the difficulties inherent in trying to reconcile decision making processes based on the one hand on modern legislation, and on the other hand on traditional wisdom. This is complicated by the fact that local Maori people have multi tribal origins and the Pouakani marae<sup>3</sup> may not represent all these people. Great sensitivity is required to resolve the situation, which seems to hinge on the completion of carvings, but in these days of accountability someone may question why \$125 000 was spent on a project which has changed a classroom for teaching Maori into a classroom for teaching Maori, albeit a more attractive one by the school entrance. They may also ask why a catering complex was needed when the adjacent school tuck shop could have met similar needs, though less adequately. People, who can unite in a spirit of goodwill for a common purpose, rather than procedures which may impede, or the rightful (or wrongful) exercise of power, may be needed to allow this project to proceed as originally intended<sup>4</sup>.

Another currently important issue is the power the board has to make decisions which determine which curriculum areas have priority. How can people with little knowledge of education, except having been through the system years ago, make better decisions than those who are trained educators and who are dealing with the day to day

<sup>3</sup> Referred to above as Tamatea Pokaiwhenua Marae.

<sup>4</sup> In early 1993 after I left Mangakino the situation changed; the marae was rededicated and although still uncarved it is now able to be fully used.

problems. Surely the role of the trustees is to indicate what it is they want for Mangakino children, then to leave it to the teaching staff to work out how to attain the specified goals, in accordance with the national curriculum. The difficulties inherent in this simplified scenario are apparent when beliefs that the present curriculum is far too academic and that it is insufficiently academic coexist within the board and the board does not always seem to trust the teaching staff to act in the interests of the students.

The crux of the problem may be the impossibility of achieving what the community considers desirable for its young people. I do not know what local people want, but indications are that some want to see students kept out of trouble, hence the concerns with discipline and the ongoing support for the Cadet unit. There are also those who would like to see students develop sporting prowess as evidenced by statements from candidates for the Board of Trustees (personal observation). This would seem to be achievable, if the community has the means to assist with transport. Many would appear to want the students to obtain skills and knowledge which will make them employable. The demand for goods and services is finite. Employment can only be gained at the expense of other people and one has to consider the extent to which cooperation and competition are compatible. Unless it becomes a profitable business in its own right Mangakino High School cannot genuinely increase employment opportunities and even then consumption of its product may divert money from some other formerly, or potentially, profitable business.

If the the community recognised the options available as being an investor of capital, an employed person, or a supported person, or any combination of these three and valued all people regardless of their life style choice, perhaps appropriate educational change could eventuate. Advantages and disadvantages of each option need to be identified. The employer or investor accepts the associated risks including the fickleness of markets and the difficulties of labour relations. The employed person sacrifices control over their actions for a significant part of their lives in return for money which could enhance their lives in non "working" hours. Supported people, whether dependent on a spouse, relatives or the government may have greater control over their lives. Their days though circumscribed by place and finance, may at

a personal level allow more freedom of choice, more opportunity to pursue individual objectives. This freedom could only come if the level of support is adequate to meet essential needs, and if the person can say: "I do not seek to employ or be fully employed. I have other things I want to do with my life." Many people, mainly women, are already doing this but it would have to be an option not tied to gender and child rearing, an option carrying no stigma, one that guidance counsellors felt comfortable in guiding people towards, a genuine life style option. The necessary attitudinal change could only be brought about through education (or propaganda?).

## **What is New?**

Are today's educational institutions significantly different in terms of the physical environment and administrative structures from those of the early settlement times in the Pouakani locality? How have teaching practice and teacher/student and school/community relations changed in Mangakino since 1946? In the final section of this chapter some examples are drawn together in an attempt to answer these questions.

## **Institutional Change**

In organisational terms schools have not changed significantly. They are still organised on the basis of hierarchical structures, although issues of equity have been addressed through the removal of gender based differential pay rates for similar work. Officially, equal opportunity exists for men and women to ascend the hierarchy although it seems that neither of the two Mangakino schools, or Whakamaru Primary School has ever had a woman principal despite normally having a majority of women teachers. The school days and terms are of similar lengths, but a mid term break in winter had been introduced in recent years. The number of students in classes has probably been halved from the high point of the 1950s teacher shortage and there could be a little more uniformity of age in class groups below Form Five brought about by "social promotion". These characteristics are largely determined by central government, except for the choice of principals which has been the prerogative of education boards, school committees and boards of governors numerically dominated

by men.

Classrooms still have blackboards (or sometimes whiteboards) at the front of the room. One teacher is allocated to a class and generally each student has a desk, usually of standard size, not necessarily suited to the student. Walls have limited pinboard areas. Exceptions do exist and the Whare Maori at Mangakino High School contains an interesting mix of tradition and modernity. Shoes are removed at the door and students sit on the carpeted floor, or write at, or sit on, the seats which double as storage units along the side walls. Small portable stands support pinboards and white boards, while group work is further facilitated by a cordless earphones system. The room contains a video and a good quality stereo system and a Macintosh computer is available. Tukutuku panels made by adults and students adorn the walls and there is often more than one adult in the room.

Overall, in the schools, comfort has been greatly improved; basic prefabricated structures have practically disappeared. No longer can complaints be made about the distance students have to walk to toilets, central heating removes the winter chills and carpets dull noise. The basic physical characteristics of the schools are again determined by arms of central and regional government with local pressure possibly affecting the timing of the upgrading and some local input being sought and accepted relating to planning details.

It is significant, however that the exception described which produces a "classroom" with an appreciably different atmosphere is largely the result of the actions of an individual, who has chosen to spend the money available in particular ways. Although other departments would not necessarily have similar amounts of money available to change classrooms, it is clear that teachers can do so through the implementation of imaginative ideas. The brightness and vitality evident in many classrooms occupied by more junior students and the appeal of the art inside and outside the walls of the High School Art room provide further evidence of the capacity of teachers and students to work together to change their environment. The sight of students working outside the classrooms gives another reminder that it is not necessary to confine

students within four walls for long periods of time. Unfortunately at Mangakino confinement can be the easier path to take.

Alarm systems have been introduced in the last few years at both the Mangakino schools and the High School is patrolled by a security guard intermittently at nights and weekends. These measures could be seen as an indication of a deteriorating situation in the town and are the outcome of unlawful actions by thieves and vandals. Concern reached a peak in 1990 after a spate of damage to cars and a public meeting filled the school hall. People sought explanations and remedies. They recalled the "good old days" till given reminders of dynamite under the "prefabs" in the 1950s. There was some strong criticism of teachers, even though they may have only been in the town for six months; the arson of the previous year having been conveniently forgotten.

A curfew for young people, has been supported by the community and a new group of Maori Wardens works conscientiously. Burglary at the schools has now practically ceased and this can probably be attributed to increased security. However, at the High School in 1992, there was also very little graffiti, apart from that on desks in one or two classrooms, windows were rarely broken except by misdirected balls, no teacher had any fears for their safety or that of students, and there was no evidence of students being under the influence of drugs and alcohol during school hours. This was not the case in 1990.

Viewed against a backdrop of continuing concerns about youth crime (Dam City Crimewatch 2, Sep 1991) in Mangakino this would seem to be a positive outcome, one seemingly ignored by the local people who signed a petition condemning the school management, and the Board of Trustees who worked towards removing the principal. This pinpoints one of the concerns about the power wielded recently by the Board of Trustees. Because there was little opportunity for dialogue between staff and the Board, the board's knowledge of the situation in the school was severely restricted and perceptions accordingly affected. If the situation was deemed to be serious enough to have many extra meetings and to take drastic action, as was done, one

would have thought that it would have been valuable to have had information from as many perspectives as possible.

The alarm system at Mangakino High School has now been put to a new use. Originally installed, three years ago with financial assistance from the Ministry of Education because of the high vandalism rating for Mangakino it was in late 1992 and early 1993 used to deny teachers' convenient access to the school in the evenings, at weekends and in the holidays, through the withholding of the alarm codes. This exercise of Board of Trustees' power of course only affected teachers who chose to work outside of normal school hours and who hesitated to call out the caretaker to open buildings for them. This is unlikely to be an outcome intended by the Ministry.

The overall size of the local schools; particularly of Mangakino Primary and High School has changed dramatically over the years. These changes in roll numbers were almost totally determined in the 1950s and 1960s by the decisions of the government relating to dam construction and land development. As the rolls declined with the winding down of the hydro projects other factors assumed greater importance: the changes in accessibility brought about by the shortening of the road link to Taupo, and the actions of people who sent their children out of the district to boarding schools.

Legislation removing zoning has been very significant and at present the extraordinary situation exists where the Whakamaru school roll has been substantially increased by the bussing of about 40 students from Mangakino daily. Most of these students are Standard 4 and below and the March 1 roll numbers for Mangakino Primary School roll have dropped from 196 to 149 in the last three years. The Whakamaru numbers have increased from 96 to 131 for the same period. In addition in 1993, the bus contracted to bring students to Mangakino High School takes paying students out of the town, collects others at Whakamaru and links at Poihipi Road with a bus to Taupo, before returning with the Mangakino students.

Examining falling roll numbers provides clear evidence of the difference between perceived change and actual change. At a meeting chaired by the Chairperson of the

Mangakino High School Board of Trustees, it was claimed that “the school is suffering from funding cuts based on a school roll that has fallen from 250 to 153 since new management was introduced with the start of Tomorrows Schools” (S Waikato News, 10 Jun 1993). These figures published in the local paper would have been accepted by most readers. Yet Ministry of Education, March 1 figures<sup>5</sup> during the period of “new management” were 1990 (207); 1991 (213); 1992 (198) and the fall to 1993 (160) occurred after the dismissal of the principal. It is apparent that Mangakino residents have been misinformed about the drop in High School numbers and that the Primary School roll has also fallen significantly. It is unfortunate that people are being asked to make decisions on an Area School proposal while apparently being supplied with inaccurate information and according to the South Waikato News, restricted opportunities for discussion that produced

...an undertone of disquiet at the meeting. It came from people who felt they were unable to put their views on trouble at Mangakino High School and how the school roll has come to fall as low as 153. [An observer] believes the meeting should have been chaired by a neutral chairperson, rather than the head of the Mangakino High School Board of Trustees (10 Jun, 1993).

Again the power invested in an elected representative would seem to be used to control procedures and the flow of information, thus affecting perceptions and restricting knowledge available to those participating in a decision making process. It may be necessary to filter information to make it intelligible to the non expert and to present a coherent picture in a restricted time. This can be readily subverted into screening knowledge to achieve desired outcomes.

What is happening now is a complete reversal of the trend of the 1950s when community pressure was applied to diminish travelling time and to have students schooled, as far as possible within the communities they lived in. Students travelling from Mangakino to Taupo would spend over one and a half hours a day in transit. This would not have been considered acceptable in the 1950s. In a time when

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<sup>5</sup> Figures used in this section were obtained on request from Data Management Unit, Ministry of Education (17 Jun 1993).

communities are being given more power to run their own schools, it would also seem doubtful if Mangakino parents can have significant influence on schools in Taupo or Tokoroa. In exercising their right of individual choice they are relinquishing the opportunity to bring about change in the schools their children attend, yet some are trying to change a school they do not have children attending.

Stepping away from the high profile educational institutions attention is drawn to a survivor; the Mangakino Playcentre. The unusual early establishment of a Nursery Play Centre in a remote rural area was previously noted and the evidence suggested that it was clearly a local initiative. The 1952 Commemorative issue of the Mangakino Chronicle outlines its history stating that

The idea of a Play Centre was formed at a meeting of the Waikato Hydro Welfare Association on September 5 1950. A sub-committee comprising Mr F Andrews, Mr Tregoweth, Mr and Mrs Long was set up to start the project. This small band of willing workers quickly gathered other enthusiasts together and organised a successful appeal to the public for funds. The Playcentre came into being a month later thanks to the help and interest of individuals and clubs such as the Modelmakers and Handicrafts Club who made valuable equipment. (10)

It was not until other information became available that it could be appreciated that the Mangakino Nursery Play Centre was possibly the unintended product of earlier Mangakino community initiatives and that the impetus came as much from outside the locality as from within, although it was the actions of local people that made it happen.

The full story is part of a long history of community education in New Zealand which can be traced to the Mechanics Institutes set up as early as 1842. These showed the desire of people to educate themselves and create shared cultural opportunities. Specialisation removed the need for these Institutes as local bodies, which set up libraries, and the Workers Education Association, took over their functions. Rural schools also served similar community functions until supplanted by War Memorial Halls built after World War 1. In the 1920s the term Community Centre was coined in

Britain and it eventually came to be applied in New Zealand to Community Education Centres, few in number, set up under the auspices of the Department of Education and to buildings with mainly recreational functions built to commemorate World War 2. Funding for the latter came from the Internal Affairs vote as did salaries for Physical Welfare Officers employed in some cases to coordinate the community activities (Daken, 1979, 1 - 27).

In 1948 the Waikato Hydro Welfare Association requested that a Physical Welfare Officer be appointed to Mangakino. There was no response and the Ministry of Works continued to build the community centre without any advice being available (Daken, 1979, 129) By the time an approach was made in 1949 to the Department of Education for a Community Director this department had already received a report from the Physical Welfare Branch "pointing out that there was a great need for pre-school educational work at Mangakino" (Daken, 1979, 130). It was also about this time that the Headmaster of the Mangakino District High School became the President of the Welfare Association a position he retained for several years. When the Director of Education made his recommendation to the Minister for a Community Director in late 1949, he noted that sport and physical welfare were being well catered for, but acknowledged deficiencies in the areas of pre-school and adolescent services, little encouragement for drama and arts and crafts, and the under development of women's activities (Daken, 1979, 130). He recommended that the Community Director be attached to the District High School not the Welfare Association and that "he" would teach part time at the school.

A G Long who was a well known advocate of Community Centres was the appointee and when he arrived in Term 3 1950 he

concentrated his efforts upon the development of work for pre school children, whose needs had been brought to his attention. With the support of his wife who was experienced in this work he succeeded in establishing a play centre which operated in the mornings in the social hall. Parents responded well to this initiative of the Longs. They not only raised funds enthusiastically, but constructed

equipment and prepared the premises. By the end of 1951 two groups of 50 children each were participating in the play centre programme. (Daken, 1979, 131)

The irony of this situation is that the Playcentre has survived and continues to use parents to foster parent and pre school education, but the Community Director's position lapsed with Long's resignation. At Mangakino the Community Centre concept survived through the special role of the Welfare Association until this organisation transferred its operations to Turangi in the mid 1960s but its links with education and the local high school were severed.

Gwen and H C D Somerset were closely associated with the beginnings of the Playcentre and Community Centre movements and together ran the experimental Community Centre set up by the government at Fielding in 1938. As at Mangakino the directors were officially members of the staff of the local high school and despite their successes over a period of nine years, apart from a thriving Playcentre, the Fielding centre also lost its funding and educational links, although over a longer period of time. Factors Daken (1979, 15) considered important were that the Fielding Community Centre arose from the wishes of the Headmaster; Wild, and was housed in a building provided for it by the government and did not grow from the community. Mangakino had similarities, also being housed in government provided buildings and the role of the Headmaster, H G MacDonald should probably not be underestimated.

The success of the Playcentre movement and the relative failure of community centres to take hold in New Zealand raise some questions. The strong growth of Playcentres could be associated with reductions in family size, and the availability of labour saving technology and private transport which gave women the opportunity and the desire to become personally involved with organised pre-school education. Community Centres could also be expected to cater for people with the time, energy and inclination to participate in activities beyond their home or place of work. Full employment for most who wanted it in post war years, until the late 1970s, and technological change which brought entertainment and information into the living room may be factors which mitigated against community centres taking off in a similar fashion.

The situation is now different. At Mangakino, as elsewhere, adults (particularly women) are returning to school. Short term Access courses with mainly a recreational, craft, or a life skills emphasis have been run in the community. There are people employed in part time community roles relating specifically to local needs; a youth worker dealing mainly with young people who break the law or have other serious problems and a community worker who has the role of fostering employment opportunities. Perhaps new community relations will emerge in the 1990s but recent attempts to initiate community centre type activities in the form of a Green Dollar exchange and school holiday programmes have attracted little interest. The present changes are of a gradual and incremental nature and may eventually enrich the lives of local people. Another path to change is via the actions of especially talented people, such as the Somersets, plus a favourable set of contingent circumstances which can lead to the new organisational structures and relationships being sustained, in fact becoming institutionalised.

### **Technological Change**

Interwoven with institutional change is technological change. One could assume that within the school context this would lead to administrative efficiency and change the nature of the learning experiences provided for students.

The facsimile machine, the photocopier and the computer network in the school offices are obvious examples of recent technological developments. There are three people who work in the offices, for a total of about 80 hours a week, meeting the needs of a school which has 18 teachers and less than 200 pupils. In pre computer times, when the school had about 300 pupils, one person did all the office work and also handled all stationery and ran the canteen (Pers Com). The latter two tasks are now performed by a fourth person. There must be more work to be done now, or else the people do not achieve as much. This seems unlikely as they appear to be busy and efficient. The removal of Education Boards and the transfer of some of their work load to the schools will be partly responsible for the increased work load. But the Board of Trustees also employs a paid secretary. If a similar escalation of the volume of work, despite

improved technology has occurred throughout New Zealand, we need to know why. It is doubtful if the intent of the 1989 education legislation was to greatly increase ancillary employment, unless this could have replaced the more expensive teachers. Does the ease of using the technology mean that people now undertake tasks once considered impossible (or unnecessary), or is their insufficient training provided so that the time taken for some tasks is not reduced by computerisation? Have standards risen along with the technology, so that as much time is taken but the product is superior? Above all have the changes enhanced student learning?

The role of changing technology in the learning process is three fold. Students are trained to use equipment effectively and safely thus gaining skills which they may be able to apply in the world of work or leisure. Therefore as new technology is introduced the students learn new skills. Examples of this at Mangakino would include operating microwave ovens, automatic sewing machines and computers.

Technology is also used to plan and to deliver the curriculum to the students via the video players, overhead projectors, and photocopiers, thus changing the teaching strategies employed. The excitement of a weekly, or fortnightly film showing which might, or might not relate to current class work has been replaced by video snippets directly related to the current tasks. However, practically everyone has a video at home, so does it have a similar impact? Freezing frames and replays are easy, the sound can be turned off to place emphasis on the visual, "interesting" worksheets and activities can be prepared, but many students actually do not watch the screen.

The third role for technology is as part of the learning process. The students in Mathematics use the calculators to take the drudgery out of computation while focussing on solving a problem. "Writing" of all kinds takes on a new lease of life as a word processor removes the fear of making mistakes and sentences can be tried out and combined in various ways. Experimentation is encouraged, ideas can flow. Computers can be used to simulate problems (or pose real ones of their own) and develop transferable thinking skills. The student is using the technology as a tool to further their learning.

The effective use of technology in the school is largely dependent on the skills and inclination of the teachers. The funding for equipment may be provided by the government or community, the Board of Trustees may decide to make particular purchases, but only the teachers can set up systems which enable it to be readily available to users, or decide to actually use it. Moreover, because Mangakino High School is a small school, changes in personnel or the organisational structure can have a serious affect on the way technology is used within the school. The recent decision to of the Board of Trustees to disestablish the Computing department provides an example where their lack of knowledge may have unintended consequences. It is possible that the computers, which represent a major investment, may be used less effectively in the future. At present the school would be ahead of many others in the varied computer opportunities offered to students. It could have been recognised as a strength used to attract adult students and to offer practical skills as well as being a valuable learning tool. The Board's decision to rate Computing at the bottom of the "curriculum hierarchy" and unnecessarily affect a permanent teacher's role in the school provides a clear example of the power currently available to a board (As does their decision to retire, at the age of 63, the highly competent, fluent speaker of Maori, who headed the Maori Department).

The Board of Trustees does not have the capability to deliver the curriculum, it is reliant on the teachers to do this. It can, however, use its power to interfere with or promote curriculum delivery and likewise it can block or foster change. If it chooses to exercise the power available to it, as is the case at Mangakino High School, there would appear to be little to restrain it, except the discretionary power of the Minister of Education who could replace it with a Commissioner. The Board is even financially protected by an insurance policy against wrongful or illegal acts. Is this accountability?<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> About the time the insurance company paid out a large compensatory sum to the ex Principal of Mangakino High School it cancelled all its policies with New Zealand schools, citing typical examples of grievance claims. Renewed policies require the insurance company to be informed prior to decisions being taken about matters which may lead to claims (Heath, July 1993). In the absence of government restraints on the power of Boards of Trustees, commercial interests, protecting their profitability, have had to step in.

### **Running on the Spot**

When tracing the history of Mangakino High School I have been impressed with the range of opportunities presented to students. On many occasions the school was in the forefront of educational advances. It piloted new programmes, invested in new technology and involved students in constructing new buildings and equipment such as canoes. During my three years at the school this continued with the implementing of physical and technological changes already mentioned and the introduction of new courses, for example in Business Studies and Information Technology.

What has also become apparent is the ephemeral nature of some of these changes. The physical signs may remain but in practice many of the “new” undertakings disappear leaving few traces when the enthusiasts who initiated them leave the school. Some are revived at a later date by new enthusiasts or occasionally through REAP<sup>7</sup> courses, but others are lost, or wait in abeyance. Rowing, photography, canoeing, horticulture, and pottery have all attracted inputs of time and money but have lacked continuity. A willingness to facilitate and accept change has been evident, but perhaps because of the small size of the school, from the 1960s onwards, and the need for teachers to be “generalists” rather than specialists, reproduction of innovative programmes has been difficult to maintain. The cadet unit which continues with community support would be one of the few distinctive local options which has persisted over a long period of time. The involvement of community members with expertise and enthusiasm in sharing their knowledge with students, while gaining access to specialised facilities and developing their own interests, could provide the continuity which has been lacking, or lead to new opportunities for students. Hints of possibilities in this direction have come with the involvement of adult students in the life of the school.

Although fund raising ventures have been well supported, from the ambitious swimming pool project funded through a highly successful Queen Carnival in 1948 to the annual gala days still being run, other forms of support for the school have frequently been lacking. Sadly, nearly two years after the thanks given to local organisations for “their wonderful co-operation” in the Queen Carnival (MKO Spark,

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<sup>7</sup> Rural Education Activities Programme

12, 1948, 1) it was reported from the swimming pool opening that "few of the parents of children attending the school take much interest in the welfare of the children at school". It was said to be a "discredit" to the people that it took so long to build (MKO Chron, 2 Dec 1949, 1). I would not claim that present day Mangakino parents and caregivers have little interest in the welfare of their children, but the lack of attendance at report evenings and Parent Teacher meetings could lead some to reach such a conclusion.

The schools are important to the Mangakino community. There is easy physical access and they have significant roles as social spaces wherein the town's young people spend substantial amounts of time, in and out of school hours. They are the largest employers in the township. Despite these factors, there are unseen barriers between the schools, as educational institutions, and community. These are readily broached by those with goodwill, yet made tangible and strengthened by the spoken and written words and actions of others. Mangakino may be little different to other small towns and rural districts where schools have greater social significance than in urban areas. If so, the "educational" turmoil observed there in three years, during which a commissioner was placed in one school and requested by staff in the other, raises questions about the wisdom of replacing a more neutral and distant controlling authority with changing, but subjective and deeply involved collections of local people who may, or may not, have children at the school.

A question which Boards of Trustees and teachers could ask of themselves is "What have we done to enhance student learning?" Whether at Mangakino or elsewhere, honest answers could be revealing. Where is the evidence of change which has benefits for the students? Who had the power to bring this about? This comes back to the fact that Boards can facilitate or impede change but they cannot implement their policies effectively unless they have the co-operation of their employees and this requires communication and goodwill.

## Houses and Homes

Housing in the locality can be considered on two levels; the large scale provision of a limited range of living quarters and the individual modification of these houses to make homes to suit families and individuals; places for living.

The majority of the houses, both in the townships and on the farms were constructed by government departments. They were designed to provide basic living conditions and could be grouped into several categories. There were "part houses" provided on Lands Department blocks; huts built to house single men; Mangakino houses and similar, intended to house married construction workers; basic farmhouses built for Pouakani block farmers and farm workers; and more substantial dwellings in the hydro villages of Maraetai and Whakamaru that were constructed for permanent employees.

The fate of these houses has had little to do with their qualities, but more to do with their location, ownership and occupance. In this section there is a dual focus: firstly on the nature and placement of the housing stock provided and related social consequences; secondly on the ways in which individuals have changed the dwellings and their immediate surroundings, thus creating their personal everyday living environments.

The expected sequence of events in Mangakino; construction town, would be a build up of houses constructed locally or brought in, followed by the removal or sale of these houses, when the project was completed. The real picture was much more complicated. Houses came and went and returned again. They were moved within the township and stockpiled. Even non Hydro houses were moved in. Factors responsible for this situation included the relatively sudden cessation and subsequent resumption of work on Maraetai 11, the decision to shrink the town's size, the availability of cheap houses and sections, and the constraints of the Taupo County by-laws and district scheme.

For many years some friction existed between the Taupo County and people who

wished to live in the township, or become involved commercially in its development . Yet the real difference lay between the building standards practised by the Ministry of Works and the building standards set by the County. The County did not exist, or control the town when many of the houses were constructed, but intervened later when the houses passed out of Ministry of Works' hands or when permission was sought to move them back to Mangakino. The prime example was the blocking of the southern subdivision outlined in "The Taupo Connection".

## **Mangakino**

### **Ministry of Works Housing**

Visitors to Mangakino almost always comment on the little box-like houses which give the town its character. Exceptions; that is houses which are not legacies of the construction days, tend to be hidden away on some of the more desirable sections with good lake views and few can be seen from Rangatira Drive, the main street. What is apparent, when more than a superficial look is taken at the local housing stock, is that in general Mangakino people care for their homes. Considerable ingenuity has gone into converting the limited range of Ministry of Works designs into unique homes, their origins revealed by their size and roof lines.

Ministry of Works housing in Mangakino was divided up according to the status of the inhabitants (Bacher, Pers Com, 1993; Hasman, 1965, 42). Staff houses are distinguished by their overlapping weatherboards and size and were mostly located on the outside of the Moana crescent curve (Figure 16). They originally differed from "workers" houses in having electric stoves and water heating which ironically became a disadvantage during the power cuts of the 1950s. The "semi staff" houses also have overlapping weatherboards but they have a distinctive "cottage" shape. The remnants of these houses are among the least altered and on one at least, malthoid is still visible on the porch roof. This roofing material held in place by battens was extensively used in the single men's camps and in the town in the early days.

The construction of the bridge across the Waikato River at Mangakino in 1946 allowed



houses to be transported in from Karapiro, while at the same time others were being built on the site. As Karapiro accommodation was inferior to that designed for Mangakino, with a wash-house being shared by the families in adjoining houses, the Karapiro houses were altered and made self contained before being occupied (Slight, Pers Com 1993; Hasman, 1965). One of these reminders of the town's beginnings, complete with wooden piles, is located in a largely unaltered state, next to the Bank of New Zealand (Photo 32).

The Mangakino houses (Photo 33), designed especially for the town, had three main rooms and a separate kitchen, wash-house and bathroom under the one roof. They were only 530<sup>1</sup> square feet and this combined with a low stud height means that even when altered they appear to be small. The 730 square foot Sullivan houses, with a distinctive T shape and larger windows, later brought into the town, do not impress as being much bigger, possibly due to their less than seven foot stud height (Photo 34). It is particularly these two types of houses, albeit significantly altered in some cases which give the township its character. They may be turned on different angles, they may have several outbuildings attached or detached, but for the most part they are recognisable as ex-Ministry of Works houses.

When the Ministry of Works moved houses out of the town in the 1960s, it chose to move the better houses, and others were shifted from the periphery of the town, particularly south of Rangatira Drive to fill the vacant sections. Mangakino houses that had been moved out to other dam sites on the river were not always allowed back in, as the Taupo County Council tried to impose building standards on the town it had recently taken over. At one stage it was agreed that sub standard houses could be moved within Mangakino and brought back from Atiamuri, but not from anywhere else (MKO Chron, 17 Sep, 1964, 1). An attempt was also made to keep the Mangakino houses out of the Moana Crescent area which had been occupied by staff and was considered the most desirable part of the town. Later it was decided that Mangakino houses could be placed on vacant Mangakino sections but nowhere else in the County (Taupo County Min 7, 29 Aug 1967, 4). It was apparent that some councillors

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<sup>1</sup> One foot = 0.3 metres approximately.

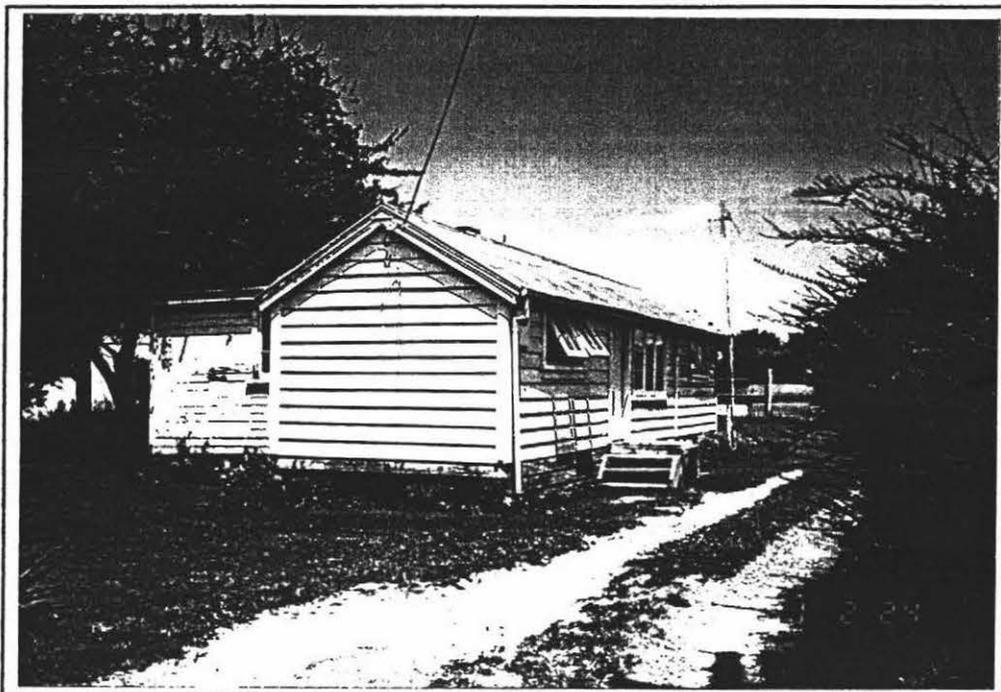


Photo 32  
A Karapiro house, Mangakino

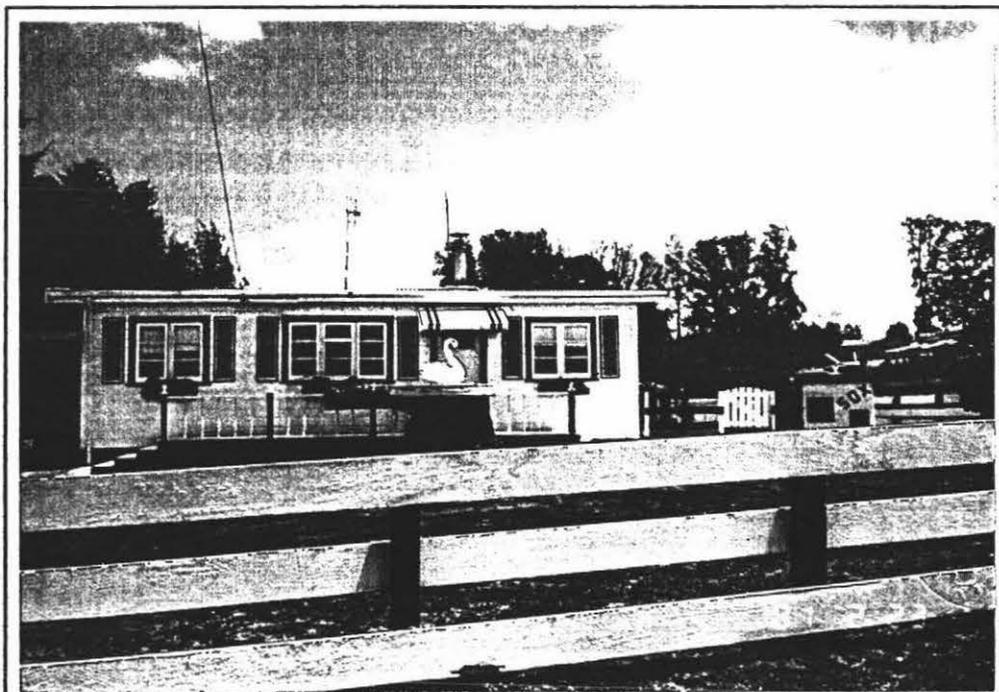


Photo 33  
A Mangakino type house, Mangakino

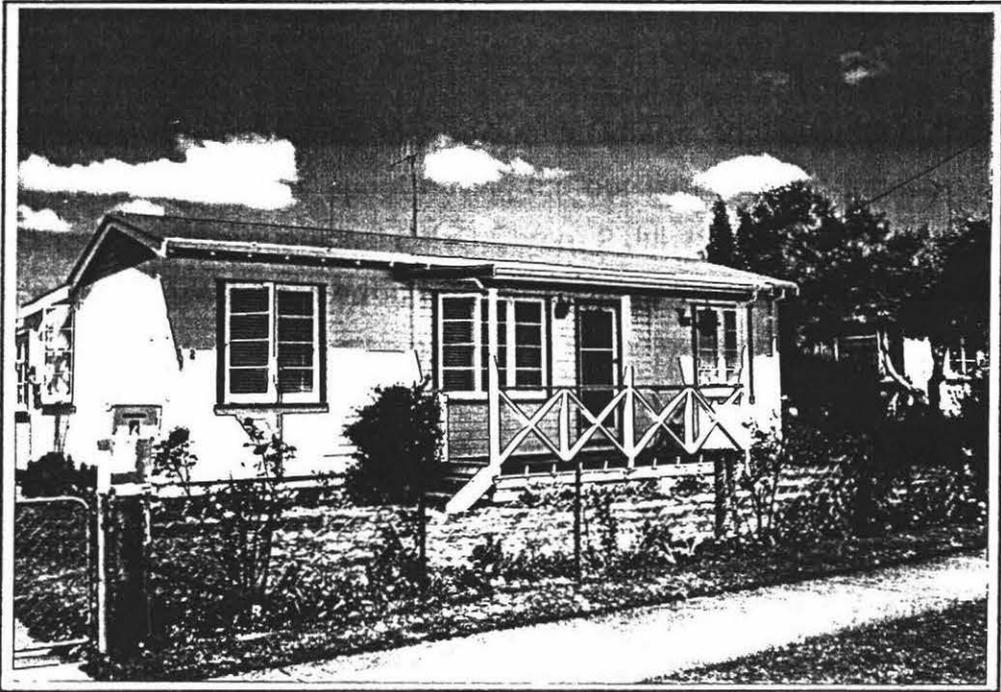


Photo 34  
A Sullivan type house, Mangakino

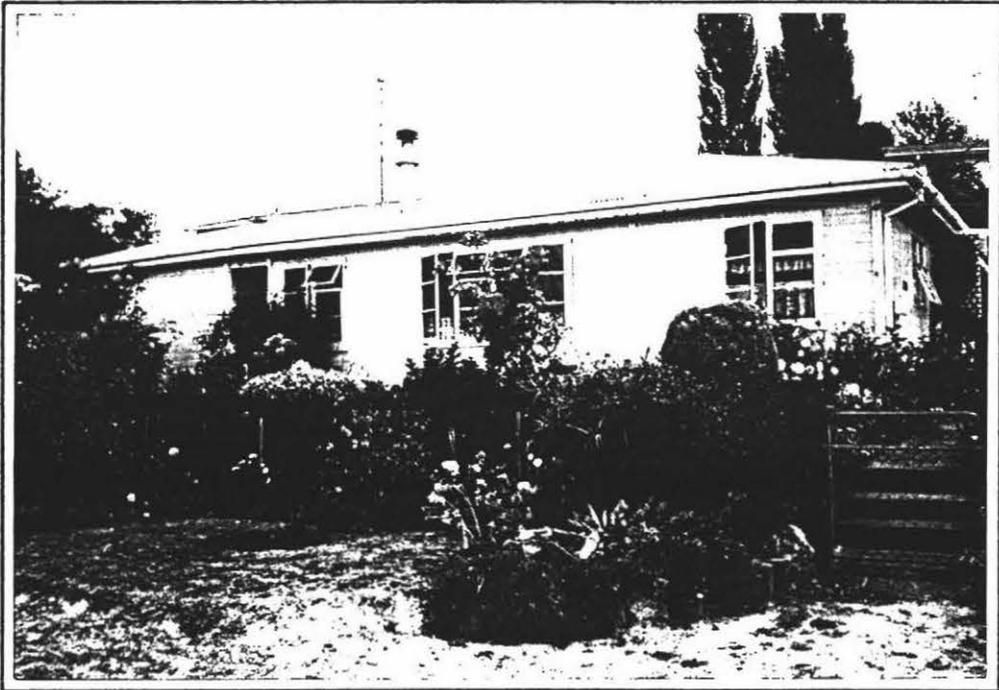


Photo 35  
An ex-mill house Mangakino

had fears about sub standard Mangakino buildings contaminating the rest of the county as shown in remarks about having all "our lame chicks" together and the risks of "spreading the cancerous sore" (MKO Chron, 2 Jul 1964, 1). These sorts of remarks were naturally not well received in Mangakino nor likely to encourage people to take advantage of the cheap houses being offered for sale in the township.

A marked change in the way the town was perceived and publicised is evident from the late 1940s and early 1950s to the 1960s. It is likely that the town had in many respects changed for the better during this time yet the model town which was described in glowing terms in 1948 (N Z Herald, 22 Mar 1948, 9) and in (Ward, 1956, 122) was not only bothering the Taupo County in the 1960s. Rona Stevenson, speaking in parliament, commented on the £2.5 million which had been poured into Mangakino "much of it in sub standard houses on leasehold land. Something less than £100 000 will come back and we are not leaving a decent town behind. This must not happen again" (MKO Chron, 18 Jun 1964, 1). She went on to say that while hydro towns have good fishing, shooting and scenery they must be of a higher standard.

What the residents thought of their Mangakino homes would have been affected by their expectations, the accommodation they had previously lived in and other aspects of the environment which impinged on their home life. Many came to Mangakino because it offered housing with the job according to a survey conducted in 1961 (MKO Chron, 1 & 8 Dec, 1961). Those who had worked at Karapiro, would have noted genuine attempts to provide higher quality housing; some having experienced the half timbered tents in use into the 1940s. Others may have lived in over crowded conditions during the post war housing shortage and many men would have been returned servicemen used to living in unpleasant and dangerous circumstances.

Nevertheless, wild horses, dust, and the lack of trees and hedges would have detracted from the living conditions in a way not counteracted by the neat planning and arrangement of houses in crescents and curves (Photos 21, 30 & 31). By the 1960s the horses were gone, the adjacent land development was completed and most

public areas grassed thus relieving the dust nuisance. Trees and hedges were flourishing, and people had been allowed to alter houses to meet their individual needs. Yet now the living conditions were being criticised. Whether the studs in the houses were three by two or four by two inches, how high the studs were, became matters of importance. How people regarded the Ministry of Works houses probably depended on whether they wanted to live in the town or not, or whether they were outsiders. Local residents seemed reasonably satisfied. In 1961, 94 per cent of the people questioned said they were happy in their jobs and 65 per cent wanted to stay in Mangakino if work was available (MKO Chron, 1961, 8 Dec).

Another factor affecting people's attitudes towards Mangakino houses in the 1960s would have been the opportunities available elsewhere, especially for those with young families, to build a new home of their own. Family benefit capitalisation would not have been an option for those buying an ex Ministry of Works house, and the new homes being built had to meet higher standards. Although the living conditions in the township had probably improved, relative to workers' conditions elsewhere they may have declined, and the fast growing cities with new housing stock and job opportunities were acting as magnets for young workers.

### **The Developers**

In the 1960s the Ministry of Works owned the houses, the Proprietors of Mangakino Township Incorporated owned the land and the Taupo County Council regulated what could happen in the town. These three had to work together for houses to be transferred to new owners. As has been discussed in "Our Town" and "The Taupo Connection" they did not necessarily pull in the one direction. Financial constraints and inadequate knowledge relating to their new responsibilities in the town would have hampered both the Incorporation and the County Council. The Ministry of Works, could take, or leave whatever houses it chose and rather than become directly involved in selling it had firms acting on its behalf. It also entered into arrangements with at least one local developer; Mr Vic Bacher which led to the retention of some of the better houses in Mangakino.

Even before the decision was made to halt Maraetai II it was announced that 300 houses would be removed from the town over a period of two years (MKO Chron, 19 May 1961, 1). Occupants were to be given prior notice and they would be moved into other houses as required. The Ministry of Works arranged with Barfoot and Thompson, real estate agents in Auckland to dispose of surplus houses in Mangakino as they became available and to move houses from the "rural" area of the township to the "urban" area. The initial trial involved the small Mangakino type houses and it was proposed that if Mangakino developed as a lake resort and a place where pensioners chose to live then the option would be extended to include all Ministry of Works houses in the township (MKO Chron, 11 Apr 1963, 1).

Initial reports on the trial were rather pessimistic (MKO Chron, 4 Oct 1963, 1). It was suggested that Barfoot and Thompson might have to pull out and that their promotional activities had not been very successful. 700 enquiries had been received resulting in five houses being sold and six more being under option. Harris, a valuer painted a gloomy picture. He predicted Mangakino properties would substantially drop in value from approximately £1 700 for a house and section in 1959 to £1 100 in 1965 (As no sales are likely to have taken place in or before 1959 it is difficult to know what the values were based on). "Mangakino would never become another Taupo in terms of popularity as a resort, largely because of the sameness of the houses and the fact that pensioners felt it was too cold and too far to come"<sup>2</sup> (MKO Chron, 4 Oct 1963, 1), according to Harris.

In contrast only six months later there was said to be a "phenomenal demand" for houses in Mangakino, with over 150 being sold as the result of extensive advertising by Barfoot and Thompson. Only 30 houses remained in the rural area which was being tidied up and regrassed (MKO Chron, 16 Apr, 1964, 1). The number of sales had been reduced to 104 by June (MKO Chron, 4 Jun, 1964, 1) but it was apparent that a market had been found. It was so encouraging that in 1966 the combined approach was made to the Taupo County to reuse the southern area from where the houses had

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<sup>2</sup> Mangakino climate figures have been impossible to obtain as there were apparently no local records kept, except for a few years at Whakamaru, but it seems unlikely that it is colder than Taupo particularly in the more sheltered parts of the town overlooking the lake.

been removed. This was to provide sections for Ministry of Works houses from Atiamuri and for those within Mangakino that were being replaced for workers on the resumed Maraetai II project. It was also intended to leave some sections vacant for private building (Taupo County Min 7, 2 Jun 1966 ). Approval was not granted, but the Ministry of Works did subdivide the previous marae area off Huamai Street and houses were moved onto those sections (Taupo County Min, Eng Rep, May 1967, 2).

Further indications of differing objectives leading to disagreement are apparent in negotiations between the County and the Incorporation relating to the use of back sections in Moana Crescent. The Incorporation claimed it had been instructed by the County to subdivide land originally zoned as reserve. This had been done and the sections cleared, but the only houses available to go on them were the 530 square feet Mangakino type houses. The Incorporation sought permission to move these on so that leases could go ahead and to avoid wasting the money spent on the sections. The Incorporation agreed to preserving the sections with a street frontage for better type houses (MKO Chron, 21 Mar 1968). The decision was deferred with one councillor criticising the proposal because it "was made in the interests of commercialism and not in the best interests of the town" (MKO Chron, 28 Mar 1968). It was suggested that the 530s be stockpiled.

Negotiations continued over the acceptability of Mangakino houses with the Town Committee drawing up a list of requirements to be met by the developers (Taupo County Min 4, 18 Dec 1968, 4). This does not seem to have suited all parties as by July 1969 (MKO Chron, 24 Jul, 1) the Town Committee was recommending that South Waikato Traders, the owners of 40 stockpiled houses, be contacted with a view to having the houses used for fire brigade practice. As Mr Barfoot pointed out to the Council, people wanting to buy the houses were not wealthy and would not be able to afford the cost of the upgraded houses. The building inspector contended that even upgraded they were still substandard dwellings the main reason being because they were built from untreated pine. He cited an example at Turangi where a woman had put her foot through the floor of a similarly constructed house riddled with borer (MKO Chron, 25 Oct 1969). Looking at the number of ex Ministry of Works houses in

Mangakino, still superficially sound and occupied, 23 years later, one could question the wisdom of his advice.

While these issues of standard were hampering the development of some properties and contributing to houses being stockpiled and deteriorating, Mr Vic Bacher a local resident, was working towards achieving his goal of moving houses into Mangakino until every section was filled and every condemned house replaced (MKO Chron, 22 Oct 1970, 1). He warrants more detailed attention, as he provides a very good example of a person who has used his practical and business skills to significantly change Mangakino township.

Mr Bacher<sup>3</sup> came to New Zealand from Europe in 1953 with 500 houses destined for erection at Titahi Bay, Wellington. He took up the option to stay after that job was completed and arrived in Mangakino at night to find himself in a place with horses roaming around. He worked on the construction site at Waipapa and by 1968 was employing up to 32 men building the High School Assembly Hall and Woodwork, Metalwork and Science blocks. He has a keen appreciation of the hazards of the local landscape as he had to pull out the "tomo" damaged High School swimming pool, near to the assembly hall site and had great difficulty in creating suitable foundations for the hall. The first effort collapsed into a "tomo" and 15 to 20 tons of concrete had to be poured in before building could go ahead. In 1969 he started shifting houses as he realised that he would no longer be able to rely on the input of government money to the area.

Before bringing houses into the town he bought 12 Mangakino houses and began renovating them. One resident of that time (Wilson, Pers Com, 1993) recalls people going to look at "Vic's show house" which he had transformed by putting in large windows. His relations with the County Council appear to have been amicable. In response to his 1968 request to upgrade houses, his excellent past performance was noted. The council agreed to his proposal and allowed him to leave the houses on wooden piles on the condition that he put up a \$5000 bond and that the houses were

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<sup>3</sup> Information not otherwise sourced, comes from an interview with Mr and Mrs Bacher in January 1993.

not to be occupied until the Health and Building Inspector's requirements had been met (Taupo County Min 4, 10 Oct 1968, 9). He was also able to co-operate with the Ministry of Works for their mutual benefit. Bacher had bought 27 houses at Moerangi, not far from Turangi, the destination for the best staff houses from Mangakino. He swapped 14 of these houses for a similar number in Totara Terrace, allowing the Mangakino houses to remain and cutting down the distance of the shift to Turangi.

Most of the houses he brought into town came from mill settlements, no longer required when the vicinity had been logged. They tended to be larger than Ministry of Works houses (Photo 35), and were often constructed of native timber. Some came in over the newly constructed Western Access route to the west of Lake Taupo and others from the Pureora direction. On occasions, as with Barryville, where the Pouakani forests had been milled, he was stopped from bringing in the houses because of the stud height and they had to be demolished.

In 1971 Bacher owned 68 houses. They were painted and renovated inside, and either sold or rented to tenants for \$3 a week. There were no formal rent agreements and if he had a bad tenant he would get them to leave, do up the house and sell it. The Incorporation allowed the houses to be placed on their sections for the annual lease payments of \$40 per annum. Some houses were given to the Incorporation in lieu of lease money and others were given to the house remover. He was negotiating to sell his last Mangakino house in 1993.

Mr Bacher had some interesting observations to make relating to housing in Mangakino. He noted that he never locked houses he was renovating. Instead he always befriended local children and made them responsible for his houses. Vandalism was not a problem for him although neighbouring houses could be badly affected. The disadvantages of leasehold properties he sees as being unimportant as he regards all land as being just available to use for a time. In Mangakino he found location to be more important than land tenure, with houses on leasehold properties overlooking the lake being more in demand than similar houses on freehold sections on Rangatira Drive. A major change occurred in the housing market in the mid 1980s

when house prices jumped from around \$7000 to about \$45 to \$50 000. This was associated with the availability of Maori Affairs and Housing Corporation money. He considers that one of the drawbacks of people committing themselves to mortgage repayments is that they do not have surplus money to give these ex-Ministry of Works houses the "love and care" they need.

Mr Bacher says he was able to make a good living from his house moving, renting and renovating business. Through retaining some of the better Ministry of Works houses in the town, providing examples of how unwanted houses could become family homes, having faith in the future of a town experiencing major change in its functions and the type of people living there, and by keeping his activities on a manageable scale he has made a long term contribution to the township as it is today. Without those houses moved in, vacant, unkempt sections could be a much more common sight. Other people have bought up cheap houses for later rental or sale, but sometimes this has not been accompanied by the interest, skills, financial stability and practical input to maintain these houses, and a few have fallen prey to vandals or been damaged by occupiers.

### **Owners and occupiers**

The Ministry of Works, the Mangakino Incorporation, the Taupo County Council, real estate firms, developers and builders have through their actions made houses and services available to Mangakino residents. These houses have been turned into homes by hundreds of individuals guided and/or constrained by legal, financial, social and cultural considerations. Superficially it is possible to note changes, as observations can be made of house exteriors, gardens and accessory buildings and these can be compared with the uninhabited tussock land and the limited range of the Ministry of Works housing stock. Internally the qualities which make each of these a home are largely hidden by privacy, one of the factors motivating people to have a space they can call their own that is protected from the encroachment of other people. Notwithstanding that, many Mangakino people are proud of the way they, or their predecessors have adapted the houses and there has been a willingness to show and talk about what has been done. One example of the kind of efforts people

have made is described in this section. Beyond these concrete observations relating to the houses are the attributes of the occupants. These combine with the physical surroundings to create their everyday lives and in aggregate make the web of relationships; social and spatial which is Mangakino. Some aspects of this aggregate measured by the census at particular times indicate changes in social composition and hint at factors which may enable or constrain people in making their place to live. These census indicators are addressed first then the power and ability of owners and occupiers to alter and reproduce their environment is discussed, based on observation and legal considerations, followed by conjecture which touches in general terms on the more private aspects of living in Mangakino.

Since the reduction of the size of the township in the early 1960s there have been significant increases in the number of occupied houses in Mangakino as recorded at census times<sup>4</sup>, but there have apparently been less substantial changes in the number of houses in the town, although directly comparable figures are not available. In 1966 only 396 out of 518 houses were occupied, this had increased to 490 out of 589 houses by 1971, by which time the Ministry of Works had removed the houses they wanted from the town and other houses had been moved in. The number of occupied houses increased to 526 in 1981, 583 in 1986 and fell slightly to 569 in 1991 (Dept Stat, 1967, 22; 1972, 37; 1992, 48).

Figure 17  
(Dept Stat,  
1971, 39; 1976,  
24; 1992, 23).

<b>Mangakino Total Population</b>	
<b>Year</b>	<b>Population</b>
1966	1466
1971	1756
1976	1662
1981	1542
1986	1572
1991	1535

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that the March census date for a census means that people are not particularly likely to be occupying holiday homes.

At the same time, apart from the low point in 1966 before the resumption of Maraetai II the total population of the town (Figure 17) has tended to decrease, which in association with the increase in the number of occupied houses indicates smaller households.

A possible link could be suggested with the changed age structure of the Mangakino population. Less than 11 per cent were at least 60 years old in 1966; this had increased to over 20 per cent in 1991. In this respect Mangakino differs from other central North Island towns such as Te Kuiti where approximately 15 per cent of the population is in that age group and Turangi also an ex-hydro town where about 11 per cent of the population was 60 or over in 1991. It does not, however, give substance to loosely made remarks suggesting that half the people in the town are pensioners. But individuals in this age group do make significant, ongoing contributions to the ever changing township, by their efforts to create and maintain their homes and gardens. They are specifically catered for in the kaumatua flats at the Pouakani Marae, the pensioner flats, provided by the Taupo District Council adjacent to the Civic Centre, and the privately run Residential Home located in the hospital buildings, but the majority of Mangakino's older people live in houses scattered throughout the town and there are times when the flats are not filled.

Another common perception is that a majority of the people living in Mangakino are of Maori ancestry. This may be true of sub groups such as students at the schools but the census (Dept Stat, 1992, 46) shows that just under half the township residents claimed Maori as one of the ethnic groups to which they belong. Examining figures for the surrounding Pouakani area, which mainly falls into the Marotiri census subdivision, gives a much lower figure of less than 20 per cent claiming Maori ancestry (Dept Stat, 1992, 47). Therefore within the locality, Mangakino can be seen to have a comparatively high Maori population.

There is also a comparatively high representation of people born in the United Kingdom or Ireland; 7 per cent in Mangakino and less than 4 per cent in the Marotiri subdivision. At one time a part of Mangakino was called "Pommy Ridge" in recognition

of the origins of its occupants. This part of town no longer exists but accents identify many people from the British Isles who have chosen to make their homes in the township.

Further information to be gleaned from the census relates to the occupier and employment status of Mangakino residents. In respect to home ownership Mangakino in 1986 (Dept Stat, 1987, 41 ) was conspicuously different from the Taupo County as a whole and from Turangi, also within the county. A higher proportion of people owned their own homes, over 71 per cent in Mangakino compared with less than 61 per cent in the county as a whole, but the main difference was that only 16 per cent had a mortgage on their property whereas 43 per cent of the people living in Turangi and 33 per cent in the the Taupo County had mortgages to service. This could be indicative of the more recent and ongoing acquisition of properties outside of Mangakino and the more youthful population, however it also means that many people are not saddled with large financial commitments even if they are on leasehold properties, and this may allow them to continue to maintain and improve their homes. Giving some credence to the fears expressed by Bacher (1993), that Maori Affairs and Housing Corporation lending resulted in people having insufficient spare money for the upkeep of their properties, the 1991 census (Dept Stat, 1992, 189) showed an increase in the proportion of Mangakino residents with mortgaged homes. But at around 23 per cent this is still much lower than for the Taupo County as a whole.

Considering the employment status of residents, does not yield a rosy picture. Approximately 15 per cent of the men and 8 per cent of the women over 15 in Mangakino in 1991 (Dept Stat, 1992, 142), were unemployed and actively seeking work. Comparative figures for Turangi were 13 per cent and 8 per cent (Dept Stat, 1992, 142) and for New Zealand as a whole they were 7 per cent and 6 per cent respectively (Dept Stat, 1993, 13). With no public transport to nearby towns for employment and few prospects in Mangakino, at least local unemployed people may be spared the stress of constant, futile job seeking. If they can manage to have sufficient money coming into the household to meet their basic living requirements, they may in fact be able to take charge of their lives and their homes in a way denied

to people in paid employment or daily seeking work. Of course not everyone is in a position where they want or need to seek work and they may have deliberately chosen the quiet atmosphere and handy and inexpensive recreational opportunities offered by Mangakino. Bowls, golf and even squash at nearby Whakamaru do not have the barriers of city membership and fees, fishing costs little and even without a owning a boat there may be someone ready to share time on the lake. Home can be a real base for living instead of the place where one eats and sleeps between forays into the world of work. Do it yourself activities can be tackled when it suits instead of being crammed into weekends. People may be angered at suggested gains from being out of work. But if money can be made to stretch far enough and mental attitudes can change, perhaps some benefits of retirement can be reaped before effects of aging interfere with fitness and health.

Perceptions of Mangakino vary greatly. There are people who have long associations with the town and are proud of what its residents have achieved. They are often actively involved as individuals and as part of community groups in improving and promoting the town. There are relatively recent arrivals, enjoying perhaps their first opportunity to own a home of their own, keen to transform their immediate environment. Other people from outside and within the town speak of it in derogatory terms and are critical of the way people care for their properties. One person raised the ire of some local residents with a letter to the paper including these comments:

I would not advise anybody to buy a house in Mangakino. Most houses are on leasehold land and the lease is only short term. Some sections are paying \$110 a year land rent this year. Then the lease runs out and next year they will be paying \$350. Half of Mangakino is for sale; everybody is trying to sell out before the land rent goes up , and nobody wants to buy... Living seven years in Mangakino, I have lost more through theft and burglary than in any other place I have lived in... Everywhere there are empty houses. First everything is stolen, then the house is vandalised and then it is unsaleable.  
(Waikato Times, 24 Jul 1992)

This person has been a victim of burglaries, there are two vandalised houses near to his home and there are many real estate signs on properties in Mangakino. His frustration and disillusionment are understandable. The overall picture he paints is, however, at variance with the impression obtained from a street survey in two different parts of the township; one area where many of the houses have lake views (Area X) and the other at the opposite end of the town, without any lake views (Area Y) (Figure 16), where the letter writer lives. His fears about the leases also need to be put in perspective.

There were 86 houses surveyed in Area X and 101 in Area Y. In both areas approximately 10 per cent of the houses appeared to be unoccupied at that time<sup>5</sup>. It is known that in Area X, some of these houses are occupied at intervals by visitors who are probably owners, or their friends or relatives. Three of the nine unoccupied houses were neglected in Area X and seven houses could be similarly categorised in Area Y, six of them being unoccupied. Three houses had For Sale signs in Area X and nine in Area Y representing 3.5 and 8.9 per cent of the total. These figures do indicate some neglect, but almost totally of unoccupied properties. It is not clear whether they have become unlivable through the actions of previous occupants or whether they been left unoccupied and deteriorated through vandalism and age. In two cases at least, factors such as an absentee owner abandoning the properties (Pers Com) seem to have led to vandalism of houses previously on a par with, or in better structural condition than neighbouring, cared for homes.

If the correspondent had lived in a different part of town he may have felt differently about perceived trends in the town, but even a careful look around Area Y would have revealed that his statements were exaggerations. However, the reality is that a property may be very difficult to sell if there are one or two nearby examples of neglect. This quandary faces property owners in any town, unfortunately illustrating that whatever the individual does to their property, the consequences in terms of value and saleability and the feel of the neighbourhood are beyond their control. Neighbourhood

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<sup>5</sup> January 1993. The subjective classification of "neglected" was used when both house and grounds showed obvious signs of neglect; eg broken windows, rotten wallboards and unkempt surroundings - no signs of garden, lawn, fence, or hedge care.

change is usually incremental in nature being the outcome of a great number of largely independent decisions which can enhance or devalue the area. It can be underlain by factors which affect many property owners or occupiers in similar ways. This is what the correspondent is suggesting with reference to the leases. In so doing he may be perpetuating a myth which if it is perceived to have substance could bring his gloomy picture closer to reality.

The leasehold concerns are discussed elsewhere but people do worry about the situation and further comment seems pertinent. As the lease payments are tied to valuation and can only be adjusted at the end of the lease term, there is little uncertainty about the payments. Only in recent years have the terms of new leases been reduced to seven years as the longer terms were obviously unfair to the Incorporation. Lease payments can therefore only be increased at the time of lease renewal and if the land value has increased. If Mangakino had a large number of unsaleable properties is it likely that the land value would be trebling? If the gentleman's worst fears were realised this would mean paying nearly \$7.00 a week, which is similar to the amount people pay to rent a television set which they will never own and cannot sell.

The overall impression gained from the survey, which is admittedly subjective is that most Mangakino residents do care for their homes and that considerable ingenuity has been used to change ex-Ministry of Works houses in a host of different ways. Many are still identifiable as Mangakino, Sullivan or Staff houses but others have been modified in ways that conceal their origins from the casual observer (Photo 36). The scale of the houses, even when they have been significantly altered or added to, for the most part distinguishes those of Ministry of Works origin from the relatively small number of other houses in the town. An example of a newly built house alongside a Mangakino type house illustrates this difference in scale (Photo 37). It is this scale which is probably the most distinctive feature of housing in Mangakino township and at first it overrides other impressions of varied details and individual creativity.

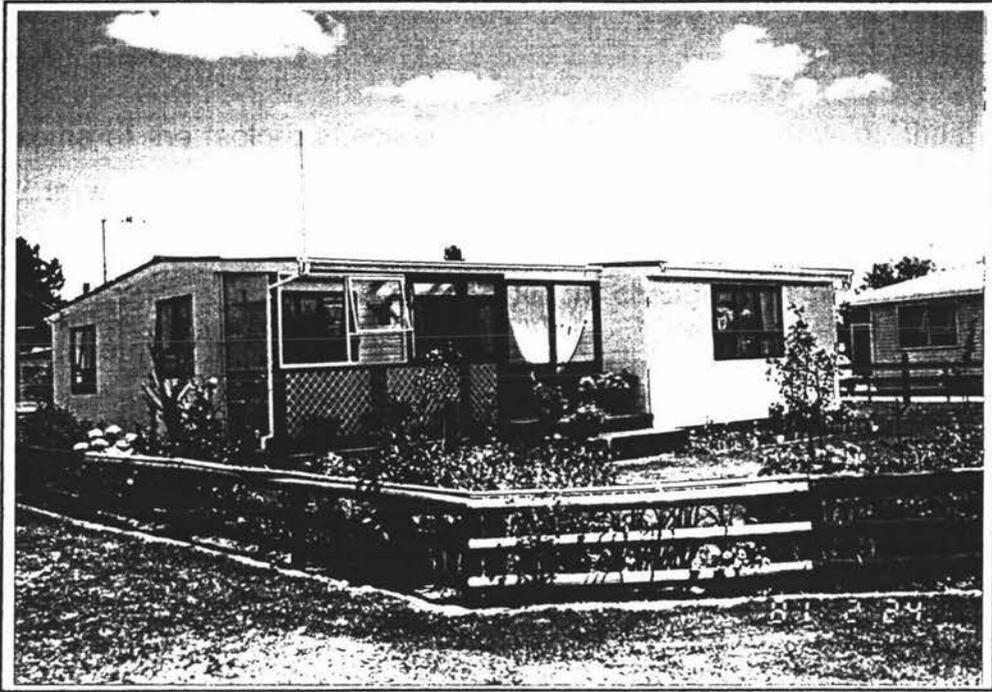


Photo 36  
An altered ex-Ministry of Works house, Mangakino



Photo 37  
A new house dwarfs a modified Mangakino type house, 1993

What are some of the factors affecting individuals wanting to develop their Mangakino properties? In what ways are they assisted, constrained or affected by the actions of others and by the legal framework and physical environment. A very simple case study is offered which affords a glimpse of how people change their personal surroundings and considers some of those questions.

T and N are retired and have moved to Mangakino from Auckland. They began work on the property two years ago and have made a number of changes mainly outside of the house (Photos 38 & 39). The dwelling has possibly been a Mangakino type house but it was considerably altered by the previous owner who added on a wing, taking care to match the wide weatherboards, and put verandahs on two sides (Photo 40). The section slopes towards the lake which is in view from the elevated back verandah. When they first took over the property there were silver birch trees on the neighbouring section blocking the view and there was a tangle of old fruit trees and a kiwi fruit vine on the lower portion of the section. The previous owner had unsuccessfully sought to have the silver birch trees topped, but permission was granted for them to be felled by new owners. All the tangled growth was removed from the lower part of the section which was raised by "two feet" before constructing a large double garage.

Obtaining a permit for the garage was not straight forward, as an advance payment was requested for the construction of a proper crossing of the footpath. It was not easy to get the \$320 asked for the vehicle crossing as well as paying for the materials and \$146 for a building permit. The permit was refused until the amount was paid yet other entrances in the street do not have proper crossings.

In other ways the local authorities have assisted, and also affected the surroundings in a detrimental way. T constructed an immaculate white picket fence and planted new grass, with seed provided by the council, on the berm outside the gate. A strong strike produced a rich green sward which was very carefully cared for and groomed. Most of the berm adjacent to this corner section is edged by concrete kerbing and the remainder lies almost flush with the edge of the seal. When the grass was well established council employees, carrying out their routine programme, sprayed the new

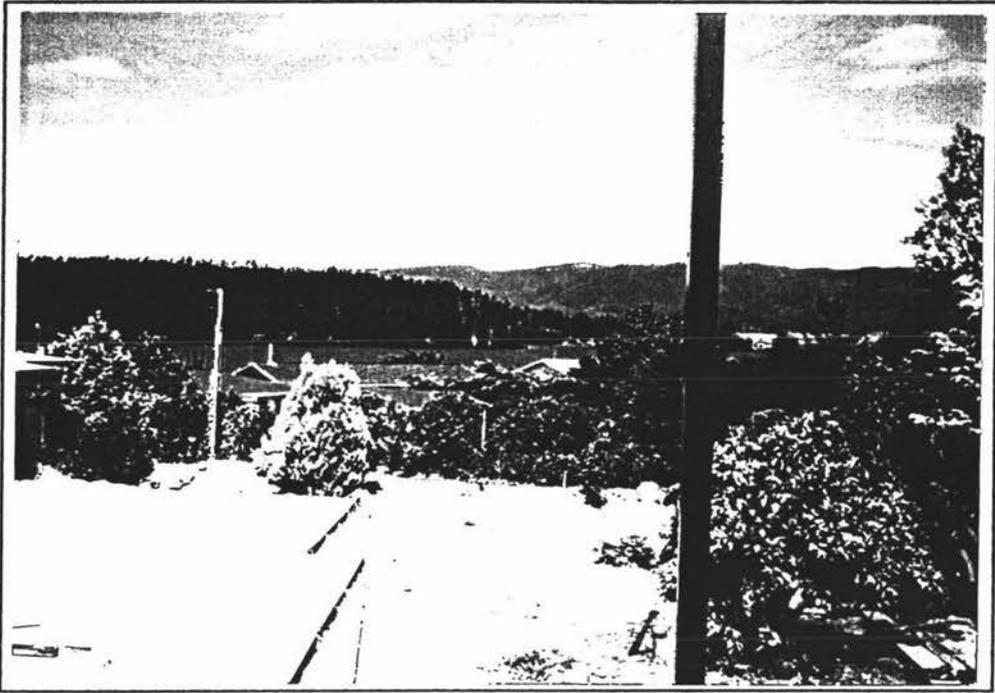


Photo 38  
The silver birches have been removed, section in early development stage

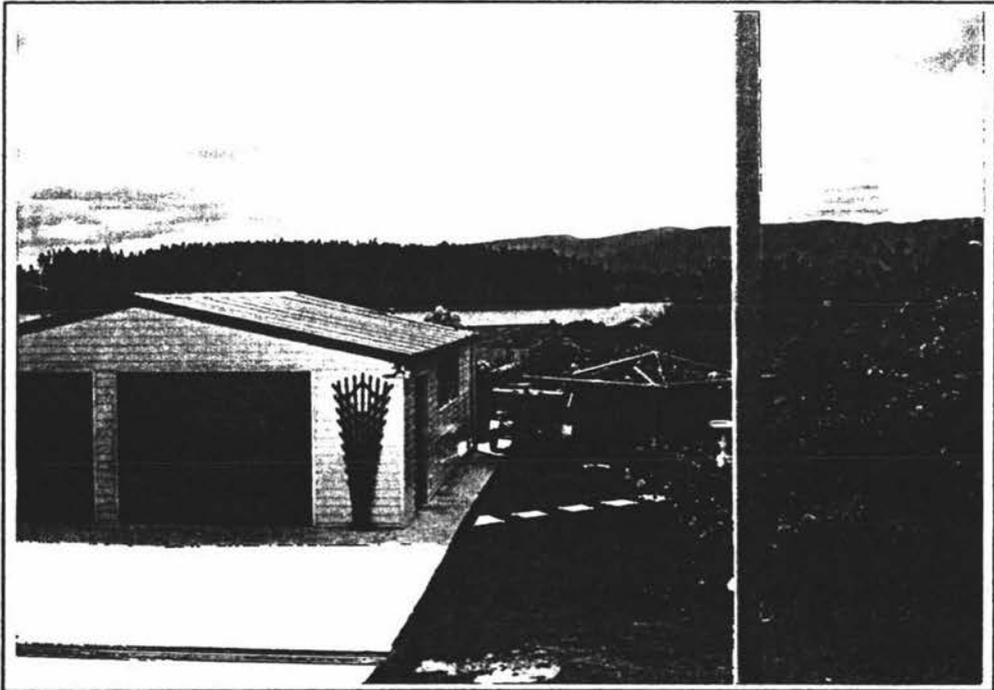


Photo 39  
Two years later, another view from the verandah

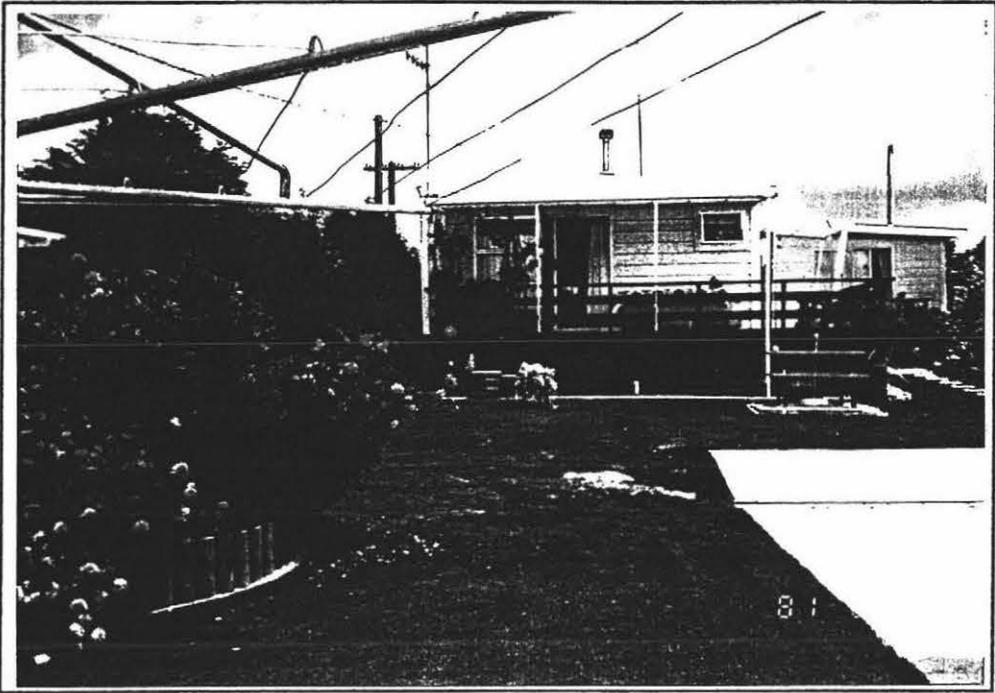


Photo 40  
Modified house with verandahs

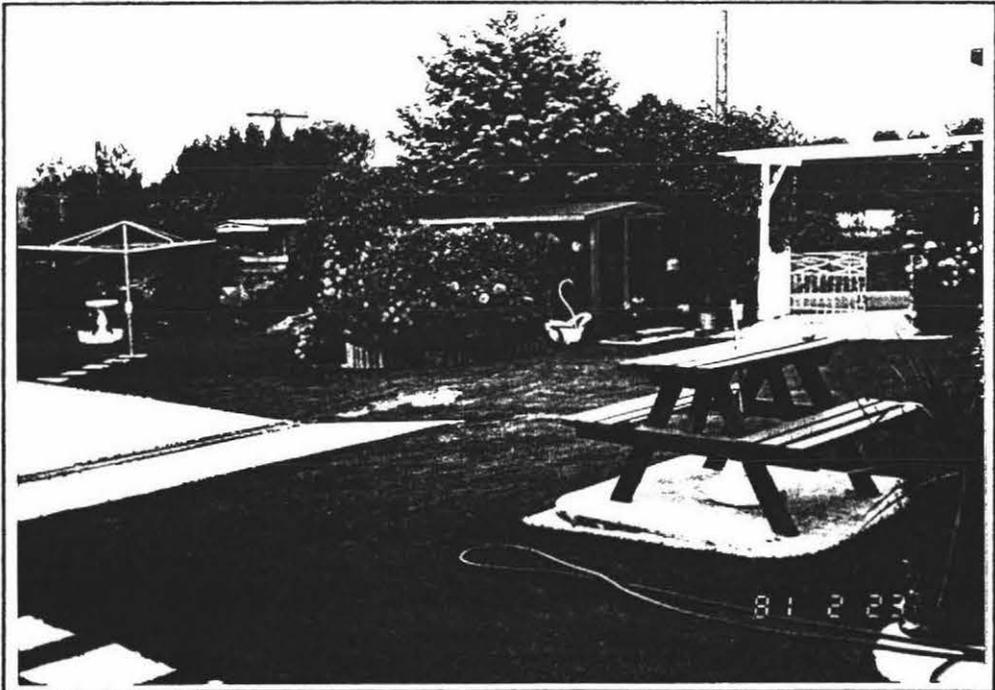


Photo 41  
Transformed back garden area

grass alongside the concrete kerbing, leaving the other more awkward edge unsprayed. The result was an unsightly yellow brown edging followed by retarded grass growth and the intrusion of weeds in that strip.

It is possible in Mangakino to ask for the road frontage by your house not to be sprayed and to undertake to maintain it. In one instance where this request was made, it made no difference and the spraying was carried out anyway. Even if this request had been acceded to it does not overcome the problem of people whose health is affected by inhaling these sprays and highlights one way in which people have no power over environmental pollution which is legitimated by local body decisions and actions.

A portion of the street, bounding one side of this section, which curves around above the lake has underground wires. This ends at the corner where the property is located and a very large conspicuous pole has been placed right outside the front gate. This example is used to draw attention to the role of the Council and supply authorities, as well as neighbours in affecting the visual aesthetics of the environment. (It is rather ironic that the prime residential sections on the lake edge (Photo 47) without the unsightly overhead wires are mainly occupied by caravans and small shed like structures.)

Within the section T has expressed his interest in growing plants and predilection for controlling the physical surroundings. He has mower strips surrounding the gardens and shrubs, strategically placed drainage in front of the garage, a cleverly designed "soak hole" to collect water running down the mower strips and he has built a well made shade house to modify the growing environment for some of the plants (Photo 41). Inside the house, the rooms are small, but very comfortable, with possessions and plants expressing personal preferences.

Apart from making structural changes to buildings and as long as they do not choose to keep dogs (or roosters) and are law abiding, these people like any others in most New Zealand towns do have the power to act in accord with their decisions within the



Photo 42  
Early view of farmhouse, Maraetai block



Photo 43  
View from similar vantage point, 1993

homesteads while creating a landscape pattern relative to the roads. In most cases the houses are placed a short distance back from the roads, often on rises and for practical purposes adjacent to other farm buildings. These locations were decided by Lands and Survey staff and even though farms have been amalgamated, and their functions changed, the original cluster of buildings has usually been retained albeit in modified form. One interesting example is shown in the accompanying photograph of a cow shed being converted and incorporated into the woolshed (Photo 44). Amalgamation also produced surplus houses, which could be used for farm workers, or in some instances partitioned out along with some surrounding land to create small farmlets. Some of these houses, perhaps rented to non farm workers, show less modification than those occupied by the farm owners.

The expansion of gardens, orchards and recreational spaces around the homesteads has been a common development. Comparison with the homes and activities of people in Mangakino and the other villages highlights the freedom to pursue their own interests which the farm owning families have. They are not restricted in the number, or type of pets which the children can have. Self sufficiency can be pursued if it suits. Large trees can be planted far enough away from the houses to avoid problems with, leaves in the spoutings, shade, root growth or affecting the neighbour's property. Swimming pools and tennis courts can become part of the home surroundings because space is available. Arising from this are social activities which take advantage of these enhanced physical surroundings. These homes can become suitable places for family or larger scale social occasions including venues for weddings. Opening gardens to visitors has been used for district fund raising activities, organised men's and women's tennis competitions use the private courts and children have the opportunity to learn and practice skills such as riding, swimming and tennis at their own place, in their leisure time. They can then, confidently take these skills and use them in other social settings.

People in the townships cannot provide many of these opportunities within their own properties, they are therefore dependent on communal co-operation to provide facilities and to maintain and regulate their use. Some of these facilities are available

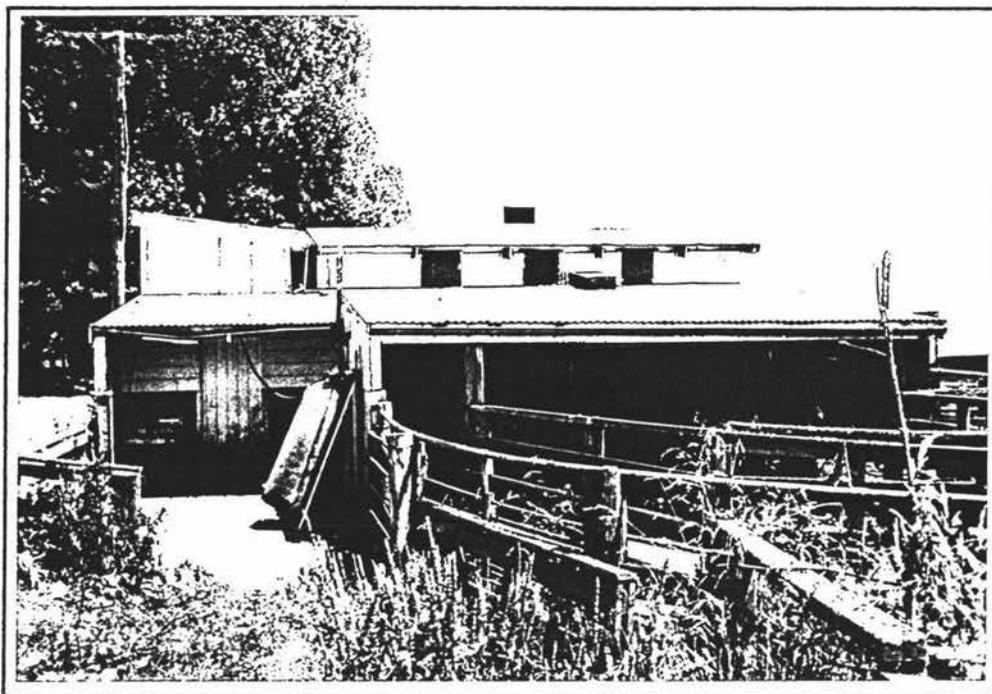


Photo 44  
An old milking shed incorporated into a more modern woolshed,  
Maraetai block.



Photo 45  
Ex-Ministry of Works house, Mangakino

but access is restricted. For example there are good quality tennis courts at the High School, but nets are locked away, despite the attempts by some individuals to have them made available, and no arrangements are made for communal use. Both Whakamaru and Maraetai hydro villages have floodlit tennis courts favourably sited on a village "common" surrounded by the houses. Until recently Whakamaru had a functioning tennis club and people could pay a membership fee and get keys which gave them access to the courts. This arrangement foundered in 1992. The courts did not seem to be available to the public and minor vandalism occurred. A payment can still be made to gain access to the Maraetai courts, but the outcome is that they are only used by a small number of people, usually adults. What is required is people with initiative who are prepared to put time and effort towards making these tennis courts available again, especially to young people. This initiative can only succeed if permission for organised or public use is granted by those who control the courts; presumably the High School Board of Trustees and ECNZ. Farm owners invest considerable time, effort and money to provide such facilities for themselves and their families. Those in town cannot really "go it alone"; their recreational desires are circumscribed and limited by the actions of others. Even if permission is granted to use a facility, misuse may result in closure.

Houses on many of the farms are nearly as old as the majority of the Mangakino houses. They were also built from green timber and suffer from problems arising from subsequent shrinkage and warping (Pers Com). The part houses like the Mangakino type dwellings had three main rooms. However, many of them have been changed into much admired, farm homesteads. The major differences can probably be attributed to the scale of the original houses, the part houses being perhaps no better constructed and offering no more facilities, but they were structures with larger proportions and additions have been feasible on a similar scale. In addition it has been possible to create a setting for the house independent of anyone else's actions. The farm homesteads have been occupied by people, usually with families, who were fit enough to be engaged in demanding physical work and therefore also had the capability if they chose, to use their physical abilities to enhance their surroundings. The occupants of houses in Mangakino, after the construction phase was over, would less frequently have had these attributes, and the homes created are quite different. A

further point of difference is that the homesteads with some very recent exceptions have been the primary residences of the farm owners, unlike Mangakino houses which may be holiday homes leading to upkeep via minimum maintenance strategies.

Without having more background information it is not possible to explain with any surety why the farmhouses on the Pouakani block have tended not to be developed in a similar way to those on the Lands and Survey blocks. The initial buildings may have been superior, as part houses were not used. There are suggestions that more stringent financial conditions were imposed on the Pouakani settlers. Some of those who came to the Pouakani block may have been less committed to farming and moved on to earn a better living on the construction site, resulting in more changes in occupancy. Sharemilking arrangements also were entered into and they are traditionally of a transitory nature as people seek to build up herds and attain farm ownership, or if unsuccessful end the contract. One could suggest cultural factors, but these do not appear to have any recognisable influence on the external features of houses and gardens in Mangakino. Therefore the persistence of dairying, which all but disappeared from, or was never present on, the other blocks, and the changes in occupancy may have influenced the development of Pouakani block homes.

The relatively short main period of house building in the Pouakani locality, mainly carried out by government departments, in haste, and according to financial limitations has produced quite varied outcomes. The size, or quality of the original structure does not equate strongly with the attractiveness of these houses today. The houses, some of which are brick, constructed by the Electricity Department in the hydro villages appear to have been some of the best buildings. Nevertheless many are unoccupied, although available for rent, and the general appearance of these villages is deteriorating. On the other hand some of the oldest and most criticised houses; early part houses on the land development blocks and the small Mangakino type dwellings have been modified to create homes in which their owners and occupiers take obvious pride (Photos 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 45). Individual effort and occupance by owners, may create these differences, but there are also counter examples of people putting considerable time and effort into changing rented houses, within limitations, into the kind of homes they desire.

## Initiative and Influence

Unlike the contexts organised around a single theme this section brings together a collection of contexts chosen to illustrate relationships between actors inside and beyond the locality, performing within the structural matrix imposed by legislation and organisational frameworks, underlain by capitalist mechanisms.

Actions in the commercial and communal spheres are considered, with the intention being to acknowledge some actors who initiated, or attempted to initiate, local change and to explore their influence in terms of the physical and economic changes generated. Major actors with external bases; Electricorp and New Zealand Forest Products Limited are viewed alongside smaller scale entrepreneurs, including local residents. In addition the impact of some recreational and community based groups catering for local people and outsiders is considered. Emphasis is given to the outcomes of initiatives and the way in which the actors may have been influenced by, or have influenced, the actions of others and the structural matrix. Lions, golfers, rowers and Whakamaru farmers provide these glimpses of initiative and influence.

### Commercial Operators

From the 1940s until the 1960s government activities dominated Pouakani. The built environment put in place, has since been incorporated in various ways into the commercial sphere. Local residents, as consumers, labour and owners of capital have forged new relationships, although again in the 1980s and 1990s government links are strong, with dependence replacing interdependence. New Zealand Forest Products provides an example of commercial interests operating, for the most part outside of the locality, that have exerted a powerful influence on local residents. Electricorp, on the other hand, although a national entity has a strong, yet in a people sense, diminishing presence within Pouakani. Compared with these two giants, small scale entrepreneurs may seem insignificant, but their value, or even in failure, their example, should not be overlooked. Kelly's service station, the slink skin factory and efforts to establish clothing factories are among the instances selected for discussion.

## Electricorp

The State Hydro Electric Department has undergone various transformations and name changes and has spawned the State Owned Enterprise (SOE) now calling itself ECNZ<sup>1</sup> or Electricorp. In the process its commercial aspects have gained in importance and the central planning which initiated the hydro electric power development schemes on the Waikato River in the 1940s, 50s and 60s is withering away.

After the dam construction period ended there was a stable Electricity Department presence in the locality, with a small permanent work force being housed in the villages of Whakamaru and Maraetai. Whakamaru became the control centre for the group of stations from Maraetai up the Waikato River to the Lake Taupo control gate. This created employment for management and office staff in addition to the station operators and employees performing various maintenance functions. Over time, changing technology, leading to automation, has reduced the number of people required to run the power stations. Redundancies have resulted from this process, but to add to the local effects, decisions have been made which have led to the Transpower section of the corporation transferring its control centre from Whakamaru to Hamilton (S Waikato News, 20 Jun 1991, 1). Resulting from this, accounting and personnel services were moved to Hamilton in 1992. Consequently the outcomes for the locality are largely negative. There are reductions in employment opportunities, reduced school roll numbers, empty houses and unused facilities such as the floodlit tennis courts, halls and hostels. The dam site at Maraetai, a spectacular setting, previously attractive to visitors, now has an electric fence around it. As privatisation proceeds what will happen to the arrangement to supply Mangakino township with water from near the Maraetai II powerhouse?

As with the earlier decisions which created the town of Mangakino, the hydro villages, the dams, the lakes and the transmission lines looped across the Pouakani landscape, local outcomes seem unimportant to the decision makers (although consideration was given to the day to day needs of the work force). Any alternatives considered are hidden in the realm of technical expertise and business negotiations at upper levels in the ECNZ hierarchy. A profitable enterprise is presumably the goal, although why an

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<sup>1</sup> Electricity Corporation of New Zealand.

expensive new facility in Hamilton should be required is not obvious to those without knowledge of the mix of technical and commercial considerations backgrounding the decision to move from Whakamaru.

The commercial focus of ECNZ is an outcome of government initiative which altered the decision making context and changed the decision makers as from 1 April 1987. As the old structures were changed opportunities emerged for a new coterie of powerful people to exert their influence. The Ministry of Energy's Electricity Division, like its predecessor the New Zealand Electricity Department, had been dominated by "engineers who had a proud record of designing and building ... hydro power stations ... Senior staff were usually engineers who had worked their way up the ranks rather than business or marketing people" (McLoughlin, 1991, 62). In 1986 John Fernyhough accepted the invitation of the then Minister of Finance, Roger Douglas, to join the board of the fledgling SOE, provided he could be the Chairman. This commercial lawyer, turned businessman, had some say in the appointment of other board members, listened to people within the organisation, toured the power stations and other facilities, then set up a task force to design a commercial company structure. He chose to ignore the planning of those within the organisation believing that to be necessary, otherwise the "board would be captured by the existing system and find change resisted at every point" (McLoughlin, 1991, 62). He recognised that he was creating a "climate of uncertainty" (McLoughlin, 1991, 62) and therefore wanted to make the changes as quickly as possible.

Mr Noel Paynter who had been manager of the Whakamaru power station group, since 1976, had to reapply for his job when the changes initiated by the new SOE board were implemented in 1987. He was one of the few to get his job back. In April 1988 he was able to report on outcomes of the Electricorp changes which had added "a dozen specialised staff to the Whakamaru offices" (S Waikato News, 1 Apr 1988, 5) and announced \$350 000 extensions to the administration buildings which would double their size. Each of the three dam groups in the North Island were to become self sufficient. Specialised staff, such as engineers had been moved from Hamilton and there had been an influx of technicians, accounting and personnel staff. At the

same time he acknowledged the loss of "two dozen" general hand jobs "via a process of attrition, voluntary severance and redeployment" (S Waikato News, 1 Apr 1988, 5).

Four years later Mr Paynter, who retired in September 1991, commented on some of the difficulties experienced in dealing with policies which kept changing. Those working at Whakamaru "had difficulty achieving any long term planning" (Pers Com, 1993). Decisions would be made, but before they were implemented, objectives and goals would change. Management was "very difficult as priorities and directions of development changed so frequently" (Pers Com, 1993). Uncertainty prevailed. The optimism of 1988 was apparently short lived despite the fact that continuity of leadership was initially retained at Whakamaru. Mr Paynter sees the driving force behind these changes as being political; gearing up towards privatisation, and of debatable benefit to consumers and New Zealanders as a whole.

The villages built for the Electricity Department workers are pleasant collections of houses grouped around park like areas. While under the control of the department they were maintained to a high standard. The hydro worker communities scarcely exist any more and people seeking accommodation can rent the houses. The Taupo District Council has accepted responsibility for some of the amenities but the total, village care, concept is a thing of the past. These villages, surplus to requirements, are subject to the speculative whims of commercial interests. One or the other may be bought in its entirety and developed for what is believed to be a profitable purpose. Sports complexes and tourist cottages have been suggested. Whether any of these ideas come to fruition is likely to depend on mainly supralocal factors such as the availability of capital to particular entrepreneurs at a particular time, the demand for tourist accommodation in the Central North Island, and the popularity and profitability of sporting organisations.

The influence of ECNZ is going and, as with the Ministry of Works withdrawal from Mangakino, there is a legacy waiting to be used and developed. Mangakino attracted business people presumably seeking cheap industrial sites and buildings, along with unskilled labour. The only major survivor is an enterprise providing accommodation for

people needing care. Many commercial undertakings have started and ceased. The wished for, major employment opportunities have not occurred or persisted, but on a small scale people keep trying. Practically all the shops, built to cater for at least three times the present population, are in use. The fate of the Hydro villages cannot be predicted. Possibly foreign, rather than city capital may find a use for these sites within easy reach of many tourist attractions and water recreation facilities. Alternatively the houses may be sold singly creating new communities with as yet unknown characteristics. Sale for removal, or demolition as happened at the nearby Waipapa hydro village is another option.

### **New Zealand Forest Products**

The Kinleith forests are physically separated from Pouakani by the Waikato River and the hydro lakes, yet visually they are an inseparable part of the local landscape. As they are milled and replanted, the outlook changes for local residents. A lake view with a backdrop of dark green pine can give way to less attractive vistas due to planned felling, or damage control as occurred in the wake of Cyclone Bola (Photo 46). These exotic forests planted from the 1920s onwards are a resource owned by New Zealand Forest Products (NZFP) and processed at the Kinleith pulp and paper complex near Tokoroa. Distinctly outside the locality, except for the lease from the Mangakino Township Incorporation, the commercial operations of NZFP nevertheless have a number of effects on its Pouakani neighbours.

The hum of pumps drawing water from Lake Maraetai; the yellow pine pollen, coating ledges and possibly irritating sensitive lungs and the "rotten cabbage" smell carried from the mill in certain climatic conditions are reminders of the NZFP presence. Its more important impact on employment and on water quality in Lake Maraetai may be less obvious. Photo 48, while showing the negative aspects of the NZFP relationship with Mangakino township in the form of the distant smoke plumes and the effluent carrying Kopakorahi Stream entering the lake, also shows the facade of trees left on the lakeshore which at ground level enhances lake views (Photo 47). Whether retained for lakeshore protection or for scenic effect they do benefit the town.

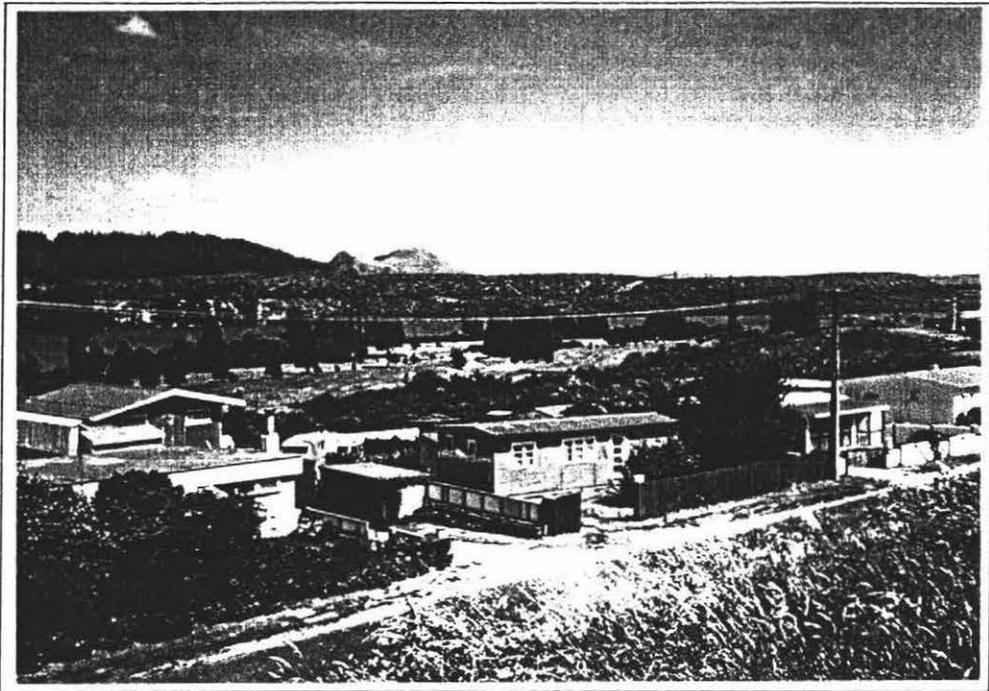


Photo 46  
A Mangakino view looking towards the forest area cleared after damage from Cyclone Bola.



Photo 47  
Lake view with pine backdrop. Residential sections, Korari Crescent, Mangakino.



Photo 48

Mangakino township looking across Lake Maraetai towards Kinleith. Part of old Southern Subdivision area, right foreground. ( Air Logistics, 1992)

Even before hydro construction work had ceased in 1970 and the Ministry of Works had left the area NZFP provided employment for local residents. People could rent or buy a house cheaply in Mangakino and if they wished, travel to work by bus. Opportunities were varied; including outdoor work with forestry gangs, and jobs at the mill site, especially in times of expansion and remodelling when temporary construction workers were sought. The Kinleith pay packets in turn boosted the Mangakino township economy. They have diminished over time and redundancies which stopped Tokoroa growth just short of city status, have also had their impact on Mangakino. As recently as 1987 concerns were expressed at a local Community Council meeting that as many as 100 Mangakino residents could be affected by redundancies at Kinleith but now the NZFP role as an employer of Mangakino residents is negligible.

NZFP began taking water from the Waikato River and discharging effluent into the Kopakorahi arm of Lake Maraetai in 1953 (Figure 18). The situation was formalised in 1970 when a permit was granted by the Water Pollution Control Council. The Waikato Catchment Board (WCB) later deemed this permit to be a water right. It sets maximum effluent flows, acceptable limits for dissolved oxygen, pH and temperature but in other respects lacks specificity. "The waters shall not have their colour affected to a conspicuous extent nor shall they be unpalatable or toxic" (Zuur, 1988, 2). NZFP was required to monitor specified parameters and this has been subject to external audit from the mid 1980s on and reveals a far from satisfactory situation. Hoare in 1986 (in Zuur, 1988, 2) found the permit to be an "inappropriate document". While Zuur's 1988 recommendation was

That the company be informed that their discharge appears to breach Permit 434/201/1 (Water Right 976) with respect to :

- The maximum daily discharge volume
- Dissolved oxygen concentrations at the boom
- The conspicuous change of the colour of the waters at the boom

That further studies investigate:

- The toxicity of the effluent
- The palatability of the waters at the boom (26, 27).

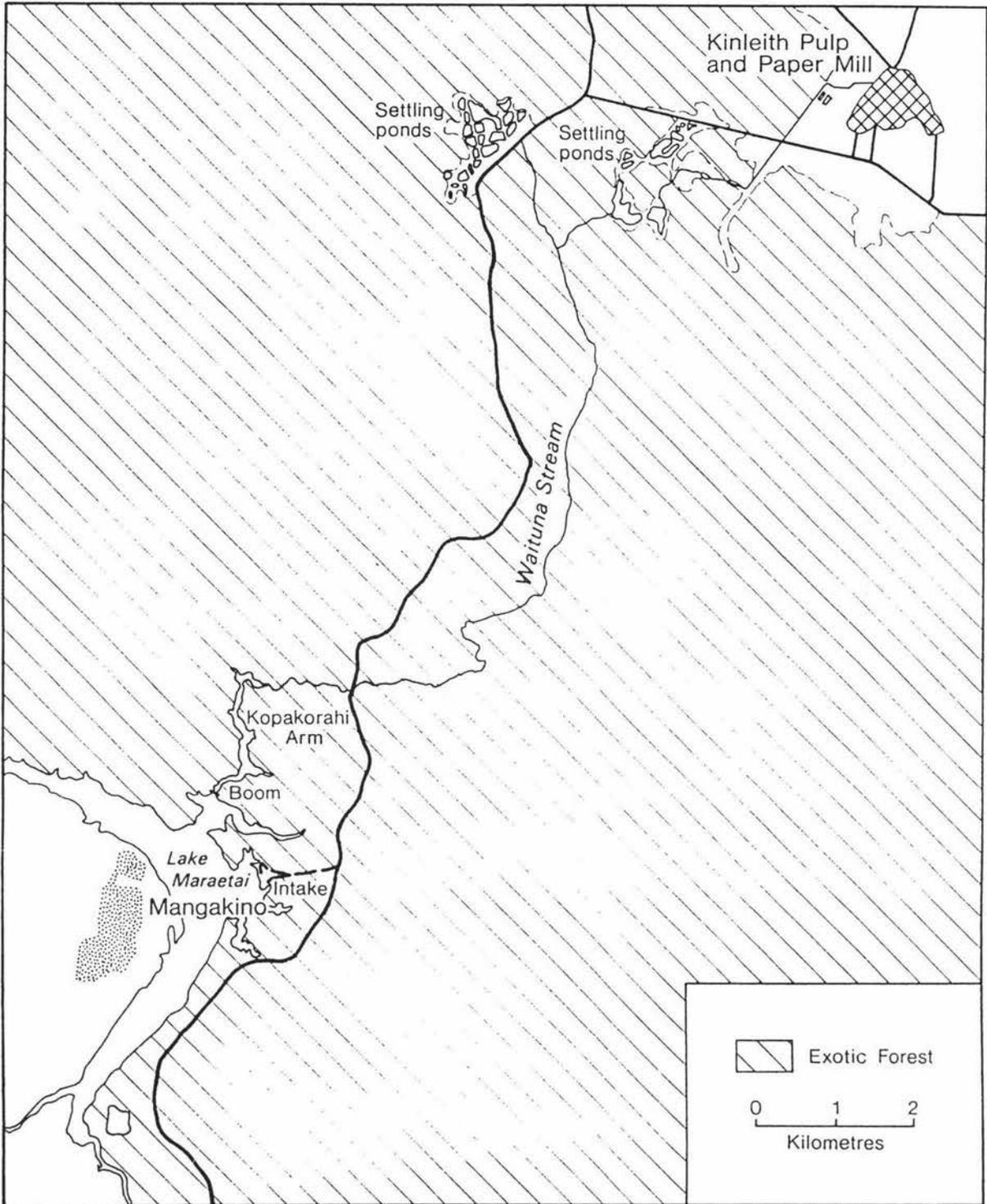


Figure 18  
NZFP use of Lake Maraetai. Effluent is discharged into the Kopakorahi Arm

Meanwhile, from time to time, local doubts about the pollution of Lake Maraetai expressed at local body level and in the newspapers. Before the permit was granted the Pollution Advisory Council was giving reassurances that there were no fears about the Kinleith mill polluting the Waikato (MKO Min 3, 14 Oct 1970, 5). The Town Committee (MKO Min 3, 10 Feb 1971, 4) the following year took the Mangakino Chronicle to task for giving the "false" impression that the effluent from Kinleith went into the lake directly opposite the swimming pool. It is clear from the more recently published information (Fig 19) that either prevailing westerly winds or back eddies in the lake do carry the effluent towards where the "pool" used to be. It may be some comfort to know that it does tend to sink beneath the surface except in winter months.

From 1972 on, the elected representatives began expressing their misgivings about the state of the lake. They requested to see the permit, enquired about its policing (MKO Min 3, Nov 15 1972) and suggested a mid channel, downstream discharge point (MKO Min 5, 13 Oct 1976, 2). The Community Council also sought public opinion on a swimming pool because of the polluted lake waters (MKO Min, 12 Aug 1985, 247), asked for a Waikato Valley Authority report on water quality (MKO Min 7, 13 Oct 1986, 321), discussed the pollution of the lake with the Incorporation (MKO Min 7, 4 Sep 1987, 389) and communicated with NZFP about fish deformities (MKO Min 8, 11 Sep, 1989). Despite keen local awareness of a pollution problem and complaints about colour, odour, foams, scum and high organic content of the effluent (WRC, 1991, 36) no apparent changes occurred until 1991, when a new bleach process was introduced which, it was claimed, would significantly alter the NZFP effluent being released into the lake ( WRC, 1991, 37).

It is a little puzzling, that although there is widespread local belief that the water is polluted, no strong action has been taken. Crawford (Pers Com, 1992) suggests that at one time this may have been linked to the importance of NZFP as a local employer. It could be unwise to bite the hand that feeds you. The local authorities have also not been in a position to protest because of the ongoing pollution of the lake by Mangakino sewage. Even with a concerted local protest the consequence could have been prolonged legal debate with expert pitted against expert. Could a small

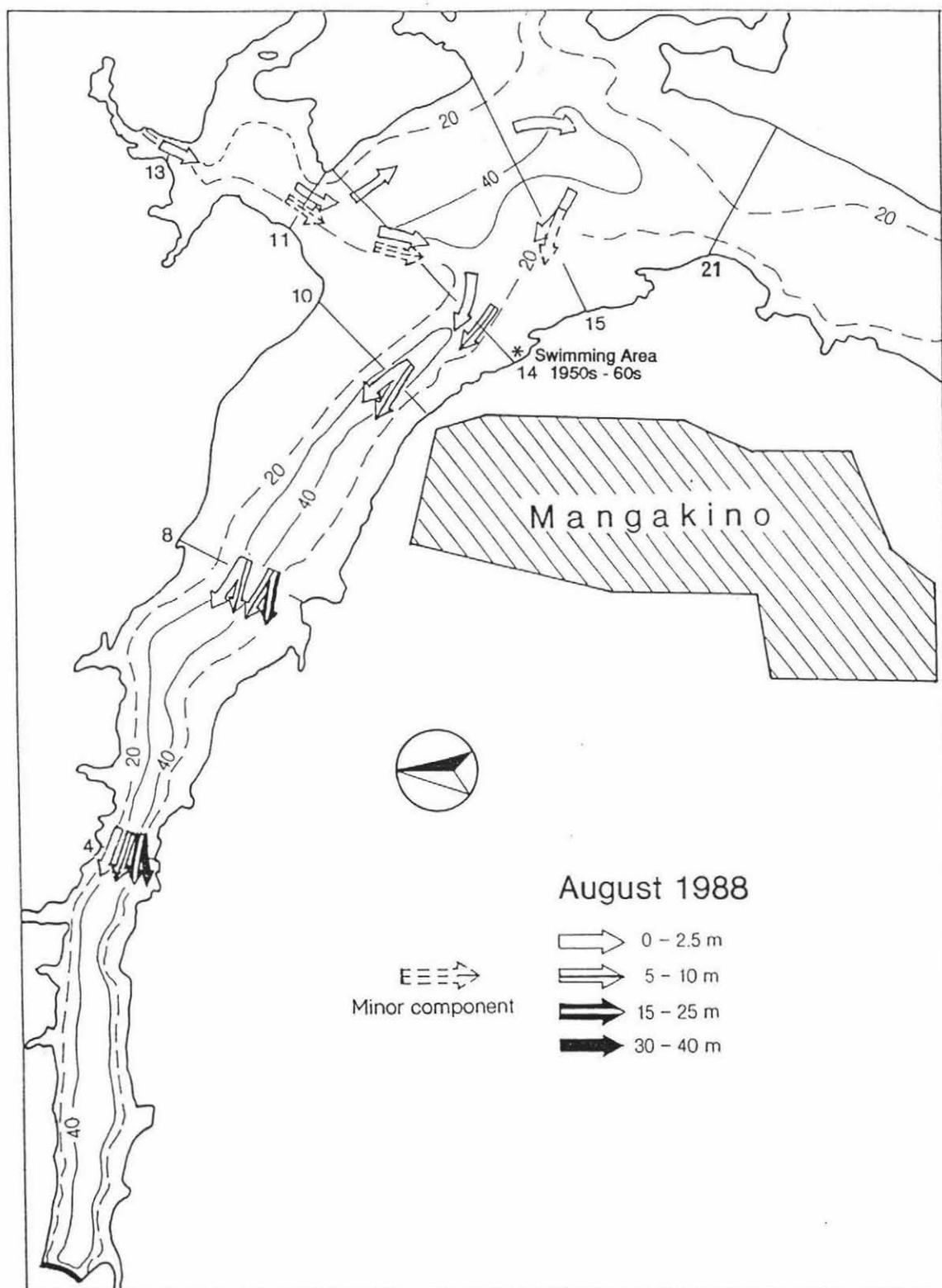


Figure 19  
Schematic diagram of the movement of Kinleith effluent in Lake Maraetai in August 1988 (Zuur, 1989, 16)

community really take on a large company?

"Historically, water quality problems have been largely related to colour, odour, foams and scums" (WRC, 1991, 36). Concerns about toxicity, rather than more superficial indicators such as colour, escalated in the 1980s, promoted by fish kills and more effective monitoring, but until recently the incentive to develop the technology to safely dispose of the effluent has not been strong. A more environmentally aware public is now seeking clean products. NZFP have entered into collaboration with the Chemistry Department of the Waikato University to determine potential toxic effects on users of the river water (Zuur, 1989b, 36) and consultation between the "Company and the WRC was initiated during 1990 in preparation for the likely renewal of the outdated discharge permits within the framework of the new legislation (Resource Management Act 1991)" (WRC, 1991, 36 - 37). Already though, funding cuts have affected the freshwater mussel monitoring of the Kinleith effluent.

New concerns surfaced in 1992, when in response to Greenpeace claims, the mill owners, Carter Holt Harvey and Wood Products, acknowledged that the disused timber treatment plant at Kinleith was contaminated with pentachlorophenol (PCP). The mill was said to have been one of New Zealand's biggest users of the chemical which has been linked to cancers and immune system disorders (Waikato Times, 4 Aug 1992, 3). It was reported that the previous mill owner had known of the probable link between the timber treatment plant, which closed in 1987 after operating for 35 years, and contamination of the Waikato River.

An earlier company study of Kinleith's effluent discharges into the Waikato River found levels of two types of dioxin which were inconsistent with the mill's pulp and paper operation.

The study carried out by a team headed by then mill-owner NZ Forest Products environmental manager Dave Campin, said PCP and related products used at the mill's timber milling site were a potential source of these compounds. (Waikato Times, 4 Aug 1992, 3)

The recency of these concerns highlights the importance of two interrelated factors, the inability of non specialists to have access to and understand the implications of technical knowledge, and the changing awareness of the "side effects" of scientific and technological advances. The incompleteness of knowledge and its consequences, inevitably puts people at risk, but the retention and filtering of information is an aspect of power that may deny people the opportunity to make informed, personal or collective decisions.

Talking with local adults and children yields an impression that very few people have any clear idea about the safety of the lake waters and nobody seems to accept any responsibility to let people know what purposes the lake can be safely used for. One would think that it would be wise for the residents of Mangakino to be informed as to the location of the waste outfalls and the the areas of the lake likely to be most polluted (Fig 19). No warning signs exist, except for one right at the boom which can only be reached by boat.

The industrial and domestic pollution come together in the one body of water, also possibly Mangakino's most valuable asset. The lake is under the jurisdiction of the Taupo District Council and the Waikato Regional Council (WRC) in terms of water safety and water purity, respectively. Would it not be reasonable on a recreational lake to have signs erected showing the water classification and giving any related health warnings? The "D" classification<sup>2</sup> accorded to the part of Lake Maraetai adjacent to Mangakino is not intended for recreational water use (WRC, 1991, 49). If Mangakino is to be promoted as a rowing venue an appropriate water classification would appear to be a priority.

Who has the power to alter the water quality? At present NZFP and the Mangakino-Pouakani Community Board or the Taupo District Council. Long term water rights issued in less environmentally aware times appear to impede the actions of the WRC, the body charged with this responsibility, leaving the initiative in the hands of the polluters, along with economic considerations.

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<sup>2</sup> This system is now being replaced but in effect still applies.

### **Small Scale Entrepreneurs**

Commercial activities at Mangakino provide services for the local community and summer visitors. Those based outside the township and at Whakamaru have an important role in catering for travellers as well as local residents. Attempts at setting up small scale secondary industries have all eventually foundered, nevertheless they did provide employment for varying lengths of time and in some cases transferable skills.

One feature noted with some of the enterprises which did get underway is the unwillingness of the risk takers to let "small" procedural matters get in their way. Whether this was because of inadequate knowledge, verbal assurances unsupported by written documentation, or a deliberate disregard for legal detail, it was often quite successful. Especially where a building and investment is involved there would appear to be a reluctance to undo what is done. This has already been mentioned in relation to the hotel built without a building permit. In this section, two successful initiatives and one which was unsuccessful are discussed.

The absence of a garage close to the shopping centre is an unusual feature of Mangakino. Both local garages are situated outside of the township; one on Waipapa Road providing access to farmland in the Te Awamutu direction, and the other at the intersection of Waipapa Road and State Highway 30 which links Whakamaru with Benneydale and the King Country beyond (Figure 20). The latter is a well travelled route linking tourist destinations at Rotorua and Taupo with the popular Waitomo Caves. The original owner of the service station and garage, at this fitting site, is probably Mangakino's best know local identity, long time resident and local body representative, Mr H J (Ned) Kelly.

Mr Kelly was one of the first mechanics to work for the Ministry of Works at Mangakino and in the mid 1950s he turned his attention to setting up his own business. Kelly Motors leased a quarter acre section from Major Mason, one of the early Pouakani farm settlers. This was discussed at a meeting of the Pouakani owners in Greytown in 1955 (Pouakani File, 22 Jul, 66 - 64). Surprise was expressed at the garage being erected. "It is the most up-to-date building of its kind I have seen and it is an asset. I

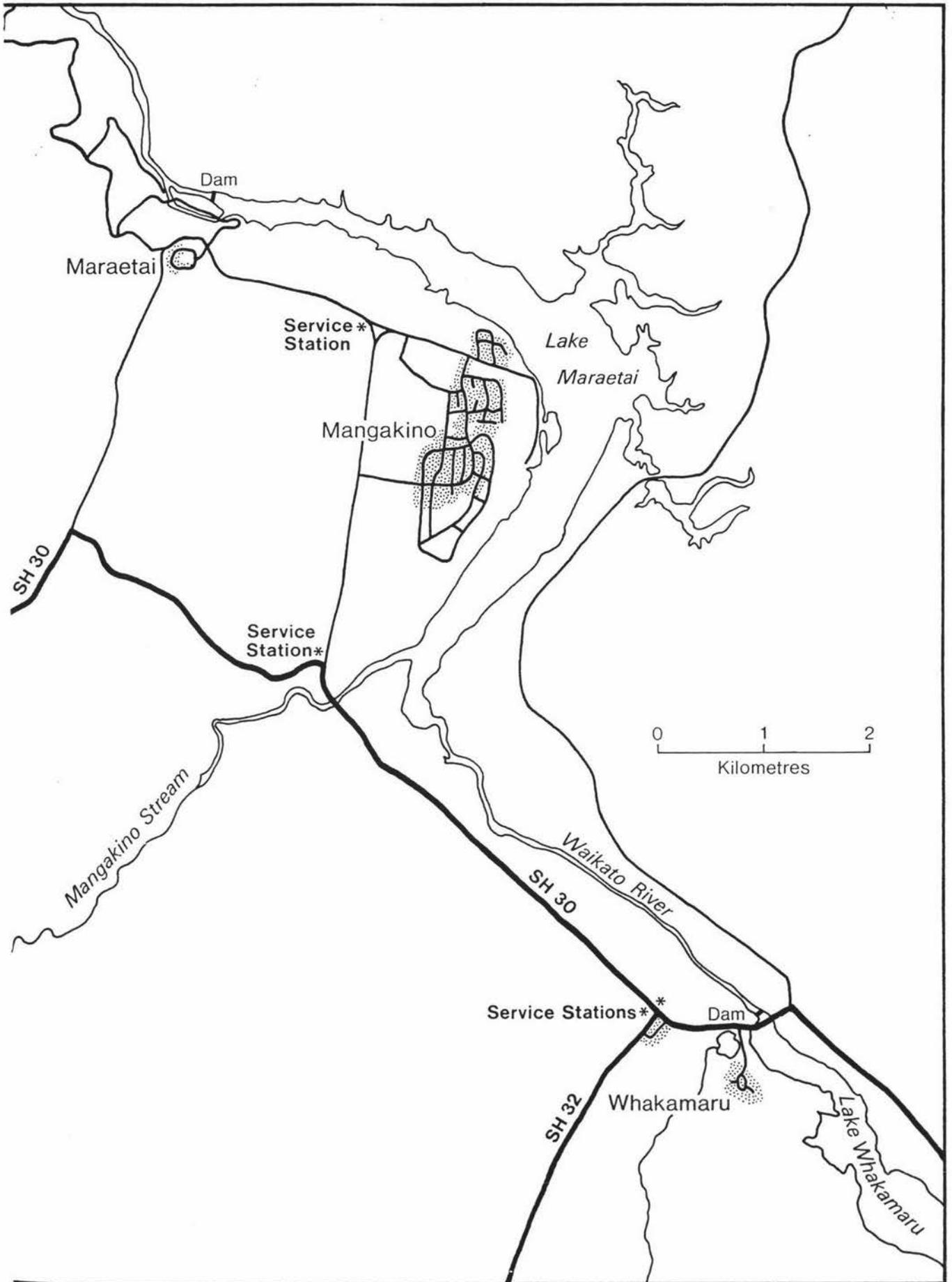


Figure 20  
Highways, roads and service stations related to township locations

think, however the people should first have been consulted." "Certain conditions were understood that the land was for farming only" (Pouakani File, 22 Jul 1955, 65). Sullivan, Assistant Secretary for the Department of Maori Affairs responded by agreeing that:

we should have consulted the owners but we did act with good motives even though we were offside in doing this. The man who put up the building did so with some understanding that could possibly give him some enforceable rights at law. (Pouakani File, 22 Jul 1955, 65)

After considerable discussion on the wisdom and legalities of commercial sub-leasing a motion to "exclude the 1/4 acre from Major Mason's lease and to apply the rent from the garage site towards the marae fund was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously" (Pouakani File, 22 Jul 1955, 64).

In 1958 the matter was raised again (Pouakani File, 21 Nov, 89); Major Mason acknowledged that he had been receiving rent payments and the owners were told by the District Officer, Mr Barber that the

Board of Maori Affairs must consent to any sub-lease of an area in a unit property, and in fact it only recently approved of the sub-leasing of the section by Major Mason providing the money was paid into a Marae Fund (Pouakani File, 21 Nov 1958, 89).

The lease and the payment to the marae fund was unanimously agreed to by those present.

What is evident is that the business was operating and accepted by the Department of Maori Affairs and by the owners of the Pouakani block. It was presumably performing a valuable local service and the absence of formal agreements was irrelevant as it seems to have taken three years to get around to doing anything about it. Mr Kelly's initiative was rewarded and Kellys Motors still operates from this site, well placed to

serve through traffic.

Another promising local undertaking was the operation of a slink skin<sup>3</sup> factory, begun in 1977 and finally demolished in 1992. The Mangakino Community Council chairman, retired Lt Col V G Skilton who took on a management role for the factory, properly left the chair when a motion to approve conditions for the slink skin application was put to the Council (MKO Min 5, 13 April 1977, 4). The motion was lost but the operation of the factory was approved as a conditional use the following month (MKO Min 5, 11 May, 1977, 1) and Council support was given for an application to the Department of Trade and Industry for a development loan (MKO Min 5, 13 Jul, 1977, 4). Concern was expressed that the building was of corrugated iron, instead of concrete blocks, as the council had been led to believe. The chairman explained that this was due to cost and to the short time available for construction before the season started (MKO Min 5, 13 Jul, 1977, 4). This was accepted. Again, with a building in place, an enterprise organised and ready to go was not going to be interfered with.

Mr E Paki, a Pouakani farmer distinguished by his efforts to diversify, was less fortunate when he opened a clothing factory. In September 1969 it was reported that the Hydro View Manufacturing Company was employing 15 staff and operating 11 machines on Paki's farm one mile from Mangakino. Men's trousers were being produced for Safari Industries and it was intended to move into Mangakino and double the size of the factory (MKO Chron, 11 Sep 1969, 2). Mr Paki claimed 100 per cent support from local business people, but by 2 Oct he had been given an order to close by the Health and Building Inspector, notwithstanding his assertion that he had temporary registration with the Labour Department. Workers who spoke very highly of their employers and the working conditions, repeatedly expressed concerns about home industries being operated by non-Maoris in less satisfactory circumstances (MKO Chron, 23 Oct 1969, 1).

Mr Paki's intention to reopen in premises in Mangakino was not fulfilled. However he was not idle. This man who had won the Bledisloe Cup for the top Maori farmer in New Zealand was by March 1970 harvesting barley which was being sent to Mount

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<sup>3</sup> Slink skins are obtained from dead newborn lambs.

Maunganui for processing as stock food. He had also planted soya beans and wheat as cash crops and in June of the same year obtained foundation stock to set up a thoroughbred stud on his farm. It should be noted that this was at the same time as the government was involved in resettling farmers from the neighbouring Maraetai block. One of his clothing factory workers said "You cannot get a job in Mangakino for the life of you. My husband is on a farm that doesn't pay and we have five children. This job is vital for us" (MKO Chron, 23 Oct 1969, 1). Yet apparently no-one looked at the local prospects for people who wanted to remain in the locality. The assistance provided was for those from the Lands and Survey settled block who wanted out, not for those prepared to use their initiative and stay.

## **Recreation and Community**

International, national, and local organisations intermesh with people's desire to provide amenities and opportunities for local recreation and to enhance the local environment. Associated with these factors is the financial necessity to meet the cost of projects and the need for structural arrangements which ensure continuity and maintenance after the initial actions are taken. In this locality there are many groups and activities commonly found in rural areas and small New Zealand towns, plus other distinctive ones which arise from local attributes. The annual fishing and hunting contest, the raft race and the rowing club are examples of the latter. Recreational pursuits in these instances are combined with commercial arrangements benefiting private enterprise, a local service organisation and an Auckland rowing club respectively.

The Lions' activities illustrate the way an international organisation functions within a particular locality. The Whakamaru farmers' efforts to obtain a hall and a domain for use as a sports ground, highlight the interaction between local lobbies and local and central government operating within a proscribed legal framework. The broader motivation of the Lions and farmers contrasts with the Golf and Rowing Clubs which cater specifically for a single sport. The Golf Club is very much a local product, although affiliated to a national organisation and the Rowing Club is largely the

expression of one man's dreams and efforts and caters almost exclusively for visitors.

### **Lions**

Who are the local Lions and what is their imprint on the locality? The Lions are a service organisation with restricted membership intended to bring together a collection of people from different occupations. Because money raised is not used for administrative purposes members need to be willing to meet expenses and contribute financially. Their motto is "We Serve" and the group which has functioned in Mangakino since 1965 provides examples of ways in which people have sought to serve their community through providing amenities and services. The range of activities was extended with the sponsoring of a Mangakino District Lioness Club in 1984 "who carved their own niche with their caring involvement in the community" (Wilson, Pers Com, 1993).

In addition to individual members undertaking work there has been cooperation with other groups; the council offering materials and in some cases labour, and the NZWU indicating their willingness to help with Lions projects (MKO Chron, 21 Mar 1967, 7). Public spaces shared by residents and visitors have been the focus of their activities, although their efforts were not necessarily appreciated by everyone. Hours spent removing graffiti and replacing copper pipe prior to the opening of the new lakeside toilets was one less than pleasant memory (Wilson, Pers Com, 1993). A town map, Civic Centre toilets, wall and seating, a skateboard facility and a major tree planting programme on Matekuri Island are typical projects. The latter involved several years of hard work planting hundreds of native trees on an "island" linked to the lakeshore by a causeway (Photo 49). This won first prize in the flora and fauna section of the Waikato Savings Bank Conservation Award in 1980 (MKO Min 6, 8 Dec 1980, 30). The area has recently been cleaned up again and does highlight a problem with projects which may not necessarily be maintained by the community after completion. Areas of the lakefront cleared and planted become areas necessitating upkeep, and this can be dependent on the policies and budgetary allocations of other groups.

It is not clear what would have happened without the Lion's input. Would facilities such



Photo 49  
Mangakino township with Matekuri Island and golf course in the foreground,  
Pouakani 2 beyond ( Air Logistics, 1992)

as public toilets have been considered necessary? Would townspeople have a meeting place in the shopping centre to sit and relax. Certainly the Lions have visibly changed their town as well as supporting other local and national activities such as a Paddy's Market and Fun Day in the Town Centre, Meals on Wheels, St John Ambulance, Braille collections, Cancer research, and Scouts to give but a few examples from November 1992 (Wilson, Pers Com, 1993). Service rather than self interest seems to guide their activities.

### **Golfers**

The golfers motivated by their sporting enthusiasm have also transformed the local landscape. In the early settlement days after the construction of the bridge at Mangakino, a relatively flat area of river terrace handy to the crossing became the holding paddock for stock driven from the East Coast to the new Pouakani Development Scheme. Gradually it became an attractive nine hole golf course with a lake backdrop (Photo 49), which provides a pleasant outlook for the houses on the level above. According to G Ahipene (Transcript 3, 1991) its beginnings were very informal but involved connivance between Ministry of Works people and other locals. It was originally covered in tussock and the early golfers had to pull out six tussocks for each round of golf that was played. They were shown how to do this without leaving gaping holes in the golf course. At first the person helping to do the cards sheltered in a dug out on the bank which offered meagre protection from the dust. A two man hut like the ones used in the single men's quarters mysteriously arrived and became the first clubhouse.

Later the golf club sought to clarify ownership of the land they were using and in 1963 the Taupo County Council (Min Book 2, 8 Sep, 6) agreed that it should be accepted as a reserve. This hampered development plans in 1965 when the club wanted to plant 700 trees as this had to be sanctioned by the council (Taupo County Min Book 3, 24 Aug, 8). When larger club rooms were needed a shop building from near Kuratau was brought in and members "willingly, week after week, gave unstintingly of their time" (MKO Chron, 4 Jun 1970, 1) to renovate and convert it into a clubhouse. Extension to a full 18 holes was mooted in 1979 (MKO Min 5, 17 March ) but this caused the Council

some concern and did not eventuate. Although now maintained with the assistance of paid labour the golf course and associated facilities are the product of a long chain of effective local decision making and action. It genuinely caters for local people, including children, who are often seen on the course with relatives. The prime motivation was the desire to play golf, but incidentally a pleasant green belt has been created which separates town and lake, opens up vistas looking towards Whakaahu and Titiraupenga and may boost adjacent property values.

### **Whakamaru Farmers**

Basic farm buildings and houses were provided for the settlers on the Lands and Survey development blocks but community facilities were lacking. The building on the corner of Aratiki and Tihoi Roads which served as a meeting place for the Whakamaru settlers left much to be desired. Boards laid on the ground led to outside toilet facilities occupied by rats. Children's functions, table tennis, garden circle; the hall's uses were many and varied. Uncharacteristic odours pervaded Sunday morning church services which followed a Saturday night "Welcome In" for newcomers to the district (Pers Com). Understandably the local residents sought a better facility and from about 1954 until 1963 worked towards this end.

The incoming farmers all faced budgetary constraints and needed to work hard on their new properties. A hall was considered by many to be an asset for the whole district and after initial discouragement the concept of a Special Rating Area was accepted by the County Commissioner as an appropriate way of funding the hall (Adv Com Min 2, 11 Feb, 1958, 64). One of the aspects of decision making apparent in this context was that those taking the initiative and pressing for a hall to be funded in this way were actually committing the settlers yet to arrive, to extra rate payments. Although the degree of consensus required was very high; five per cent of the ratepayers objecting being sufficient to force a poll, as is often the case when decisions have long term effects, many of those who pay the price, or reap the benefits, are not party to the original decision.

In 1958 the site for the hall was vested in the Taupo County (Adv Com Min 2, 11 Feb

1958, 64) and by the end of 1959 (Adv Com Min 3, 15 Dec 1959, 47) the special rating proposal was accepted. The proposed building was a brick one with large windows; "too pretentious" according to one local farmer who felt that enthusiasm was waning and dissent was emerging (MKO Chron, Sep 4 1959, 4). An application was made to the Local Authorities Loans Board for £8000 to erect and equip a public hall for the Whakamaru district (Adv Com Min 3, 13 Dec 1960, 120) but it was over two years later that it was finally approved (Taupo County Min 2, 13 Mar 1963, 6). Having embarked on the special rating path there was little the local people could do. Objections were received and a poll was held. The required sequence of procedures held up the start of construction, even though the local Hall Committee was dealing with the one man County, Mr O'Keefe who felt that a hall was important for any new rural district.

This blunting of initiative contrasts with other actions taken by a similar group of farmers keen to have their own sports and recreational facility. Like the hall site the Whakamaru Domain needed to be vested in the County to get financial assistance or government subsidies for development. A committee had been set up in 1955 and while its official status was still in limbo, with Commissioner O'Keefe's co-operation it was decided to begin work. Dozens of tractors were brought in from the surrounding district, a bulldozer was made available free of charge from Rotorua people, surveying was done at no cost and the machine owners provided the fuel. A 440 yard track was levelled enclosing an area suitable for gymkhanas and representative sports fixtures (MKO Chron, 21 Jun 1957, 1).

Six years later it was reported (MKO Chron, 18 Oct 1963, 1) that an estimated £3000 worth of improvements had been made to the Domain including levelling, fencing, water supply, tree planting and buildings. The role of voluntary labour was emphasised as well as the fact that no appeal had been made for public funds, nor had ratepayer money been used. The Domain now had a three figure income and was used mainly by the Whakamaru Riding Club and the Mangakino Pony Club, although it was still hoped that other sports could use it as their home ground.

Perhaps the smaller scale of this project and the possibility of a staged approach - as

with the Mangakino Golf Club - was the key factor in allowing local people to maintain control, meet costs and even generate an income.

### **Rowers**

Rowing has had a chequered history at Mangakino. At times it has had a high profile as in 1978 (S Waikato News, 28 Feb) when Mangakino High School rowers aimed to be in the top twenty schools in New Zealand. In 1990 and 1991 a local student far surpassed this by being one of the best of his age group and winning the New Zealand under 17 title. Ironically in his last season he was a solitary figure on the lake, training week after week in his championship preparations. He was the sole surviving enthusiast, as the Mangakino Rowing Club for practical purposes withered away. Yet at the same time the club's name has become associated with a rowing venture which has wrought considerable change in one corner of the town and has provided a new focus for visiting rowers.

This venture has paper connections with several groups, but appears to be largely the outcome of the single handed effort of Mr Peter Thomas, a retired Auckland builder. It is obvious that Mr Thomas has a vision of Lake Maraetai as a rowing centre and since 1989 he has single mindedly worked towards that goal. For many months at a time, living in spartan conditions on the site, he has worked long hours to realise his dream. The result so far has been the construction of two, two storeyed buildings, levelling and grassing of adjacent areas, planting of native plants and fruit trees, plus formation of vehicle access to the lake edge and a launching area for the boats.

Mr Thomas has support from residents who believe that developing a rowing facility must benefit the town. His objectives seem to have altered over time, or else he has found it expedient to put buildings in place before making their functions clear. With each of the two buildings he has been granted a building permit and then after completion, or when the structure is well under way, has sought permission to use it for accommodation, thus belatedly requiring and acquiring planning permission (MKO Rowing Club Plan App, 29 Oct 1991 & 30 July 1992). This is another example in which having a structure in place seems to make a very good starting point for formalising its

status. As it is assumed, probably quite rightly so if the criteria are economic, that rowing will benefit the town, it also means that anyone objecting to this project, for aesthetic or other reasons can be seen as acting against the best interests of local people.

It is clear that the Lake Maraetai rowing project is to a large extent the outcome of Mr Thomas' initiative, labour and financial input. Who are his backers and who is it intended to cater for? In October 1989 Mr Thomas applied for a building permit for a clubroom for Lake Mangakino Investments Inc which he said was a consortium of the North Shore Rowing Club from Takapuna, Auckland, the Mangakino Rowing Club and the Mangakino Management Committee<sup>4</sup>, its basic aim being the promotion of rowing in the Mangakino area" (MKO Rowing Club Plan App, 29 Oct 1991, 1).

After a complaint in 1991, a visit from the District Planner revealed that the building was "being used for purposes other than for which the building permit was approved" (MKO Rowing Club Plan App, 29 Oct 1991, 2). A submission received from Mr Thomas relating to the subsequent planning consent application stated that it "is not a money making venture but is essentially to provide a much needed facility for youth". A further submission explained that Lake Maraetai Developments Inc<sup>5</sup> is not a club facility,

being owned by an incorporated group [Proprietors of Mangakino Township]<sup>6</sup> and it was intended to be rented to interested groups; primarily rowing clubs as a training centre but also offered as a facility for the benefit of Mangakino Community in general (Planning Application MKO Rowing Club, 29 Oct 1991, 2).

Rent of the building could be arranged through an Auckland contact number and Mr Thomas did "not envisage any further buildings as part of the development, with the exception of a garage" (MKO Rowing Club Plan App, 29 Oct 1991, 3).

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<sup>4</sup> This probably refers to the committee which operates on behalf of the Proprietors of Mangakino Township (the Incorporation) and the owners of Pouakani 2.

<sup>5</sup> Apparent name change from original application.

<sup>6</sup> This group was heard in support of the application.

In April 1992 Mr Thomas received a building permit for a second building on the lakefront reserve adjacent to the section where the first building was located. The permit was granted, as a clubroom/boat storage building is permitted as of right. In July 1992 (MKO Rowing Club Plan App) he applied to use the building for accommodation which was a non-complying land use. In support of his application he claimed that this was not what was "originally wanted. What we wanted was condemned by the Council. We cannot afford this building, for it to go ahead I will have to give an extra \$10 000 for materials personally." Mr Thomas concluded his application by noting that the building "is owned by the Mangakino Rowing Club which is to reestablish rowing for local use in Mangakino. The existing building at 28 Korari Crescent is owned by Lake Maraetai Promotions a North Shore Based Group." There were two supporting submissions and one objection; consent for accommodation use was given.

What are the perceived benefits and what impact does this facility (Photo 50) have on the community? The Proprietors of Mangakino Township in respect of the second planning application, state that the "Rowing Club is working towards eventually utilising Lake Maraetai as a major Rowing Club Centre and the erection of this building as per the application is vital for the long term success of their plans" (MKO Rowing Club Plan App, 30 July 1992, 7). One would expect to find a resurgence of local rowing. However, to my knowledge since the highly motivated student rower left the town in 1991 there has not been a local rower on the lake. There are many rowers in town especially over the Christmas holiday period and groups of these young people, mainly from Auckland are accommodated in the buildings constructed by Mr Thomas. They eat at the Pouakani Marae presumably providing a source of income, and patronise shops in the town.

Relations between the rowing fraternity and local people have not always been cordial. A very nasty incident occurred in the Mangakino Hotel on New Year's Eve 1991 and an Olympic level rower was permanently scarred when assaulted by a local person (S Waikato News March 26, 1992, 1). Although it was said to be for other reasons a planned regatta associated with a Mangakino promotion in February of that year did not go ahead. Vandalism has also been an ongoing concern and this is



Photo 50  
Rowing club facilities, Korari Crescent, Mangakino

referred to by Mr Thomas in one of his planning submissions (MKO Rowing Club Planning Application, 30 July 1992) in which he mentions the "desirability of having security observers in the area given that expensive boats will be left outside and the history of vandalism against rowing plant in Mangakino". In January 1993, the gate to the right of way giving access to the rowing facility was locked, in an effort to keep young local people out of the area and incidentally forcing rowing people to park on the street contrary to planning permission. Locking the gate could keep bikes out but it could only be partially successful as legitimate access to the lakefront existed further down the street, and children were attracted to swim at the newly formed launching area. Their previous swimming place had been altered by Mr Thomas' lakefront work, and those using the area were apparently unconcerned, or had no knowledge of possible sewage contamination from the township or from sewage from the second rowing building "too low for a gravity sewer connection" (MKO Rowing Club Plan App 30 July 1992, 6).

The vandalism and the assault offer a reminder that no matter how beneficial a facility may be perceived to be, its success and continuation can be affected by the unlawful activities of a few. This was sadly apparent when Lake Maraetai was newly formed and the dreams for its recreational use and the facilities provided were soon shattered by vandals (MKO Chron, 27 May 1955, 1). If security becomes a real problem for the new rowing facilities will Mr Thomas' enthusiasm for the project be retained and who would take over if he should become disillusioned and return to Auckland? Is the use of the facilities by city clubs and schools requiring training camps compatible with the development of local participation in rowing?

Another aspect to consider is whether the rowing buildings, particularly the second one intruding between residential properties and the lake will affect the value and building plans for nearby properties. Mr Thomas used his initiative, he has produced changes for the most part adjudged positive, but as the Taupo District Council report (MKO Rowing Club Plan App, October 1991, 6 - 7) states:

While accommodation uses are seen as a suitable use for this area, the way in which this proposal has come to the attention of Council is contrary to the way in which it was envisaged that this area would develop, namely in a comprehensive way subject to Council approval prior to any works being undertaken on the ground. Council would have required information with respect to access, on-site car parking provision and landscaping etc at that time, thereby controlling any aspects of possible nuisance value to the surrounding land use [ie residential].

A desirable outcome would be to have Mangakino students learning from and with their city counterparts; taking up the challenge and using their advantage of year round access to a body of water well suited to rowing because of its sheltered location. Who has the money to provide them with boats, (to replace those left to deteriorate and eventually vandalised)? Are there adults available with the willingness to share their expertise and positively influence local youth towards participation in a healthy sport? Local support seems more inclined to be based on secondary gains from visitors coming to town and spending. This is something local people cannot control. They can merely meet the rowers' needs and hope that the venue, by virtue of its natural attributes and associated amenities, will continue to compete favourably with other venues closer to centres of population and already thoroughly equipped for the sport.

The product of city initiative, the current rowing developments are changing Mangakino and as with the outcomes of the other community and recreational groups discussed, these changes become part of the local context, exerting their own influence on future decisions and actions and requiring ongoing input, local or supralocal to maintain or increase their usefulness.

## Framework revisited

The framework arose from knowledge gained from a study of localities and associated literature. It is one person's perception of interrelationships within localities and the relationship between aspects originating from within and beyond the locality. The framework has been used to structure a study of the ongoing process of change in the Pouakani locality. Arising from the framework the key questions were asked as to who or what had the power to bring about or influence change in the locality, focussing specifically on changes which have occurred from the 1940s onwards.

### The Framework and the Thesis

As well as structuring the selection and treatment of particular decisions, events, and long and short term outcomes, the framework also affords a way of looking at the thesis construction process itself which emerges from the experience of living in the locality studied. The thesis is the outcome of an assemblage of **knowledge** mainly garnered from local sources, viewed through the lens of personal **perception** coloured by experiences gained outside this locality. The information collected is interpreted in the light of further **knowledge** gleaned from many sources, but particularly from English speaking geographers and sociologists writing in the second half of the twentieth century.

**Knowledge** of changes in the Pouakani locality has been limited in several ways. The choice of information to record and the veracity of the written record are influential. The **power** of organisations, **intentionally and unintentionally** to hide their deliberations behind a screen of secrecy, or within the complexities of large institutions and the selections made by those with the **power** to release or withhold information, affect what can be known. **Knowledge** is also restricted by not knowing what to look for, or where to find it. The **knowledge** people carry with them has been very important in this study but access to this has been severely restricted by the amount of time available compared with the number of potential sources of information. From the written record and from personal observation it is apparent that **perceptions** of

events differ considerably, depending on personal viewpoints and all **knowledge** is filtered through one or more human filters.

**Decisions** taken about what information to collect arose from the initial choice of focussing questions and the perceived relevance of data. The thesis supervisors had the **power** to suggest alternative approaches, but chose not to intervene. **Decisions** relating to the presentation of the material have been more open to outside influence. The desire to gain an academically recognised **outcome** and wrestle with the complexities of constructing a theoretically informed synthesis of local and supralocal factors, has taken precedence over the challenging alternative of developing a local data compilation using computer technology, which could be readily accessed by local people. An attempt has been made to marry the two, but the University requirements to achieve the chosen objective have influenced the mode of presentation. Underlying both approaches is the notion that to understand who or what has the **power** to bring about change, empowers people to effectively use their energy to either resist or promote specific changes in their local environment. This is juxtaposed with the idea that energy can be wasted in fighting battles which cannot be won, or in making efforts unlikely to have positive **long term outcomes** because of factors operating at regional, national or international level.

The implementation of the **decisions** taken, enhanced interactions with local people. Many people are interested in talking about, or pointing out, local changes and incidentally they revealed many fascinating stories which do not have a place in this thesis. The discovery of large quantities of written and photographic material both within and beyond the locality also answered queries outside the thesis framework, and raised many new questions both relevant and irrelevant to the study. Some of this information found a place in school programmes. Throughout, the **unintended** as well as the **intended** research **outcomes** have altered my **knowledge** and **perceptions** thus shaping ongoing research directions.

What are the **short term outcomes**? Firstly it has been a personal journey of discovery which has added to an appreciation of Pouakani. Secondly it has influenced

the way I think about the potential for an individual, group or organisation to achieve objectives. I have become increasingly aware of **power relations**, within the locality; the **short and long term consequences** for individuals and for small or loosely constituted groups. At the same time I would question the long term significance of this exercise of **power** in terms of institutional change. I have also gained an appreciation of the link between dependency and **power** and of the **unintended** consequences of technological change and particularly its geographic implications.

## **The Framework and Pouakani**

Terms from the framework are used in this section to group together some important ideas that emerged from the various contexts for change. They artificially isolate intrinsic aspects of change and continuity in an attempt to understand and illustrate the operation of these processes in Pouakani in the last fifty years.

### **Perception**

Perception can be described as the process through which the sensory messages received by individuals are "translated into meaningful organised experiences" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol 9, 1989, 279). Recognition that individuals will perceive the same events, or objects differently opens the way for valuing different points of view and appreciating that people will act in accord with personal perceptions. These may not fit with factual information, for example that which can be quantified. Individual perceptions create the personal climate within which alternatives are considered and decisions made and acted upon. No-one can control the perceptions of another, but drawing attention to certain qualities or aspects, or providing or denying particular experiences may influence the percepts developed.

In a loose sense perception can be linked with outwardly expressed views, but distortion is likely, depending on the purpose for communicating the views. For example it is not possible to know whether the sharply differing opinions on the local farming situation in 1968 arose primarily from different perceptions of similar circumstances, or whether they were intended to justify actions taken, or tailored to

emphasise aspects which would be well received by a particular audience.

It can be assumed that what people perceive is happening in the local schools affects their decisions to remove or keep their children there. The outcomes of these decisions can be observed but understanding the underlying reasons would require honest communication of educational expectations and perceptions of what happens within the institutions, attended and not attended. Enhanced communication and relaxed experiences within the the school environment could in such instances alter perceptions, but other social pressures, such as the advice of friends or people with status, could colour the view.

### **Knowledge**

It can be difficult to separate knowledge and perception because what is known, must have first been perceived. However, in this context, knowledge is viewed as information which cannot only be gained through personal experience, but which also exists outside of the individual and can be received, disseminated, shared and protected. If people wish to make reasoned decisions and not merely react to situations they could be expected to do so on the basis of the knowledge they have. They may deliberately seek new knowledge in order to increase the options available or to make better informed decisions.

Knowledge and power are closely linked. Power can be used to restrict knowledge and constrain choice. Knowledge can also empower: knowing what is legal; knowing what one is entitled to; knowing what is acceptable; knowing what is possible; knowing how to perform certain tasks; knowing what others do not know. These capabilities can be used to shift the fulcrum in a power relation. When access to knowledge is restricted this may be an outcome of the applications of rule systems under which institutions or organisations operate. It may be quite impractical in terms of time, efficiency, and formerly distance, to carry out normal functions and to attempt to fully inform people who may be affected by these operations. The experiential background of the recipients of the information may lead them to misinterpret it or be unable to fit it into their frame of reference in a meaningful way. As individuals function by

responding to selected stimuli, even if all available knowledge about a particular issue could be disseminated to people touched by the situation, this does not mean that it would be internalised or used in decision making. Nevertheless it is possible to identify instances when lack of knowledge interfered with informed decision making and when deliberate withholding of information was used to restrict public debate. Whether or not the latter can be justified in terms of the privacy of individuals, or the functioning of an organisation is an ethical question not considered in this thesis. What it does demonstrate is the power available to those who can apply such restrictions.

In the context of Pouakani, instances of the lack of knowledge abound in the partial record of the relationship between the Maori shareholders in the Pouakani block and the Maori Affairs personnel responsible for administering and working on the block. Early in negotiations there was a request for translation (Pouakani File, 23 Feb 1950, 3), which hints at language barriers to the transmission of ideas and information. On a number of occasions, questions asked at annual meetings indicate the difficulties inherent in trying to have sufficient understanding to make recommendations about a rapidly changing, distant block of land, unseen by most of the decision makers, who for the most part did not have the experience of running a farm. Accepting the advice of the people with farming and administrative knowledge was probably the only practical way of achieving settlement, once the initial decision had been made to have the block administered by the Board of Native Affairs. Without this arrangement, it would have been possible for a much larger portion of the block to have been taken over, as suggested, in association with the taking of land for the neighbouring power project. Despite the few alternatives available to the Maori owners in those early days, and the paucity of knowledge available to them, (and others), about this isolated tract of land, trust in the experts and optimism about the future is apparent in the dealings they had with the Board representatives. It is only with hindsight, increased familiarity with Pouakani, and presumably a greater knowledge of farming and finance that serious doubts have been expressed about the management of the scheme prior to 1983 and the power inherent in the Maori Affairs Act 1953 under which it was administered (Simpson -Bone, 1991; Thomas, 1992).

Response to deliberate secrecy as practised by elected bodies, seems to depend very much on particular contexts, and people who deplore it in one instance can be found encouraging it in another (personal observation). Criticisms of the frequency of "in committee" deliberations were levelled at the Taupo County Council, the Mangakino Town Committee and more recently at the Mangakino High School Board of Trustees. The passing of the Local Government Official Information and Meetings Act 1987 presumably intended to codify procedures and permit more open access to information does not seem to have made much difference for ordinary purposes. People are not going to go through the procedures, unless they know what these are, and regard the matter as being serious. Even then, the lapse in time which is permitted may make the information irrelevant or obsolete when it is received. Furthermore, as it is the written record (seldom verbatim) which becomes the only source of information once a meeting is closed to the public, the group of representatives has the power to reveal or conceal what they choose, to the people they represent. People should be aware that trustworthiness as well as competency, willingness to work and sympathy with similar objectives are qualities to be voted for.

Other significant aspects of knowledge which affect decisions, practices and local change are those which emerge over time through observation and experience, particularly when associated with scientific or technological developments, and in Pouakani, the large scale transformation of a landscape previously little altered by humans. The use of cobaltised super phosphate, DDT, dieldrin, PCP and the impounding of river waters behind dams have all affected the locality. The effects may be beneficial, or detrimental but in each case when relatively new techniques or material are used, knowledge of potential consequences is not available or may be overridden by the desire to gain known benefits. As this knowledge does become available concerns are expressed and a groundswell of public opinion may change practices, or more often pressure groups may lobby for legislative change or amelioratory measures, or warnings that inform people of risks.

Cobalt, of critical importance in Pouakani farm development, is so far not recognised as having harmful effects, although continuing large scale phosphate applications

have come under scrutiny. Advancing scientific knowledge has, however revealed the dangers of the other substances mentioned. In 1992 fears surfaced about dieldrin use in the locality as it was said to have been applied from the air during the land development period and subsequently dumped in out of the way places where it could be entering water and food chains. Concerns are sometimes mentioned about the types of illnesses which have affected a number of settlers on the Lands and Survey blocks but even if rigorous epidemiological studies were undertaken it would probably be difficult to pinpoint which, if any, of the widely used chemicals were implicated.

Current knowledge, if accessible and heeded can protect against future risks. However, if a harmful factor has been in use for a long time, change may be difficult to effect. People may not believe it is necessary, or because the factor is so embedded in a particular production system, change could bring about unacceptable immediate harm to the economy as a whole, or to particular localities, or powerful companies. Why did the Kinleith timber treatment plant cease to operate in 1987? Had the method become outmoded, was the product no longer profitable, were the PCP risks recognised? Whatever the situation was it did not seem to attract public attention until revelations about the Waipa mill were made and the government sought to identify other likely sites throughout New Zealand (Waikato Times, 4 Aug, 1992, 3). Is the well rotted sawdust, obtained from the old Mangakino mill site safe? People cannot protect themselves against all potential risks as lives would become unbearably circumscribed, but open mindedness, vigilance and scientific monitoring may provide knowledge which can be accepted as an important constraint on the profit motive.

### **Power**

To supplement definitions of power which focus on outcomes indicative of its presence, a more abstract view is offered which tends to place "power" in the realm of the "real". This capability to influence people, alter the environment and in some cases almost determine the actions of others is institutionalised and incorporated into rule systems, both formal and informal in the domain of the actual, and observed as expressed in environmental outcomes and social occurrences. Awareness of power in the abstract and the mechanisms through which it is actualised could assist in

realising the positive aspects of power which give people a measure of control over their personal circumstances. In this section notions of dependency are added to the concepts of power discussed earlier in the thesis. A sense of power that relates people to their environment and does not fit comfortably with Foucault's definition of power is also suggested.

When individuals or social actors are dependent on other individuals or social actors a power relationship exists. Interdependency should produce a well balanced relationship, but total dependency could equate with complete powerlessness. In the Clapham case there were aspects of interdependency. The workers and the engineers were to some extent dependent on the government, via the Ministry of Works, for earning a living. The employers were dependent on the skills and physical effort of the workers to complete the job which involved very large scale investment of public money and legal contracts. The government would eventually be dependent, for its continued existence, on the voting public, who probably wanted to avoid the inconvenience and financial disadvantages associated with insufficient electricity to meet industrial, service and household needs.

The engineers claimed the dispute was a power struggle between themselves and the New Zealand Workers Union for control of the job, but this appears to be a simplistic view ignoring their interdependency. They may have genuinely feared the Communist influence on the site and possibly gambled that their engineering expertise would be more difficult to replace than the skills of the other workers. It is clear that with a post war construction boom and a world wide shortage of engineers they were not dependent on being employed at Maraetai and their threatened mass resignation in the face of Clapham's continued employment illustrates the power they perceived in their position.

A further aspect of power evident in this case is the collective strength associated with organised labour or professional associations. Work was brought to a halt by the actions of the Mangakino local branch of the New Zealand Workers Union's democratic exercise of power. But in agreeing to a legal means of settlement and in

passing over control of dispute negotiations to their national body the local workers lost control of the situation. Clapham, apparently indicted because of his parallel Communist Party and Union secretary roles was initially empowered to resist by the collective support of his fellow workers, before becoming an individual pawn, compelled to transfer, while all other parties to the dispute continued as before.

This essential loss of control and distancing from the negotiating table is the characteristic price paid for accepting the strength inherent in belonging to a branch of a large national or international organisation and using their power to try to exert local influence. This could be an argument in favour of more locally based site agreements, but if there is dependency rather than interdependency, as is the case for most employees in the current economic climate, the power relation can only be loaded in favour of the employer who may, or may not have a sense of justice and fair play. The employer may be equally dependent on lowering wages, or reducing the work force in order to survive in the market place. As seen with industrial enterprises attempted in Mangakino such as the slink skin and various clothing factories, having willing, reliable and capable employees is not enough. No matter how keen people are to provide employment for local people, losses can only be sustained for a short period, or in the face of guaranteed long term profits. Only service industries survive in Mangakino today.

There would be few in the Pouakani locality who could claim to be not dependent on others, or on the less tangible market, for their livelihood. Some people with "safe" investments yielding a guaranteed income may come close to attaining this freedom, as could suppliers of essential services who are not facing competition. Empowerment in other directions can counteract the relative lack of power associated with economic dependency. The freedom of choice to decide how one's income is spent, may be available to some who have sufficient money and/or do not have, or accept overriding responsibilities. The power of an individual to use their physical and creative abilities to transform their home or holiday environment, commercial premises or farm can be enhanced by available funds, but is not dependent on this factor and evidence of this capability is particularly strong in the ongoing "do it yourself" activity observed,

particularly in Mangakino township.

The power of cultural mores, particularly those relating to the respective roles of men and women on the Pouakani marae and the accepted authority of recognised kaumatua as exemplified in the High School marae situation, is another aspect which emerged from the study. Acceptance of these culturally assigned roles means acceptance of the decision making power attached to them. This power has a different basis, and tends to be embodied in different individuals, to that which is exercised in the more legalistic Pakeha style administration and decision making connected with the Incorporation and the Pouakani 2 Trust.

### **Alternatives**

Individuals may agonise over decisions, carefully consider alternatives or make intuitive and almost immediate responses. Whatever they do, few traces of options considered are found in the public record, unless the individual is part of a collective decision making group or represents an institution. Formally constituted social actors are limited in their choice of alternatives by their knowledge and individual perceptions of legal, economic and cultural constraints and by the extent to which they can apply their joint imagination and expertise to the project or problem under consideration. It would be quite common to bring in experts who may put forward alternative proposals accompanied by background information.

Alternatives considered in the development of Pouakani are infrequently apparent. All relevant Lands and Survey information for instance is said to have been destroyed. Jenks does describe some of the options which were investigated in planning the hydro electric power schemes and these suggest that broad directives were given to the workers in the field and that the geologists and surveyors were relied on to make suitable recommendations for sites subsequently developed by the design teams. The potential alternatives also altered in the light of technological advances, with the high dam proposals for the Maraetai gorge superseding the original low dam site suggestions. The inter departmental debate over how much land to take, as recorded by Judge Harvey, exhibited few signs of carefully reasoned proposals and little regard

from some participants, for any possible constraints; legal, cultural, or environmental.

Many of the major decisions taken appear as *fait accompli*, especially when they are of government origin. Searching the parliamentary record tends to find post decision debate, as occurred on the cessation of work on Maraetai II rather than informed prior discussion. Presumably this occurs within departmental confines and is forwarded to the politicians, although there is evidence to suggest that Semple as Minister of Works drew on his own practical experience.

Another common occurrence is; to be, or not to be, choices. A single proposal is put forward and the alternatives are whether or not to support it. The construction of the Whakamaru Hall, the change from District High School to High School and within a fairly short space of time its conversion to a Form One to Seven school, and the Southern Subdivision proposals are all examples of these limited alternatives. At least where something is specified and the preliminary investigations have been thoroughly done, there would appear to be a better chance of reaching agreement than when collective decision makers wrestle with varied possibilities as was the case with the Mangakino local body and the camping facilities.

### **Decisions**

Individual decision making is mostly assumed from the observable outcomes. It often differs from collective decision making in that the decision and implementation are conflated. On the other hand in collective decision making there is usually a gap in time and space between the decision and the opportunity for implementation; a gap which may result in failure to carry out the decision. This may be a consequence of inefficient procedures or the fact that the person who has offered or been selected to pursue the matter may forget to act, or not accord it high priority.

The local body decision making process is one of the more visible procedures considered in the thesis. The rule systems guiding this process ensure that much of it, although possibly not the most important parts, is available for public scrutiny. The bringing together of people from different places, in a room, at predetermined

meeting times, at usually monthly intervals, plus the occasional need to obtain more information before reaching decisions, slows down the process; although occasionally as with the Mangakino parking problem, special meetings are called, and the meeting venue may be changed. If day to day actions of the employees were dependent on effective decision making by the governing body, little might be achieved, but once the bureaucratic framework is set up, the workers can go about their tasks fairly routinely, for the most part undisturbed, except by changes in policy and new projects. As noted in the context of the school, those with the power to govern, make decisions, but usually they are dependent on their employees to implement these decisions. This interdependency should result in co-operation to achieve shared objectives. However, a surplus of prospective employees, accompanied by a governing body which does not recognise the interdependency, can lead to an imbalance in power relations, even if employers and employees have common objectives.

When groups come together of their own volition, as with sporting groups or service organisations, one of the reasons for group formation is shared objectives. They wish for example to have somewhere to play golf. In the case of Mangakino there seems to have been one suitable piece of ground, and activities from that point on could focus on converting it into a golf course and gaining legal rights for continued use of the land. The shared purpose is likely to have facilitated decision making, and the outcome is a valuable amenity created by local people.

Electing representatives to fill positions on local authorities or boards of trustees produces a body of people who immediately assume a proscribed role in relation to an ongoing functioning institution. They may have quite disparate values, beliefs, and objectives. Moreover, on the first occasion elected they can have little knowledge of the specifics of the decision making process they are entering into and may be inclined to depend on the "old hands". This organisational, or institutional continuity would have been largely absent in Pouakani. The New Zealand Workers Union, active in seeking to influence local living and working conditions, even before the township was built, would be an exception, but the the Hydro Welfare Association, first Taupo Advisory Committee, first elected Taupo County Council, first Mangakino Town

Committee, first school boards of trustees, would all have lacked this base of experience. With respect to the Welfare Association, which effectively administered amenities, coordinated a host of community activities, ran a newspaper and became a significant employer, the creation of a unique organisational framework appropriate to Ngakino seems to have been highly successful.

In contrast local efforts to govern the schools since the major educational changes in 1989, have obviously been fraught with difficulty. Could it be inappropriate for Ngakino people to be responsible for running their schools? Would they have been seen to accept these decision making responsibilities and the time commitment, if they had had a choice? Would they have preferred to have retained their former, passive role and left other aspects to the "experts". At a time when imposed administrative changes, and technological change tend to be dealt with by contracting highly paid experts in consultative roles to assist with various forms of restructuring, local people, acting in a voluntary capacity, have had increased responsibilities thrust on them in an externally determined drive to create self managing schools. Add to this the importance of shared objectives, for successful decision making, as discussed in "Changing Schools" and the problems seem enormous.

Another relevant aspect of decision making is that concerning the formal opportunities provided for social actors to consider information and reach their decisions. In the Wham case, as with most court hearings it is possible to read the evidence presented to the court, each party selecting and presenting that which favours itself, and attempting to disprove or cast doubt on the evidence of the other party. Decision making powers are then exercised, not only on the basis of the recorded evidence, but also from the response to visual impressions, body language, legal training, legal guidance and personal knowledge and feelings. An appearance of impartiality is required along with actions in accord with the law and with legal precedents.

Decision making within local organisations and statutory bodies assumes a rather different shape. It is regulated by more or less accepted rules of meeting procedure,

varying from group to group. As there is not usually an adversarial system operating, relevant opposing points of view which may be held by people represented by the corporate group can be completely ignored. A chairperson is expected to be impartial, but particularly if that person's knowledge, or semblance of knowledge of meeting procedures, exceeds that of other members of the group; or if they have a sufficiently forceful personality (often one of the reasons for election to such a position) they can strongly influence decision making. This can happen through applying meeting procedures and through controlling the nature and extent of the topics discussed. This was evident in meetings attended at Mangakino. When this is added to the ease with which an elected group can deal with matters in secret it is apparent that decisions do not necessarily arise from consideration of a range of feasible alternatives, nor are they subject to the same scrutiny as legal or parliamentary proceedings, therefore there may be few checks on the exercise of power.

Collective decisions are accorded legitimacy by written or unwritten rule systems. It is common to assume that decision making in New Zealand is a democratic process and democracy carries connotations of fairness and equity. In practice, decisions may be arrived at through consensus or through being favoured by a majority of those who exercise their voting rights. In consensus decision making genuine agreement may be reached, including some compromise, or those with most mana or force of personality, may influence others. When voting occurs the assumption is that it is "right" for majority will to prevail. This in itself could be questioned, but as was shown at the school meeting it is also possible for a minority to "win" when abstentions occur.

A significant concern about the democratic process as practised in the Pouakani locality stems from examination of the composition of a number of elected bodies. Mangakino township traditionally seems to have favoured local business men. It may be that people working for wages are not in a position to put themselves forward as local body candidates, but this does not explain the small number of women elected. What is more remarkable is the almost complete absence of Maori representation, especially when the township is Maori owned. As described in "Changing Schools" attempts to remedy this type of situation, by co-options, in the context of the Board of

Trustees, may have complied with the Education Act, but also left a feeling of disquiet. Yet women, and particularly Maori women were seen to be effectively making decisions and getting on with the job of implementing these, albeit less formally, in less prestigious groups such as the Parent Teacher Association and its offspring the school marae support group.

The framework poses the question of whether changes are the outcomes of critical or incremental decision making. There can be no hard and fast division of decisions into these two categories, but it is apparent that there have been some significant turning points in the history of the locality and these could be assumed to have their antecedents in critical decisions. However, looked at in a broader perspective again, some of these decisions appear as a part of long term trends.

Possibly the first<sup>1</sup> "critical" decisions, influencing subsequent Pouakani changes were those made by the government and by Ngati Kahungunu from the Southern Wairarapa early in this century which resulted in part of the Pouakani Block being handed over by the crown to Maori shareholders as a form of compensation for the loss of Wairarapa Moana. This made possible the 1940s and 50s migration to settle and farm Pouakani 2 and resulted in Maori with ancestral ties in the Wairarapa owning Mangakino township. The "non-change" when forestry planting was averted in the 1930s also seems important.

The government decisions taken in the 1930s and 1940s to investigate and then develop the hydro electric power potential of the upper reaches of the Waikato River, and the specific decision to locate a township at Mangakino to house construction workers, must also be of a "critical" nature. But as with the neighbouring farm development, damming the Waikato could have been expected to have occurred, sooner or later, as a part of ongoing trends. The technological capability plus the necessity to compete industrially, and the desire for improved, convenient, labour saving methods resulted in a demand for electricity. The combination of moves toward

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<sup>1</sup> Obviously it would be possible to keep going back, and consider the string of decisions predating these ones, but this change of ownership seems to be the most influential in terms of the locality as it is today.

central planning and the favouring of hydro power over other sources of electrical energy led logically to use of the main river system in the North Island. A natural feature, an ignimbrite gorge at Maraetai gave this site the potential to be developed as the largest power station on the river and the neighbouring plains provided a suitable town site.

In the case of farm development, the main impediment had been "bush sickness" which had led to large areas of easy to moderate relief on the Volcanic Plateau being shunned by developers. Decisions made by a small number of scientists and practising farmers, resulting in the identification of the cobalt deficiency, constitute another turning point. However, this may have needed the boost of war generated, technology providing the planes and tracked machinery, plus the need for rehabilitation for the returned soldiers, to prompt the government to use its resources to develop the land at that particular time. There can be little doubt that this land would have been used; in the absence of cobalt, probably for forestry.

Decisions made at a meeting at Greytown in 1946, which led to direct involvement of the owners and their families in the farming of the Pouakani 2 block, must be acknowledged as very important. This particular type of participation differentiated Pouakani from most of the other Maori land development schemes. It may be implicated in the financial burden carried, but it has also maintained ownership and now has given Maori control over their resource, within market, climate and pest affected, economic constraints. Judge Harvey's decisions to stand out against the taking of a much greater area of land in connection with the hydro development, which would have removed the most desirable portions of Pouakani 2, and to inform the Court Registrar of the desirability to incorporate and set up Glasgow leases on the township were also of critical importance to the Maori owners.

Other decisions such as the stopping of Maraetai II and the subsequent restart were major decisions at the time as they affected large numbers of workers, but retrospectively, it is apparent that Mangakino had already passed its heyday when Maraetai II was discontinued. The construction halt extended Mangakino's life as a

hydro town for a few more years without having a major affect on its future, as already the decision had been made to move houses out and reduce the town size.

Moving closer to the present day change becomes more gradual and incremental as the large scale government input, based on political and departmental decisions, initiated outside, but implemented and elaborated inside the locality, has been superseded by the decision making of individuals developing the farms, businesses and homes which give the locality its geographic character. A character which is superimposed on the similarities inherent in the legacy of government planning and building which initially shaped the farms and townships.

In these more recent years, the decision to develop the Ministry of Works facilities as the Pouakani Marae, even though a little diverted from its specified multicultural purpose, is of significance. This could also be said of the decision to open and seal Poihipi Road which links to Taupo and the Western Bay road providing an alternative route to the west of Lake Taupo. The former has tended to move the farming districts of the southern Pouakani area into the Taupo "catchment" and has particular implications for Mangakino services. Perhaps more than anything else, this road access has probably altered the sense of locality. The combination of these two has placed Whakamaru in a more favourable position on tourist routes, and makes it likely to survive and perhaps develop as a provider of services to the travelling public.

Overall it is apparent that even major turning points emerge from clusters of related decisions, which themselves are embedded in historical and contemporary contexts of decisions, actions and outcomes. Rather different in nature from the recognisably linked decisions are the composites arising from individual decision making which have emerged to create the landscapes of today. In some case such as the Whakamaru resettlement there are direct causal link. Other decisions particularly by property owners could be assumed to be more autonomous, but the similarity of the outcomes, especially in terms of farm landscapes, suggests the presence of underlying factors which lead to a convergence of decision making along relatively confined profit making paths, that show some alteration over time.

### **Action and Inaction**

As the focus of this thesis is on change, it could also be expected to focus on actions arising from decisions, but sometimes decisions are not implemented, because the necessary steps are not taken, or the decision makers do not have the power to carry out their wishes. The lack of progress with a camping ground, despite local body agreement on its desirability, appeared to stem from an absence of urgency in pursuing the matter, combined with perceived regulatory and financial constraints and the necessity of relying on the expertise and authority of particular individuals.

Social actors reliant on formal decision making processes are sometimes hampered in their actions through their inability to respond immediately to the nuances of a situation. They lack an organising centre striving to making sense of the various contingencies and may not have delegated sufficient authority to those implementing decisions to allow them to respond to changing, or previously unknown, or unrecognised, factors. Individuals, especially those with power accorded through status, available money, or knowledge may find it easier to modify decisions and act flexibly. It is unlikely that the changes in purpose and structural design of the recently erected rowing buildings would have been so readily achieved if the builder had not been largely in control of the whole situation.

Many instances have emerged from this research which highlight the power which can be intentionally, or unintentionally exercised, by those who carry out illegal, unauthorised, or unethical actions. These may be undertaken for personal, or group convenience; for financial, social, or anti social reasons. Except for Mr Paki's abortive foray into the clothing manufacturing business they usually achieved their purpose or in some cases contributed to legal or administrative changes. New Zealand Forest Products, saved expense by apparently breaching their inadequate and inappropriate water right permit over a long period of time. The first hotel building did not have a permit, a service station was built on land leased without formal approval, the slink skin factory was constructed of different materials to that approved, and a rowing facility was in use before planning issues were resolved. In each instance a risk was involved as it may have been possible for legal action to have been taken to interfere

with the intended outcomes, but in fact they were either retrospectively approved or just allowed to continue in use.

In other respects it was also obvious that it is very hard to undo that which is done. Substantial monetary compensation for dismissal does not undo the career and personal damage done to the school principal; trees chopped down cannot be replaced in the short term; inaccurate statements printed in the local newspaper leave their impression, especially if those associated with them have the power to prevent others correcting those impressions. People who “play by the rules” may in fact be at a disadvantage compared with those who do not.

Two examples of widespread disregard for the law illustrate the way in which law changes emerge from the incremental actions of many individuals, supplemented by other more formal moves. Mangakino motorists adopted their own system of parking on the main street, contrary to the by-law and eventually their actions were legalised. Pouakani, along with other parts of the King Country<sup>2</sup> was a no licence area. This led to the illicit supply of alcohol by “droppers” who had a large clientele. Despite the pledge of a well attended Maori meeting in 1949 to honour the sacred King Country Pact of 1884, which prohibited licensed hotels in the King Country (MKO Chron, 4 Feb 1949, 1), a referendum subsequently permitted the establishment of hotels in that area. One cannot disregard the similarity between this situation and the current one in which cannabis is the illegal substance, apparently supplied and used within the locality.

## **Outcomes**

Actions obviously result in outcomes, which may be as intended, or unintended by the decision makers. Outcomes are not, however, in any sense an end product. They constitute contexts for further decision making, modify alternatives, perpetuate or alter structures and facilitate or constrain future actions.

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<sup>2</sup> Mangakino and the surrounding area was accepted as being part of the King Country and Jenks recalls being asked to confirm this in court, but at least one map: Aotea Rohepotae (AJHR, 1907, G-1) indicates that this was not the case.

Discerning what is intended when decisions are made and actions are taken is not necessarily straight forward, as people may act according to political expediency, or in socially acceptable ways which may mask underlying motivation. One assumed, unintended outcome is the development of the residential sections in Mangakino lying between Korari Crescent and the lake (Figure 16). This area subdivided and released for freehold sale in the late 1970s has the hallmarks of a quality sub division. All sections slope towards the lake and views cannot be built out. It has kerbing, footpaths and underground wires lacking in some parts of the township. Two substantial block construction residences and one other new home are on these sections, but the growing collection of caravans, and hut or shed like structures on this subdivision, plus the extra tents and awnings in the summer months gives the impression of a camping ground. This is not likely to have been the intended use for prime residential sections and the two storied rowing building on the adjacent lake shore reserve adds a further jarring visual note, which hopefully will be modified by appropriate planting. Nevertheless prior to the development of these sections, used mainly at holiday times, the situation was much less attractive with weeds including broom and blackberry straggling untidily from lake front to footpath. The demand for residential freehold sections seems to have been misjudged. Prices asked could have been too high in the first instance. Now they are owned by people who work hard in their holidays to groom their sections and provide themselves with amenities, but most do not seem to intend building permanent residences.

In the short term it could be anticipated that outcomes would be those intended, although there could be side effects. Long term outcomes may be less easy to predict and although not planned for, these may often be in keeping with trends or changes in other localities, if viewed on a national scale. The Pouakani farmland was developed and settled as planned. The disturbance of the soil and the burning off in the early development phase incidentally created unpleasant living conditions for farmers and construction workers alike, yet as PJ reported it may have also provided a very favourable pest free environment for the pioneering farmers. Later changes from dairying to sheep and the increase in farm size as well as the 1990s reversion to larger scale dairying were all in keeping with trends in other peripheral dairying

areas.

Township construction fulfilled the initial purpose of providing housing and services for the construction workers and hydro employees. The survival of Mangakino as a provider of rural services has not really occurred. As with surplus worker housing in places such as coal mining areas and some other hydro schemes, relatively low property values have attracted buyers who do not yearn for city amenities, as well as those seeking affordable holiday accommodation. The erection of sub standard housing is possibly responsible for the town maintaining its late 1960s size. Mangakino houses were not acceptable elsewhere therefore they were not bought for removal as has been a common practice in areas with declining population figures. The township's services which once made it the focal point of the locality, are now in some respects spurned even by local residents. Good road access entices shoppers to travel to Tokoroa, Rotorua or Taupo, entertainment is also within reach in those centres, plus Hamilton. Students travel out of the township to Whakamaru Primary School and to Tokoroa, Taupo and beyond at secondary level. Roading improvements and the increased comfort, reliability, and availability of private vehicles contribute to these changes yet the access to public transport has been lost and buses travelling daily to Hamilton and Auckland have long since ceased operating. In other ways too, technological changes have diminished shared group, social experiences. The cinema has given way to television and video viewed in the privacy of the home, and the dance band has been largely replaced by the stereo, or that most private of musical experiences; the earphones of a walkman clamped snugly to the head. Smaller population numbers lessen the opportunity for a variety of local sports and recreational pursuits, and spectator participation is also reduced by the growing necessity to travel further and further afield for competitive purposes; a trend evident throughout New Zealand and at international level where air transport widens the scope of sporting contacts. The audience increases manifold and major sporting events enter the nation's living rooms via electronic media while the intimacy and social contact of local sports events may be lost or reduced.

Despite what has been written above, Mangakino is in no sense a dying town. The

construction of a shopping centre comprising mostly small, narrow shops leased to individuals, catered inadequately in the boom years for the three times larger population. Farm services are absent today, people do shop elsewhere, but practically every shop is functioning as some sort of retail outlet. The unity of the shopping centre has been retained through its single owner, currently an absentee landlord. Limited structural alteration has occurred, and the availability of spaces at acceptable rentals seems to encourage a variety of small scale enterprises. If they are not sufficiently profitable, little has been lost. People have the opportunity to put their small business ideas into practice. The chance to radically change the shopping centre lies only in the hands of the landlord, constrained by council regulations and site restrictions. However, by accepting the limitations of their small spaces and sites many local people have used their initiative to make financial gains and acquire considerable business experience. The long term survival of several businesses indicates adequate profit margins.

The anticipated recreational value of the hydro lakes, appears to be as yet unfulfilled. If development means competition between users such as water skiers, rowers and those who merely want to fish or relax in their boats, local people may prefer its present low key use. The annual power boat race, and the relatively brief periods of intense dragon boat and rowing training have novelty interest for local people. The roar of the boat engines, the echoes of the dragon boat drums and the shouts amplified by the rowing coach's megaphone might not be so welcome if the level of activity increased and more frequently disturbed residents' peace. Cleaning up the lake and boosting Mangakino's importance as a recreational centre could be good for business, while making it less attractive to some residents.

The failure to sustain local water based recreational organisations might surprise some of the early enthusiasts. They were knocked back by the vandalism of facilities when the lake was new and hoped for more controlled use when clubs were formed. No local clubs are based on Lake Maraetai today, but facilities are usable and the lakeshore attracts regular local users as well as holiday makers and occasional overseas tourists. Puffs of mist rising from the morning lake surface, swans drifting

near the margins, and local people walking their dogs are tranquil images of 1993 that may reflect the change from a younger, male dominated construction town population, seeking active water sports, to an older population with a significant proportion of retired people.

### **Supralocal Factors**

The structures forming the warp for the human geographical fabric of Pouakani are not derived from particular local circumstances, but they are interwoven with an ever changing mix of people, acting and interacting within local contexts, creating a set of places private and public, that are socially and spatially linked. The unique textures of Pouakani reveal threads of commonality which underlie New Zealand society as a whole: family patterns; ownership of property; economic and labour relations; legal, educational and political systems; race and gender relations. Intrinsic to all are aspects of power. Moreover, specific supralocal influences, mellowed by time have dominated this locality. Many of these have been addressed in the context of decision making. On one hand the "critical" decisions outlined were taken by people living outside the locality. On the other hand the incremental decisions responsible for the detail and expressions of individual and group purpose, evident in the local landscape and social contexts, are mainly local, albeit constrained by supralocal factors.

The government had the political power, the access to technology and expertise, and the ability to attract the labour required to initially transform Pouakani. Today's inhabitants cannot control the markets for their labour or farm produce, but through their everyday actions and grouping together for specific reasons they do have the capacity to influence others and change their environment in minor respects. They also have the capacity when allied with other people to exert influence beyond the locality.

The relationship between local groups and those at regional, national or international level is an intriguing one. In some instances the basis of group formation has come from beyond the locality as with the Lions Club. To find that the local group along with all others was required to disband their Lioness group is therefore not surprising.

There may have been an opportunity to express a group opinion on the matter, although continued membership of the organisation would require acceptance of the decision of the ruling body. In other cases groups have arisen in response to local wishes and shared objectives, with links to national or regional bodies developing later. This again has resulted in a reduction in local autonomy. Once there was a local rugby competition and social games as well, played for the "Come and Get It" cup (Ahipene, 1991). At a later stage decisions about which sub union a Mangakino team would play in were not made locally. The Mangakino Nursery Play Centre was formed well in advance of most other Playcentres and in the early days was reliant on local initiative. Now Playcentres have the support of a national body and funding to sustain their existence. This requires them to obey strict national guidelines regarding training of supervisory personnel, equipment, facilities and hours of operation. Along with other forms of pre school education, this parent provided service has become institutionalised. It may be superior in its present form, people know what to expect, and standards are monitored, but scope for the pioneering drive which began the movement can only be diminished. As with Kohanga Reo, a "grass roots movement", although still totally reliant on local demand and support, can become entrapped in the well intentioned cage of "top down" funding, allied to welfare and educational requirements; hence losing the impetus engendered when a group of people work together to achieve the shared goals they have set.

The benefits and associated risks and loss of autonomy associated with membership of national organisations was apparent in several sequences of events discussed in the Pouakani Contexts. Examples included the taking over of the Clapham dispute by the Federation of Labour, and the binding of the local Union branch to accept the tribunal decision which cost Clapham his job. The support of the Federated Farmers hierarchy for the Whakamaru farmers was more successful, except for those dairy farmers who wished to continue producing milk. The collective strength of a national organisation can be a source of power enabling a local individual or group to achieve their objectives. However, because it acts for a range of people and groups throughout New Zealand, with varying objectives and problems, it may be constrained in terms of finance, time, competing demands and understanding of local nuances. Compromise

solutions can be reached which are not those desired by all or some local members.

The role of local groups in supporting a national body is another aspect to consider, as these bodies are obviously dependent for their survival on their constituent members. One effort to bring about change which was strongly supported was the "No Maoris No Tour" stance taken by the Citizens All Black Tour Association in 1960, with the local Taupo Council Advisory Committee representative and union official Sid Hart, Hone Tuwhare and Noel Hilliard being among the Mangakino delegates. The local branch of the NZWU also gave support to their fellow union members by withdrawing their labour during the 1951 Waterfront dispute. These in one sense lie outside the scope of the thesis as they do not contribute to local change, but are included because of the reciprocity inherent in membership of local groups with national affiliations.

Technological development is selected as a final example of supralocal influence on local change. Again there are many examples; the overriding one, in this locality being the demand for electricity derived from its capacity to replace other forms of energy and make possible the ongoing development of a vast range of electrical machinery and equipment. Overseas knowledge of thin arch dam construction techniques was responsible for the choice of the Maraetai dam site; the invention of tracked vehicles facilitated the development of the farm lands; the development of computer technology has made it possible to almost instantly access local data stored on disk. The list could go on, but an interesting feature is the way in which the technology has been modified, or developed in a local context. Problems faced and solved in constructing Maraetai and Whakamaru dams pioneered methods such as the use of the less alkaline cement which could have applications elsewhere. The techniques for breaking in the farmland involved modifying vehicles and equipment for new purposes and devising a set of practices specific to the Volcanic Plateau which would result in the establishment of stock carrying pastures. The Macintosh computer originating in the United States and using imported software has provided the platform for the development of computer data handling techniques specific to the production of this thesis. The technology which initiates trends or general practices is incorporated into local contexts in a variety of ways and used to solve local problems, sometimes resulting in modification,

dissemination of ideas on use, or further technological development which may be "exported" from one locality, region or country to another.

The main thrust of technological development is supralocal, but local adaptations and modes of incorporation into social and spatial contexts should not be ignored. This combination when adopted by individuals can empower people, giving them the capacity to change their lives and environment. When imposed by local or central government, or major corporations there is a greater chance of it having large scale effects which may or may not be desired by local residents; the pulp and paper complex at Kinleith providing for a time both local employment and pollution is an example of the latter.

### **The Physical Environment**

Underlying the cultural landscape of Pouakani is the quite distinctive terrain produced by an ongoing series of volcanic events. The recency of the pumice mantle, its lack of natural grazing and ill thrift in animals due to cobalt deficiency, albeit unidentified, delayed Pakeha settlement of the area for sixty years after crown purchase. The barrier of the Waikato River restricting access, probably prevented it being planted in *pinus radiata* along with neighbouring areas. It is the timing of development and the large scale government input arising from the inability for individuals to obtain finance or provide the infrastructure necessary for development, rather than the farming outcomes which distinguish it from other parts of New Zealand. Pouakani shares physical and developmental similarities with other parts of the Volcanic Plateau, but is unusual in the extent of its prior isolation, its relative absence of Maori occupance, the contiguity of development blocks and the combination of hydro and farm development.

The suitability of the Waikato River for electricity generation is the single most important factor precipitating major change in Pouakani. The transformation of the river into a linked series of lakes ranks along with the almost total vegetation change as evidence of the power of people to change the environment. It is, however, a sobering thought that natural forces could, and in the light of the volcanic history of the central North Island, are likely to, bring about even greater change in the hopefully distant

future. Even without the catastrophe of another large Taupo eruption, a major earthquake could have dire consequences for the chain of hydro stations. This is recognised in the dam break analysis investigation conducted by ECNZ in 1991 which acknowledges the possibility of a domino effect initiated by the failure of one of the upstream dams. In the short term people can significantly alter their environment, in the long term they may be insignificant.

### **Differences and similarities**

As mentioned above the physical features have affected the historical geography of Pouakani. Similarities with neighbouring areas with similar physical features are expected but a wider perspective demonstrates the importance of other factors. Moving from the Central North Island to the Aupouri Peninsula in the Far North I am experiencing considerable change. The terrain is different; lakes, swamps and rolling dune remnants, now stabilised, instead of open plateau with ignimbrite outcrops. Climatically I have swapped frost for wind, and a large annual temperature range characteristic of an inland area for the relatively small, sea moderated temperature variation of Te Kao. Sand has buried the great kauri forests dug for their gum in the north; Taupo pumice coats Pouakani. I live practically at sea level here; Pouakani is elevated on the Volcanic Plateau. The history of the two localities differs greatly. The Maori population of the north could rely on fish and kumera, these were not available on Pouakani. Gum digging brought thousands of immigrants, many of Dalmatian origin to the North from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century when Pouakani was little touched by Pakeha. Local Maori have retained their links with land in the northern part of this peninsula, and consolidation of titles and the development of farming occurred on a smaller scale and at an earlier stage than the postwar government development of Pouakani.

How are these differences expressed in the landscape and relationships of such strongly contrasting localities? There are some areas of scrub around Te Kao whereas Pouakani is practically stripped of traces of natural vegetation except on the distinctive high peaks. But pine trees and cattle are the economic choices in both localities. Tar sealed roads give access. Similar fences bound the paddocks. The townships and

towns carry a similar range of goods, one of the small differences being found in nurseries and road side stalls in the north where a few sub tropical plants and their produce can be found. In both places many of the people have no alternative but to be dependent on government money, rumours of illegal cannabis growing activities are rife, few career opportunities exist for young people, Maori language and culture is being promoted. The list could be extended: the strikingly different history and natural features of these rural localities combine to produce unique social and economic settings but the similarities are sufficient to point to structural antecedents which shape New Zealand's society and economy.

Overriding local differences, there are forces at work which move towards similar outcomes throughout New Zealand. The amalgamation of farms and the move from dairying to sheep so strongly lobbied for by the Whakamaru farmers in the late 1960s, who stressed the unsuitability of the area for dairying and the woes of ragwort, grassgrub and drought, was in keeping with national trends. It is therefore not surprising to find large dairy farms now being established on that land at a time when conversion to dairying is happening in other parts of New Zealand, particularly Southland.

## **Pouakani: People, Power and Place**

Who or what had the power to bring about change in the locality described as Pouakani? This question has brought into focus certain occurrences from the last 50 years; a focus defined through a geographic lens, yet obscured by the passing of time, the imperfections of memory and the varying perceptions of reality. Pouakani cannot be viewed in isolation. It is firmly placed within regional, national and global contexts and its people are enmeshed within the complexities of the social web, some with greater freedom to manoeuvre than others.

The intangible though all pervading structures which shape the broad outlines of New Zealand's human geography are expressed in recognisable but unique combinations in time and space creating this particular ever changing locality. New Zealanders, whatever their cultural background operate within a framework giving continuity to action patterns through the acceptance of rule systems necessary for the ordered functioning of society. The framework is a composite structure lacking an architect, probably based on underlying drives to survive, perpetuate and improve society. It is constructed incrementally by individuals acting in their own interests or on behalf of perceived group, local, regional, national or global interests. Subject to change, it is able to be altered within its own limits, also subject to modification. However, the intricacy of the interlocking structure is such that changes tend to be superficial and reproduction of the society we know dictates that caution be exercised. People chose not to tamper with buildings used to perform desired community services in Pouakani despite non compliance with aspects of rule systems. The unseen mechanisms of capitalism and patriarchy are also likely to persist as long as sufficient people benefit from them unless tinkering with the framework unwittingly brings the whole edifice down.

Democracy is intended to give people an equal say in contributing to the legal and institutional structures which bound our lives. It does make it possible for the popular voice to be heard, decisions initiating change can be made, but events may then be set in train which the decision makers lack the power to control. The political structure

gives immense power to the dominant clique in the party elected as the government, power which can only be contested within caucus. The near certainty of freedom from accountability for a period of three years, gives time to implement policies and opportunity for medium term planning. Nevertheless emerging from all the political infighting is an underlying direction followed by New Zealand as well as by a number of other capitalist countries, irrespective of governing party. The path may veer to the left or right, countries may lag behind or surge ahead, particular localities may follow individualised timetables of economic growth or depression but broad directional similarities are apparent. Despite the power of government, global structures impose their own realities, constraining even the powerful.

The development of Pouakani is clearly a product of government action; a government caught up in the tragedy of World War II and its aftermath. Only the government had the command of sufficient resources to bring about a change of this magnitude. It was dependent on thousands of individuals to implement its plans, which were thwarted briefly by concerted worker action. Nevertheless the outcomes of electricity for industry and private homes, with the capacity to improve living and working conditions were desired by most. This in itself may have been insufficient to have attracted workers in a time of practically full employment, to live in a then, remote area. The offer of accommodation, in a time of housing shortage, plus relatively high wages, and the early provision of a wide range of amenities ensured that labour was available. The shortage of engineers was of equally critical importance and this is likely to have influenced the government stance in the Clapham dispute. Workers were seeking to leave Europe and a sizable immigrant population came to live at Mangakino. In view of the world wide shortage of people with engineering skills these vacancies could have been more difficult to fill.

In the sphere of land development, government action provided individuals and the Pouakani Maori shareholders with opportunities for farming that were unlikely to come to them through the normal avenues for farm acquisition. The people who took up this challenge, accepted the necessary financial constraints, and many were soon on the way to profitability which released them from the power of budgetary control. When

profit became insufficient to sustain their farming operations they had the option of giving up farming, or seeking assistance to continue. The first option was chosen by some of the Maori farmers who chose to work on the hydro project. The response from those on the Maraetai block was to use the power of the Federated Farmers lobby to seek resettlement within or beyond the district. With the strength of the National government lying in its rural support, it could have been expected to respond with some sympathy to their requests. It is not surprising that they behaved differently to the Pouakani 2 farmers, for those at Whakamaru had no ownership links with their neighbours, therefore each individual sought to salvage what they could for themselves. The Maori farmers could leave the land, yet still retain a feeling of involvement in the Development scheme and also hope that their families could benefit in the future.

Central government delegated power for administration in the locality, firstly to designated Ministry of Works staff stationed at Mangakino and then, overlapping in time, to the Taupo County Council, initially in the person of Commissioner O'Keefe and later an elected body bound by the same legislation as all other County Councils in New Zealand. Ministry of Works control of Mangakino township meant that they determined the layout, the amenities provided and the style of housing built. Their control extended to dismissing people from the job whose behaviour, outside working hours, disturbed the peace, and in this they were supported by the Maori Tribal Executive. Owning the houses and administering the tenancies, meant that the Ministry of Works also accepted responsibility for repairs and painting. They did allow additions, probably essential because of the large number of children in the population and kindly included these extra pieces, often attached huts, in their painting programme. So from early on individual differences began to modify the standard house designs.

The Taupo County had minimal effects on Mangakino in its early years and even within the wider Pouakani area, acceptance and maintenance of roads already constructed by government departments ensured continuation of farming processes but did not alter existing spatial arrangements. The later construction of Poihipi Road

has been mentioned as a rather more significant change affecting the direction of daily movement of people. The Taupo District Council and the Mangakino Pouakani Community Board do have powers to bring about change as is evident in the redevelopment of the Civic Centre building in Mangakino and the construction of the Great Lakes Centre in Taupo. Projects such as these stand apart from the daily round of regulatory and maintenance actions which keep services functioning and control aspects of residents' behaviour. With the financial limitations imposed by the Pouakani rating base and the lack of representation at District Council level compared with the town of Taupo it is difficult to envisage how Mangakino in particular, could ever be accorded sufficient funds to enable its local representatives to initiate significant change rather than just provide what is considered to be essential.

Few large commercial operators have left an imprint in the area although some did work for the Ministry of Works in the construction phase. The role of New Zealand Forest Products, in offering employment to replace that lost when the Ministry of Works had completed their projects, was an important factor in giving families a reason for staying in the town and in acquiring their own houses. This meant that later when fewer workers were needed, people were older and well established, and with reduced employment opportunities elsewhere, many stayed in Mangakino thus avoiding the high cost of renting or buying in most other localities. The intermittent work opportunities available during the modernisation programme at Kinleith has also continued the links and influence the mill has on the locality. The power of large corporations to operate outside environmental guidelines is an important aspect of that presence. Playing a less visible, but nevertheless essential role, engendering local change are the financial institutions and stock firms. Initially this included an important government component in the form of State Advance and Maori Affairs funding and control, this was combined with arrangements made with stock firms and banks. As long as borrowing is essential or mortgages remain these institutions have the power to influence what happens on the farmer's property.

Up till now the stress has been on the impositions, constraints, and controls generated largely from beyond the locality and the government role in facilitating change.

Intangible structures and their expression through institutional frameworks and rule systems have dominated, local autonomy has not been evident. Just as the government moves in broadly similar directions to governments in some other capitalist countries, so do many localities develop and change along broadly similar lines. Pouakani was different. The massive injection of government money in the the 1940s and 1950s, the speed of the transformation and the mix of construction town and permanent settlement features, for a time, distinguished it in many respects from other localities. Since the 1960s change has slowed and the locality has become superficially not too dissimilar to many other parts of rural New Zealand. Thirty or forty years of tree growth has softened the edges of township and farmstead alike. Mainly the lakes distinguish this area, and with their potential for growing recreational use, catering for people with increased leisure hours they may influence future incremental changes.

In looking for expression of local autonomy, it must be appreciated that along with the structural bounds, not always heeded by some risk takers, technology spawned by economic necessity and human imagination overlays a further veneer of similarity. People seek that which is new, improved, easier, and with tastes moulded in part by the power of national or regional media absorb technological change into their homes, businesses and institutions. Within these contexts and within constraints people have been shown to have the power to choose from a limited ranges of alternatives; to make decisions which they may, or may not have the power to implement, and to bring about change at personal, family and local levels. Formalised and informal rule systems supplemented by personal characteristics give status or authority, according some people more power than others. Kaumatua, parents, teachers, elected representatives, managers, gang leaders, team captains, property owners, husbands, wives and others with special roles, have at specific times and places enhanced capacity to influence change. But even those whose freedom to decide and act is diminished by dependence on others will usually have a niche, large or small within which they have the power to do as they choose.

A special aspect of Pouakani is the Ngati Kahungunu presence. The individual farms

on the Pouakani block, are not all farmed today by those with Wairarapa links, but the block is intact, merely leased. Likewise with the greater part of Mangakino township. In many contexts the Maori owners were seen to lack the power to control what was happening on their land, but continued ownership and consolidation of their place in the locality has given corporate power to the elected board of management, now running their own farming enterprise and administering the leases. In addition the status granted to kaumatua has extended beyond Maori members of the community and as demonstrated in "Changing Schools" has the potential to influence change.

Power is an anomalous concept. It is considered undesirable when wielded by others, yet empowerment is a desirable goal. This is reflected by former member of parliament, Marilyn Waring speaking at a women's suffrage centennial event:

We do not seek the power to abuse, the power over people. We are interested in a dynamic power, the power to give power, the power to do.  
(NorthLAND, July 15, 1993, 20)

This power to do, is most easily exercised at personal level, where an individual can identify the contexts within which they have they power to act and the particular constraints which exist. In this sense people have a degree of personal autonomy, diminished at the beginning and for some at the end of their life span. If they wish to bring about change which is beyond their personal capability, they may throw their vote into the lottery of public opinion and hope that others are in step with their objectives and that elected representatives will pursue the path the voter perceives them to be following. Alternatively a person may actively campaign, form or join groups, becoming a constituent part of a collective social actor. This allows resources and knowledge to be pooled and may facilitate the carrying out of tasks well beyond the power of one person, such as the golf course construction. The strength of the group can be counter balanced by the necessity to compromise in order to reach decisions and the reliance on others to implement these decisions. Furthermore the outcomes need to be perceived by the individuals party to the decision as being in keeping with their intent. If they are not, attempts to "undo" actions can result in conflict,

or change may have to be accepted as irreversible. The social actor lacks the individual's ability to respond to changing circumstances, and integrate new knowledge into ongoing decision making and action. The power of the group, or the organisation is thus both greater, yet less flexible and in temporal terms more limiting. The recognition that some changes are not reversible is in itself knowledge which can lead to misuse of power.

People seeking to make future changes are likely to focus on Mangakino township where much effort seems to be expended in "running on the spot" rather than going forward. Frequently reiterated fears of moving backwards, are not borne out by occupied, mostly cared for houses, and a shopping centre almost fully used, but the lack of employment and currently falling school rolls do generate concern. These are not particularly Mangakino problems, although the declining High School roll has definitely been accelerated by local action. A willingness to try new enterprises and work together as a community has been apparent in a number of collective actions including the setting up of the Waikato Lakes Development Company. This suggests that the model provided by the Community Business and Environment Centre (CBEC) in Kaitaia, and already being "exported" to other New Zealand localities could be of value to Mangakino.

CBEC was founded in 1989 by a small group of people who shared the goal of generating sustainable, environmentally friendly economic growth... The philosophy behind community business is that profit is not an end in itself, but is a means of achieving social and environmental goals such as job creation and environmental protection projects. (Penny Pincher, May 18 1993, 2 )

CBEC claims to occupy the "Third Sector" between government and private enterprise. It is strongly local based and differs from conventional businesses in its charitable status, shareholders voting rights, profit attitude, profit recycling and environmental concern. One intention is to keep money within the locality, to fulfil an idea that "the longer it circulates here, the more use it is to us all" (CBEC Chairman's Report, 1993). This may seem idealistic and impracticable but beginning with three people working in

a rented shed it has grown to employ 31 staff, as well as 10 trainees and many other people who undertake temporary or casual work. It has established the Kaitaia Recycle Station, a nursery specialising in native species and exotic hardwoods, a landscaping service, does habitat protection work and runs work projects and training programmes in conjunction with the District Council, Kaitaia Enterprise Agency and the Ministry of Youth Affairs. It is clearly an example of local autonomy in action. Knowledge of what is possible could empower Mangakino residents, allied with their landlord, the Mangakino Township Incorporation, to provide more opportunities for Pouakani people.

The sweep of large scale change capitalising on natural attributes and stemming from national imperatives has painted the broad canvass of Pouakani. Ever changing detail comes from the everyday and intermittent actions of local residents, with varying capacities to directly or indirectly influence their locality. The social, economic and political framework does constrain, but it also allows scope for imagination and knowledge to be applied to local problems thus lessening the dependency on government and private enterprise.

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<sup>3</sup> MKO is a commonly used local abbreviation for Mangakino and is used in the text to shorten the references.

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<sup>4</sup> This is a promotion mock up. It was not published and is not dated but was probably produced in 1986.

<sup>5</sup> Numbers have been allocated to all Taupo County and Mangakino minutes to indicate that different books were being referred to. Pages are in some cases numbered for each set of minutes, in other instances for each book.

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<sup>7</sup>Separate number sequences have been allocated to Advisory Committee and Taupo County Council minutes.

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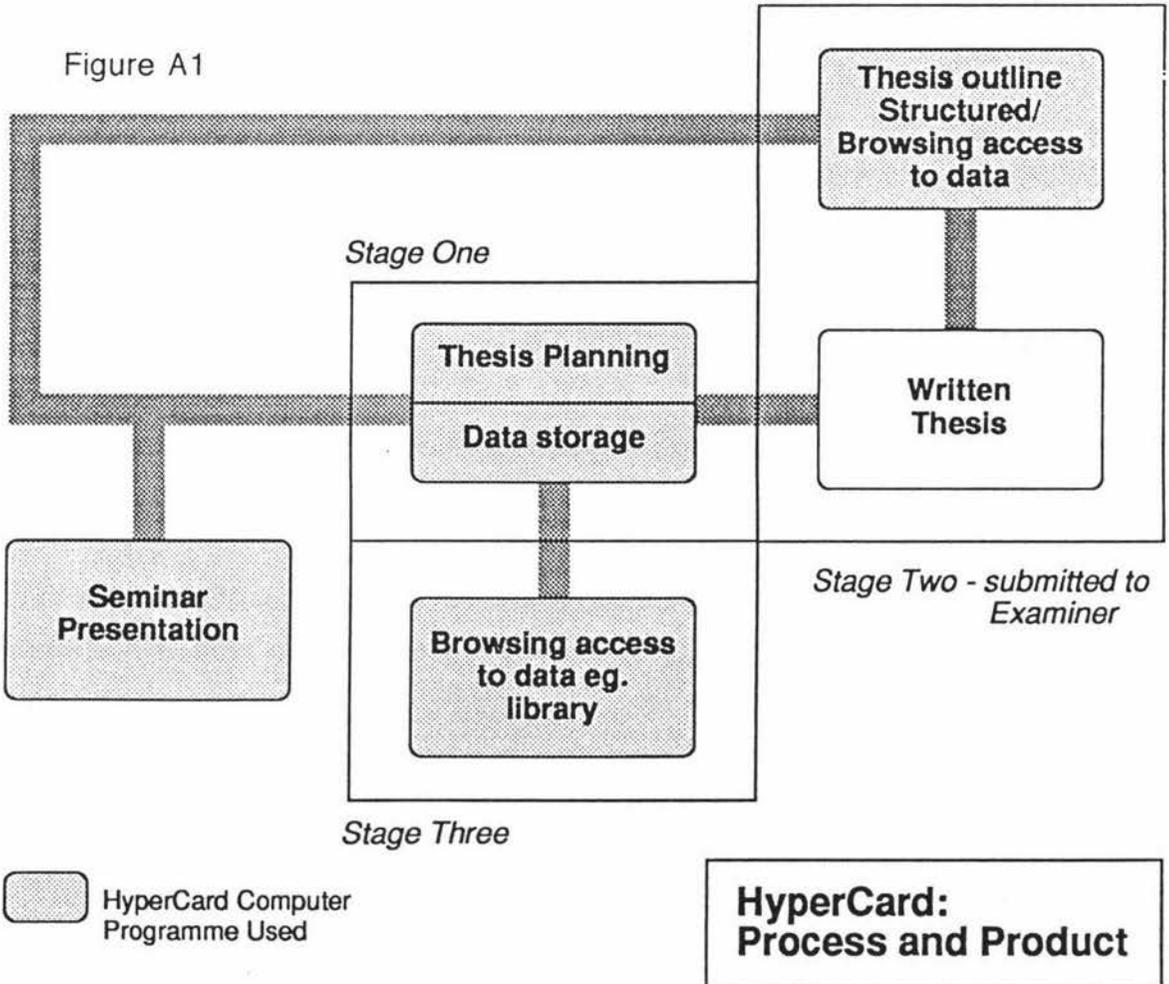
# Appendix A

## HyperCard Use

"The HyperCard application is a Macintosh software environment that allows you to create your own ways of doing things on your computer" (Claris, 1989 - 1990, xiii). It is conceptually based on "stacks" of "cards" which can be linked or cross referenced as desired. Information on cards can be revealed or concealed to suit particular purposes and it can be processed in various ways. Photos, maps and other graphics can be added to the stacks as required. In the production of this thesis HyperCard has been used as

- an organising and planning tool
- an informal database
- a presentation tool

this is shown in Figure A1 below



HyperCard encourages the interweaving of ideas while enabling background information to be separated from the main emphases in a context, yet available whenever the interactor chooses to consult it. Clicking an onscreen "button" for further information, or typing in a word offers advantages over thumbing through glossaries and indexes. Access to information via HyperCard can be as open or restricted as is desired, and can be tailored to suit varied purposes, or individuals. For example the stacks containing Pouakani information can be easily amended or added to by even inexpert computer users, or they can be protected to prevent unauthorised alterations, while allowing free access for reading.

Material is organised to allow access from three different angles. Data from the Mangakino Chronicle and from Taupo County records was entered directly onto the computer. The "Comments" field on each card was used to record my related questions and responses. These fields can be hidden thus providing access to data unaffected by the researcher's viewpoint (Figures A2 & A3). The information is recorded in chronological order and is available to the user choosing to browse through "Snippets of Local History". Specific entries can be found quickly by selecting from the keyword list or carrying out a user defined search. The latter was used frequently during the thesis writing. Selected information was easily copied to a "Notes" field and printed out as required. An adaptation of these stacks, eliminating the "Contents" field will be given to Mangakino High School for student research.

The planning and structure of the thesis which was developed in the written form, is found under the heading "Pouakani: People, Power and Place". The non linear approach used in this stack was that used to plan the thesis and illustrates approaches via various entry points.

There is a third assemblage of material put together for a datashow seminar presentation before writing began. It demonstrates ways in which HyperCard can be used as a presentation tool; particularly the ease with which it can conceal and reveal

<b>March 9 1962</b>	<b>Economic</b>	<b>Maori</b>
<b>Mangakino Chronicle XIII, 713, 1</b>		
<b>Information</b>	<b>Comment</b>	
<p>Meeting between officers of the Maori Affairs Dept (Wellington) and Pouakani farmers and local owners. 30 on units. Financial problems were discussed at length. An ex farmer S Himona appealed to the Board of Maori Affairs to adjust its policy.</p> <p>Chaired by Mr Dave Mackie - a wish expressed for the understanding and co-operation to remain between Maori and Pakeha.</p>	<div style="text-align: center;">↑</div> <div style="text-align: center;">↓</div>	

<b>Q Pouakani 2</b>	<b>Notes</b> ← → ↻
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<b>12 May 1964</b>	<b>Admin</b>	<b>Taupo County</b>
<b>Taupo County Council Blue Minute Book 2 (5)</b>		
<b>Information</b>	<b>Comment</b>	
<p>MacDonald said it was time for a press release on negotiations with the Internal Affairs Dept over the Council's proposals. (1) Agreed.</p> <p>14/7/64 Resolved "that the Council will not accept or approve any of the scheme plans for MKO township until a reply from the Maori Owners is received unconditionally accepting Council's conditions of takeover of the township". (4)</p> <p>After Committee discussion on the future of MKO resolved "that Council would welcome a committee in MKO to assist in a liaison capacity</p>	<div style="text-align: center;">↑</div> <div style="text-align: center;">↓</div> <p>What would have happened if they hadn't taken it over? Legislation? Fines for breaches of by laws ?</p> <div style="text-align: center;">↓</div>	

<b>Q Incorporation</b>	<b>Notes</b> ← → ↻
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information. It contains hidden buttons and lacks instructions because it was only intended for my use. This stack also accesses a graphic database framework which was discarded as a working tool during thesis production.

## **Computer Instructions**

A Macintosh computer, operating under System 7, with HyperCard 2.1 installed on a hard drive, is required. Place the disk labelled Pouakani in the disk drive and double click on the disk icon to open it. Double click on "Begin Here" to open the introductory stack. Click on one of the three options shown on the "main menu" card (Figure A4 ) and follow subsequent instructions to begin your exploration. The Help cards shown in Figures A5 and A6 can be accessed by the user at any time.

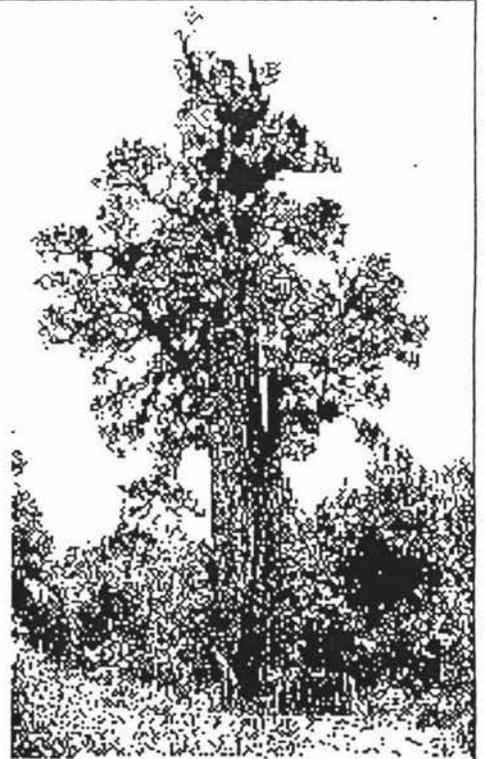
Figure A4

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### **Snippets of Local History**

### **Pouakani: People, Power and Place - thesis outline**

### **Seminar Presentation**



The Pouakani Totara

**Help**

**Notes** Takes you to a card with a blank field where you can record your own notes.

 Returns you to the card where you made your last selection.

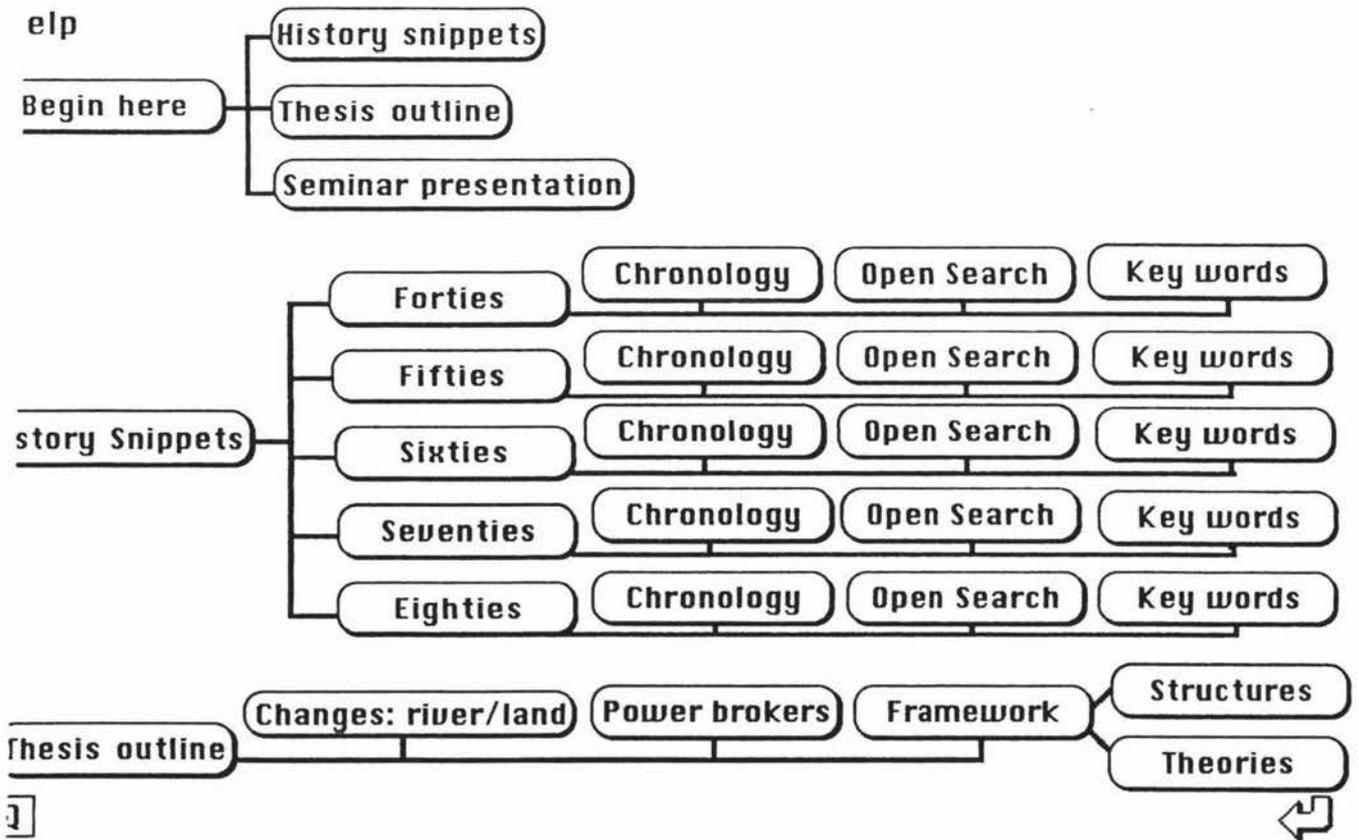
 Previous card

 Next card

 Help includes a diagram of the main cards in the stacks. It is useful if you want to locate information quickly, or if you get lost.

 Choose Quit if you want to leave the programme completely.

## Appendix B

### AMENDED OBJECTS OF INCORPORATION OF THE PROPRIETORS OF MANGAKINO TOWNSHIP INCORPORATED

1. The principal objects for which the body corporate is established are:
  - (a) To preserve develop and extend the Township of Mangakino.
  - (b) To manage for the financial benefit of the owners of the whole of the block taken under a lease to Her Majesty the Queen by a Proclamation dated the 19th October 1949 for the development of water-power.
  - (c) To negotiate through the Ministry of Works terms for the surrender by Her Majesty the Queen in whole or in part of the rights she possesses or may possess under the Proclamation.
  - (d) To negotiate with or through any department of state local authority corporation person or persons such matters as are incidental to the surrender in whole or in part of the said lease to Her Majesty the Queen.
  - (e) To purchase take on lease exchange or otherwise acquire any lands and develop the resources thereof whether the said lands are in or outside the said block.
  - (f) To lease any lands on any terms that may be expedient whether at a peppercorn rent under Glasgow leases or any other terms but not unless thereunto required under the Land Subdivision in Counties Act 1946 or under any other statute to sell or without consideration transfer or alienate any of the said lands but such restrictions shall not apply with respect to any lands to be alienated in pursuance of the purposes set out in paragraph 2 (a & b) hereof nor to other lands which may in the future be purchased or otherwise acquired by the body corporate.
  - (g) To hold manage work develop the resources and turn to account any lands buildings tenements or any other valuable fixtures minerals, timber, crops or other things on or in any land owned by the body corporate and to carry on farming and all operations incidental to farming.
  - (h) To sell in the discretion of the Committee of Management any land in the said block but not in excess of one twentieth of the whole area unless authorised to do so by a resolution of a general meeting of Owners.

2. The following are special Objects for which the body corporate is established and are ancillary and/or supplementary to the principal Objects:

- (a) To transfer to the Crown with or without compensation or lease to the Crown on any terms the Committee of Management see fit or to agree in the discretion of the Committee of Management to the Crown taking by proclamation with or without payment of compensation such areas of the Township of Mangakino or other land of the Pouakani (Wairarapa Maoris) Block as are specified by the Minister during the currency of the lease by Proclamation dated the 19th day of October, 1949 whereby Her Majesty the Queen by and through the Minister of Works acquired a lease of the Township of Mangakino and are required for the following purposes whether present or future:
  - (i) Roads
  - (ii) Hospitals and schools
  - (iii) Post Offices, Police Stations, Fire Stations
  - (iv) Public buildings or such other public works or purposes as are connected with the administration of Government services in the Township of Mangakino.
- (b) To transfer to the property trustees or other the legal owners of the Churches concerned with or without consideration or lease to the property trustees or other the legal owners of the churches concerned on any terms the Committee of Management sees fit the sites now in use or which may hereafter be used as church sites or Manses or for other religious purposes.
- (c) To reserve a suitable area of not less than two acres in a central position for social cultural and spiritual purposes for the Maori people.
- (d) To transfer to the local authority or to the Crown on terms specified by the said local authority such areas of the Township of Mangakino or other land of the said Pouakani Block in the vicinity thereto as might properly be required for reserves by the local authority under any legislation relating to the subdivision of land.
- (e) To arrange for all necessary surveys, easements, road dedications and other legal requirements and make such arrangements for the payment of the same as the Committee of Management shall think fit whether by agreement with the Ministry of Works or any other persons or otherwise howsoever.
- (f) To negotiate through the Ministry of Works terms for the surrender by Her Majesty the Queen in whole or in part of the rights she may possess under the proclamation of the 19th day of October, 1949 affecting the

said land including, say, rights to remove roading, sewerage, drainage and water services installed by the Crown, the consideration for such surrender not to involve the Owners in making any payments to the Crown other than an agreed upon percentage of the perpetually renewable leases for an agreed upon period.

- (g) To grant perpetually renewable leases for appropriate terms with provision for revision of rentals at the end of suitable periods not greater than fourteen years either by public tender or private contract of residential business or other sections in the said township.
- (h) To appoint as Secretary of the Committee of Management of the Incorporation a solicitor or other person with office facilities to handle the administrative work of the Incorporation with energy and ability and to pay him appropriate remuneration.
- (i) To appoint an accountant and an auditor of the Incorporation and engage such other professional advisors servants or agents as may be necessary.
- (j) The proceeds derived from any alienation whether by way of purchase money rent royalties interest or otherwise and all revenue of the body corporate howsoever derived shall be paid to the Secretary of the Committee of Management.
- (k) To apply for such other legislation or Orders in Council as may be necessary to carry out the principal objects of the body corporate.
- (l) Such special objects as are set out in paragraph (2) herein to be liberally and not restrictively construed so that no special object shall be an impediment to implementation of the principal objects; such special objects to be modified as may be deemed by the Committee of Management necessary or expedient in the interests of the Owners.

3. The body corporate shall be deemed to have and may exercise all powers which may from time to time become necessary in order to carry out the principal objects whether or not such powers are specifically given.

4. The Committee of Management shall submit a detailed annual report to the Owners giving an account of the operations during the year of the body corporate together with proper accounts duly audited of its financial transactions.

(Rotorua Minute Book, Maori Land Court, 112/119)

## Appendix C

### MANGAKINO TOWNSHIP

RESOLVED That the meeting go into Committee

MOORHOUSE/SCOTT

Upon resuming open meeting the Chairman reported that the following resolution had been passed :-

RESOLVED That provided the Government agrees to provide satisfactory safeguards against a deficit in the cost of operating and maintaining the services, amenities and roads, the Council will accept dedication of the roads in the Mangakino Township upon the following conditions :-

- (a) That the Incorporation transfers to the Council the water reticulation and sewer drainage services together with the land upon which the installations are erected and access thereto when so requested by the Council.
- (b) That the Incorporation immediately transfers to the Council freehold land to the value of £7,600.
- (c) That the Incorporation arranges for the surveying of the balance of the sections in the Township at the rate of not less than 200 sections per annum, such survey to be made in blocks and to commence with Blocks III and IV on the County's plan (i.e. those areas described by the Ministry of Works as the "south block" from Rimu Street to Kahu Street south of Rangatira Drive).
- (d) That dedication of the roads necessary to give legal access to sections at present occupied by persons who have purchased their houses from the Ministry of Works will be accepted without a block survey provided that the survey of such roads also includes all the sections fronting thereon.
- (e) That the survey of sections at present occupied and fronting onto the dedicated roads will be approved.
- (f) That the Incorporation transfers to the Council the agreed reserves, namely the golf course, bowling green, and tennis club area, the playing field areas and the reserves in the commercial areas together with other minor small reserves shown on the undisclosed district scheme forthwith or upon

dedication of the first block.

- (g) That it is understood that the Council accepts the roads at their present standards and without responsibility for any immediate improvements.
- (h) That the Owners immediately submit a Scheme Plan for the subdivision and roading of the whole of the Township area in accordance with the intention of the report by Mr Spiers and Messrs Andrew Murray and Partners.
- (i) That the Council will be free to close any undedicated roads or set new roading standards for all such roads at the expiration of the period during which revenue is guaranteed by the Crown.

MACDONALD/SCOTT Carried

Crs Mann and Dick recorded their votes against this motion.

(Taupo County Council Minute Book 5, 30 April, 1964)