Rūnanga: Manuka Kawe Ake
Facilitating Māori Aspirations

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HE TOHU AROHA

DEDICATION

Ki a koutou ngā ahi kā o te ukaipo, o Moawhango, o Te Riu o Puanga

He mihi tēnei ki a koutou ka whakapau kaha

For those who have maintained and those who are yet to maintain the iwi

marae as the bastions of our identity

Kaupeka ki runga

Kaupeka ki raro

Kui, kui, whiti ora e!

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the location and role of the rūnanga institution. As a prominent contemporary organization for Māori development, relevant theory locates rūnanga with regard to a broader developmental framework and their potential to function within it. The position of rūnanga, as a facilitator of Māori development, is assessed with reference to Dependency theory, World Systems theory and Modes of Production. These theories highlight the systematic historic dis-empowerment of Māori through the processes of colonisation with particular regard to rūnanga. The thesis also considers the evolution of the rūnanga since its migration from Hawaiki, its utilisation as a forum of colonial resistance, its co-option into the governmental system and its contemporary resurgence. This provides a historical overview of the rūnanga as an institution. In addition, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka has been used as the case study which considers the issues of becoming a rūnanga and includes what the structure of the rūnanga might look like for Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi.

The theories of Community Development and Empowerment are offered as means to counter the further dis-empowerment of Māori, where institutions such as rūnanga can utilise these notions to facilitate positive outcomes for iwi and Māori development. Field research contained in this thesis identifies some of the specific concerns and aspirations of Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members. In utilising the notions of empowerment and community development the field research provides an explicit statement of iwi aspirations to maintain the connection between Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members at the flax-roots and Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka as a representative body that can facilitate those aspirations. Supplementary to this the iwi aspirations that have been identified in this study are intended to provide some direction for the rūnanga as the representative decision-making body moving into the future.

MIHI
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Ki a Ranginui e tu iho nei, ki a Papatuanuku e takato ake nei, ki a rāua tamariki e puta mai ki te whaiao ki te ao marama, tēna koutou katoa.

Ki a koutou kua takahi i te ara whanui, e te whanuitanga o te iwi, e ōku mātua tupuna, ōku kuia, ōku koroua, moe mai, moe mai ra.

Ki a koutou te hunga ora i tautoko mai i tawhiti, mai i te motu, mai i te whare wānanga, tēna koutou katoa. Ki a koutou e hapai ana i ahau, āku hoa, ōku iwi, ōku marae, ōku whanaunga, he mihi aroha ki a koutou katoa.

Hui e, taiki e!

As a noted tradition I suppose I should elaborate a little more, however the above mihi acknowledges each person and dimension that has contributed to the completion of this document.

There are many people who have contributed to this thesis, some which will not even remember my name. The people that I have badgered via email, or have tracked down at conferences all provided some leads and information that contributed to this thesis (Danny Keenan & Paul Perry). Learned academics in the classroom, at conferences, in literature, in passing; as well as organic academics at the marae, on the streets, at the market and in homes have provided information, challenges and motivations for this study. Ngā mihi nui ki a koutou.

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My supervisors, Manu and Wheturangi have opened their homes and their lives to me during this journey. Thank you both for the support and guidance.

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Introduction

E Rere... i te ao e huri nei[1]

Introduction

This thesis is intended to provide a body of information that assists in the positive development of Ngāti Whitikaupeka that examines the role of Rūnanga, a traditional Māori authority, as a valuable social structure to facilitate iwi aspirations. The title of this thesis is derived from the whakatauki (proverb): *Kua takato te mānuka.* The whakatauki refers to a tradition whereby the mānuka embodies a challenge. In a symbolic gesture one group of people lays the manuka on the ground before another party, the party must then decide if they will uplift it. In contemporary times the whakatauki refers to uplifting a challenge. In terms of this thesis title it represents the notion of traditional Māori authority, the rūnanga, undertaking the challenge to facilitate Māori aspirations. In addition to this, chapter titles are accompanied lines from a Ngāti Whitikaupeka waiata which will be translated in footnote. They have been selected to enhance this thesis by alluding to the purpose of each chapter.

The processes of colonisation have had detrimental effects on the development of Māori[2]. Māori history is beset with struggles of power, Māori resistance to subordination, Māori actions to rebalance power institutions, and recently Māori have sought redress for immoral historic government action[3] and attempted to address issues of Māori disparities. During this time tribal socio-political organization has threatened the processes of assimilation[4]. By means of legislation, tribal organizations as well as other representative Māori authorities have been co-opted into the machinery of the state. Māori representation has been accommodated by a number of government actions including: Grey's Rūnanga system 1861, Māori Representation Act 1867, Māori

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[1] Set flight... into the ever evolving world
[2] Pratt (1999). Pg 316-327
[3] Orange (1987).
[4] Van Meijl (2003).

Councils Act 1900, Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945[5], Maori Trusts Board Act 1955, Māori Welfare Act 1962, Maori Community Development Act 1962, The Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990, and Te Ture Whenua Act 1993[6]. These actions provided a minimal opportunity for Māori representation, authority and development while conforming to broader state agendas of assimilation.

In contemporary Māori societies[7] an array of Māori authorities[8] are taking a leading role in delivering social services to Māori as well as managing and administering collective Māori assets. Current forms of Māori organizations include trusts, committees, incorporations, reservations, charitable trusts, incorporated societies and corporations. Rūnanga are one form of Māori organization and are generally iwi based organizations. However they are not limited to iwi representation and have been used to represent other Māori organisational forms: for example in education (Te Rūnanga Nui o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa), health (Te Rūnanga o Aotearoa) and religion (Te Rūnanga Whakawhanaunga i Ngā Hahi).

The establishment of Māori authorities has been an attempt by the state to organise, maintain and assert what little power it still allows for Māori development (described in chapter's three and four). However Māori authorities can be viewed as organizations that may be able to facilitate appropriate Māori development at a level much closer to the reality of everyday Māori lives than government departments, and in a manner that is consistent with Māori values and aspirations[9]. At the same time, the development of these authorities has been a conscious effort, on behalf of the state, to shape Māori development and maintain state control. All too often members of Māori authorities act to reinforce state agendas thereby neglecting the needs and aspirations of those they are suppose to represent. The challenge for Māori authorities has been to find a balance between facilitating appropriate

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[5] Cox (1993).
[6] Durie (1998).
[7] The plural is used to acknowledge that there is no single homogeneous Māori society
[8] This term is used to acknowledge the diverse nature of such organizations that may not specifically be iwi based. Māori authorities include pan-tribal, religious and sector focused organizations
[9] For example: the establishment of Māori authorities in response to the state devolution of social services.

development for those they represent within the confines of state agenda. This requires identifying and acknowledging the distinctive potential of organizations such as rūnanga with regard to their position within a larger developmental framework.

There are two reasons for focussing on rūnanga as a particular form of Māori authority: first, a rūnanga is the organisational form that my own iwi Ngāti Whitikaupeka have recently employed; and second, rūnanga are an institution that is based on a traditional pre-colonial concept. As a traditional notion, rūnanga carry the potential of its historic origins, the ability to decide strategic and practical direction for iwi (and more recently Māori) development. Traditional rūnanga embody the values and aspirations of those it represents and ensure high levels of accountability. This makes rūnanga a relevant model for facilitating Māori aspirations.

The Personal Element

Preparing to raise a child as a single mother I returned home to the support of my whanau in Taihape. Having received a university education, and with little extra-curricular activity available in the rohe, I became actively involved in iwi developments. The establishment of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka was one of these developments. But during my time at home I observed and lived the particular realities of my own flax-roots[10]; issues in the kitchen at the marae, on the paepae, on the sports-fields, on the streets, in the schools, in homes and with regard to the politics that affect flax-roots developments. When I decided that I would leave home and return to further my education I was both motivated and obliged to study something that would contribute to iwi development at home. I was tired of observing Māori authorities that were of no benefit to anyone other than the members who governed them and I was determined that Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka would positively contribute to the development of the iwi. Upon speaking to Professor Mason Durie about a relevant course of study I was gently coerced into undertaking a Masterate

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[10] This notion is elaborated in Chapter three; generally it is synonymous with grass-roots communities.

Programme with a thesis topic that involved the subject of rūnanga and directed to the Department of Development Studies. The vision was to produce a body of information that would be beneficial to the development of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi while attaining a formal qualification.

The aim

The ultimate purpose of this thesis is to produce a piece of information that contributes to the positive development of Ngāti Whitikaupeka by:

- investigating the aspirations of Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members
- investigating the current role of Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka
- investigating how this role may be enhanced to address the aspirations of the iwi

The initial focus for the thesis was to examine *how* rūnanga could possibly function and serve the developmental aspirations of Māori. However upon engaging in the study it became apparent that the research had to take account of the wider environment in which rūnanga operated. The level at which I had intended the research to enter this required a foundation. Several questions arose. As a predominant Māori organization what exactly is a rūnanga and where did it evolve from? Why are they seemingly influential Māori development vehicles? How are rūnanga located within the bigger picture? Do rūnanga actually have the potential to facilitate Māori development? What information could this research provide to Ngāti Whitikaupeka to assist in its development?

From these questions I decided that this research would involve at least four parts: an historical account of the evolution of rūnanga, the evolution of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka, flax-roots research into the needs and aspirations of Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members and locating rūnanga with reference to World Systems theory. What was produced was a body of information that was slightly more in-depth than initially intended, particularly with reference to the evolution of the rūnanga as an institution and with reference to theoretical application, but nonetheless it will hopefully offer a valuable contribution to Ngāti Whitikaupeka.

Thesis Structure

As a key organization with reference to Māori development, the institution of the rūnanga maintains a potentially strong position for facilitating Māori development. However rūnanga and other Māori authorities must be located within a wider context.

Chapter two describes the methodology that was applied to this research. In particular it acknowledges the struggles of indigenous researchers as well as outline the principles upon which this research was based and to discuss the specific methods that were applied. This section of the thesis also highlights another forum in which Māori authority has struggled to maintain and assert its own authenticity that being the concept of research itself.

Chapter three examines theories that situate the location of rūnanga and other Māori authorities with reference to the broader environments in which they function. Theories of Dependence, World Systems and Modes of Production are used to analyse the historic fashioning of the development of Māori that has led to their current social, political and economic position in New Zealand. In addition, theories of Community Development and Empowerment are used to examine the potential of rūnanga to facilitate Māori and iwi development.

Chapter four explores the history and evolution of the rūnanga. This chapter provides a foundation for understanding the role of rūnanga and its continuing existence in contemporary societies. Many inquiries into the origins of rūnanga argued that rūnanga were generally perceived to have originated from government establishment. The purpose of this chapter is to ascertain the traditional Māori origins of rūnanga and their inclusion into contemporary Māori development.

Chapter five records the history and evolution of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka and fulfils two concurrent objectives: to provide a concise historic body of information for Ngāti Whitikaupeka, and to examine the issues that prompted the formation of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka. This section of the thesis highlights some of the matters that surround the establishment of rūnanga using Ngāti Whitikaupeka as a working example.

Chapter six examines the information that was collated from quantitative and qualitative field research. The inclusion of field research is intended to identify the needs and aspirations of flax-roots' people in order to provide direction for a governing development body. This section of the research provides information from Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members and is anticipated to inform Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka of specific issues that have been identified by the research participants. Ultimately this field research is intended to provide a link between flax-roots aspirations and authoritative direction to facilitate the achievement of those aspirations. The research has also produced some recommendations for Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka with regard to the information collected in this thesis.

The conclusion describes the key themes that have emerged throughout the research and provides an analysis of the information contained in the thesis in locating the role of rūnanga in facilitating Māori aspirations. This section involves discussion around some concerns that pertain to rūnanga as developmental institutions as well as the potential of rūnanga to facilitate Māori aspirations.

Chapter Two

Methodology

Kimikimi kau ana te taunga horo pai[1]

Introduction

The inclusion of this chapter has not been without careful consideration, however the importance of being able to establish how and why this research was undertaken deemed its addition necessary. There have been a multitude of writings that pertain to 'indigenous' research, its struggles and its authenticity[2]. This chapter is included to acknowledge that struggle and also to provide an insight into the motivation, the principles and the methods that have been applied to the research undertaken in this thesis. Some of these principles will be authenticated by the Western regime of research and others are validated by a Māori worldview. There have been parallels between the two approaches, but at times there also exists a direct juxtaposition.

First, a brief description of research with reference to the World System will be outlined, together with its implications in reference to Māori research. Second, two general approaches to Māori research will be described. These approaches are those of Kaupapa Māori Theory and a Māori Centred approach to research. Third the motivation of each part of the research including the principles by which the research was undertaken will be described. Finally this section will discuss the methods and ethics that have been applied to this thesis.

The Research

Knowledge is power.

In deciding to include a chapter that pertained to the methodology of this research, it was ironic, coincidental and yet not surprising to find allusions to the

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[1] To seek an adequate foundation
[2] See: Bishop & Glynn (1999); Mead (1996); Smith (1999); Te Awekotuku (1991); Walsh-Tapiata (1997).

World System in terms of knowledge within the writings of Linda Tuhiwai Smith[3]. Although Smith[4] never specifically states that the acquisition and dissemination of information parallels the development studies paradigm known as the World System, her references to the centres and peripheries of knowledge echo its sentiments. As the World System describes the power relationships, knowledge can also be described in this way. Research and the knowledge paradigms are consistent with the notion of the ideological role in the superstructure of the World System theory that is examined in Chapter Three. The ability to dominate one component within the notions of the base and superstructure of modes of production incurs consequences for the remaining components. Just as the alienation of land had consequences for Māori society, the imposition of a dominant ideology also produces its own effects. Walker confirms that '[k]nowledge is a form of power, which the ruling class control and monopolise'[5]. Said notes that the domination of knowledge has ramifications at more than just the 'superstructural' levels of societies and cautions against the implications of applying cultural domination upon oneself or upon others[6]. It is with this that we proceed to outline the western frame of research and the Māori resistance to this regime.

The Centres and Peripheries of Knowledge

The general approach to research is firmly embedded within the traditions of the West. Research or knowledge construction that has been conducted on non-westerners by westerners has largely been undertaken with little regard to the culture of the people under examination. Consequently this information has been misappropriated, misconstrued and then categorised within paradigms that suit a western agenda. Said documents the discourse of the invention of Orientalism

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[3] Smith (1999).
[4] Ibid
[5] Walker (1996). Pg161.
[6] Said (1978). Pg25

and also discusses the implications of knowledge as a dominating force[7]. Additionally, Smith writes extensively about western research traditions and the legacy that they have left behind[8]. Smith discusses imperialism and colonialism at length with regard to the discourse they have produced for Māori[9]. Waitere-Ang notes the research trend where the researcher controls the importance of information[10]. If the West has historically conducted research, then it can be deduced that the importance of information is filtered through a Western worldview and validated through that same view. What has been produced is a center of knowledge that establishes the West at the centre of all 'true and valid' knowledge paradigms, all remaining knowledges, including those of Māori, have been categorised at the peripheries as the 'other'. Such notions are outlined by Said[11]. Smith states that 'in a very real sense research has been an encounter between the West and the Other'[12].

The portrayal of such ideas can be represented diagrammatically.

The Centre

Western Knowledge

The Peripheries
'Other' knowledge

Centre and Peripheries of Knowledge
Diagram 2.1
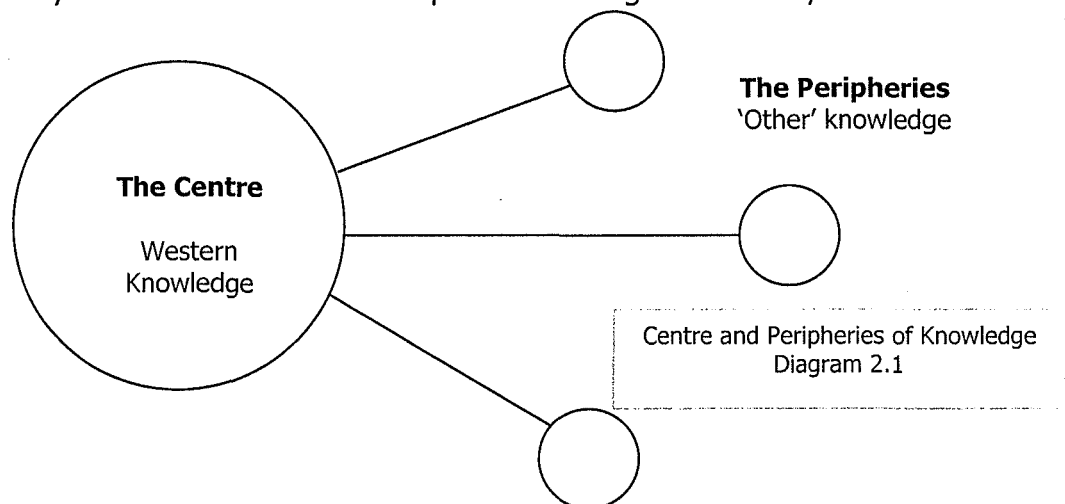
Edward Said is often denoted as describing the notion of 'other'[13]. However Said's discussion is an intricate one. The simplest but by no means full explanation

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[7] Ibid
[8] Smith (1999).
[9] Ibid. It should be noted that Tuhiwai Smith is not the only author who has undertaken this task, however she has produced a concise textbook that addresses these issues.
[10] Waitere-Ang (1999).
[11] Said (1978).
[12] Smith (1999). Pg8.

of the idea of the 'other' is given in geographical terms where 'the world is made up of two unequal halves, Orient and Occident'[14]. The interpretation of such a statement produces the dichotomies of the East and the West, the North and the South, or the 'Other' and the 'norm'. Said continues to state:

> 'such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains; it *is*, rather than expresses, a certain *will* or *intention* to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world; it is, above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values), power moral (as with ideas about what "we" do and what "they" cannot do or understand as "we" do)'[15]

Edward Said notes that one may determine if knowledge is used to subordinate another (or the 'other') by examining 'the unacknowledged epistemological premises, the subtle but powerful preconceptions that become part of the structure of power over another people through such things as images, construction of categories, and who is left in an out'[16]. With regard to Māori, subordination is notable in the contemporary media constructions that 'perpetuate negative belief systems about Maori'[17].

In terms of a parallel to the World System, knowledge and its ideologies have been commandeered and used to enforce un-equal power relations. Hau'ofa states 'that views held by those in dominant positions about their subordinates

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[13] Said (1978).
[14] Ibid. Pg 12
[15] Ibid
[16] Fry (1997). Pg 310
[17] Pihama (1994). Pg 239

could have significant consequences on people's self-image and on the ways that they cope with their situations. Such views, which are often derogatory and belittling, are integral to most relationships of dominance and subordination, wherein superiors behave in ways or say things that are accepted by their inferiors who, in turn, behave in ways that serve to perpetuate the relationships[18]. This comment is not unusual with regard to many Māori researchers who also contend that the colonial construction of knowledge in terms of a perception of Māori has been detrimental to Māori[19]. In relation to the situation of Māori this has indeed been the case. The dehumanising nature of the media that portray indigenous peoples[20] in negative manners highlight the dissemination of knowledge that perpetuate the negative stereotypes of Māori people[21].

In establishing such a domination over knowledge any attempts to rectify mis-information about the 'other' are held largely in contempt and are discarded to the peripheries of what is deemed to be true and correct knowledge. This situation is perhaps best highlighted by the impact of Point Four in the 1949 January 20 speech given by American President Truman that relegated more than half of the world's population to a state of underdevelopment and impoverishment in one simple statement:

> 'more than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas'[22]

Rist observes that the statement 'showed just how much the exercise of power is bound up with word usage: rhetoric is always preferable to force if it serves its purpose of persuading people'[23]. He continues to explain the ways in which this simple statement established power relationships around the world. 'Point Four

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[18] Hua'ofa (1993).
[19] Waitere-Ang (1999), Walsh-Tapiata (1997), Smith, L (1999), Pihama (1993).
[20] Smith (1999). Pg 8-9
[21] Pihama (1994). Pg 239
[22] *Public Papers of the Presidents* (January 20), pp. 114-115 cited in Rist (1997). Pg 64-65
[23] Rist (1997). Pg 67

simply imposed a new standard whereby the United States stood at the top'[24] in relation to what the United States deemed an appropriate basis for comparisons – statistics, mathematical objectivity and the Gross National Product[25]. This commentary illustrates the power of knowledge and its appropriation. In establishing a knowledge core that revolves around the values of the West and with knowledges that are validated by the West, any other information must conform to fit within a Western paradigm. Otherwise it remains at the peripheries categorised as 'other' information that contrasts the true and valid Western forms of knowledge.

From the Periphery to the Centre: The Revolution

The acquisition of knowledge about Māori has led Māori to be skeptical with regard to most research that is conducted upon them[26]. In addition to this, the idea that research is conducted 'upon' Māori is problematic. It is one of the contrasting elements between Western and Māori worldviews. It has in turn led to an emergence of new systems of research that incorporate Māori into the research structure and that are founded upon tikanga Māori. Western paradigms ignore cultural foundations. Two of the most obvious contrasts with respect to western and Māori paradigms pertaining to knowledge are the elements of accountability and benefit. Western research requires accountability to the institutions for whom the research is being carried out, and it benefits the individual researcher among his or her peers as well as the center who exercises its perceived 'power' over the peripheries of the 'other'. Edwards notes that changes in academic attitudes is needed to change the 'legacy of status, wealth and power which results from the rule of the philosophy of knowledge, and the continued control of this knowledge by the few'[27]. What has occurred is a form of resistance by indigenous writers,

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[24] Ibid. Pg 68
[25] Ibid
[26] Walsh-Tapiata (1997). Pg 138
[27] Edwards (1989). Pg 135.

where Smith describes Māori as *rewriting* and *righting* the past[28]. Two Māori research approaches have emerged to address such issues as accountability and benefit. These are the Māori centered approach to research, and the Kaupapa Māori theory approach, which will be discussed further. However another issue arises in describing and situating Māori within 'other' paradigms of knowledge. The two 'alternative' Māori approaches to research involve the movement of the paradigm Māori to the center, thus negating even the notion that Māori knowledge paradigms exist within the categories of the 'other'. The shift can be represented diagrammatically as follows.

Māori Knowledge at Centre
Diagram 2.2
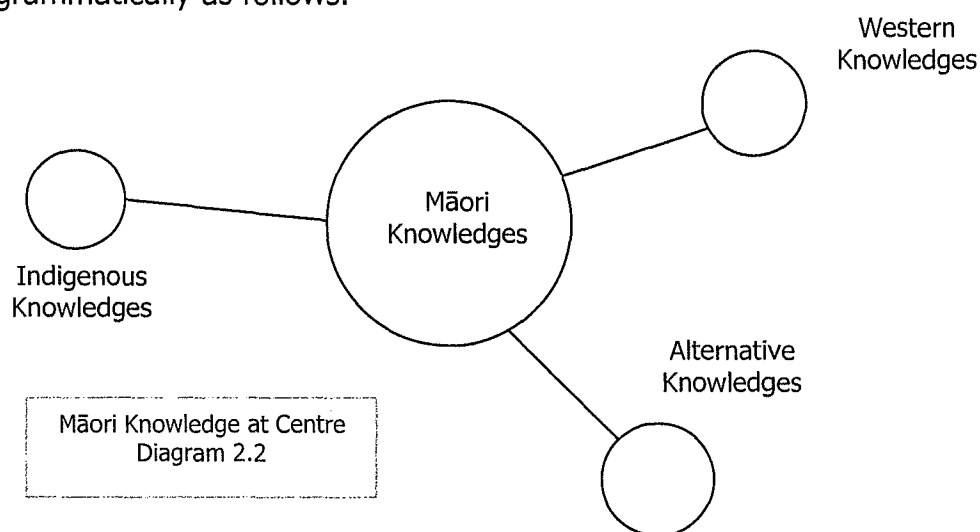
There are relationships between each knowledge paradigm, and the illustration does not imply that one paradigm is more significant or powerful that the other, but it demonstrates that in relation to Māori research, the Māori paradigm is the centre that draws on the alternative knowledge paradigms as deemed necessary and appropriate. A shift is expected in regard to any research that centres the epistemology of the subject base and draws on the remaining knowledges.

This idea is conveyed by a Māori Centred approach to research that places Māori people and experience at the centre of the research and 'does not ignore the importance of other approaches'[29]. It is inclusive of Māori views and philosophies

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[28] Smith (1999). Pg 28
[29] Durie (1998). Pg 91

that pulls the paradigm Māori from the peripheries of Western perception and re-establishes it at the centre of knowledge paradigms. Examples of Māori Centered research have been given by Graham Smith[30] where non-Māori are involved in research pertaining to Māori but in differing roles: the tiaki mentoring model, the whangai adoption model, the power sharing model and the empowering outcomes model all share this characteristic. Mead[31] also describes a bicultural or partnership model.

The second approach to Māori research has been that of Kaupapa Māori. The holistic nature of Kaupapa Māori as a Māori epistemological base for inquiry is noted by Smith in saying that Kaupapa Māori is:

'neither fixed nor rigid. It is open-ended, it is ethical, systematic and accountable. It is scientific, open to existing methodologies, informed and critical – BUT it comes from tangata whenua, from Whanau, Hapu and Iwi'[32]

The diversity of the Kaupapa Māori approach was noted by Mason Durie who stated that he has yet to see the approach defined in one explicit way[33]. Another factor that reflects this position is evident in the many references to Kaupapa Māori as theory, research, paradigms, worldviews, philosophies, methodologies and methods.

In contrast to the western approach to research, approaches that are based on Māori principles and worldviews ensures that issues of accountability and benefit are addressed. Notions that are described by Mead to address such issues are: *aroha ki te tangata* - that address issues of access, accountability, feedback, commitment to the community and a respect for mana; *kanohi kitea* - that addresses the need for personal contact; *titiro, whakarongo... korero* - addressing the need for good communication and patience; *manaaki tangata* addressing holism and ritual; *kia tupato* - that addresses environments, karakia, confidentiality and humbleness; *kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata* - that addresses the notions

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[30] Smith, G. (1992). cited by Mead·(1996). Pg 190-192
[31] Mead (1996).
[32] Smith (1994).
[33] Personal comment at *The Symposium for 'Strategic Directions for Māori Research'* December 2 2004. Te Putahi a Toi, Massey University.

of mana; *kaua e mahaki* – that addresses the issues of superiority surrounding knowledge[34]. These are distinctly Māori values that formulate the foundations of research involving Māori as subjects or as a subject, instead of Māori as objects of research.

World System theory[35] states that for the peripheries to weaken the centre domination and control of the peripheries, peripheries must establish a complete break from the centre or to revolt. What appears to have occurred in terms of knowledge paradigms and the Māori relationships to the western centres of knowledge is a weakening of the ties to the centre coupled with a revolution of thought on behalf of Kaupapa Māori advocates. By re-instating the paradigm Māori at the centre of knowledge systems with respect to Māori research, it is challenging the dominant western position of validating knowledge and acknowledging Māori epistemologies as the foundation ideology for knowledge construction pertaining to Māori. It re-empowers the position of Māori epistemologies by validating itself in its own terms.

Manuka Kawe Ake

This particular thesis was undertaken primarily with two motives and it was based on two values. This thesis was intended to firstly provide a body of knowledge that may be useful to Ngāti Whitikaupeka in determining how the aspirations of the iwi may be facilitated through the newly established Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka, and secondly to attain the formal qualification of a Masterate Degree.

I endeavoured upon this journey with two simple, necessary and encompassing guiding principles. They are the principles of *whakapapa* and *mana*. I did not intend to disregard any of the principles that have been described by other Māori authors, however, my perception of my position within the iwi, te ao Māori and te

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[34] Mead (1996).
[35] Chapter three

ao pākēha suggested that these two governing principles would guide this thesis. As it happens they encapsulate much that has been written about Māori values as guidelines to research.

Whakapapa

In its simplest form whakapapa is described as genealogy. This principle is acknowledged firstly in terms of being a descendant of Ngāti Whitikaupeka. This was important on two levels: Ngāti Whitikaupeka has shaped my general perception of being Māori and it is Ngāti Whitikaupeka who has provided physical, spiritual, intellectual and cultural sustenance to me. It is these reasons that motivated the research; to provide some benefit, however small or great, to Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi entity. This principle is integrated with the *principle of whakapapa*[36] and the *principle of whanau*[37] as outlined by Linda Mead[38]. It contains the ethical tenets of *aroha ki te tangata*[39] in being the motivation for the research and *kanohi kitea*[40] in terms of maintaining constant contact with my iwi and marae.

The personal position of being Ngāti Whitikaupeka and researching Ngāti Whitikaupeka may also be viewed as a 'conflict of interest' in terms of Western research paradigms. However this 'insider' position of the researcher, as it has become known, is disputed by the concept of 'by Māori, for Māori'[41]. It highlights one of the direct contrasts between Western and Māori research paradigms. Maintaining constant contact with the marae and whanau has allowed access to information that may not have been available to others. My position as an iwi member and the support that I have received from the iwi to undertake this research has been aided by four circumstances: first, I am privileged to have spent many days and nights at the marae as a child at my grandmother's side, which

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[36] Mead (1996). Pg 210-213
[37] Ibid Pg 218-219
[38] Contemporarily known as Linda Tuhiwai Smith.
[39] Mead (1996). Pg 221.
[40] Ibid
[41] Durie, M. (1996) cited in Walsh-Tapiata (1997). Pg 140

made my face well known to the kaumatua of the marae and to other iwi members; second, my face was more memorable because I was given the name of an iwi kuia, Nanny Te Rina; third, I am able to converse in Te Reo; fourth, I have previously conducted historic research for the iwi and am an active member of the iwi and the rūnanga. These circumstances have allowed a greater access to iwi information and the later actions have provided an assurance to the iwi that the research is undertaken with the best of intentions.

My understanding of whakapapa also implies relationships. These relationships take on many forms. Within the whanau at nuclear and at extended levels, within the iwi, within te ao Māori (the physical and spiritual domains included) and with the wider world. It is a notion that I utilise to understand my relationship with the world. Being aware of those relationships is important to me, as an individual, as a component of a collective (whanau, iwi, Māori) and as an academic researcher. It has allowed me to gain access to information and has provided support on many levels, mental, physical and spiritual. The personal relationships may perhaps best be described in terms of 'networks', be they within the whanau or iwi, locally through genealogical affiliation, iwi alliance, academic contact, or at an international level. Whakapapa relationships also include the World Systems theory, Community Development and Empowerment theory that have been viewed as mere extensions of the different forms that relationships manifest. These theories are those that I thought may assist in my understanding of world relationships and the implications that such relationships may have in terms of rūnanga and Māori governance.

I also interpret whakapapa as having a sense of history. This notion is evident in the historic account of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi that produced a rūnanga to facilitate iwi aspirations, and is also apparent in the historical account of the evolution of the rūnanga as an institution. Re-identifying classic notions of Māori society as parallels to the World System, Community Development and Empowerment theories are part of acknowledging historic foundations and threads of Māori development that are re-emerging in contemporary Māori societies.

Mana

There are varying perceptions of what mana is. As a principle that has guided me as a person and in this research, I have endeavoured to acknowledge the mana of people, time and place.

This means that I recognise the inherent mana and worth of each individual and collective that I have encountered along this journey and to act in a manner that is neither detrimental to them or to myself. *Kaua e takahi mana* is a value that is incorporated here, however it is more than not acting in a detrimental way to those who are engaged in the information collecting process, it is also about acknowledging the individual or collective worth of those factions. This is enhanced by the notion of *manaaki tangata,* which is most notable in the exchange of *koha.* Although koha is most often perceived to be gifted by the researcher (in this sense), the information received is viewed as a koha and thus the custom is an exchange of gifts. It is not unusual for those who are imparting the information to offer their own additional koha in the form of food and drink. This exchange is what I view as a form of *tauutuutu,* an action of reciprocity.

I am conscious of the essence of time, in that people have given their time to me to aid in the completion of this research. But also, that some people do not have time to set aside for me which has produced some imaginative ways of information collecting, whether it was becoming a personal chauffeur or tracking people in the lunch time flurry at conferences that you purposefully attended.

In addition to this I have been sensitive to the physical environment in which communication takes place. At times this has been upon the marae, at other times in individual homes, in offices, in corridors, on the street, over lunch, at hui, on the phone and via email. Each situation requires its own protocol and demands its own type of respect (this is perhaps most notable when internet connections begin to fail in the vital stages of information gathering). However each encounter has its own mauri that I respect in terms of mana.

Most importantly I have maintained constant contact with the marae as a reminder of who I am and where I have come from. I have found that there is nothing more grounding than utilising a tea towel in the kitchen at the marae and that there is a wealth of information to be obtained during this time. Most of this information and its experience could never be conveyed in textbooks.

Supervisors

The selection of my supervisors was deliberate. Manuhuia Barcham was chosen as my primary supervisor for three reasons. First, it is an academic requirement your primary supervisor must be from your department; second, he is Māori and based on the content of this thesis, especially the notion of empowerment, it was only appropriate that I obtained a Māori supervisor for this research; third, he has researched a number of indigenous development issues including research around Māori. Therefore Manuhuia could provide appropriate guidance for the research of Māori within the department of Development Studies. Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata was sought to fulfil the position of a secondary supervisor because she has a strong affiliation with her own rūnanga and is an active member of iwi development. Her knowledge and experience with iwi development was thought to be able to provide invaluable guidance with regard to this thesis.

Methods

There are five methods that have been employed within this research: participant observation, documentary analysis, questionnaires, focus groups and personal communication. Each of these methods are described in the following section.

Participant Observation

As an active member of Ngāti Whitikaupeka and a researcher who is researching their own iwi, participant observation was an unacknowledged method. In hindsight and in relation to Walsh-Tapiata's examination of participant

observation[42] this method has played two roles in this research. First, I have direct experience and first-hand knowledge of the issues that face both Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi, and in terms of iwi members. This provides a deeper understanding of development issues as well as direct motivation for the research. Second, because I am an active iwi member I am directly accountable to every whanau and iwi member that I encounter in my home, on the marae or otherwise, with regard to the outcomes of this research.

Therefore participant observation has two influences on this research. As an iwi member (an 'insider' to the research) participant observation has allowed access to information that may have otherwise not been available to an 'outsider' and the principles of whakapapa and mana as well as my constant contact with the iwi ensure that the research is not detrimental to Ngāti Whitikaupeka.

Documentary analysis

General literary sources have been used in this thesis to document the evolution of the rūnanga as an institution, where historic accounts of rūnanga have been used to provide an overview of its origins and to detail its development. These documents have mainly been sourced through libraries, however many of the significant texts were not easily identifiable through library catalogue and Internet searches. Such texts were identified after a multitude of correspondence with many key people who I thought may be able to provide personal and/or literary leads for this research. This process was a long and arduous one. Additionally, personal communication was used to provide a foundation for investigating the evolution and the functions of the institution that has become known as the rūnanga.

Documents have also been used to describe the developments of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka. These have been in the form of minutes, strategic planning notes and the Ngāti Whitikaupeka Environmental Policy Document. Such recordings have been used to understand and to explain some of the issues of the

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[42] Walsh-Tapiata (1997). Pg 147-150

respective times and to describe the actions that were taken to address those issues. Documentation pertaining to Ngāti Whitikaupeka has been acquired via Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka and its members. Once again personal communication, with key iwi members and iwi historians, has been utilised to verify the motives and reasons for the developments that have taken place with regards to Ngāti Whitikaupeka.

Questionnaires

The inclusion of a quantitative research component was based on two premises: first I wanted to be able to give individual iwi members the opportunity to convey their own needs and aspirations, and second I wished to include some statistical inferences for measuring general iwi needs and aspirations. A questionnaire was thought to provide a medium by which individual iwi members could confidentially convey their own aspirations and additionally provide some statistical information for assessing the needs and aspirations of the iwi in relation to several aspects of living[43]. It should also be noted that the questionnaires are intended to provide an *overview* of iwi member aspirations, not to produce detailed data for multivariate statistical inference.

As there was a need to formulate a comprehensive questionnaire that pertained to several different aspects of life for a Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi member, I enlisted the help of Doctor Paul Perry a senior lecturer in the School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work at Massey University to assist in designing the questionnaire. The formulation of the questionnaire proved to be a very meticulous and informative task. The construction of the questionnaire required four steps: selecting areas to question, the formulation of actual questions, the evaluation of those questions and designing the layout of the questionnaire[44]. Eventually six main areas were addressed: tikanga Māori, education, employment, health, social services and the environment. It was thought that these areas

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[43] Appendix A
[44] de Vaus (1995). Pg 80

encapsulated a range of pertinent issues that were relevant to iwi members. A final section was included to gather general statistics such as age and gender. It was vital that the structure of the questions would be easily understood and would extract the necessary information to assess needs and aspirations. De Vaus notes that '[c]onsiderable attention must be given to developing clear, unambiguous and useful questions. To do this the wording of the questions is fundamental'[45]. De Vaus provides a sixteen-step guide to aid in the formulation of questions[46]. These guidelines are to ensure that questions are short, concise, comprehensible, unambiguous and useful. This particular questionnaire has incorporated both *open* and *closed* questions[47]. Ideally a questionnaire would contain only *closed* questions to assess a distinct set of data, where *closed* questions are also referred to as *forced-choice* questions[48]. These types of enquiries compel the research participant to categorise their answer according to the choices given. It should be noted that while this form of question does not gauge the exact situation of the participant, it does allow for a generalisation of the participant's situation. De Vaus notes that closed questions are useful in that they 'do not discriminate against the less talkative and inarticulate respondents'[49] however it must be kept in mind that to some extent the use of closed questions restricts the participants to the given options. To provide an alternative to providing a distinct answer, many of the questions contained in this research also utilised the option of a 'don't know' response[50].

Once the questions are formulated they need to be assessed in terms of their use and their applicability to the study. That is to say, do the questions provide valuable information? Finally the questionnaire needs to be structured in a way that it is easily read and answered. Issues that arise when structuring the layout of questionnaires pertain to the types of question formats and the order of the

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[45] Ibid Pg 83
[46] Ibid Pg 83-86
[47] Appendix A
[48] Ibid Pg 86
[49] Ibid Pg 87
[50] Ibid

questions. This study has utilised an array of formats. To gauge simple responses to questions *closed formats* have been utilised, for example as *yes/no/don't know* questions to gauge the *intensity of attitudes*[51]. *Likert-style rating scales*[52] have been used to assess certain levels (for example proficiency in te reo Māori and health), and *likert-style matrices*[53] are used to identify the frequencies of events. *Contingency questions*[54] have been used in regards to employment, and *open-ended* questions have been included where the question may not have exhausted all possibilities or cannot identify all possibilities. In addition to this *open-ended* questions have been included to allow the participants to add their own comments about the questionnaire and to provide extra information that they deem necessary to include in the research. General care has been taken to provide question formats that are consistent and easy to answer. Additionally, the ordering of the questions ensured that there was a relational flow between questions. The types of questions and the layout included in the questionnaire for this research has been modelled on *The New Zealand Study of Values*[55] that was undertaken as part of a world survey in 1998.

The sample population for the questionnaires was restricted to Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members who were 16 years of age or older. Iwi membership is determined by genealogical descent from the ancestor Whitikaupeka. An age criterion is enacted based on the requirements of Massey University Human Ethics Committee approval. Participants of the research are those iwi members who were interested in and agreed to complete a questionnaire. The research was described at a number of iwi hui where iwi members were invited to participate in

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[51] Ibid Pg 89-90
[52] Ibid Pg 88
[53] Ibid Pg 93
[54] Ibid
[55] The New Zealand Study of Values Trust & The School of Sociology and Women's Studies Massey University (1998).

the research. In addition to this snowballing[56] was used to identify iwi members who were not at hui, but who might wish to become participants of the research. They were then contacted with a questionnaire. An information sheet that outlined the research and listed my personal contact details, as well as those of my supervisors, accompanied all questionnaires[57]. The questionnaires were collected personally or were returned via post.

Ethical considerations pertaining to the questionnaire are addressed shortly. The findings and analysis of the questionnaires are contained in a consequent segment of this study.

Focus Groups

The use of a focus group provided the qualitative data for this research. A focus group consisting of six participants was utilised to collect information relating to the group's aspirations and what they perceive to be important issues that need to be addressed as iwi members. This group consisted of iwi members between the age of 16 and 30 who I believed were able to provide information rich data from the perspective of rangatahi. Rangatahi were chosen as a focus group to provide information from a group who is largely unrepresented in iwi committees and organizations and who do not actively voice their opinion in forums of iwi discussion.

Another focus group involving Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members who are involved with various iwi committees, organizations or iwi representative positions was also intended. Due to difficulty in convening a meeting that accommodated these participant's schedules, this focus group did not take place.

Particular research techniques have been employed to extract and guide the information collection. These particular research methods are generally known as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques. *Venn diagrams*[58] were utilised to

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[56] The process of identifying potential participants by asking current participants to identify others. David & Sutton (2004). Pg 370
[57] Appendix B
[58] Kumar (2002). Pg 234-246

understand what the focus groups deemed as important elements/services/institutions in their lives and their accessibility to them. *Pairwise ranking*[59] was used to determine some of the issues that the focus groups perceive to be of importance and to prioritise those issues. The focus groups were also audio taped. This was to acquire other pertinent information from group discussion. All of the information collected from the focus groups is intended to provide an overview of the concerns of iwi members.

Consequently all information that has been obtained in this research process is intended to assist Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka with future iwi developments. The research is intended to convey an account of iwi needs and aspirations so that Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka may assist in their facilitation.

Personal Communication

Personal communication has been a necessary element of this research. Communication with iwi members aside, the first instances of personal communication were utilised to locate relevant literature. These communications were undertaken in person and via email. Personal communication has also been used to verify information. This was crucial in terms of verifying Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi history and in determining the origins of traditional rūnanga. Personal communication has ultimately been used when literary information has not been located.

Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations pertaining to te ao Māori have been addressed by the principles of whakapapa and mana. This has meant that permission has been obtained from Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka to undertake this research[60]. In giving their permission they have asked that they be given the opportunity to view

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[59] Ibid Pg 246-251
[60] Appendix C

the information particular to Ngāti Whitikaupeka and Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka before the thesis is made available to a wider audience. If Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka consent to the information written about their iwi in this thesis, then it will be available for people to use but if they do not give their consent then an embargo will be imposed on the thesis for a period of time. To ensure that the information is correct, iwi members and rūnanga delegates, have checked all information that has been collated with regard to Ngāti Whitikaupeka. I have maintained constant contact with iwi members during the writing phases that pertain directly to Ngāti Whitikaupeka to ensure the credibility of the information.

Massey University also has its own ethical requirements that must be met when undertaking research that involves human participants. Because this research involved human subjects, I had to receive the approval of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee before proceeding with the research, which required that I adhered to the *Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants*[61]. Admittedly I was naïve to think that the only approval needed to undertake the research was that of the subject group, Ngāti Whitikaupeka. However the Massey University Human Ethics process was conducted[62].

Privacy and confidentiality

In the case of the questionnaires the identities of the participants were known to the researcher and no other. A tear off segment was included on the questionnaires in the event that participants wished to be informed of the research findings. All tear off segments were separated from their questionnaires prior to information collation. This was to ensure that any personally identifying information from that contained within the questionnaires was kept separate.

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[61] 2004 *Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants.*
[62] Appendix D

The identities of the focus group participants remained confidential. Participants were required to sign a consent form that acknowledges the confidentiality of the focus group and the discussions that were held. Any information that was utilised from audiotapes has been subject to the consent and editing of the concerned participants and their identities were protected through the use of pseudonyms.

Benefits/Risks of harm to participants

The research is intended to aid Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka in facilitating iwi needs and aspirations, and to address the concerns of Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members. There is no expected harm to any of the participants other than the researcher. This thought was a contentious issue, as popular Western belief would suggest that this type of research involved no potential harm for the researcher. However I believed that in undertaking the research there would be an iwi expectation to complete a piece of high quality research. Failure to do so would be personally detrimental. It was expected that good supervision and regular feedback to Ngāti Whitikaupeka in regard to the research would manage this risk.

Informed and voluntary consent

Questionnaire participants were given both the questionnaire and an information sheet that outlined the research. Iwi members were invited to participate in the research on a voluntary capacity. Consent to partake in the research was actioned by completing and returning the questionnaire.

Relevant participants were identified and contacted with an information sheet. Those who agreed to partake in focus group discussions were also asked to complete a consent form agreeing to partake in the research, allowing for audio taping, and acknowledging that focus group discussions were confidential.

Conflict of interest

This notion highlights one of the juxtapositions between mainstream Western research and 'Māori research'. As an iwi member undertaking research about my iwi this is viewed as a conflict of interest within western paradigms. This is evident within the Massey University Human Ethics Application that states that having a relationship, professional or otherwise, is viewed as a conflict of interest. It was stated that I was genealogically related to all research participants, however my status as an iwi member offered the opportunity to access participants and information that might not ordinarily be available. However I endeavored to be clear in my role as a researcher when undertaking the questionnaires and the focus group.

Compensation to participants

This is another difference between 'Māori' and Western research. Māori view, koha as compensation or tauutuutu, but the Western paradigm of research may render this as an enticement. On most occasions my koha has been in the form of kai, however koha has also been gifted when a venue to hold hui was needed.

Treaty of Waitangi

There is a section within the Massey University Human Ethics Application that addresses the Treaty of Waitangi. This section pertains to research that may impact on 'Māori persons as Māori'[63] and addresses the consultation process, ongoing involvement with research participants and the sharing and dissemination of the information collected during the research. Consultation with Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi was conducted through Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka. I have endeavoured to give regular reports to the Rūnanga and the iwi (via iwi hui) about the development of the research project. Final findings of the research, together with any recommendations will be produced at a hui-a-iwi upon the

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[63] 2004 *Massey University Human Ethics Committee Application for Approval of Proposed Research.* Pg 11.

conclusion of the study. A one-page summary of the research will be given to all Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members who are present at the final hui and the summary will be sent by post to those who have indicated that they would like to receive a copy of the research summary. Iwi members will be informed that a copy of the completed thesis will be presented to Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka and if the rūnanga consents to general access, participants will also be notified of where approved copies of the final thesis can be obtained.

Conclusion

The notion of power relationships, as with the World Systems, is evident within alternative knowledge paradigms. The Western frames of research and knowledge have assumed the position of the centre of true and valid information, while any residual frames of research and knowledge are relegated to the peripheries of untrue and invalid information otherwise referred to as the 'other'. The power of knowledge has been briefly discussed in this chapter to highlight the implications of knowledge construction for those who reside at the 'peripheries'. According to World System theory, the only way for those who reside at the peripheries to change their position and the power relationships within the world system is to break ties (or significantly weaken them) or to revolt. What has occurred in terms of Māori knowledges, has been a significant shift where the re-centering of the paradigm Māori, as with Māori Centered research approaches and Kaupapa Māori, are revolutionary acts. In providing approaches that validate Māori knowledges, I was able to perform this research from a position that is natural to me being Māori.

This research has been underpinned by two encompassing principles, the principle of whakapapa and the principle of mana. These have been the guiding forces of this research. In addition to this a variety of methods have been employed to collate the information contained in this thesis. Documentary analysis, questionnaires, focus groups and personal communication have all

contributed in their own relevant way to the overall development and completion of this research.

Ethical considerations as described in this chapter adhere to a Western approach to research. These have been included to acknowledge the Western paradigm of knowledge and the requirements of the institute with regard to researching human participants.

In describing the methodology of this thesis, it is hoped that this chapter provides a relevant road map by which the research may be replicated for other similar circumstances and outcomes.

The following chapter outlines the Development Studies theories that are relevant to this study. These theories further expand the discussion in the first two chapters by considering power relationships and the importance of development being determined by those that it impinges upon the most, the people on the ground − or with reference to Māori, the people at the flax-roots. For Ngāti Whitikaupeka it offers some explanation and analysis of their development.

Chapter Three

Theory

Whakararo te tau[1]

Introduction

This chapter is intended to locate Māori development with reference to rūnanga facilitation in relation to the paradigms of development studies theory. The chapter endeavours to portray the Māori position within the paradigms of development studies.

There are four main theories that will be examined. *Dependency theory* considers the effects of the world capitalist system that produces dependency in the world[2]. The Māori position of dependence is examined in this context. *World Systems theory*[3] is used to illustrate the position of Māori and rūnanga in reference to the wider world and considers the effects of Māori *modes of production*[4]. *Community development theory* is a theory that advocates development 'on the ground' as opposed to development implemented from 'above'[5]. The notions of community development and empowerment are interrelated where this chapter considers how these theories are relevant to Māori development and how rūnanga are perceived within its frameworks. *Empowerment theory* enhances the notions of community development. It is particularly concerned with allowing individuals to determine their own needs and aspirations, and providing them with opportunities for self-development[6].

The purpose of this chapter is to parallel Māori development (rūnanga and iwi), with relevant development studies theories.

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[1] To arrive upon (an adequate foundation)
[2] Frank (1970).
[3] Frank & Gills (1993); Wallerstein (2004).
[4] Wolpe (1980).
[5] Pieterse (1998).
[6] Friedmann (1992). Pg 7

Dependency Theory

Dependency theory is derived from Marxist and structuralist theories that evolved as a Latin American response to the bankruptcy of a United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America program[7]. Dependency theory engages the notion that the world is comprised of a myriad of economic systems that are all interrelated[8]. These relationships are formed globally between and within all nations. The main foci of Dependency theory are that while all countries maintain relationships of exchange, these relationships are of a capitalist nature and perpetuate capitalism[9]. This form of capitalism creates and exploits inequality. This inequality is further sustained by the relationship of power that the larger metropolises[10] (more developed nations, regions, cities) of the world hold over the smaller peripheries (less developed nations, regions and cities). Such power is noted as being economic, military, technological, cultural and political[11].

The colonisation of 'undeveloped' Aotearoa by the 'developed' British saw Māori eventually assuming a peripheral position with the colonial government at the centre. Early trading opportunities with European citizens were readily engaged upon[12]. Technology such as metals, firearms, new foods and clothing was the foundation for early trade[13]. Land provided the economic means to acquire technology however it was expediently transferred to colonial control, '[i]n the North Island, war and the law were the twin instruments through which a major part of the usable land was transferred to Pākehā hands. In the South Island no war was needed; Crown purchases achieved a similar effect'[14]. Cultural and political domination was conferred mainly through legislation. Durie describes three legislative mechanisms that restricted Māori:

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[7] So (1990). Pg 91
[8] Frank (1983). Pg 182
[9] Blomström& Hettne (1984). Pg 67
[10] Also referred to as cores or centers
[11] Department of Development Studies (2003). Pg 32
[12] Firth (1973).
[13] Ibid
[14] Durie (1998). Pg 116

'the first substituted Māori understandings for British concepts and processes; the 1862 and 1865 Native Land Acts, for example, replaced traditional forms of land tenure with British systems thereby accelerating the alienation of tribal estates. In the second approach Māori interests were acknowledged but marginalised to avoid conflict with the law's wider provisions; under the Oyster Fisheries Act 1866 Māori rights to oyster beds were recognised but it was (wrongly) assumed that those rights were at subsistence levels only... The third way of negating Māori interests through statute was simply by prohibiting aspects of custom; traditional healers and political leaders were outlawed in the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907,[15] while the use of Māori language in court had been blocked through the Pleadings in English Act 1362'[16]

However cultural domination was also established through religion. Walker notes that early missionaries were 'to convert the Maori from heathenism to Christianity and from barbarism to civilisation. Underlying this mission were ethnocentric attitudes of racial and cultural superiority'[17]. Finally military power was imposed when Māori did not comply with colonial agenda for land acquisition[18].

Māori participation in the world economic exchange system saw the colonial government enforcing economic, military, technological, cultural and political domination over Māori. Hence, Māori were subordinated to a position of depending on the colonial government to allow for development.

The Māori situation is consistent with Dos Santos' description of dependence as 'a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected'[19]. Processes of colonization have conditioned Māori economic development, more specifically it is conditioned by government legislation and will.

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[15] Webster, P (1979). pp. 221-224 cited in Durie (2003). Pg 125
[16] Durie, M. H. (2003). Pg 125
[17] Walker (1990). Pg 85
[18] Belich, J. (1998).
[19] Dos Santos (1970). Pg 231.

Early accounts of this are apparent in New Zealand land wars[20] and assimilation agendas where 'the Crown adopted a paternalistic attitude to Māori affairs'[21].

The early land wars and the recent Foreshore and Seabed Hikoi are examples of situations in which Māori have identified subordination and stated their opposition to State agenda. Early colonial contact implemented dependence for Māori, where Māori found that development and change resulted mainly through colonial legislation and military enforcement. This notion is endorsed by Dos Santos where the 'relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and be self-sustaining, while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion'[22].

The theory of dependence maintains that the unequal development is fashioned by the relationships of the capitalist world where peripheries are dependent on the centers and are in turn subjected to a 'process' of *underdevelopment*[23]. This manifests the 'product of a single, but dialectically contradictory, economic structure and process of capitalism'[24] where the development of one nation happens to the detriment of another. Therefore, 'economic development and underdevelopment are relational and qualitative, in that each is structurally different from, yet caused by its relation with, the other'[25].

Māori resistance measures to colonial domination indicate that Māori have always been aware of this relationship. Early resistance is most notable in the establishment of He Whakaminenga o Ngā Hapū[26], the Kingitanga[27] and land wars, but when war subsided 'Parliament enacted laws that would reap the fruits of triumph'[28]. Battles for equal power amongst Māori and the colonial settlers headed

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[20] See: Belich (1998).
[21] Cox (1993). Pg 191
[22] Dos Santos (1970). Pg 231
[23] Blomström & Hettne (1984). Pg 74-75
[24] Frank (1969). Pg 9
[25] Ibid
[26] The Declaration of Independence 1835
[27] The Māori King movement established to parallel the sovereignty of the Queen
[28] Walker (1990). Pg 135

by the State moved from the field into political arenas. One example of this was the Kotahitanga movement that eventuated in Māori receiving four seats in parliament to constitutionally represent all Māori[29], more recently it is apparent in Waitangi Tribunal Claims. However, the State has and continues to maintain dominance over these processes and their outcomes.

Ngāti Whitikaupeka also resisted colonial domination. They were early supporters of the Kotahitanga movement[30] that involved Māori leaders who 'continued to meet periodically and to resist the impact of State control'[31] and were also party to a number of inter-iwi rūnanga held at Kokako and Turangarere discuss land issues[32]. More recently Ngāti Whitikaupeka have utilized the Resource Management Act 1990 and the establishment of an Environmental Policy Statement[33] to assert iwi rights to be consulted over environmental issues.

In addition, Durie notes that the New Zealand state has the ability to facilitate or block Māori development where 'the state's role hinges largely on government policies and laws, arrangements for power-sharing, and the establishment of national priorities which accord with the realities of the ballot box'[34]. This notion contributed to the non-legal status of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka because legalisation would only further restrict its function[35]. With reference to Dependency Theory, Māori are situated at the periphery with the colonial government occupying the centre. The capacity for Māori to develop, as a people or as iwi, is still largely dependent on government allowance to do so.

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[29] Cox (1993). Pg 61
[30] Waahi (1907, May 2). Pg 1
[31] Cox. (1993). Pg 61
[32] Ballara (1998). Pg 285-287
[33] Discussed in chapter five
[34] Durie (1998). Pg 17
[35] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka must still operate within national constructs and legislation that are largely determined by the state which can restrict Māori/iwi development

World Systems Theory

World Systems Theory is based on the premise that *all* nations are merely components of a *global system* that is ultimately based on capitalism[36]. World Systems Theory is important in understanding the power relations between Māori and the state as well as the situation and potential role of rūnanga within this system. It further explains how Māori came to be a dependent periphery with regard to the state centre. The World System is 'a single division of labour comprising multiple cultural systems, multiple political entities and even different modes of surplus appropriation'[37]. There are two models of the world system that are relevant to this study, that of Andre Gunder Frank and that of Immanuel Wallerstein[38].

Frank describes the world system by means of a dual metropolis/satellite relationship[39]. The metropolis being a large urbanised 'developed' nation or region, and the satellite being a smaller less 'developed' nation or region. The world system is essentially a way in which the larger (more powerful) metropolises exploit the smaller satellites to gain a type of monopoly on the capitalist world market by extracting surplus commodities from these satellite regions for the benefit of the metropolis[40]. The relationships form a web of metropolises and satellites that feed into the larger 'world metropolis' where each satellite also has the potential to become a metropolis to a smaller satellite[41].

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[36] Harrison (1988). Pg 97-98
[37] Wallerstein (1980). Pg 5
[38] Harrison (1988). Pg 84-85
[39] Frank (1970). Pg5
[40] Surplus value is the difference between the cost of producing a commodity and its final price.
[41] Diagram 3.1 reproduced from Blomström & Hettne (1984). Pg 69

Frank's Metropolis-Satellite Model
Diagram 3.1

M = the world metropolis
m = metropolis
s= satellite
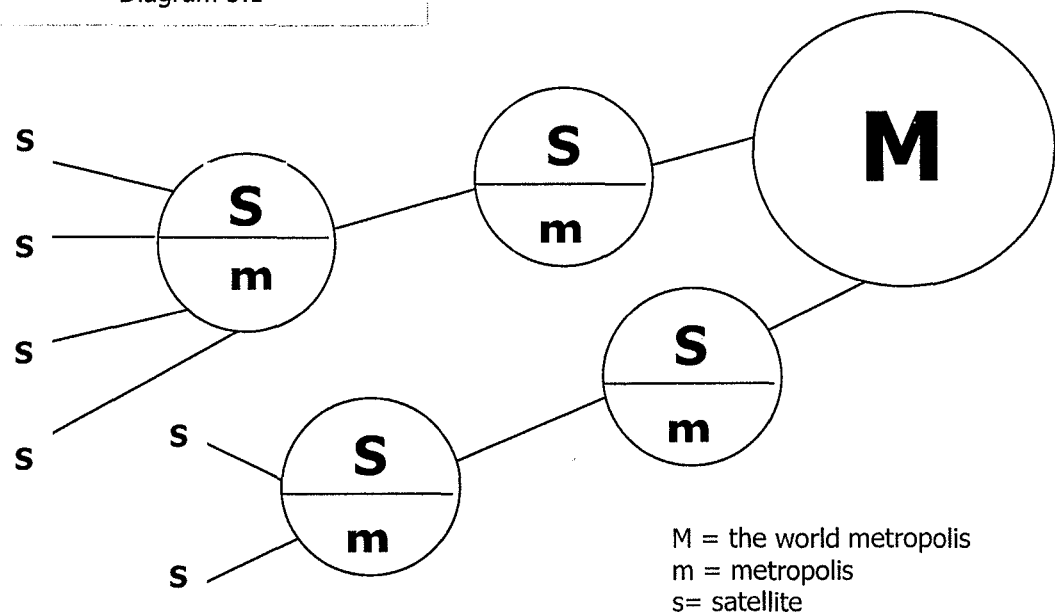
Bomström and Hettne describe Frank's perception of the world system as a:

> 'world capitalist system... characterized by a *metropolis-satellite* structure, where the metropolis exploited the satellite... The monopoly structure [is] found at all levels, i.e. the international, the national and the local level, and created a situation of exploitation which, in turn, caused the 'chain-like' flow of the surplus from the remotest Latin American village to Wall Street in New York'[42]

In this context a parallel can be drawn with Frank's world system, with Māori as the exploited satellite and the state as the exploitive metropolis. However, this situation also applies to iwi who have been consumed by larger iwi units[43].

Wallerstein, another key world system theorist, employs an analysis of the world system, which varies slightly from that of Frank[44]. Wallerstein employs a three-

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[42] Bomström & Hettne (1984). Pp67
[43] This notion is described in chapter five, with Ngāti Whitikaupeka being a satellite of a larger iwi.
[44] Harrison (1988). Pg 88

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fold division of the world system, the centre (core or metropolis), the periphery (satellite) and the semi-periphery (an intermediary).

Wallerstein's World System:
Diagram 3.2

Centre

Semi-periphery

Periphery

Periphery

Semi-periphery
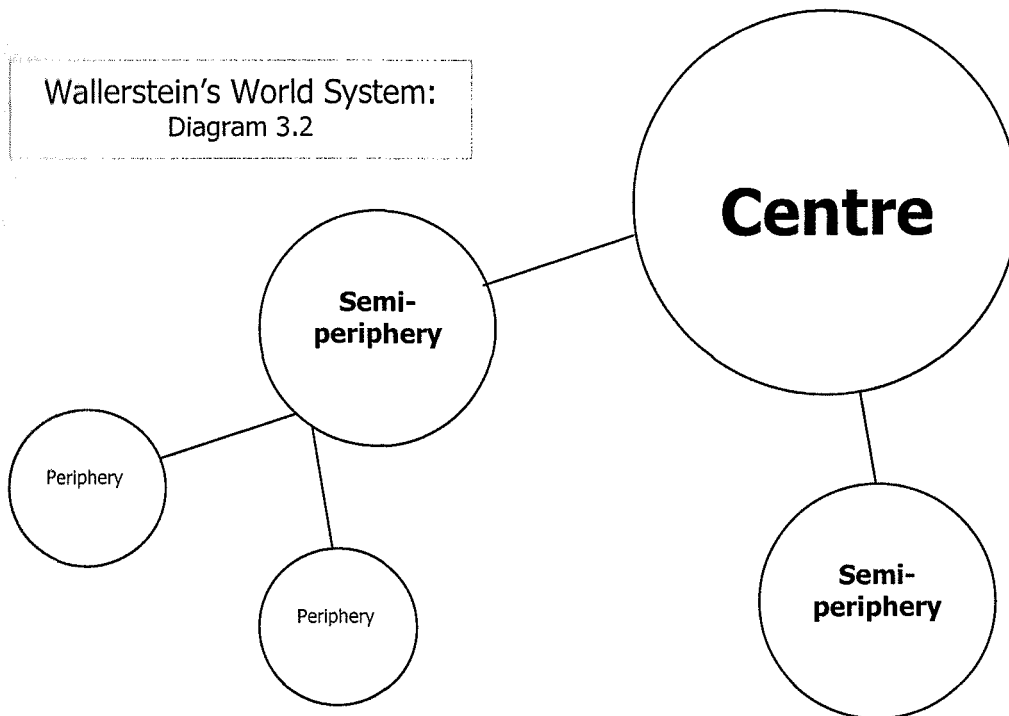
The core nations or regions enforce unequal exchanges for their own self-benefit and exploit the peripheries that are largely mono-agricultural and dependent on the export of low-wage products[45]. The unequal exchanges and exploitation that take place between them lead to the 'underdevelopment' of the peripheries. This is to say that while some nations are 'developed', like the core or Britain, and have developed capitalist systems established within them, some nations and regions are '*un*developed' but possess the potential to develop capitalist markets and relationships with others, like Aotearoa - pre-European contact. *Underdevelopment* implies that the core who exploit the periphery also obstruct that periphery from developing their own capitalist systems and relationships forcing those peripheries to become dependent on their relationship

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[45] Ibid. Pg 87

with the core[46]. Underdevelopment is thus regarded as a *process* that sees the core benefit at the expense of the subordinate periphery[47].

For Māori, economic development was severely hindered by the loss of land and then natural resources[48], where 'a comprehensive European control of the native lands [was] a process which inevitable led to a disturbance of the economic equilibrium'[49]. In becoming subordinate to the Pakehā core and their laws, Māori were exposed to a state of underdevelopment, allowed to develop only as a reflection of the core, while the core benefits from the acquisition of Māori lands and natural resources.

However, the inclusion of Wallerstein's semi-periphery, to some extent allows an analysis of how the Māori struggle to develop is situated within the world system. The semi-periphery has been perceived as the division that sustains the world system by providing an intermediary that guise the tension between the dominant core and the subordinate peripheries[50]. The semi-periphery acts as a mediator or 'buffer' between the centre and the periphery, it is exploited by the core but is also an exploiter of the periphery. In support of these ideas Hoogvelt consequently describes the semi-periphery as a primarily political element or go-between nation/region within the world system[51].

Since post-European contact, many semi-peripheral political elements have been established. While Māori were still adamant to retain their own authority, as with the independent establishment of the Kingitanga, other aspects of Māori society were hybridised to suit the State agenda where '[c]onsistently, the Crown has sought to impose upon Māori structures which are designed to give a veneer of autonomy yet allow the State to direct and focus activity'[52]. These structures were most evident in the legislative establishment of district rūnanga, Māori councils and

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[46] Ibid
[47] Ibid
[48] Walker (1990). Pg 135-144
[49] Firth (1973). Pg 446
[50] Harrison (1988). Pg 87
[51] Hoogvelt (1982). Pg 192
[52] Cox (1993). Pg 75

committees. Cox describes these institutions as 'structures appearing to reinforce Māori authority, but remaining very much creatures of State initiative and control'[53]. With high Māori resistance to the processes of colonisation, and the high settler demand for land, Sir George Grey stated in 1861 that 'the great object is to devise a system which, at this critical time, both Natives and Europeans will gratefully accept'[54]. Thus the traditional form of rūnanga was commandeered to impose 'indirect rule rather than genuine self-government'[55]. Rūnanga were an acceptable form of Māori governance for both Māori and the settler government. On the one hand, they subdued (at least for a time) Māori concern for diminishing Māori autonomy and lands, and on the other hand, the government utilised them to maintain their authority and expedite land transactions; negotiation with one core group, or semi-peripheral group, was much more convenient than having to negotiate with an entire iwi/hapū. Premier William Fox informed the members of the settler government that

> 'we look to runanga, or Native council, as the point d'appui to which to attack the machinery of [Māori] self-government and by which to connect them with our own institutions... We have no choice but to use it, it exists as a fact, it is part of the very existence of the Maori – we can no more put it down than we can stay... and, if we do not use it for good purposes, it will assuredly be used against us for bad'[56].

Hence the potential of traditional rūnanga was acknowledged by the State and incorporated, as an intermediary buffer, under the mantle of its control.

Regardless of their main function the semi-periphery possesses the characteristics of both the core and the periphery, as a conciliator of the world system it resembles the core to the periphery and the periphery to the core. This has been the case with rūnanga. At the time of Grey's implementation, district rūnanga consisted of a number of Māori rangatira and advisors, the Māori

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[53] Cox (1993). Pg 77
[54] *Appendices to the journals of the house of representatives.* (1861, 31 October).
[55] O'Malley (1998). Pg 18
[56] *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates.* (1861-63). Pg422

bourgeois of the time, all of whom were financed by the government. Rūnanga membership was deemed a prestigious position among Māori[57], however racial inclination meant that Māori, regardless of ascribed status, would never occupy a core position as long as a pakehā government could legislate it so. Within the world system, class allows one to move from the periphery to the core, however with regard to Māori, Walker notes that 'because race conflict was a primary element in the definition of the relationship [between Māori and Pakehā]... it is not of the same order as class conflict. The cleavage is much more fundamental in that it is defined in terms of ethnicity instead of class'[58]. Grey's district rūnanga system was short lived and it was abandoned in 1865[59]. However the notion of this *institutional* rūnanga system survived into contemporary times, where rūnanga are viewed as institutions by which Māori can be appropriately represented. The Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990 sought to define a representative iwi body to receive monies, conform to state agendas and act like a state agency to deliver limited local services[60] where 'rūnanga would become, at least in the State's perception, the primary political units of Māori society'[61]. This act was repealed in 1991.

Many contemporary rūnanga have been established with representation of the people as its motivation. Some rūnanga have been established as legal entities prompted perhaps by the Rūnanga Iwi Act 1990 or Treaty of Waitangi settlements, however some more recently formed rūnanga have subscribed to the more traditional form of rūnanga, operating without legal distinction. Regardless of legal status, the position of rūnanga as a semi-periphery is contentious, it has the potential to facilitate the aspirations of iwi members at the periphery and contest core exploitation, or it can submit to core domination and further exploit the periphery. The notion of neo-tribalisation[62] highlights the capacity of the semi-periphery to further exploit the peripheries of Māori societies. It is a generalization

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[57] Cox (1993). Pg 85
[58] Walker (1990). Pg 186
[59] Cox (1993). Pg 88
[60] Ibid. Pg 141
[61] Ibid
[62] Rata (2000). Pg 33-74

of contemporary Māori organisations that have been established through the Treaty of Waitangi settlement process and the devolution of social services. While it parallels the notions of subaulternism[63] the idea of neotribalisation itself is flawed as Friedmann notes that 'there is a deeper continuity in the modern Maori self-restructuring that cannot be dismissed with arguments of capitalism'[64]. However it does provide a worthy Marxist warning for semi-periphery institutions that intend on perpetuating state dominance.

Thus the ability of the semi-periphery to disguise tensions between the core and the periphery should not be interpreted as a one-directional filter for core dominance; rather it should be embraced as a means of extracting necessary commodities from the core for use at the periphery while acting as a barrier, a measure of resistance, to the effects of core domination.

Modes of Production

The modes of production are a dissection of the world system and its operational structure; they are a way in which society is 'divided into an economic base'[65]. In addition to Dependency and World Systems, further understanding of the position of Māori may be found in the examination of the modes of production.

The ***means of production*** are equated to the tools and objects that are utilised in the production of goods, the ***forces of production*** are the *means of production* coupled with the necessary skills that allow one to produce commodities and the ***relations of production*** are the complex social relationships that are involved in the labour process[66]. Together the *means of production* and the *relations of production* form the **mode of production.**

Another level of mode of production is the ***ideological and political superstructure.*** Worsley contends that after the economic base (modes of production) all remaining facets of economic exchange are seen as the

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[63] Walker (1996). Pg 79-81; Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (2000). Pg 215-219
[64] Friedman (2000). Pg xiv
[65] Worsley (1984). Pg 25
[66] Ibid

superstructure[67]. This *superstructure* is described as 'the value systems, including the legal, educational and religious systems which reinforce and regulate social relations'[68]. The relationships between the base (modes of production) and the superstructure can be represented as such[69]:

Overton's Base/Superstructure Diagram 3.3
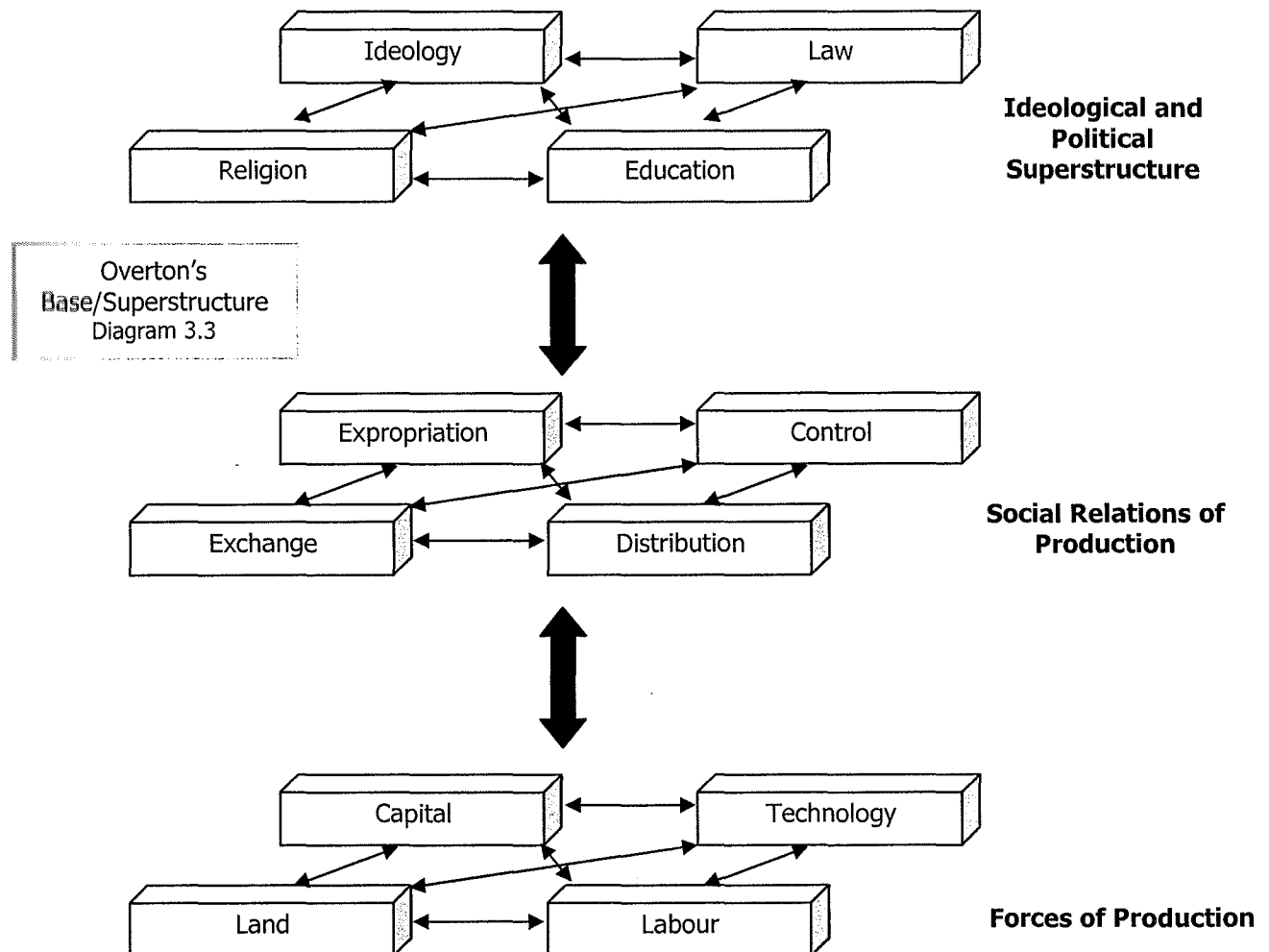
Early Māori trade was derived primarily from natural resources. However with a declining quantity of land the Māori economic system changed. A new base and superstructure developed for Māori, where land played a less dominate role[70]. Legislation saw Māori land alienated and purchased or confiscated when Māori

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[67] Ibid
[68] Department of Development Studies. (2003). Pg 43
[69] Overton (1988). Pg8
[70] In 1840 = 66, 400, 000 acres of land in Māori possession, in 1852 = 34, 000, 000 acres, 1920 = 4, 787, 686 acres and by 1975 = 3 million acres (4.5% of the amount held in 1840) Durie (1998). Pg 119

opposed land transfer[71]. The consequences of land loss influenced all dimensions of Māori life, from social relations, subsistence production, organization, and labour to spirituality, child rearing and knowledge transmission[72]. Although the loss of land may not be readily seen as invoking dire consequences for Māori, the change in the Māori forces of production were significant. According to the mode of production theory, the base and the superstructure are inter-related where change at any level results in change at another. The Māori forces of production began to resemble a far less balanced economic building block to maintain the relations of production and the superstructure.

Land workers became landless, capital gain was acquired through the production and sales of land, and new technologies were only acquired by capital. The individualisation of land title produced beneficial results for some Māori where they were able to utilise the land for economic sustenance but the consequence was damaging for most Māori who could not be sustained by communal lands and for those who became landless citizens of their own country[73]. The general trend was that 'as pastoralism developed, and land alienation accelerated, Maoris came to occupy a marginal existence as subsistence agriculturalists and wage labourers'[74]. Stimulated by the effects of the Second World War, rural Māori relocated themselves, en mass, to towns in search of income[75]. The loss of land resonated through the Māori economic base, perpetuated by the key factors for the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the 'acquisition, control and ultimately, expropriation of land'[76]. With the 'Proletarianisation of the Maori by expropriation of their resources'[77] Māori social relations of production came to represent mere shadows of their former days.

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[71] Ibid
[72] Firth (1973).
[73] Firth (1973).
[74] Watson & Patterson (1985). Pg 544
[75] Walker (1990). Pg 197
[76] Ibid. Pg 98
[77] Ibid. Pg 186

While the base changed in accordance with economic ability, the superstructure had already begun a transformation. Walker states that 'conversion to Christianity led to further erosion of Maori culture and power'[78] where the missionaries were successful in undermining 'the institutions that buttressed social control and the power of chiefs'[79]. In addition to altering the state of Māori religion, the missionaries also introduced a new education system and through Christianity bought about a change in Māori ideologies[80]. However the assimilation policies of the settler government rounded off a full infiltration of the Māori superstructure, where 'Although it is not widely recognized, colonial policies sought to accumulate capital through the control of Maori labor as well as land'[81]. The Māori superstructure was moderated, as classic Māori traditions changed with the times. Thus Māori were left with a highly weakened economic base and superstructure. An adoption of Overton's illustration of the modes of production would produce a Māori representation that resembles the following where the remainder of the faction had initially been consumed by the colonial state[82].

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[78] Ibid. Pg 86
[79] Ibid
[80] Walker (1990). Pg 81
[81] Webster (1993).
[82] It should be noted that the size of each component is a mere indication of retraction; it does not factually represent the changes.

Ideology — Law

Religion — Education

Māori Ideological and Political Superstructure

Representation of Māori Base/Superstructure Due to economic change Diagram 3.4

Expropriation — Control

Exchange — Distribution

Māori Social Relations of Production

Capital — Technology

Land — Labour

Māori Forces of Production
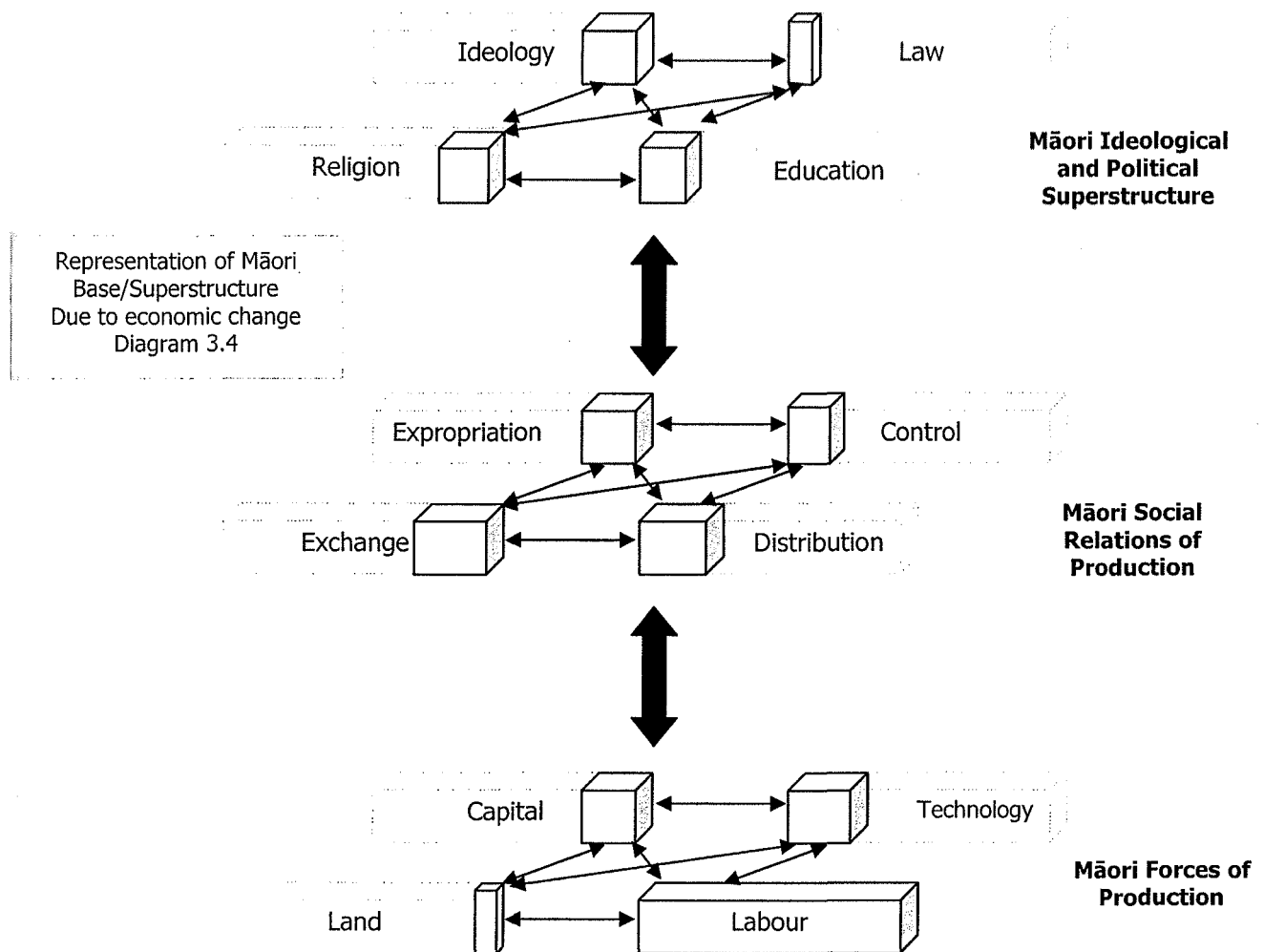
With a weak base and superstructure the Māori core was easily supplanted and replaced by the state. Māori were effectively relocated to a peripheral position, with economic development largely dependent on the state. However, against the odds of assimilation Māori have maintained their identity, values and culture, one important aspect being the notion of whanau and hapū[83] as well as the notion of iwi. Therefore the notions of whanau, hapū and iwi provide the basis for examining community development theory as a means of finding equilibrium for Māori in a contemporary society.

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[83] Walker (1990). Pg 199

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Community Development

The notion of *community development* belongs to the *alternative development* paradigm that has evolved through the realisation that mainstream development implemented from the 'top' rarely meets any of its expected results[84]. Development from the 'top down' is mostly implemented from office armchairs in cities far removed from the lives of those the development is intended to assist and so the mainstream approach has generally been noted as unsuitable for any development on the ground[85]. It is a theory that has been associated with Marxism and Socialism that situates 'community development practise within an historical understanding of power and political struggles based on class'[86]. Therefore community development is relevant to Māori development given the examination of dependency, world systems and mode of production, but it is also relevant given that the Māori position has been associated more so with ethnicity than class. In this instance parallels between the 'top' and the core as well as the 'ground' and the periphery are relevant as:

> 'One of the key foundations of community development is acknowledging that power relations do exist and that a key role of community workers is to identify the nature of these relations. A key element of understanding the nature of power relations is exploring who benefits from the existence of these, who is disadvantaged by these, how they are maintained and how they can be transformed'[87]

Alternative development is not easily definable, but all notions of such development share a similar characteristic: to generate development strategies from the 'ground up'[88] as opposed to adhering to mainstream developments.

Many other terms are used as well as the alternative development approach, for instance: 'appropriate development', 'participatory development', 'people centred development', 'human scale development', 'people's self-development',

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[84] Rahnema (1992).
[85] Edwards (1989)
[86] Munford & Walsh-Tapiata (2001). Pg 19
[87] Ibid Pg 7
[88] Pieterse (1998). Pg 352

'autonomous development' and 'holistic development'[89], 'community development', 'development from below' and 'grass-roots development'. In addition to this an expression that has been termed within Māori development is 'flax-roots development'.

These approaches involve development initiatives that are practice orientated and identify the aspirations of development rather than its attributes and circumstances that the state generally overlooks[90]. One example of Māori dissatisfaction with the state is with regard to negative outcomes for Māori education where 'the development of the Kohanga Reo was not only an attempt to rectify these negative indices, but was an initiative that was developed in communities, by grassroots people (kuia, wahine, young parents, our unemployed and so on) against numerous odds (funding and other resources)'[91]. Māori dissatisfaction with state initiatives is also evident in the establishment of national Māori bodies that seek to address diverse Māori socio-political issues[92] where 'developments such as Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, Whare Wananga and other local initiatives such as iwi social services are evidence of the resurgence of struggles that stem from the grass roots'[93].

Additional themes of community development include: the participation of people or communities in social and political actions that are relevant to their situation[94], and include a local organization of people who have constant contact with local issues[95]. As an example, in devolving the Department of Māori Affairs the government expected twelve to fifteen tribal authorities to be established under the Rūnanga Iwi Act 1989, nearly 200 Māori organizations registered their desire to act on behalf of their communities[96]. 'Devolution coincided with Māori aspirations for greater autonomy and the re-establishment of social structures such

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[89] Ibid. Pg 351-2
[90] Ibid
[91] Munford & Walsh-Tapiata (2001). Pg 7
[92] Cox (1993).
[93] Munford & Walsh-Tapiata (2001). Pg 25
[94] Friedman (1992). Pg 31
[95] Edwards (1989). Pg 131
[96] Van Meijl (2003). Pg 15

as iwi'[97]. However 'sometimes devolution was seen as a partnership between Māori and the State, sometimes as community empowerment, sometimes as government abandonment of responsibility for Māori affairs, and sometimes as debureaucratisation'[98]

Māori diversity and the wish to facilitate specific community needs have also been represented in the establishment of urban Māori authorities in place of tribal authorities[99]. This highlights the desire to address specific local issues where tribal organisations such as rūnanga may facilitate iwi aspirations; urban Māori authorities aim to facilitate the aspirations of those with urban affiliations rather than iwi affiliations.

It has also been stated that developments at the grass roots level should not be restricted to the grass roots and needs to include support from the upper levels of development (or the state) machinery[100]. With regard to flax-root development, Durie affirms:

> 'The state's role hinges largely on government policies and laws, arrangements for power-sharing, and the establishment of nation priorities which accord with the realities of the ballot box. Māori prerequisites for advancement, on the other hand, depend on access to cultural and physical resources, the level and type of [Māori] organization, and leadership and expertise'[101].

Community development is relevant to Māori development because it addresses the specific issues of heterogeneous communities and is consistent with Māori desire for self-determination.

'Already the foundations for self-governance are evident in marae (tribal or community cultural centres), rūnanga-a-iwi (tribal councils), Māori health services, kōhanga reo (Māori language primary schools), wānanga (Māori centres for higher learning), Māori urban authorities, and Māori churches'[102].

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[97] Durie (2003). Pg 172
[98] Fleras & Elliot (1992) pg 203-218, cited in Durie (2003). Pg 173
[99] Van Meijl (2003).
[100] Edwards (1989). Pg 130-131
[101] Durie (1998). Pg 17
[102] Durie (2003). Pg 112

Such communities may be iwi based and facilitated by institutions such as iwi rūnanga, like Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka[103], or iwi Trust Boards; but communities may also be pan-Māori or urban organizations as with the Otaihape Māori Komiti[104] or Te Whanau o Waipareira Trust. The underlying relevance of community development for Māori development is encapsulated in acknowledging the diverse realities of Māori societies and the right of each component to identify and address their own needs and aspirations. Such rights are associated with the notions of empowerment where 'alternative development involves a process of social and political empowerment whose long-term objective is to rebalance the structure of power in society by making state action more accountable, strengthening the powers of civil society in the management of its own affairs'[105]. Key principles to be applied to community development in Aotearoa/New Zealand are:

- *The Treaty of Waitangi:* acknowledging the notions of partnership, protection and participation to build better relationships between Māori and Pākehā
- *Locating ourselves:* understanding one's own background and position in society
- *Power:* understanding power relationships in order to empower individuals and to challenge those relationships
- *Social change:* understanding how oppressive structures can be challenged and transformed
- *Vision:* building visions to guide positive community change
- *Working collectively:* bringing about collective change that transpires from individual and group action
- *Self determination:* maintaining the dignity of diverse individuals, acknowledging a collective sense of belonging and destiny and the right to determine one's own future
- *Action reflection:* continually reflecting on actions in order to identify more effective strategies for change[106]

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[103] Chapter five
[104] Ibid
[105] Friedman (1992). Pg 31
[106] Munford & Walsh-Tapiata (2001). Pg12-17

To some extent the previous theories examined in this chapter assist these principles.

Empowerment

Empowerment theory evolved from neo-Marxism and radical theory. It is a theory that has been largely utilised by minority groups such as: women, the disabled and ethnic groups. The key idea is that one should possess the capacity to transform ones own reality.

The notion of *empowerment* is explicitly linked to the notions of community development, as the aim of this alternative approach is to mobilise communities to identify and address their own specific needs and aspirations. The usage of the word empowerment is noted to have many meanings to many people and it does not necessarily always share the 'same goals or intentional applications'[107]. Therefore it would be prudent to define the word empowerment. To empower is:

    i.   to invest with power or authority, to delegate power to

    ii.   to equip, supply with authority, permit or enable[108].

This definition suggests that there is a lack of all the above before instating 'empowerment'. Empowerment implies that power can only be given and not taken[109], therefore perhaps a more appropriate term would be 're-empowerment'

Empowerment theory is relevant to the position of Māori given the notion of mana and the effects of colonisation on mana Māori. Mana is a complex institution, however a simple interpretation of the word, as used by Durie, is 'authority and control'[110]. Waitere-Ang cites Te Awekotuku's description of mana as having 'layers and levels of meaning; primarily, it is about power and empowerment, about authority and the right to authorise'[111]. Thus, an interpretation of Māori advocacy for Māori authority and control of issues affecting

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[107] James (1999).. Pp14.
[108] Dictionary.com website produces several meanings from several sources: Lexico Publishing Group. Retrieved August, 2004, from http://dictionary.reference.com/search?q=empower
[109] Gandhi and Tandon (1995) cited in James (1999). Pp 19.
[110] Durie (1998). Pg 2
[111] Waitere-Ang (1999). Pg87

Māori is the desire of Māori to be *re*-empowered. This may otherwise be recognised as a call for tino rangatiratanga.

Friedmann identifies three forms of (re) empowerment as psychological, social and political[112], where Freire states that psychological (or educational) empowerment leads to social and political empowerment[113]. Friere's notion of psychological empowerment is sometimes referred to as the notion of conscientisation. Conscientisation is the process whereby one becomes fully aware or conscious of their current situation and position in life (and the world) so as to be enlightened of the capacity and/or ability to transform ones reality. On another level, conscientisation can be viewed as simply – education in the broadest sense.

Māori have always been conscious of the changing power relations. Examples of Māori acknowledgement include: He Wakaputanga O Te Rangatiratanga O Nu Tirene 1831 and Te Tiriti o Waitangi 1840 where 'the second article declared sovereign power to reside exclusively in the hereditary chiefs of the tribes within the confederation... it is inherent in tribalism that no chief would willingly submit his mana to a central authority'[114]. In addition conscious efforts to voice Māori contempt of the Government and the impacts of colonisation, include: a number of deputations to England, the 1881 tribal rūnanga at Waitangi, Te Hokioi newspaper, Ngā Tamatoa, the 1975 Land March[115] and most recently the 2004 Foreshore and Seabed Hikoi.

This situation has also been recognised by non-Māori where Walker cites the Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination: 'New Zealand society is institutionally racist; one group, the Pakeha, holds the power (it controls the decision-making and the means for enforcing compliance with those decisions)'[116].

Ultimately, the relevance of empowerment theory to the position of Māori has been described by the theories of dependence, world systems and modes of

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[112] Friedmann (1992). Pg 33
[113] Freire (1970).
[114] Walker (1999). Pg 70
[115] Walker (1990). Pg 212-215
[116] Ibid. Pg 278

production where Friedmann enunciates that 'the exclusion from economic and political power can... be... understood as a historical process of *systematic disempowerment*'[117].

However, praxis for conscientisation has meant that Māori have entered into western educational and political spheres in an attempt to re-balance power relationships. The western education system was used to assimilate Māori but it inadvertently produced the Māori intelligentsia[118]. With reference to the World System, educated Māori assumed a semi-peripheral role. On the one hand, many intelligentsias assumed subaltern functions enforcing core agendas, but on the other hand they possessed the necessary skills to assist the peripheral position of Māori[119]. The first Māori parliamentarians were an example of this.

Re-empowerment for Māori has thus been a complex effort. To a large extent it has meant that Māori have had to advocate for legislation and policy that adequately addresses Māori issues to produce a healthy environment to facilitate re-empowerment at the flax-roots. In 1984 the Hui Taumata or Māori Economic Summit was held where economic, social and cultural advancement for Māori were identified as necessary for Māori development[120]. It coincided with government devolution of services and brought together a myriad of Māori organic and institutional leaders and intelligentsia. One emphasis of the hui was to reduce dependency on the State[121]. It was all too evident that government funding for Māori development meant conformation to state requirements. Māori economic self-sufficiency meant less government control over Māori Development. Māori economic stability was viewed at this time as 'a crucial step towards achieving any real political autonomy or even cultural survival'[122].

The (re) empowerment of Māori returns to the notions of the world system whereby Māori, as a peripheral unit, must severely weaken its ties to the core or to

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[117] Friedman (1992). Pg 30
[118] Walker (1996). Pg 161-169
[119] Ibid
[120] Durie (2003). Pg 243
[121]Durie (1995). Pg 4
[122] Ibid. Pg 5

severe them completely. Weakening ties to the core has taken the form of policy and legislative reform, the establishment of Māori educational institutions such as Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wharekura and Whare Wānanga, as well as greater economic independence. For the moment weakening core dominance is the only option. Complete separation from the core would mean exemption from all national and regional legislation as well as robust Māori finance.

At the end of what has become known as the decade of Māori development[123], legislation and education were identified as the 'two major forces that have hindered and supported Māori development'[124]. Education was seen as perhaps 'the most significant determinant of socio-economic advancement'[125]. As 'a critical' element for Māori development the Hui Taumata Mātauranga in 2000 addressed the issues of Māori education[126]. Three concurrent goals for Māori education were discussed: *to live as Māori* and to have access to te ao Māori (the Māori world); *to actively participate as citizens of the world* and prepare Māori for a variety of global experiences; and *to enjoy good health and a high standard of living* which should be an outcome of educational achievement[127].

In 1998 the Social and Economic Gaps Between Māori and Non-Māori[128] were identified. The Government's response to disparity was to initiate new policies for 'capacity building' to empower and enable Māori to solve their own problems[129] by incorporating the notions of development from the bottom up and 'by Māori for Māori'[130]. The capacity building venture is intended to allow communities to identify and address their own issues. This has allowed Māori organizations, such as rūnanga, to better facilitate community needs and aspirations. However such empowerment for Māori is still subject to state approval.

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[123] Beginning with the Hui Taumata, Māori Economic Summit 1984
[124] Wetere (1994). Pg 11
[125] Durie (1998). Pg 92
[126] Durie (2003). Pg 199
[127] Durie (2003).
[128] Te Puni Kōkiri (1998).
[129] Horomia (2000).Pg 10
[130] Ibid. Pg 9

Overall, Māori (re) empowerment is an unnecessarily complex institution. Māori have constantly struggled with the government to have Māori rights to self-determination and authority recognized. The praxis of conscientisation has meant that Māori must utilize government controlled educational institutions in order to a) provide individual economic self-sufficiency and b) to enter political arenas to affect social and economic change for Māori through policy and legislation[131]. True re-empowerment of Māori, or tino rangatiratanga (the right to self-determination) will not be realized until Māori are no longer financially or educationally reliant on the government, and are no longer bound by any government legislation. Until that time, Māori must strategically plan Māori development taking full advantage of any opportunities that afford Māori development that is consistent with tikanga Māori and Māori aspirations, albeit within the confines of government domination. Therefore, institutions such as rūnanga which are afforded a position within state machinery to facilitate flax-root development must be weary of their position. Their semi-peripheral nature must act as the filter for core domination. They must extract all positive opportunities for flax-root development from the core while enhancing the position of Māori in a manner that is consistent with tikanga Māori and Māori aspirations.

Conclusion

Dependency theory was used to examine ways in which Māori dependency on the state ensued. World Systems theory examined power relationships between the dominant core and the subordinate periphery. Parallels were drawn between the World System and the position of Māori and the state, whereby Māori were subjected to a peripheral position while the state assumed the position of the dominant core. Rūnanga, other Māori organizations and later the Māori intelligentsia have been identified as assuming similar roles to those of the semi-periphery. They are institutions that act as an intermediary between the state and

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[131] Although Kohanga Reo were initiated from the flax-roots they too have eventually been co-opted by state control.

Māori or the core and the periphery. They possess the ability to disguise core domination and/or to relieve peripheral subordination. Further examination of the Modes of Production highlighted the effects of colonization with regard to Māori. Unequal power relationships that were forged through the eradication of the classic Māori base and superstructure were also identified. State domination was founded on capitalism that exploited inequality. This core domination was sustained through state legislation and policy and it was imposed by force. This systematic disempowerment of Māori has led to a myriad of attempts to re-balance power and to assert the rights of Māori.

As domination has been largely maintained through the superstructure it has led to two Māori development directives: transformation from within state machinery at the upper levels and facilitation at the flax-roots. Community development theory has been used to identify the notions that Māori are diverse in nature and require specific and appropriate development initiatives much closer to the reality of Māori lives than policies from the boardrooms can afford. The notions of community development are also conducive to iwi development and rūnanga as institutions to facilitate flax-roots development.

In addition, Empowerment theory is relevant to Māori development for two reasons. First it is acknowledged that Māori have been subject to a historical process of systematic disempowerment where a multitude of efforts have taken place in order to address this point. Such efforts have involved political participation that influences state legislation and policy to provide a better environment for flax-roots developments to flourish. This is supported by the notion of conscientisation, the awareness and capacity of one to transform their own reality. Where transformation has largely required a change in state legislation and policy, this requires educated Māori to advocate and participate in the change, which is reliant on educational institutions, which are reliant on the state. For Māori to be fully re-empowered a complete break from core domination is necessary. Until this time flax-roots organizations must continue to facilitate Māori aspirations within an environment that is controlled by the state.

The following chapter examines the notion of state control with reference to rūnanga and it provides a historical account of the rūnanga as an autonomous traditional entity that has been co-opted by the state.

Chapter Four

Rūnanga History

Atea te titiro ki ngā ea e rere ana ki tai[1]

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to discuss the potential role of rūnanga in facilitating Māori development and aspirations. However it is important to pay tribute to the history or whakapapa[2] of rūnanga itself, the struggles and successes of our tupuna in their attempts to maintain tino rangatiratanga and to provide the context of rūnanga in terms of its historic and evolutionary function.

Contemporary rūnanga have generally been formed as representative bodies to provide governance and direction to iwi, hapū and Māori. This has generally been seen as an institutional continuation of Governor Grey's 1862 rūnanga institutions. However, as affirmed by Mead[3], little written literature was found with regard to the traditional or pre-European notions of rūnanga. Nonetheless this chapter endeavours to collate information about traditional rūnanga to provide a foundation for their continuation in contemporary societies.

Two themes are discussed in this chapter. First, an examination of the notion of traditional rūnanga will be undertaken with particular reference to literary meaning, personal communication and literature. This is to provide a foundation for the following theme and to highlight the characteristics of traditional rūnanga that have survived into contemporary times. Second, an evolutionary account of rūnanga is provided with regard to post-1840. This section highlights the use of traditional rūnanga as measures of resistance to colonisation and the co-option of the traditional structure into the machinery of the state. It also considers the contemporary roles of rūnanga. In light of the previous themes that have been

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[1] Circumnavigate your gaze to all that which reveals itself in the ebbing tides
[2] The word whakapapa is used here to acknowledge the full history and evolution of the rūnanga. It implies that rūnanga as a living convention, has its own life cycle and origins.
[3] Mead (1992). Pg 10

canvassed this offers a prelude into the following chapter pertaining to the establishment of one rūnanga, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka.

Traditional Rūnanga

According to the Williams' Dictionary of the Māori Language, rūnanga is a derivative of the base word rūnā: to draw together, tie up; keep close, secure; steer; dress, keep in line; reduce, pare down; or assemble[4]. The noun rūnanga denotes an assembly or a council and the verb is to discuss in an assembly[5].

Other interpretations of the word refer to rūnanga as councils[6], policy councils[7], committees[8], boards[9], and institutions[10]. However other Māori translations of these English words offer the transliterations: kaunihera - council, komiti - committee, and poari - board[11]. Although the English to Māori translation of council and board do offer the word rūnanga as an interpretation, the transliterations imply that such institutions are post-European institutions. This also suggests that councils, committees and boards are the closest western parallel to the notion of rūnanga as an institution. Governor Ward was known to deliberately utilise the 'traditional term rūnanga'[12] in lieu of the word komiti as the Governor had noted that komiti were in fact conventions of the missionaries and not an original Māori concept.

The Williams' Dictionary of the Māori Language includes references to early literary recordings of words. One reference pertaining to rūnanga is a transcription of an oral report about the journey of one waka from Rangiatea to Aotearoa where the oration describes a night in sheltered discussion between the Atua named

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[4] Williams (1971). Pg 352
[5] Ibid
[6] Barlow (1991). Pg 117
[7] Salmond (2004).
[8] Barlow (1991).
[9] Ibid
[10] Ballara (1998). Pg 21
[11] Ngata (1993).
[12] O'Malley (1997). Pg 18

Kahukura and the captain Toi[13]. The account states, 'I te po ka nohiia a wharetia; ara, ka runangatia'[14].

Another early citation of the word refers to the song of Tiaia: *Ko te Waiata, a Tiaia*[15]. It describes the shamed emotional state of Tiaia after an undisclosed encounter with Te Rauparaha[16]. The song states that Tuiri is to avenge the situation of Tiaia by saying 'ai rawa he korero, Te runanga taua, nau na, e Tuiri'[17]. An unknown annotator of this book has interpreted these lines as articulating 'There is nothing else now talked of by this war party of Tuiri already consulting how they may take vengeance on my paramour'.

Hirini Moko Mead describes traditional decision-making as involving two processes. He states that the leader of the group decided upon matters pertaining to everyday activity, but major decisions were resolved by consensus in the 'whare rūnanga'. The rūnanga was open to all community members each contributing their own views where the role of the chief was to 'listen to the discussion, summarise the main points and indicate, if it not already apparent, where the consensus view lies... Then the speakers focus upon the consensus view and try to persuade those speaking against to change their minds'[18]. It was noted that community elders played a significant role in these discussions. In personal communication Mead also described rūnanga as a forum where Māori leaders came together from different iwi and/or hapū to talk about specific kaupapa. He stated that the difference between traditional and modern rūnanga was the contemporary notion of institutionalisation where traditional rūnanga would disband and return home upon reaching a conclusion[19]. Ché Wilson (Ngāti Rangi, Ngāti Whitikaupeka) a knowledgeable iwi historian describes rūnanga as special

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[13] Anon. (1872, 11 September).
[14] Ibid. Pg 113
[15] Grey, G. (1853). This particular book that I have referenced has been annotated by an unknown person and adds a much more poetic translation of the waiata than the author could afford, their annotations will be referred to.
[16] A chief of Ngāti Raukawa.
[17] Grey (1853). Pg 85
[18] Mead (1992). Pg 10
[19] H. Mead (personal communication, 2004, 11 June)

types of meetings that involve the significant and influential members of iwi and hapū[20]. Utiku Potaka (Ngāti Hauiti) has been influential in the establishment of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Hauiti and is an avid iwi researcher and flax-roots development agent. Utiku states that a prominent characteristic of traditional rūnanga was that they were a forum for decision-making and debate. He notes that while early Māori society is frequently viewed as having a uni-lateral hierarchy of power and leadership, pertinent decision-making was carried out in consultation with various Māori leaderships, including tohunga, ariki, and rangatira[21].

Ward states that traditional rūnanga were 'meetings where interested parties discussed a problem or dispute'[22]. He notes that such meetings existed before European contact. Supplementary to this, with reference to qualifying Māori land title, O'Malley says that 'men of high rank, fully debating problems in open session as in a traditional runanga, [where] their decision would normally be deferred to'[23].

Contrary to the popular belief that rūnanga are a colonial invention, this evidence suggests that traditional rūnanga involved leading authorities of the iwi and/or hapū for the purpose of discussing and deciding important matters. With regard to the report of Toi and Kahukura the concept of rūnanga has a tradition that extends back beyond Te Hekenga Mai to Hawaiki.

Rūnanga Evolution

An assembly in the far north in 1816 was the inaugural meeting for Te Rūnanga Ko Huiarau, who refer to themselves as the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand or the United Tribes[24]. In 1835 the signing of the Declaration of Independence saw many iwi and hapū signing for independence. Reportedly Te Rūnanga Ko Huiarau were also party to this signing[25].

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[20] C. Wilson (personal communication, January 2004)
[21] U. Potaka (personal communication, May 2004)
[22] Ward (1995). Pg 97
[23] Ibid. Pg 65
[24] Cox, L. (1993). Pg 43
[25] Ibid

In 1840, the threat of French invasion and the inability of Māori to administer traditional justice to unruly European settlers led to the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. This Treaty was to provide protection from unruly settlers, partnership in the governance of the country and active participation within this governance system as British citizens. However the quick transfer of land to settlers was a continuing concern to Māori. That same year Hone Mohi Tawhai of Te Hokianga Whakapou Karakia gathered different Māori authorities in a large rūnanga in opposition to land sales[26]. Those involved in the opposition signed their allegiance to the purpose of the rūnanga and met regularly to affirm their word[27]. The loss of land was a pan-tribal event that required a pan-tribal effort to cease it; Māori were becoming increasingly aware of their peripheralisation.

Land concerns must have only been aggravated when the first constitutional breach of the Treaty of Waitangi occurred. The instillation of Hobson's Native Land Claims Ordinance in 1841 legislated that lands not occupied or used by Māori now belonged to the Crown and in 1844 Governor George Grey abolished the Protectorate Department whose function was to protect Māori interests and gave the New Zealand Company exclusive right of pre-emption. Following this Grey implemented the Native Land Purchase Ordinance in 1846, which prohibited Māori from leasing land to settlers[28]; one can only speculate that this would have fuelled further meditation at rūnanga. Thus began the shift in the Māori legal superstructure. Then in 1847 the missionary John Wesleyan encouraged rūnanga to revive (although they had never died out) under 'the super intendence of the Government'[29]. This was perhaps the first public expression of European interest in the convention of the rūnanga.

During this period, little literary attention was paid to the event or function of rūnanga. Perhaps this was because so far they posed little threat to settler

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[26] Ward (1999). Pg 106.
[27] Ibid
[28] O'Malley (1997). Pg 23
[29] Ibid. Pg 18

activity. The recognition of their existence by John Wesleyan conceivably signalled an acknowledgement of the potential that they possessed.

The 1850s involved much activity in terms of rūnanga. The Constitution Act of 1852 reserved 'Native Policy'[30] for the Crown to decide and provided for Māori custom and law to be observed as well as for pre-emptive right of purchase[31]. By this time Māori owned land had been reduced to nearly one half of the amount owned by Māori in 1840[32], the Māori forces of production were systematically being destroyed. One would assume that this had prompted some traditional rūnanga to discuss the issues that had arisen in the 12 years since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

The idea to establish a Māori King was promoted in 1853 by Matene Te Whiwhi[33]. In 1854 George Grey supported this idea in writings to Wi Tako[34]. That same year a 'hui' held at Manawapou discusses the notion of the Kingitanga[35], which Durie refers to as the first meeting of Māori parliament[36]. A year later Wiremu Tamihana suggested that there should be Māori representation in the form of a Māori leader in the House of Representatives[37] and the following year he went to Auckland to seek approval for Ngāti Haua to have a 'separate runanga of chiefs' to act as the parliament did for settlers[38]. This idea of a Māori parliament was discussed once again in Taupo at Pukawa in 1856 when many rangatira noted that their authority was diminishing while the power of the colonists was increasing[39]. It was an acknowledgement that Māori authority was not only being moved, but it was being replaced by a colonial core.

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[30] Ward (1999). Pg 123
[31] Cox (1993). Pg 36
[32] Durie (1998). Pg 119
[33] O'Malley (1997). Pg 17
[34] Cox (1993). Pg 44
[35] Māori parallel to the British Kingship.
[36] Durie (1998). Pg 96
[37] Ward (1995). Pg 98
[38] Ibid. Pg 98
[39] O'Malley (1997). Pg 16

In the mid 1850s Māori began a process of consolidating tribal and pan-tribal organizations. The question was should Māori engage in such processes with Pakeha? In 1855 it was reported that 'settler and official attitudes hardened with the increasing realisation that the Maori were attempting to consolidate against the disruptive pressures of settlement'[40]. Rūnanga, the Kingitanga movement and the Māori land sale embargos were all used as methods of resistance to colonial domination, they were now aggravating the settler colony.

Two particular events occurred in 1857. In March, F.D. Fenton reported on the rūnanga of the Whaingaroa who were operating with a structure that was previously unheard of. Young chiefs, he stated, proposed that each village have their own council to make village regulations that would be enforced by two or three Māori wardens or magistrates. Village 'wardens' were to meet together and formulate district regulations and resolve inter-village disputes[41]. Fenton had heard that there was also a proposal for those who did not adhere to the rulings of such rūnanga to be sent to jail in Auckland[42]. As jail was a colonial convention, this would require support from the colonial government but it provided an opportunity to connect these rūnanga to colonial control.

Both the talk about the Kingitanga and the function of this new style rūnanga were stimulated, as cited by Fenton, because Māori recognised 'that the Government of the country [was] more anxious to obtain possession of their lands for the augmentation of the intruding body, than to elevate the present possessors, and admit them amongst themselves as a competent part of our people'[43]. But Fenton saw the new rūnanga structure as an opportunity to enforce 'indirect rule, [with] overall direction of the movement remaining with the Government'[44]. He was sent to the Waikato by Governor Gore Brown to utilise 'the runanga as a state-sponsored rival authority to the King'[45]. This was with the full

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[40] Ward (1995). Pg 101
[41] Ward (1995). Pg 104
[42] Ibid
[43] Ibid
[44] Ibid
[45] O'Malley (1997). Pg 19

support of Premier William Fox who acknowledged the potential of rūnanga and advocated for their direct implementation into government institutions noting that if they are not used with the government they will assuredly be used against them[46]. Thus rūnanga institutions were identified as potential semi-peripheral factions of colonial rule.

In the year 1858 Potatau Te Wherowhero was appointed King to head the Kingitanga movement, however, two pieces of legislation influenced the rūnanga movement in this year. The Native Districts Regulation Act introduced a Governor-in-Council to determine native districts within which rūnanga were given the ability to produce local by-laws under a Pakeha chair, and the Native Circuit Courts Act allowed Resident Magistrates to be appointed and to enforce these by-laws with the assistance of local Māori assessors and juries[47]. The Regulation Act imposed a system that had previously been suggested to Fenton in the village council scheme and fulfilled the desire for these councils to be subject to indirect rule. However these Acts only laid the foundation for the 'underlying motives behind this adoption of the runanga system... the Native Territorial Rights Bill'[48]. This Bill was disallowed by the Colonial Office but proposed that the magistrates would determine individual or collective land title, 50,000 acres of which would be permitted for sale to settlers[49].

In May of this same year the rapid loss of Māori land prompted the establishment of a rūnanga in the Poverty Bay after what was described as a 'great meeting'[50]. A year later in 1859 northern Taranaki Māori embraced the new rūnanga as authorities of the Queen established for the protection of Māori[51].

Seemingly, the colonial governments had achieved their goal. Māori accepted the idea of implementing a system based on Māori tradition, from the colonial

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[46] *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 1861-63, 22 July 1862, Pg422 cited in O'Malley (1997). Pg 25
[47] Ibid
[48] Ward (1995). Pg 107
[49] Ibid. Pg 107
[50] Ibid. Pg 109
[51] Ward (1995). Pg 100

perspective the new establishment sought to alleviate some of the native anxieties over land loss, while allowing for definite land title and quicker sales. This is a critical point in the history of the rūnanga that contributes to the debate as to whether rūnanga were traditional Māori concepts or were in fact inventions of the state. Maintaining the traditional name for a contemporary function enhanced this co-option of a Māori tradition.

In terms of traditional inter-tribal rivalry, the rūnanga system provided an alternative to an allegiance to the Kingitanga. Regardless, this was the launch of the institutional rūnanga as we have commonly come to know it. The thread that was to tie Māori subordination of rūnanga to the Crown was that it needed legal enforcement of its decisions, both for the settler colonies and for Māori.

The 1860s confirmed Māori belief that Pakeha controlled land titles were simply a ruse to obtain land[52]. It signaled the era that consolidated the government-imposed legislation for indirect rule. The Kohimārama conference (or Kohimārama hui as it became known) was held in 1860[53]. The purpose of the hui was to seek ratification of the Treaty of Waitangi by both Māori and the Crown and preceded Gore-Browne's 1860 Native Council Bill. The Bill was to provide a 'permanent advisory council of rangatira and leading colonists'[54]. It was firmly rejected by his successor George Grey who believed that it would 'lessen Māori loyalty to Parliament'[55], after all, rūnanga were more than enough to prepare Māori for participating in 'existing settler legislatures'[56].

In 1861 Governor Grey realized that the individualization of Māori land title would be best served through the function of the rūnanga[57], and he announced to Waikato Māori that district rūnanga were to 'determine the ownership and

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[52] O'Malley (1997). Pg 22
[53] Cox (1993). Pg 77
[54] Ibid. Pg 80
[55] Ibid
[56] Governor Grey. (1861, 30 November). Pg 126-127
[57] O'Malley (1997). Pg 22

boundaries of land, and if it may be sold to whom'[58]. In November of that year, with the support of the Head of the Settler Ministry William Fox[59], a 'Rūnanga system' based on the proposals from Whaingaroa Māori was finalized[60]. The form of the 'new institutions' was decided upon as well as where they would be established to administer Māori policy.

The Native Lands Bill of 1862 confirmed the 'power of runanga to determine titles and control alienations to bona fide settlers'[61]; it gained the support of William Fox who believed that rūnanga were the means to Māori self-government[62]. That same year the Native Lands Act led to the individualisation of Māori land (through rūnanga), one law for all (regardless of race), and permitted Māori to enter both Houses of the Assembly[63].

The first implementation of the 1862 rūnanga scheme happened in Te Taitokerau in March of that year, the location deliberately selected because of its long history of European interaction/colonization[64]. The main function of rūnanga was to determine land title but they were also empowered to produce local by-laws that were approved by the Governor in Council, to be enforced by wardens and assessors. They received £100 to operate with the instruction that they must raise any further necessary funds[65]. This implementation sanctioned such rūnanga as 'official' entities of the Crown.

Rūnanga took the opportunity to become more involved in more general development than what the rūnanga schemes had previously afforded them. In 1863 the rūnanga of Waimate was noted as supporting the implementation of 'secular village day schools'[66] to promote Māori education in the English language as well as other issues. However, war coupled with financial strain led to the

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[58] Grey cited in Ward (1999). Pg 127
[59] Ward (1999). Pg 127
[60] Ward (1995). Pg 125
[61] O'Malley (1997). Pg 25
[62] Ward (1995). Pg 150
[63] Ibid Pg 151
[64] Cox (1993.) Pg 82
[65] Ibid Pg 84
[66] Ward (1995). Pg 137

demise of these rūnanga as 'new institutions'. Due to dissatisfaction with their function and amount of authority that they possessed, Māori were increasingly abandoning these rūnanga, although they were not officially disengaged until 1865[67]. They were relatively short lived in the official sense, but their legacy was maintained as inventions of the government.

Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, 'unofficial' rūnanga continued to gather and breakup, and some regions like the King Country, the Urewera and Taranaki, continued to denounce their establishment[68]. In yet other areas they were still of some importance and there was a continuing impetus for rūnanga to be given 'official' status with more jurisdiction than they had previously obtained.

In 1870, Te Wheoro[69] proposed to the Theodore Haultain[70] that rūnanga be re-established[71]. Some Māori saw the potential of official rūnanga to establish local governments and district rūnanga[72] as a means of re-empowerment. The motivation for such interventions to continue contributed to the Native Councils Bill of 1872. The Bill advocated that local councils would pass and enforce by-laws under the direction of a Māori President. The Council would investigate and determine land boundaries and have them ratified by the courts[73]. The proposal was opposed even though Māori were more equipped to adopt local government systems under central government control than they were in 1862. The positive attribute to this proposal was that Māori community structure still allowed 'local councils to work effectively'[74].

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[67] Cox (1993). Pg 88
[68] Ward (1995). Pg 243
[69] A Waikato Assessor of the Native Land Court: O'Malley (1997). Pg 41
[70] A former Minister of Colonial Defense who was employed by the Native Minister McLean to investigate the working of the Native Lands Act: O'Malley (1997). Pg 41
[71] O'Malley (1997). Pg 42
[72] Ibid. Pg 51
[73] Ward (1995). Pg 247
[74] Ibid

Te Whitu Tekau was established in 1872 with 70 tribal leaders elected as representatives of the United Tribes of Mataatua[75]. Although they were not specifically referred to as such, they resembled similar characteristics to those of the traditional rūnanga in combination with the new elective style councils. With the Native Land Courts becoming entrenched in the countries legislative system, pushes for rūnanga to determine land title re-emerged with Tuhaere[76] and Te Wheoro suggesting that rūnanga resume such responsibilities in conjunction with the Resident Magistrate[77]. By 1877 there were complaints that rūnanga were mere imitations of the settler justice courts[78]. This was perhaps because rūnanga, although not sanctioned by the state, continued to administer their own forms of justice within their local confines.

Throughout the 1880s officially recorded rūnanga activity had dropped enormously. Although disputes were still being settled via the discussions with tribal leaders, there was a shift to establish conventions that resembled European systems[79]. Traditional notions of rūnanga were supplanted by the European systems of committees and councils. This indicated further shifts in the Māori superstructure.

The 1883 Native Committees Empowering Bill evolved out of pressure from Ngāti Pikiao who had continued to hold rūnanga. The Bill was perceived by Māori as an opportunity to displace the Native Land Court, but it was not enacted much to the displeasure of current Māori leaders and parliamentary members[80].

From 1900 onwards there was a notable decline in the operation of rūnanga. While they did not diminish altogether, it would seem that they had largely been

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[75] O'Malley (1997). Pg 52
[76] A special member of the Auckland provincial government in 1867 of Ngāti Whatua: O'Malley (1997). Pg 41
[77] Ibid. Pg 50
[78] Ibid. Pg 79-80
[79] Ward (1995). Pg 301
[80] Ward (1999). Pg 144

displaced and replaced with new European conventions. The Maori Councils Act of 1900 afforded the ability for Native (village) Councils to act with regard to local 'health, sanitation, control of liquor, and the management of marae'. These were disestablished in 1839[81].

The Māori Lands Administration Act was also enacted in 1900 to allow for Māori land councils to merge with the Native Land Courts. At this time, land sales were not meeting the settler demand for land; the Act ultimately allowed for further land alienation[82]. The councils that were established through the Administration Act were eventually transformed into Land Boards by 1905; these Boards consisted mainly of Pakeha[83]. However, the Councils were once again based on the concept of village councils indicating that the tradition of decision-making was still centered in and around those who were directly affected by them. The councils of the Administration Act were undoubtedly revived based on the notion of rūnanga. Rūnanga provided for a meeting of leaders to decide upon pertinent issues, the council's maintained similar characteristics to those that had been adopted at the first 'official' implementation of rūnanga. Councils and Boards carried forward the traditional notion of decision-making but in a form that was both acceptable and modeled by the state.

The following years involved much Crown legislation and many movements that directly impacted on the state of Māori well-being: the retribution of the Coates Government for land confiscations and misconducts in the 1920s[84], Ngata's Land Development schemes of the 1930s[85], and the Māori War Effort organization in 1940, but it was not until 1945 and the establishment of the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act that Māori councils re-emerged. Although the government had previously refused to re-establish the 'tribal committees' they transpired nonetheless through the Māori War Effort.

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[81] Ibid. Pg 160
[82] Ibid. Pg 160
[83] Cox (1993). Pg 96
[84] Ward (1995). Pg 314
[85] Ibid

Rūnanga themselves began to re-emerge into the public domain once again in the 1980s in the form that we are familiar with today. State restructuring and devolution implemented by the 1984 Labour government provided impetus for the re-establishment of Māori and iwi organizations[86] where 'devolution of state functions strengthened Māori resolve for autonomy and self-governance and was soon accompanied by the prospect of Treaty of Waitangi settlements'[87]. The Treaty Claims process and the 1986 fishing quotas then contributed to the re-establishment of organizations such as rūnanga[88]. However two major issues arose in vying for the authority to receive government funding. First there was a debate between tribal and non-tribal authorities with respect to receiving Treaty of Waitangi settlements[89] and second, there was an issue with proper mandate and post-settlement accountability[90]. In part response to this requirement, the Rūnanga Iwi Act was established in 1990, it was short-lived and was repealed within a year. However the Act intended to provide all the necessary requirements of the state for Māori to follow. Such things included, mandate, legal accountability and the management of finances[91], and it was intended to 'define the basis of a relationship between the Crown and iwi'[92]. This placed rūnanga in a precarious position, they would be 'accountable to the State for funds and services, while concurrently expected to promote iwi interests – which may not be in accord with State programmes'[93]. However Durie states that had the Act not been repealed and was subjected to adequate changes, it could have been a positive piece of legislation for Māori development[94].

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[86] Walsh-Tapiata (1997). Pg 24
[87] Durie (2003). Pg 173
[88] Ward (1999). Pg 161
[89] For example The Waipareira Trust rights to fisheries monies and the devolution of social services to iwi entities
[90] Durie (2003). Pg 173
[91] The Runanga Iwi Act 1990, now repealed
[92] Mahuta (1994), cited in Walsh-Tapiata (1997). Pg 42
[93] Cox (1993). Pg 142
[94] Durie (2003). Pg 173

A survey of iwi and Māori service providers identified the motivation for establishment as being: the opportunity to determine the communities own future, the acknowledgment of disparities that exist for Māori and the acknowledgement that mainstream does not adequate provide for the needs of Māori[95]. However, as it is described in the following chapter not all rūnanga have been established on the premise of delivering social services or receiving settlements. Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka was established to represent the views and aspirations of Ngāti Whitikaupeka with respect to the damming of their ancestral river. In this instance the motivation was about asserting the views and the rights of iwi members, not unlike iwi and Māori service providers it was in essence about asserting the rangatiratanga of the iwi. However in contrast to service providers addressing disparities and mainstream insufficiencies, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka are investigating these other issues post-establishment as part of their strategic planning process.

Initially Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka was established as a representative authority to communicate the views of iwi members to other agencies. In addition to this, the rūnanga body itself was founded on the traditional concept of decision-making and refused to acquire any legal status that might affect the decision-making process or require the rūnanga to act in accordance to any state requirements. In this respect a rare element of the traditional rūnanga has survived into contemporary times.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a description of the historical evolution of rūnanga, acknowledging its own unique whakapapa to provide a better understanding of the contemporary role of rūnanga. As an institution that is commonly thought to have originated from colonial implementation, rūnanga are a traditionally Māori concept that has been adopted and co-opted over time. Jones summarizes this in saying 'traditional Maori governance institutions have undergone fundamental change,

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[95] The International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education (2002).

and today's examples barely resemble those of two centuries ago[96]. As initial autonomous decision-making forums and subject to the processes of colonization, rūnanga historically become forums of resistance to these processes as issues surrounding land and authority escalated. As noted with the Kotahitanga movement they have been utilized to oppose land sales and the Crown and have managed to mobilize Māori and iwi initiatives to rival invasive colonial programmes. When the potential of the rūnanga institutions were acknowledged by the colonial government they were co-opted into the state machinery as semi-peripheral mechanisms that gave Māori an illusion of power while fulfilling the agenda of the government. Today we are less aware of the traditional role of the rūnanga and are continually co-opted into establishing institutions that ensure an affiliation to the state.

The evolution of rūnanga has maintained one core function; it remains a decision-making forum. Regardless of their current form, rūnanga have a history that extends much further back than the 1990 Rūnanga Iwi Act or the 1862 rūnanga institutions, they are a convention that transversed the great Pacific Ocean, their whakapapa extends back to Hawaiki. The decision now is whether or not such institutions can continue to resist the processes of colonization and make decisions that manifest positive outcomes for those they represent or whether they will exist as mere extensions of state authority for the control of Māori.

The next chapter looks at a specific case study and the viability of rūnanga for the iwi of Ngāti Whitikaupeka.

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[96] Jones (2002). Pg 3.

<center>

Chapter Five

Ngāti Whitikaupeka

Ka kau whakatau i a Rangitīkei kohia ngā wai o Mokai Patea[1]

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Introduction

This chapter is intended to provide some background into the nature of Ngāti Whitikaupeka and its rūnanga. In order to consider the development of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka, a brief historical account of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi provides a foundation in which to look at the current developments of Ngāti Whitikaupeka and its status as a rūnanga.

The chapter will consider six areas: where is Ngāti Whitikaupeka located, the establishment of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka, an examination of the political aspects and the broader motivations of becoming a rūnanga, the relationships formed to enhance iwi development, the existing Māori organizations that have been administering iwi affairs within the area in the absence of *an* iwi agency, and finally an analysis of the current status of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka.

Ngāti Whitikaupeka

Ngāti Whitikaupeka is an iwi that is descendant from the eponymous ancestor Whitikaupeka. The primary land boundaries[2] pertaining to Ngāti Whitikaupeka generally encompasses the southern Kaimanawa Range, the Ngaruroro River, the Otaihape River, the upper Rangitīkei River and the Moawhango Rahi Catchments[3].

Ngāti Whitikaupeka came to its present position by two processes. Born in Mohaka-Tapapa on the East Coast of the North Island[4], Whitikaupeka grew up to lead his people Te Aitanga a Kahukare of the Takitimu waka[5]. To instigate peace he betrothed his sister Maruahine to the chief of Ngāti Kurapoto, Tupaenga. Later

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[1] To rest your gaze upon the Rangitīkei river that gathers all the ancestral waters of Mokai Patea
[2] See appendix E
[3] Ngāti Whitikaupeka Environmental Working Party. (2000)
[4] Grace (1996). Pg136
[5] R. Steedman (personal communication, November, 2004). [Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi historian].

he revoked his word and war ensued. After a week under siege in the palisades of Rounui and Rouiti, Whitikaupeka withdrew his people and retreated inland to Owhaoko[6]. Ngāti Kurapoto pursued and many of Whitikaupeka's people fell. Eventually the pursuit ceased and Whitikaupeka together with Te Aitanga a Kahukare continued down the Moawhango Rahi River and established themselves opposite their whanaunga Ngāti Tamakopiri on the banks of Moawhango Rahi[7]. After marrying Haumoetahanga a descendant of Ngai Te Ohuake, of Kahungunu extraction, and the local Ngāti Whatumamoa; Ngāti Whitikaupeka established itself in its current location. The communion of Whitikaupeka and Haumoetahanga thus produced an iwi that was descendant of three larger units, Takitimu waka, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Whatumamoa. Four generations later, in the marriage of Hoka-o-te-Rangi, great-grandson of Whitikaupeka, to two descendants of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, a new kinship tie was formed. Prior to these marriages Ngāti Whitikaupeka and Ngāti Tūwharetoa had regularly engaged each other in battle. Thus began the acknowledgement of Ngāti Tūwharetoa in the whakapapa of Ngāti Whitikaupeka, and the frequent intermarriage between the iwi of Ngāti Whitikaupeka, descendants of Takitimu and Whatumamoa and the iwi Ngāti Tūwharetoa [8].

In 1894 Ihakara Te Raro, direct descendant of Whitikaupeka and rangatira of Ngāti Whitikaupeka, erected the wharepuni named Whitikaupeka. At the centennial celebration of the wharepuni, the wharekai was named Te Rina to commemorate the eldest daughter of Ihakara. Oruamatua the other Ngāti Whitikaupeka wharepuni was erected at least 25 years prior to Whitikaupeka with the restoration and rededication of the whare taking place in 2001[9]. The establishment of these two wharepuni have since provided a central gathering place and a second home for Ngāti Whitikaupeka members.

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[6] Grace (1996). Pg 137-138
[7] Ibid. Pg 138
[8] R. Steedman (personal communication, November, 2004)
[9] H. Gray (personal communication, September, 2004) [Ngāti Whitikaupeka kuia]

In 1860 a unified iwi effort to administer Ngāti Whitikaupeka affairs took place at the 'great meeting' or rūnanga at Kokako to discuss issues pertaining to land[10]. Since that time only one other effort has been recalled in Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi history. In the 1970s when the Māori Land Court returned the Owhaoko land block to iwi, Ngāti Whitikaupeka interests were transferred to the management of the Tūwharetoa Trust Board. Ngāti Whitikaupeka mounted a challenge[11] but were seen by the court as not possessing the skills necessary to hold the Owhaoko lands[12], this demonstrated another way in which Ngāti Whitikaupeka has not been excluded from the impacts of national legislation and the effects of colonisation.

However in terms of governance what seems to have emerged is an improvised system of administering iwi affairs. Recently, perhaps over the last 100 years, any issues that pertained to the people of Ngāti Whitikaupeka have been dealt with in a myriad of ways. Primary contact has been through the Moawhango Marae Komiti, which was a faction of the Ngāti Whiti-Tama Tribal Council established under the Māori Development Act 1962[13]. Unfortunately early accounts of Marae Komiti business can only be conferred via past members, of whom numbers are diminishing, as former minutes and records kept by the Komiti were lost in a fire. Additional administration of lands have been processed largely via land trusts who are established under the Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 and are whanau based as opposed to iwi based organizations. Although absolute co-operation between all factions that are concerned with different aspects of Ngāti Whitikaupeka affairs have been diminished, more recent events have redirected the focus of the iwi. An apparent desire to administer its own affairs was brought to the forefront of iwi conversation in 1997. That year individual iwi members publicly protested against the eradication of the Kaimanawa horses in the Kaimanawa Ranges by camping at a rest-ground in Waiouru township. The protest was against the Department of Conservation who had undertaken the eradication without consultation with the

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[10] Ballara (1998). Pg 285
[11] Ngāti Whiti-Tama (1974, 21 September).
[12] Māori Land Court (1975, 5 March). Pg 108-147.
[13] R. Steedman (personal communication, November, 2004)

iwi[14]. During this time, the Electricity Corporation of New Zealand Limited (ECNZ) approached protestors[15] in an attempt to 'consult' with them in regard to the damming of the Moawhango Rahi[16]. These events highlighted the peripheralisation of Ngāti Whitikaupeka with respect to decision-making upon their traditional iwi lands. It became apparent at this time that some type of representative iwi body was required to oversee and coordinate the issues that iwi were facing. The issue with the Kaimanawa horses was dealt with, however issues pertaining to the Moawhango Rahi were still to be addressed. This led to the re-birth of the rūnanga within Ngāti Whitikaupeka.

Generally located and associated to the rural Otaihape district that straddles state highway one of the central north island, it shares its general locality with many other iwi[17]. The ancestral reference to the general location of Ngāti Whitikaupeka is the rohe Mokai Patea, or (Inland) Patea[18]. While there are not yet any definite numbers pertaining to those who affiliate to Ngāti Whitikaupeka by whakapapa or who identify themselves as belonging to Ngāti Whitikaupeka, there are statistics that pertain to Taihape itself. In the 2001 census approximately 1800 people resided in the district[19]. Māori comprised 36.8% of the population in comparison to the national average of 14.7%. This does not however imply that all Māori that reside within the Taihape area are of Ngāti Whitikaupeka descent, or that there are no other descendents of Ngāti Whitikaupeka living in other parts of the country or world. The statistics are intended to merely provide an overview of the community make-up. Recent research that is currently being undertaken by The Otaihape Māori Komiti Kai-Tataki-a-Rohe Research Project has so far identified 1, 000 people who have genealogical affiliations to Ngāti Whitikaupeka.

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[14] Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1997, 13 June).
[15] This company has since devolved; Genesis Energy now operates the Moawhango Dam.
[16] Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1997, 13 June).
[17] Appendix E
[18] Māori Land Court (1888, 10 October). Pg 59-61; Māori Land Court (1894, 31 March). Pg 204-214; Batley (1958). Pg 6
[19] New Zealand Census 2001 'Taihape Urban Area Community Profile'. Retrieved from http://www.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/web/CommProfiles.nsf/htmldocs/Taihape+Urban+Area+Community+Profile+-+Detailed+Statistics

Reforming the Rūnanga

Work on establishing Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka began in 1998[20]. However its evolution was spurred on in 1999 when a small group of representatives from Taupo including Tūwharetoa Trust Board members and representatives from Genesis Energy met with Ngāti Whitikaupeka. The purpose of the gathering was to discuss the impending resource consent renewal for the hydro-dam on the Moawhango Rahi River[21]. While the presentation clearly outlined the implications for members of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, it prompted concerns for Ngāti Whitikaupeka. Firstly, Ngāti Tūwharetoa had seemingly assumed the consultative position on behalf of all iwi and hapū who were affected by the damming of the river, thus it had further peripheralised Ngāti Whitikaupeka. Secondly, wanting to maintain some autonomy with regard to the process, did Ngāti Whitikaupeka have the necessary means to chart their own direction with regards to the issue? What eventuated from the issue of the day led to a rather revolutionary and re-centering response for the future development of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi.

The Environmental Working Party

It was stated in no uncertain terms that Ngāti Whitikaupeka would deal directly with Genesis Energy in regards to this resource consent. Ngāti Tūwharetoa would not be the representative body for the voice of Ngāti Whitikaupeka in this case. This raised further issues with Genesis Energy as they were under the impression that Ngāti Tūwharetoa was the only Māori body that needed to be consulted. With respect to the rangatiratanga of Ngāti Whitikaupeka, it had been decided one week prior to that meeting that a group be formed to deal with the resource consent[22]. As Ngāti Whitikaupeka resided on the eastern banks of the Moawhango Rahi with Ngāti Tamakopiri on the western banks, an Environmental Working Party (EWP)

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[20] Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1998, 31 October).
[21] Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1999, 20 December).
[22] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1999, 20 December).

was formed to deal with the matter. It was apparent at this time that issues such as these would be an ongoing occurrence. In conjunction to establishing a unit to deal with environmental issues, it was also evident that it would also need to be mandated by iwi members. It was mandated by Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members in 1998[23]. In fact, it was clear that there needed to be some form of iwi representative body to deal with any additional issues that may arise, environmental or otherwise. The launch of the Environmental Working Party (EWP) also saw the implementation of the Ngāti Whitikaupeka Environmental Policy Statement completed in 2000[24]. This statement was intended to advise any relevant and prospective parties wishing to impose environmental developments of the principles and processes by which Ngāti Whitikaupeka would operate with regard to the Resource Management Act 1990; and it was an initiative that sought to re-centre the iwi. In addition, the EWP was required to undertake a Cultural Impact Assessment as part of the resource consent process. It was assumed that the relevant local and national bodies, for example the Rangitīkei District Council, would assess all environment impacts.

However the Cultural Impact Assessment produced two problems. Firstly, Genesis Energy was not willing to financially support the EWP in this undertaking. Genesis had previously granted the Tūwharetoa Trust Board environmental division a large sum of money to facilitate all the necessary research and assessments pertaining to this resource consent. Secondly, the EWP consisted of a small group of iwi members who each had their own area of specialisation. Most EWP members were employed full-time and devoted their time to the EWP at nights. No single person possessed the necessary skills to carry out a Cultural Impact Assessment nor did the members of the EWP fully understand the implications or processes involved in such an assessment. The iwi sought the advice of a relative iwi, Ngāti Hauiti, who had already established a proficient environmental department, Rauhuia Environmental Services. After strenuously negotiating

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[23] Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1999, 31 October).
[24] Sanctioned by Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka. (1999, 20 November).

funding from Genesis Energy, Ngāti Hauiti was sub-contracted to complete a Cultural Impact Assessment on behalf of Ngāti Whitikaupeka. Alongside of this Ngāti Whitikaupeka was also trying to establish a runanga to act as a governing iwi body.

Te Runanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka

In 1994 a group of iwi members from the differing iwi that resided in Mokai Patea met to discuss the notion of a Rūnanganui for the iwi of Mokai Patea[25]. Several hui were convened and several draft documents were produced with the idea that each iwi would establish its own rūnanga that would ultimately combine into a rūnanganui to govern district issues. However, it was not until 1997 that Ngāti Whitikaupeka, as an iwi, re-visited this idea[26]. Three issues were documented as needing attention at the time, Waitangi Tribunal Claims, Resource Management with ECNZ, who had devolved into Genesis Energy, in conjunction with protest action over the Kaimanawa horses[27]. However it was not until 1998, that the visit from Genesis Energy acted as a catalyst to further the organization[28]. Working parties were confirmed to work on issues pertaining to the establishment of a governance body and one year was allocated to collate all the necessary information and establish an interim rūnanga for Ngāti Whitikaupeka[29]. The need to establish a body that would represent the iwi posed three major questions.

Question one: who is Ngāti Whitikaupeka?

An extensive research ensued with many wānanga being undertaken in regard to the whakapapa of Ngāti Whitikaupeka. Varying methods of data collection were utilised, the main sources of information recovery were korero with kaumatua and other iwi members, archives and Maori Land Court Minute Books. What was produced from this was a vast array of whakapapa that identified the descendants

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[25] Ngā Iwi o Mokai Patea (1994, 12-13 January).
[26] Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1997, 28-29 June).
[27] Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1997, 13 June).
[28] Van Meijl (1995). Pg 315
[29] Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1998, 31 October).

of Whitikaupeka himself as being the members of Ngāti Whitikaupeka. Most predominantly, there were four lines of genealogical descent. These were derived from the four mokopuna of Whitikaupeka.

Whakapapa
Diagram 5.1

Whitikaupeka = Haumoetahanga

Wharepurakau = Hineroro   = Tutotorewa   Irokino = Toroiro

Ikatakitahi   Rangipawhaitiri   Te Mataihinu   Tautahi
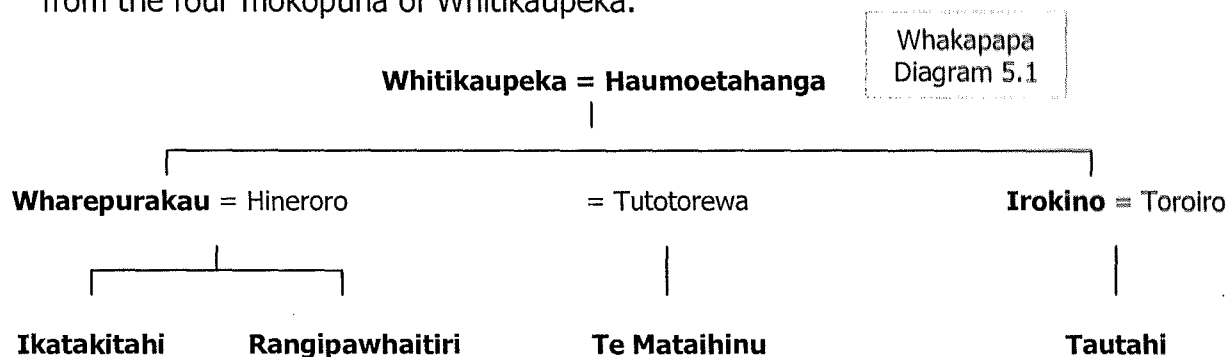
The descent line of Ikatakitahi has been known as Ngāti Whiti Tuturu or Ngāti Whiti Proper, the descent line of Rangipawhaitiri has become known as Ngāti Whiti-Tama, the descendants of Te Mataihinu as Ngai Te Upokoiri and the descent line of Tautahi as Ngāti Hinemanu[30]. From this research Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi membership was deemed to be all descendants of Ikatakitahi, Rangipawhaitiri, Te Mataihinu and Tautahi.

Question two: what are the lands that are attributed to the domain of Ngāti Whitikaupeka?

A second research team endeavoured to find the boundaries of Ngāti Whitikaupeka lands. Through research into archival and Māori Land Court Minutes evidence of the iwi boundaries were identified. Its general location has been described as encompassing the southern Kaimanawa Range, the Ngaruroro River, the Otaihape Stream, the upper Rangitīkei River and the Moawhango Rahi River[31].

Question three: in what form should a governing body manifest itself for the iwi?

Many existing forms of Maori organizations were investigated before Ngāti Whitikaupeka discovered a structure that was both suitable to its needs and readily accessible. Most organizations adhere to specific legislative and legal

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[30] R. Steedman (personal communication, November 2004)
[31] Ngāti Whitikaupeka Environmental Working Party. (2000).

requirements, but Ngāti Whitikaupeka did not want its iwi development to be restricted by any state requirements[32]. Eventually Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka adopted the structure being used by a relative iwi of Mokai Patea – Te Runanga o Ngāti Hauiti who was not bound by any legal or governmental restrictions. It did, however employ the necessary and adequate legislated bodies where necessary. Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka was initially based on the following structure[33]:

Structure of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka
Diagram 5.2

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                    Ngāti Whitikaupeka
                     (All iwi members)
                            |
             Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka
             (Delegates mandated by iwi members)
                            |
                      Administration
         _____|_____
        |            |              |            |
     Cultural      Health     Environmental   Economic
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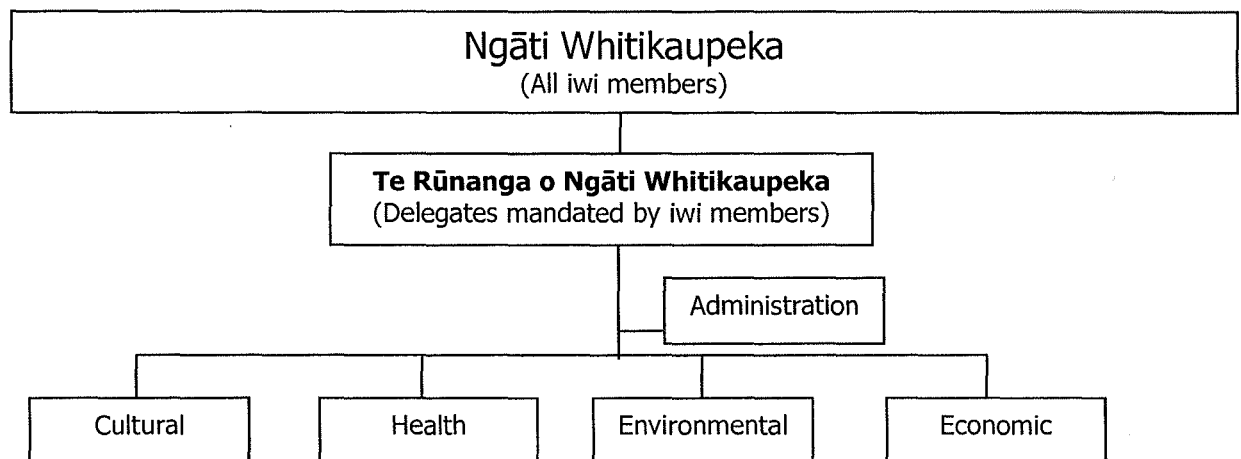
Four areas were identified as being important in regards to iwi well being and development. These four areas were culture, health, the environment, and economics. It was envisaged that the rūnanga would eventually have individual branches to address each of these areas[34].

After determining the rūnanga structure, the iwi then had to determine *who* and *how* the members of the rūnanga would be chosen. It was decided that the rūnanga would consist of approximately three representatives from each of the four mokopuna of Whitikaupeka. It would be the responsibility of each descent line to inform other family members of the process that was being undertaken. In turn whanau members were required to produce their own nominations and delegates to accept the role of being a rūnanga member. The motive for this

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[32] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1998, 12-13 December).
[33] Ibid
[34] Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1998, 31 October).

strategy was twofold: to attain delegates to represent each descent line in the setting up of the rūnanga, and to get iwi members talking to each other[35].

One kaumatua (overall) would be delegated to the rūnanga. There was also a specification that any kaumatua who wished to participate in the function of the rūnanga could do so[36]. This notion was incorporated to ensure that kaumatua were not excluded from participating in decision-making and to acknowledge the value of their guidance, especially pertaining to iwi direction and development.

It was accepted and motioned that an interim rūnanga would be established[37]. It was envisaged that by the year 1999, 12 delegates would be nominated to an interim rūnanga until such time as full representation could be sought from the four descent lines, with a fully mandated rūnanga operating by December 2000[38]. In the meantime, the members of the EWP were mandated to proceed in the capacity of iwi representatives dealing with environmental issues[39].

The reaction that the resource consent process had extracted from Ngāti Whitikaupeka was in most respects, titanic. It had prompted the iwi not only to consider the issues of the day, but also to consider any perceivable future developments. This particular process was a strenuous one, and one that no member wished to encounter again. With a new motive for its function, to address issues in a proactive manner, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka began its transformation that involved moving Ngāti Whitikaupeka out of the peripheries of development frameworks.

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[35] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1998, 12-13 December).
[36] Ibid
[37] Ibid
[38] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka Working Party (1999, 28 August).
[39] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1998, 12-13 December).

Tino Rangatiratanga

Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka encountered its own struggles during its establishment. One major issue was to rally the support of iwi members for the establishment of a governing iwi body. However the question was asked: what was the reason for asserting the notion of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as independent of other larger iwi? This question gave rise to a further uncertainty; how much did Ngāti Whitikaupeka really know about its history?

Iwi perception

The general pepeha pertaining to Ngāti Whitikaupeka is 'Ko Ngāti Tūwharetoa te iwi, ko Ngāti Whitikaupeka te hapū'[40]. This is unusual considering that Whitikaupeka was from Takitimu waka. It was said that at the time when government officials required marae to have specific iwi affiliations our marae had more contact with the people of Ngāti Tūwharetoa than with any other iwi[41]. Hence Ngāti Tūwharetoa took on the perceived role of the larger iwi unit. The notion of Ngāti Whitikaupeka being a hapū of Ngāti Tūwharetoa was adopted into the identities of Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members and reinforced in iwi pepeha. What has perpetuated is the adoption of half of an identity that over four generations has become normative. The larger unit Ngāti Tūwharetoa has ultimately consumed (and peripheralised) the identity of Ngāti Whitikaupeka and its intricate whakapapa connections. However, to propose to an entire iwi that we are somehow different to our perceived identity would take some time to get used to. The following reasons were given to iwi members to authenticate the right to reclaim the individual identity of Ngāti Whitikaupeka:

- Whitikaupeka is of Takitimu descent
- Haumoetanga is of Kahungunu and Whatumamoa descent

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[40] Tūwharetoa is the tribe, Whitikaupeka is the sub-tribe
[41] M. Cashell (personal communication). [Ngāti Whitikaupeka kuia].

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- Traditionally the whakapapa of an iwi/hapū was widely known, there was no need to authenticate yourself to a particular iwi unless the situation deemed it necessary to do so

- In acknowledging Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi, we were acknowledging the intricate whakapapa connections by not omitting either of the significant relationships that lie within them (Tūwharetoa included)

- In acknowledging Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi, we were acknowledging the mana that was inherent to our tupuna (ancestors)

- Research of Māori Land Court Minute Books failed to find any reference to Ngāti Whitikaupeka as a 'hapū'. All references to Ngāti Whitikaupeka were made in terms of 'iwi'

- The only evidence of Ngāti Whitikaupeka existing as a hapū manifested itself within the last four generations, beginning with the requirements of a state official

The point to be made here is that in the tradition of four generations of knowledge transmission, the connotation of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as a hapū of Ngāti Tūwharetoa has suggested that we are a smaller less significant unit of the larger. While this may be true in terms of population, the specific needs and aspirations of Ngāti Whitikaupeka are no less significant than those of any other people. The act of establishing the ideology of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi would take some time for iwi members to re-centre their own perceptions of iwi identities. The other point is that iwi/hapū are not static organizations, they are fluid and can undergo role changes dependent on various situations[42].

The Iwi Right

Initially there was some hesitation in accepting the notion of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi. Most predominantly were the political ramifications of such an assertion. Seemingly a peripheral unit protected by the umbrella or mana of Ngāti

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[42] Such notions are described by Ballara (1998).

Tūwharetoa what would such a declaration invoke? Ngāti Kahungunu had always ensured that Ngāti Whitikaupeka were aware of any 'iwi' activities that they might be affected by. The possible implications of establishing Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an independent unit needed to be considered. Therefore, in the early stages of establishment Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka working party members confirmed that Ngāti Whitikaupeka had no intention of severing any ties to any other iwi body[43]. It was also a re-empowering strategy that intended to affirm existing relationships.

The desire to be acknowledged as an independent iwi was a perceptually radical move. However, given the circumstances of the time it was a necessary action. It heralded some long awaited transformations for Ngāti Whitikaupeka. It can only be theorised as to why Ngāti Whitikaupeka had never asserted itself prior to that in recent times. Perhaps the dissatisfaction that arose in the 1970s pertaining to the trusteeship of the Owhaoko land blocks had discouraged any further action. Nonetheless, Ngāti Whitikaupeka had now arrived at a time where it was ready to reassert its own identity.

Pre-determined literary notions of Māori societies as static institutions have resulted in a hindered right to transform[44]. Alternatively, by some means Māori societies have nullified their rights to be fluid components of the society. Previously they possessed the right to mix, divide, migrate and/or form new relationships[45]. The re-formation of iwi substantiates the claims that Māori societies did indeed change their structures and functions over time; the point was that a catalyst would instigate the changes[46]. In addition changes in Māori societies were heightened in the proto-historic period of Aotearoa/New Zealand due to European contact[47]. This statement does offer reason to the contemporary developments of Māori organisational structure as reactionary measures to

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[43] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1998, 12-13 December).
[44] Literary construction of knowledge and their effects are outlined in the Chapter Two.
[45] Van Meijl (1995). Pg 310
[46] Groube as cited in Van Meijl (1995). Pg 315
[47] Ibid

particular situations and influences of the time, just as in the re-affirmation of Ngāti Whitikaupeka. Most recently Webster highlights the notions of new tribal organizations in reference to Waitangi Tribunal Claims and the allocation of New Zealand Fisheries money[48]. A scenario that could benefit those who still maintained traditional tribal connections but one that discriminated against those who had migrated to the cities and lost their tribal ties.

> 'Obviously, when the government continues to do business only with traditional Maori tribal organizations and restricts its devolution of limited amounts of funds to only one pan-tribal authority that successfully claimed a Maori status with the Waitangi Tribunal, the potentially positive developments in the recent history of New Zealand will only contribute to widening the gap between a tribal aristocracy and a pan-tribal proletariat'[49].

In the advent of colonial administration, for lands or otherwise, a distinct and defined group of people was required to deal with. In dealing with affairs that spanned a vast territory the amalgamation of several units was more practical and efficient for the colonial purpose. This is still valid today in terms of iwi and hapū, however larger units must be careful not to *consume* and peripheralise the smaller units. There may be a valid claim to producing a 'tribal aristocracy' that can be viewed as a tribal centre and a 'pan-tribal proletariat' that can be viewed as a periphery, where the centre is more dominant than the periphery. What seems to have eventuated is an all-encompassing set of notions that confine Māori societies to one description or the other. In fact if Ngāti Whitikaupeka had to be situated within the above paradigm then it has previously existed as a periphery of a tribal aristocracy under Ngāti Tūwharetoa. This 'aristocracy' evolved through a lack of opposition or active participation by Ngāti Whitikaupeka with regards to the 'aristocratic' leadership and direction. The move to re-establish the position of Ngāti Whitikaupeka to determine its own directives was a mere return to the more fluid nature of classic Māori societies. No longer satisfied with the conditions of

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[48] Webster (2002).
[49] Van Meijl (2003). Pg 25

the system it was engaged with, Ngāti Whitikaupeka decided to step out from the peripheries of the larger iwi entities to re-centre its own goals and objectives.

Ngāti Whitikaupeka now has to contend with ideological constructions in re-asserting its own identity. It must form the relevant relationships with tribal aristocracies, (pan) tribal proletariats, government agents and agencies as well as any other potentially beneficial body. In striving to facilitate the needs and aspirations of Ngāti Whitikaupeka, as a collective and as individual members, the governing or leadership body of the iwi, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka, must be conscious of its own struggles of oppression and history by not submitting any member or faction of the iwi to a similar evolutionary process.

Strategic Relationships

Relationships are an important part of any development[50]. It can be viewed that there are four levels of relationships that need to be addressed. These relationships are those formed between: the iwi members themselves, the members and the rūnanga, the iwi and external agencies, and the iwi and the general community or public[51].

Foremost, iwi members must have the opportunity to have a relationship with their iwi and their marae. However this is perhaps the most strenuous relationship to build. There must be an effort to inform iwi members of current iwi affairs and to open the lines of communication between iwi members. This in itself has proved a daunting task in terms of Ngāti Whitikaupeka. Firstly, distinguishing iwi members is a mammoth task. Efforts have been undertaken to complete an unofficial register of iwi members[52]. This has entailed a number of methods; hui minutes and registers, individual registrations, whakapapa links, personal contact, as well as electoral roles. Determining iwi members is but one part of the iwi membership process. The other actions require locating and contacting iwi

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[50] Dodd (2000); Durie (2000); Kawharu (2001); Loomis (2000); Te Tiwha Puketapu (2000).
[51] Although Ngāti Whitikaupeka has multiple descent groups that can be viewed as hapū, this is an area that requires further iwi research
[52] Ngāti Whitikaupeka Iwi Database.

members and inviting them to register as members of Ngāti Whitikaupeka. To date approximately 50 iwi members have completed an official registration form[53], while approximately 1000 members have been identified[54]. Of the 1000 iwi members who have been identified a further problem arises; who of this 1000 actually identify themselves as Ngāti Whitikaupeka? After locating and contacting iwi members the next step is to inform and engage iwi members in current iwi affairs and to encourage communication among members.

While there has been a return of some members to facilitate different positions in reference to the every day function and occasional marae activity, many members still remain in-active members of Ngāti Whitikaupeka. This in turn puts extra responsibility on those people who are active members of Ngāti Whitikaupeka to fulfil multiple roles in terms of the iwi and marae activities. Most notably, of late, has been the return of iwi members to the marae with the expectation that local iwi members will operate and facilitate any hui that is held on the principal marae. This is no doubt an issue that many other iwi also face. The operation of a marae could provide full time employment, unfortunately, this role does not entail any financial compensation, and it requires local iwi members to take unpaid leave from their perspective employment to ensure that functions are catered for. Recently there has been some resentment when in-active iwi members, after long periods, return to the marae *expecting* a fully catered marae activity and publicly voicing their disdain at the lack of people at the marae 'keeping the fires alight'[55]. This has highlighted the need for cultural re-enhancement of Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members as well as the need to inform members of the particular issues that pertain to the iwi.

The distance in both time and location of iwi members who do not reside locally has in itself produced a myriad of other issues. These issues include; a waning

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[53] Ngāti Whitikaupeka Iwi Registrar.
[54] The Otaihape Māori Komiti *Kai-Tataki-a-Rohe Research Project.*
[55] This alludes to the notion of the Ahi Kaa or those iwi members who continually keep the home fires burning in order to facilitate marae activity. It is derived from a classical Māori term where the right of residence was determined by a burning fire.

number of speakers of te reo Māori, especially male, a small number of iwi members who possess the necessary skill and knowledge to perform ritual tasks upon the marae[56], resident historians, and the number of people who are accustomed to the tikanga of the marae. It could be assumed that these issues are not exclusive to Ngāti Whitikaupeka, however they are issues that Ngāti Whitikaupeka need to readily address.

The next level of relationships requires the interaction of iwi members with the representative iwi bodies. While institutions such as Land Trusts maintain definite membership registrations and maintain a continual flow of correspondence, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka is but a seedling in terms of its current existence. In addition to this, the establishment of the rūnanga coincides with the newly established notion of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an independent iwi. However, iwi members should also be encouraged to actively participate in iwi organizations regardless of their function. Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka is a mandated representative body, however it does not have a full representation of the iwi members as identifying and re-engaging iwi members is an ongoing process. It does however aim to attain this level of representation in the future by attempting to notify as many iwi members as possible of iwi activities and to entice them into active participation in these activities. The relationship of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka with its iwi members is important if the rūnanga is to provide adequate representation of its people in order to facilitate their aspirations appropriately. The rūnanga must provide an environment where iwi members feel comfortable to approach and engage themselves in affairs that pertain to the rūnanga. In addition to this, the rūnanga must also build positive relationships with those representative institutions that already exist within the iwi, for example marae committees and Land Trusts. While it is not the intention of the rūnanga to impose or control the function of the existing institutions, it is integral that each party recognise the benefits of a concerted effort to facilitate iwi aspirations and

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[56] Pertaining to whaikorero, karanga, ringawera

re-empowerment; and to be informed of activities that iwi factions are engaged in. There may be some apprehension on behalf of existing institutions as to the agenda of the rūnanga; it is with this in mind that the rūnanga must maintain a transparent and accountable practice acknowledging the diverse and specific roles of each existing iwi institution. It is also important for all factions of the iwi to be conscious of any issues that affect the iwi, in part or in whole, so that amalgamated efforts can be made to address them.

Relationships must also be formed between iwi representative bodies and bodies that are external to the iwi, be they other iwi, government agencies, agents or otherwise. These relationships have the ability to affect any future development directions that the iwi or its members may wish to take. To date, the Environmental Working Party fosters a relationship with the neighbouring iwi Ngāti Tamakopiri in an effort to address environmental issues that affect both iwi. In addition, Ngāti Whitikaupeka has joined Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei, a confederation of iwi who have a vested interest in the Rangitīkei River catchment. This group also addresses the environmental and cultural impacts of activities with regard to the river[57]. The Ngāti Whitikaupeka Environmental Policy Statement has provided an opportunity for iwi representatives to work coherently with the local district council and its members. It has opened a vital line of communication between the council and its affiliates and the Environmental Working Party. What has been initiated is a flow of information that allows Ngāti Whitikaupeka to take a pro-active stance in regards to environmental issues and it has forged beneficial relationships with other community groups. This process has been re-empowering. Initially, Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members were informed of environmental developments merely in passing, but since the implementation of the Environmental Policy statement, Ngāti Whitikaupeka has been informed of every environmental development that requires district council consent. This has come about from the implementation of

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[57] Ngā Pae o Rangitīkei Working Party (No Date).

the Ngāti Whitikaupeka Environmental Statement[58] that requires the EWP to receive written notice of all Resource Consents. The EWP has been engaged in numerous community environmental developments since. It is important that Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka maintains conscious relationships with non-iwi bodies to help promote and facilitate iwi aspirations.

The final relationships that need to be formed are those of iwi members with the general public. Although these may be seemingly ordinary relationships to forge they are still important as iwi members strive to be Ngāti Whitikaupeka citizens of their respective communities and the world. While it may not be the direct responsibility of the rūnanga to ensure that iwi members can function within the community, it can assume part responsibility in providing the opportunity to adopt a positive cultural identity that is inherently Ngāti Whitikaupeka.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka must endeavour to facilitate four specific types of relationships to enhance the facilitation of iwi aspirations. Firstly the rūnanga must attempt to engage iwi members in forming relationships and open communication amongst themselves, secondly, to provide an opportunity for iwi members and other iwi factions to have a relationship with the rūnanga itself, thirdly, the rūnanga must establish relationships with organizations outside of the iwi and finally it must provide the opportunity for iwi members to have relationships with the general public with secure identities as Ngāti Whitikaupeka citizens of the world.

Māori Organizations

There are three other key Māori organizations that have assisted in the development of Ngāti Whitikaupeka: The Moawhango Marae Committee, The Otaihape Māori Komiti and Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Hauiti.

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[58] Ngāti Whitikaupeka Environmental Working Party (2000).

The Moawhango Marae Committee was a faction of the Ngāti Whiti-Tama[59] Tribal Council that was established under the Māori Development Act 1962[60]. The Ngāti Whiti-Tama was affiliated to the Aotea Tribal Council who was in turn affiliated to the New Zealand Māori Council[61]. The Moawhango Marae Committee is still in operation however the majority of its business pertains to the everyday running and maintenance of the marae. In addition they carry out the role of organising most hui that are held upon the marae and often are the first point of contact in regards to any issues pertaining to the iwi. The functions that this committee fulfil are invaluable to the current existence and future development of the iwi. While the marae committee maintains a relatively discreet role, it is one of critical importance, for if there is no marae there is essentially no means to re-unite the iwi.

The Otaihape Māori Komiti (OTMK) is in essence a pan-tribal organization and was charged with the responsibility of facilitating Māori development and services within the rohe. The Otaihape Māori Komiti was approached by the Ngāti Whiti-Tama Tribal Council to assist and administer relevant Māori affairs on its behalf. The proposal included the intention that the Māori Komiti would administer such business until such a time that Ngāti Whitikaupeka was able to and wished to administer its own affairs. Since this time the Māori Komiti have provided an intermediary body to facilitate services to Māori such as Māori health workers, facilitating Matua Whangai activities, iwi development planning and research, budget advice, and youth work[62]. Their services are directed toward the 'Māori' population within the region, although their activities are not exclusive to only Māori as their services are open to the public. The Otaihape Māori Komiti has been able to apply for, receive, process, and facilitate services for Māori from a

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[59] A combined organisation of Ngāti Whitikaupeka and Ngāti Tamakopiri.
[60] R. Steedman (personal communication, September 2004); B. Ball (personal communication September 2004). [Manager of the Otaihape Māori Komiti] Research inquiries indicated that early records of the council were lost in a fire.
[61] R. Steedman (personal communication, November 2004)
[62] B. Ball (personal communication, September 2004).

diverse range of avenues, for example Direct Resource funding from Te Puni Kōkiri for the establishment of an Iwi and Hapū Development Officer[63]. With regard to this, the Otaihape Māori Komiti has acted on behalf of 'Māori' and local iwi to broker Māori services in the region[64].

Of the five iwi that reside within the region[65], Ngāti Hauiti pioneered the re-implementation of the rūnanga to facilitate Māori aspirations. Having laid some foundations in terms of direction and structure pertaining to their iwi development, they have provided a road map for Ngāti Whitikaupeka. Ngāti Hauiti also have established several service arms[66] which Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka has incorporated in their iwi structure. The point of difference however is that the Hauiti service arms are fully operational. They have been a supportive institution in regards to iwi developments, providing both advice and services to Ngāti Whitikaupeka when needed.

The Moawhango Marae Committee maintain the marae that allow for the re-unification of iwi members at the flax-roots, the Otaihape Māori Komiti provide an intermediary agency to carry on with Māori development within the region, iwi based or otherwise, and Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Hauiti have provided optional pathways in terms of future directions for iwi development. Each maintain their own unique role and function and have been critical institutions in the forming, function and directives of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka.

Current Status of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka

Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka is a relatively new institution being fully established in the year 2000[67]. Its recent establishment allows the opportunity for

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[63] Otaihape Māori Komiti Incorporated (2003).
[64] As noted in: Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (2003, 31 July).
[65] Ngāti Whitikaupeka, Ngāti Tamakopiri, Ngāti Hinemanu, Ngāti Paki, Ngāti Hauiti
[66] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1998, 12-13 December).
[67] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka Working Party (1999, 28 August).

the rūnanga to set its own adequate and relevant directions for the development of Ngāti Whitikaupeka based on the outcomes of other institutions. Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka currently has only three operational units, the rūnanga body itself, the Environmental Working Party and the Kaupeka ki Runga Trust.

The rūnanga body itself currently consists of approximately 12 delegates[68] who have been mandated through hui-a-iwi and who meet and correspond regularly in relation to iwi affairs. The rūnanga delegates themselves are, currently performing the tasks that are to be taken on by the proposed administration arm in the future[69]. Organising appropriate meeting dates for rūnanga delegates is also hindered by travel and personal commitments. With regard to this rūnanga evolution has been steady but gradual.

A similar scenario applies to the Environmental Working Party, however this faction of the rūnanga represents both Ngāti Whitikaupeka and Ngāti Tamakopiri and has been aided by Rauhuia Environmental Services of Ngāti Hauiti. The rūnanga has been fortunate enough to be able to enlist the services of Rauhuia when necessary, however the primary direction and decision making is conducted by the iwi Environmental Working Party. It is envisaged that a future development for Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka is to establish a fully functional position to address environmental issues[70].

The final faction is the newly formed Kaupeka ki Runga Trust that was established to facilitate any iwi monies, however the directives as to how any monies are distributed come from the rūnanga[71]. Although the Trust maintains its own charter, the policies outlining the expenditure of funds is also an ongoing process. The current Trust members in conjunction with the rūnanga are very weary of setting any precedence that may produce detrimental effects in the future[72].

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[68] With the criteria that kaumatua are free to sit with the rūnanga; Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1999, 12-13 December).
[69] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (2004, 2 October).
[70] Ibid
[71] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (2001, 20 October).
[72] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (2004, 5-6 June).

Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka is an evolving institution and it has set some general principles and directions as guidelines. These principles and directions are currently being implemented as a result of a recently initiated series of strategic planning hui[73]. The beginning of 2005 will produce a final document that outlines the strategic plan for Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka[74]. The founding principles or tikanga that Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka have incorporated into its function are:

- wairuatanga - the notion of spirituality
- whanaungatanga - supporting whanau members and enacting reciprocity, for example at tangihanga
- kaitiakitanga - guardianship of resources that have given to us for the future and restoring those resources
- manaakitanga - sharing and caring
- whakapapa - acknowledging the intricate genealogies of Ngāti Whitikaupeka
- mana - maintaining and asserting the authority and integrity of Whitikaupeka instead of others having the say on our behalf
- whakapono - to operate with truth and integrity that promotes transparency and open relationships[75]

Supplementary to this six general areas were identified by the rūnanga as being important to the future development of Ngāti Whitikaupeka:

- social wellbeing - facilitating active iwi membership, health and wellbeing, education and employment
- tikanga Māori - whakapapa, te reo Māori, wānanga, tikanga, mātauranga Māori, history and marae maintenance
- the environment - to preserve natural resources, to form strategic relationships with those agents/agencies who have similar (or opposing)

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[73] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (2004, 2 October); Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (2004, 5-6 June)
[74] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (personal correspondence, 2004, 9 December)
[75] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (2004, 2 October).

interests and to assert our right to influence decision making in regard to our physical environment

- reclamation of resources - in terms of Treaty Claims and the iwi estate such as re-purchasing resources or re-connecting land trusts to the rūnanga
- economic development – for the iwi to generate their own financial resources independent of the government and their restrictions. Iwi enterprises, tourism ventures, acquisition of financial generators and the consolidation of any other incoming monies for the iwi were identified as possible development avenues
- organisational development – to identify possible avenues to aid the organization of the rūnanga. These include a iwi database identifying members, collating archives, establishing institutions such as a museum/repository and library, identifying potentially agencies that may assist our development, identifying and building human resources, and outlining rūnanga meeting procedures[76]

This is an overview of the general direction that Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka is engaging upon, they are not fixed directions, but offers a starting point to initiate further discussion and development. The rūnanga acknowledges that it must be fluid in its approaches to the development of the iwi[77]. This requires that objectives and directions may be subject to change as necessary to facilitate the aspirations of iwi members and to remain relevant to contemporary times. As noted at one of the initial rūnanga formation hui, 'nothing is set in concrete'[78].

In terms of the proposed ideal structure for the rūnanga there is still a lot of implementation to be done. The most significant factor that inhibits the progress of the rūnanga is the lack of skilled human resources. This is an issue that needs to be addressed and current research is being undertaken in the form of the Kai-

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[76] Ibid
[77] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (1998, 12-13 December).
[78] Ibid

Tataki-a-Rohe Research Project[79].   The Otaihape Māori Komiti is currently facilitating this research[80]. This project is modelled on the 'Kia Mataara' research framework created by Professor Whatarangi Winiata[81] and aims to provide a method of quantifying human and physical iwi resources. The particular assets that are being assessed through this research are:

- iwi membership – identifying iwi members and encouraging iwi participation
- pātaka – identifying and enhancing repositories of knowledge,
- wairuatanga – enhancing spirituality
- whanaungatanga – assessing and enhancing the state of the family
- kawa – identifying and enhancing the exponents of protocol
- te reo Māori – assessing the state of the Māori language within the iwi
- tikanga – identifying and enhancing exponents of Māori policy and procedure
- kaumatua – assessing and enhancing the condition of Kaumatua
- health – assessing and enhancing iwi health
- education – assessing and enhancing iwi education levels
- manuscripts of whakapapa – accessing, attaining, enhancing whakapapa knowledge
- marae facilities – assessing and enhancing the state of marae facilities
- taonga – identifying, accessing, attaining and enhancing iwi artefacts, literature and other treasures
- land – identifying, accessing, attaining and enhancing iwi lands
- investments – enhancing and engaging in investments on behalf of the iwi
- fishing rights – enhancing, accessing and attaining iwi rights to fishing[82]

This research will provide a foundation of knowledge to assist in future developments for Ngāti Whitikaupeka.

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[79] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (2004, 5-6 June).
[80] Ibid
[81] 'Kia Mataara' Research Framework by Whatarangi Winiata cited in Otaihape Māori Komiti Incorporated (2004).
[82] Ibid

The field research that has been conducted for this thesis will also provide information to assist in the development of Ngāti Whitikaupeka, particularly as it pertains to the individual aspirations of iwi members.

While Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka is not a fully functional institution, it does have the opportunity to learn from the victories and the oversights of other Māori institutions. Having set some founding directives and principles the rūnanga must maintain the overall goal - 'to enhance and maintain the tino rangatiratanga of Ngati Whitikaupeka'[83], that is to embrace, uplift and re-empower the iwi wherever possible.

The are many ways in which to achieve this goal, the challenge for Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka is to facilitate the flax-roots aspirations of the iwi, whatever direction it may lead, while adhering to its principles and not undermining the integrity of the iwi.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the evolution of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi of Mokai Patea from its migratory beginnings to the establishment of its governance structures as appropriate for contemporary times. The general history of Ngāti Whitikaupeka has been discussed as well as the reactionary measures of the iwi in regard to a government process. What ensued was a spate of interim initiatives to address the immediate issues, such as the Environmental Working Party and a governance research team, with the vision of establishing a rūnanga as a formal organization to address any future issues.

It was also realised that as an iwi, Ngāti Whitikaupeka had to reassert itself, in terms of whakapapa, geography and identity. The reason for doing so was twofold, to affirm the identity of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an independent body and to assert the rights of Ngāti Whitikaupeka in regard to any matters that may affect the iwi. Establishing the rūnanga was one method by which Ngāti Whitikaupeka

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[83] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka (2005).

were able to re-assert their individuality and desires to facilitate their own future directions.

In facilitating future directions strategic relationships need to be formed. It is acknowledged that these relationships require strengthening on several levels. The development of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka was also assisted through three particular strategic relationships. These incorporated the aid of the Moawhango Marae Committee, the Otaihape Māori Komiti and Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Hauiti. Each of these organizations has provided their own unique form of support and strength to the rūnanga and Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka currently has only three operational arms; the rūnanga body itself, to provide overall direction of the rūnanga and iwi development; the Environmental Working Party, to oversee environmental issues; and the Kaupeka ki Runga Trust to facilitate the finances of the rūnanga.

A founding set of tikanga or values and principles have been developed to guide the development and directives of both the rūnanga and iwi. The fundamental operation of the rūnanga is based on these values and principles, with the ultimate goal for Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka being to facilitate the aspirations of iwi members while maintaining the mana and integrity of the iwi.

Although the institution of the rūnanga is a new formation in terms of iwi development for Ngāti Whitikaupeka, it has been established on several classically Māori concepts: the notion of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an independent iwi body, the right for an iwi to determine its own future, as well as incorporating tikanga Māori into its formation and operation. Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka will proceed with the development of the iwi ever mindful of the whakatauki from which its tupuna Whitikaupeka acquired his name:

Aware of that, which may ensnare or assist you from above,

Or which may ensnare or assist you from below,

Careful navigation ensures a successful course.

Kaupeka ki runga, kaupeka ki raro, kui, kui, whiti ora e!

With this in mind, the proceeding chapter outlines the field research that has been undertaken. The Results chapter is intended to assist Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka by providing some direction from the flax-roots with regard to their aspirations. The quantitative and qualitative research coincides with the notions of re-empowerment where the flax-roots are given the opportunity to identify their own issues in order to transform their own realities. As a representative body, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka has the potential to facilitate such transformations.

Chapter Six
Results and Analysis
Hoihoi rawa te whango o ngā moa[1]

Introduction

Freire states that a diluted and depoliticised version of empowerment 'prescribes that people just sit together to identify their common problems'[2]. However, this research not only offers Ngāti Whitikaupeka the opportunity to look at its history as an iwi but also offers some strategies for their ongoing development. The purpose of the information collated in this thesis is intended to provide a general overview of the concerns and aspirations of Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members and their current status at the peripheries of development frameworks. It is not a full and extensive enquiry into the aspirations and current status of iwi members, however the information is intended to assist Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka, as a semi-periphery body, with future iwi development initiatives based on the desires of iwi members. The results of the field research collate quantitative data, from research questionnaires, and qualitative data from a focus group.

Quantitative Data – Questionnaires

The inclusion of a quantitative research component was to provide a medium by which individual iwi members could confidentially convey their own aspirations and additionally provide some statistical information as an overview for assessing the needs and aspirations of the iwi in relation with respect to different aspects of their lives.

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[1] Defeaning calls of the moa echo through the valleys
[2] Cited in James (1999). Pg14.

The information gathered pertained to the six general areas of: tikanga Māori, education, employment, health, social services and the environment. The quantitative data was broad and provided a *simple* overview of the issues for members of Ngāti Whitikaupeka. In order to obtain this information, 'it is generally advisable to measure variables at the highest level appropriate to that variable, but considerations of reliability, response rate and need will mean that measurement at lower levels often makes most sense'[3]. Data is generally collated in terms of percentages[4] and bi-variate[5] data with regard to gender.

Forty-six questionnaires out of 54 were completed and returned with a response rate of 85.2%. The average return rate for mail questionnaires of similar length is approximately 75%[6] and therefore this research indicated a high return rate.

Key Findings from Questionnaire Data.

Tikanga Māori

Iwi members saw te reo Māori as a critical component of tikanga though many of them did not identify themselves as having a high level of fluency (on a scale of 0-10), the average for participants was 4.2. There was minimal difference between genders and most stated that they had acquired their reo Māori from school though the marae and home were also important environments for fostering te reo Māori.

Generally a quarter of iwi members heard or spoke te reo Māori at work, 17%[7] of members heard or spoke te reo at school (both daily and occasionally), and nearly one third of participants are fortunate enough to hear or speak te reo

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[3] De Vaus (1995). Pg 132.
[4] All percentages have been rounded to 1 decimal place or to whole numbers.
[5] Incorporating two variables measured against each other: for example sex and age, sex and language proficiency.
[6] De Vaus (1995). Pg 109

Māori upon the marae on a daily basis. Overall, 89% of all iwi members who participated in the study expressed the desire to improve their level of te reo Maori.

Given these responses it is evident that as a part of Ngāti Whitikaupeka development and cultural enhancement, addressing te reo me ona tikanga should be a high priority, though it is important to ensure that the contexts in which this occurs are amenable to the iwi members. School is seen a one site in which participants have learnt their reo but another might be via wānanga at the marae which also offers further opportunities for members of the iwi to return to their marae for hui other than tangi weddings.

Table 6.1   **Frequency of Te Reo Maori Spoken and/or Heard**

	Daily	Weekly	Occasionally	Never
□ At Home	50.0%	10.9%	32.6%	2.2%
□ At Work	26.1%	6.5%	23.9%	15.2%
□ At School	17.4%	10.9%	17.4%	4.3%
□ At Marae	30.4%	6.5%	52.2%	2.2%

Frequency
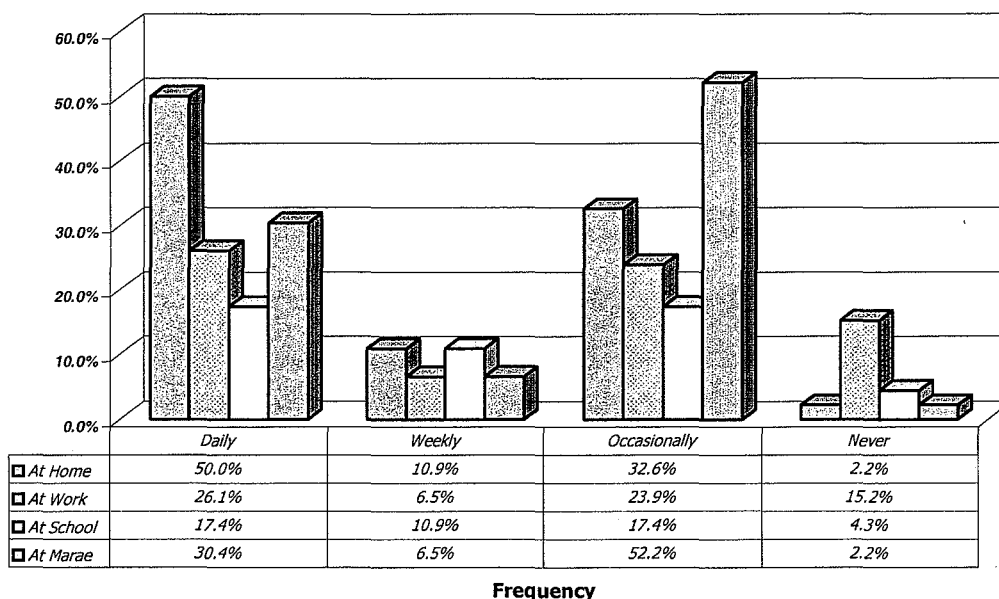
In addition half of the participants indicated that they or their children had attended Te Kohanga Reo or a bilingual unit. Only 10% of these participants were from Mokai Patea *and* noted that they or their child had attended Te Kohanga reo and a bi-lingual unit. However the number of participants or their

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[7] 17% of all participants, or 38% of those of whom the 'school' environment applied to.

children who attended a bi-lingual unit was relatively higher (although not exclusive) for those residing within Mokai Patea than any other grouping. This may be due to the fact that Mokai Patea has only provided the opportunity to attend Te Kohanga Reo and bi-lingual units for Māori medium education.

In addition only 4.3% of iwi members indicated attendance at Kura Kaupapa Maori, 22% to ruma rumaki, and 9% to Wharekura. These particular statistics were not exclusive to those who live away from Mokai Patea, however, they might include participants who have recently returned home or who have children residing elsewhere as Mokai Patea currently does not have Kura Kaupapa Māori or Wharekura facilities.

While Māori language early childhood, primary, intermediate, secondary and tertiary options are increasing nationwide, there would still appear to be a gap in those options being available to members of Ngāti Whitikaupeka or in iwi members choosing these options. The rūnanga and the iwi will have to discuss the importance of this further.

When asked how often participants attend different types of hui most participants stated that they 'sometimes' attend hui, kawemate, wedding, christenings (over 45% in each case) and working bees (33%). With over half of all participants saying that they 'often' attend tangihanga and reunions at the marae. Although the statistics do show that a higher number of Mokai Patea residences 'often' attend different hui at the marae, there are also a fair amount of iwi members who do not live in the region but who frequently attend hui.

However 35% of iwi members also noted that they have 'never' attended wānanga at the marae. There was no residential correlation to these statistics. In addition to this, the questionnaire showed that there are some Mokai Patea residents who have little contact with the marae in any of the situations given.

Over half of the respondents would like to attend more hui, 70% would like to attend more reunions, 60% would like to attend wānanga and nearly half would like to partake in working bees. Approximately half of the participants also stated that they 'occasionally' had contact with other marae, the majority of these participants reside within Mokai Patea. Statistics indicate that iwi members maintain a fair amount of general contact with marae.

Iwi members have identified a range of situations in which they would like to have more contact with the marae. These may be useful in determining the ways in which cultural enhancement can be accomplished and provide opportunities that can be utilized to reaffirm and reconnect iwi members with Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi.

In assessing how much the participants know about general Maori history and Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi history, the majority of participants indicated that they knew 'some' Maori history and iwi history (63% and 44% respectively). All wahine participants noted their desire to learn more history where a small

Table 6.2

Participant Knowledge of Histories

	Know none	Know a lillte	Know some	Know a lot
☐ Wahine: Maori History	0.0%	10.5%	78.9%	10.5%
☐ Wahine: Iwi History	0.0%	36.8%	42.1%	21.1%
☐ Tane: Maori History	0.0%	33.3%	51.9%	14.8%
☐ Tane: Iwi History	7.4%	40.7%	44.4%	7.4%
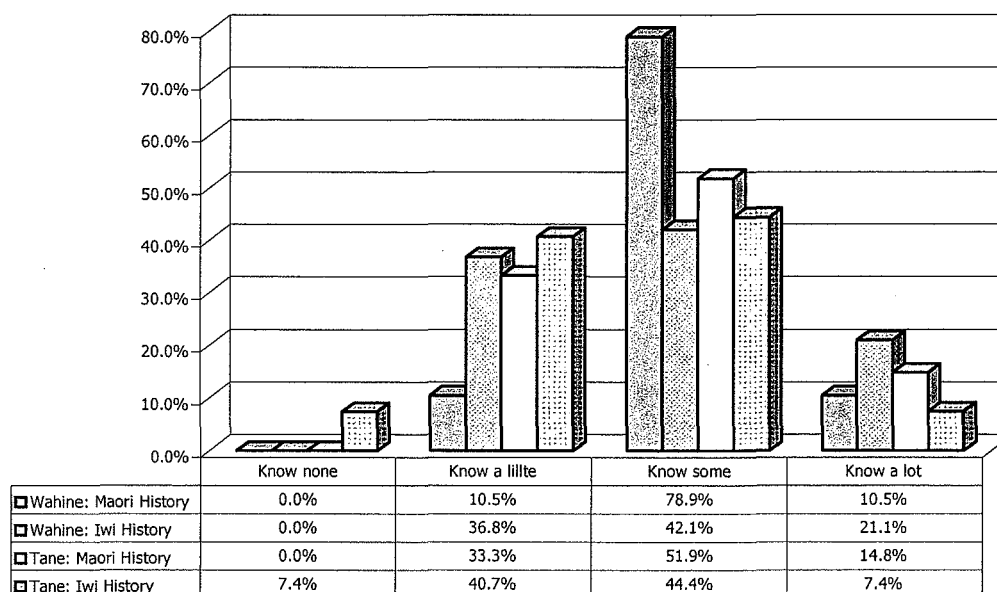
percentage of taitamatane were undecided about this. A small number of iwi members who do not reside in Mokai Patea did not have any knowledge of Ngati Whitikaupeka history. High interest in this area was indicated were all iwi members either wanted to learn more about Maori and iwi history (85% and 94% respectively) or were undecided (13%, 6.5%)[8].

The areas of interest that people would like to know more about ranged from issues on the marae, iwi and inter-iwi affairs (52%, 63%, and 50% respectively), local Maori issues and notable interest in national and international Maori issues. The last interest might be attributed to the recent national political climate[9]. In all cases the most people indicated that they would like to be more involved in Maori issues in all arenas, but there is a notable waning of interest as the location moves from the marae to the international arena.

These statistics confirm the desire of Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members to partake in cultural enhancement activities. In addition it highlights specific areas of interest that suggest avenues that can be used to entice iwi member participation in Ngāti Whitikaupeka activities. Of specific concern however, is the unsure nature of the taitamatane who participated in this research. Strategies that affirm cultural identity would be of benefit to these iwi members, however it also confirms, to some extent, the concern that other iwi members have had with respect to rangatahi.

Education

One third of iwi members who participated in this research had attained a tertiary degree or higher-level qualification. These are very healthy statistics in comparison with the national statistics that show that only 4% of Māori people

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[8] These 'undecided' statistics all pertained to male youth
[9] Especially in light of the Foreshore and Seabed Hikoi

have the same qualification[10]. Nearly 20% stated their highest level of education was at tertiary level and 24% of the participants have had a minimum of 4 years of secondary school education. These overall statistics are more positive than national Māori statistics[11].

Nearly 25% of participants stated that they could *not* attain their desired qualification in their area of residence. Those who reside in Mokai Patea accounted for 15% and the types of qualifications that they referred to were, marine biology, interior design, health studies, and te reo Māori. The remaining members who identified that they could not carry further studies in their chosen fields came from a range of places including Wellington, Napier and Wanganui, where they noted that masterate and doctorate programmes were unavailable.

These statistics indicate that education, particularly at higher learning levels, is valued amongst the participants even though many educational options are not readily accessible in Mokai Patea. As Te Wānanga o Raukawa currently offers marae based studies within the rohe, this could be a valuable institution that has contributed to the education of Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members.

Employment

Iwi members who were either employed full-time or part-time accounted for 74% of respondents and 22% identified that they were not currently employed. The broad range of occupations included: administration, public service, agricultural work, clinical assistance, environmental science, management, teaching/tutoring/lecturing, hospitality, freezing work, care giving, psychotherapy, counseling, sales, and social work.

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[10] Statistics New Zealand (2001).
[11] Ibid

Students accounted for just under half of the 22% who are not currently employed. The general statistics for Ngāti Whitikaupeka employment indicated in this study are fairly good in comparison to national statistics[12].

Students accounted for 44% of all questionnaire participants, with vast fields of study ranging from secondary school, teaching, health, business, horticulture, te reo Māori to computing, finance and commercial law. Of the participants surveyed 17% are beneficiaries, two thirds of whom were also students and a further 7% of beneficiaries stating that they were not currently employed but would like to pursue employment. In addition 22% of iwi member respondents were occupied by facilitating the home and identified that they would prefer to be income earners. One third of this group were also students. A further 11% of participants identified that they have some type of disability. Nearly one third of who would like to be employed. Retired iwi members accounted for 2% who are active in badminton, walking and marching.

These statistics indicate that generally Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members who participated in the research had a desire to be employed. In addition to this the number of participants who engage in study suggests that there is a strong desire to become employed. This indicates a positive future for Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members and it provides an opportunity for the rūnanga to discuss ways in which they can support iwi members' desires in this area.

Health

The average level of health (on a scale of 1-10) was rated 7.3. The majority of iwi participants indicated a fair level of health ranging between 8 and 10.

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[12] Te Puni Kōkiri (2000). Pg 22: the 1999 national employment rate was approximately 50%, where this study has indicated participant employment rate at approximately 78%.

The most accessed health service of those that were listed in the questionnaire was the doctors and the hospital. These were the most frequently utilized services with the majority of participants indicating that they never use any of the remaining services.

Participants were also given the opportunity to describe other health services that are not readily available to iwi members but might be beneficial to them. Iwi members who participated in the research indicated a particular desire to see the establishment of more Māori health services. These included; rongoa, home care, specialists and services for rangatahi.

Although there was a generally standard response to this section that indicated that iwi members utilised the services of the doctor, further discussion around iwi member use of health services is needed. The statistics indicate that iwi members who participated in the research were of fairly good health, this might be why health services are not broadly accessed. However, there remains the possibility that iwi members do not feel comfortable to access some of the other health services or that they are unaware of them. Additional discussion around the establishment of more specific Māori health care services that will benefit Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members will need to take place with the iwi and the rūnanga.

Social Services

Open-ended questions were asked to ascertain the type of social services that iwi member's access. There was a small response to this section of the questionnaire[13], however one participant stated that there are a number of mainstream social services that they were aware of however the 'only Māori/iwi driven' social services were those facilitated through the Otaihape Māori Komiti.

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[13] Ibid

One iwi member stated, 'the services that are used are those available, services may be available that people are not aware of, an advice bureau may be of help'.

These comments are fairly representative of the general responses to the questionnaire. Therefore there is an opportunity here to enhance the Māori services that are already in existence, but to also provide information about existing services that may assist Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members.

Environment

The average importance of the environment was 7.9. Approximately half of the all participants indicated that the environment was of vital importance and rated it as a 10.

Research participants identified concerns pertaining to land as notably being: the state of erosion, access to land, and the amount of land in Māori ownership and the pollution of land. Participants also identified particular concerns with the rivers and waterways as being: the water levels and flows, the overgrowth of trees along waterways and pollution. It was also noted that more native flora is needed within the rohe and that the eradication of noxious flora would also need to place. One participant noted that 'what is left of native flora is under threat from introduced animal pests, i.e. possums, rabbits and deer'. The main observation made by participants in the research with regard to fauna was the lack of wild life and native species. Trout, tuna, patiki, fresh water mussels and koura were identified as some of the species that have been depleted within regional waterways. In addition it was noted that there is a lack of accessible information about both flora and fauna.

One positive finding of the research is that the majority of respondents indicated that if given the opportunity they would contribute to the environment

by re-cycling, re-planting and cleaning environs, possum hunting and partaking in environmental working parties, especially within Mokai Patea. In addition, 30% of participants said that they already re-cycled.

These statistics indicate that Ngāti Whitikaupeka research participants have a strong affiliation to the environment. The willingness of these members to participate in environmental activities is yet another opportunity to re-connect iwi members to Ngāti Whitikaupeka and to engage upon iwi actions to re-enhance the environs. However addressing particular environmental issues with respect to iwi environs will involve further discussion and action.

General

Participants were also invited to add any further comments about the research and/or their particular concerns about areas that were not addressed in the research. One of the particular issues that were identified in this section was the need for wānanga and tikanga, especially for the benefit of rangatahi (who were identified as an important part of the iwi) as well as the affirmation of Ngāti Whitikaupekatanga.

In addition the lack of housing in Mokai Patea was thought to impede iwi members wanting to return home to live. An important comment that was made was the need for 'appropriate research [about] urban Māori and their relationship with Ngāti Whitikaupeka'. The question was posed as to what 'approaches and initiatives' the rūnanga needed to look at in order for urban iwi members to be accounted for? The combined utilisation of Ngāti Whitikaupeka lands to benefit iwi economic development was identified, and one iwi member who participated in the research noted that they would like to 'eventually see a financially independent and secure iwi'.

These additional comments identify some specific issues that need to be discussed by the rūnanga, but they also identify some of the issues that are currently being discussed through the rūnanga strategic planning process. Although some of the issues that have been identified by participants may not be viewed as the direct responsibility of the rūnanga, such as housing, they provide valuable foundations upon which the rūnanga can incorporate into the strategic future development of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi.

Qualitative Data - Focus Groups

The information gathered from focus groups utilized Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques. First, *pair-wise ranking* was used to identify and prioritize issues that focus group participants deemed important within the iwi and the community at large. The second technique employed was *Venn diagrams*. These were to identify the importance and accessibility of elements, services and institutions as participants perceived them. The qualitative data has been prepared to gain insight into what some iwi members identify as significant matters with regard to them as Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members and as members of a wider community (Mokai Patea).

Rangatahi Focus Group
Pair-wise Ranking

Participants acknowledged that the issues identified did not exclusively pertain to the iwi but were issues that affected the Mokai Patea community as well. Focus group participants identified several issues. These issues were charted in matrix form and each issue was ranked in terms of importance in comparison to another issue[14]. The numbers in the shaded boxes correlate to the number of

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[14] Table 6.6

Rangatahi Focus Group Pair Wise Ranking	1 Secondary Education	2 Alt. Academic Opportunity	3 Variety of Sports	4 Recycling Center	5 Guidance Counselors	6 Sports Academy	7 Reason for kids to stay at school	8 Outdoor pursuits	9 Community Events	10 Wānanga/ Hikoi
1 Secondary Education	9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2 Alt. Academic Opportunity	1	8	2	2	2	2	2/7	2	2/9	2/10
3 Variety of Sports	1	2	1	3	5	6	7	8	9	10
4 Recycling Center	1	2	3	0	5	6	7	8	9	10
5 Guidance Counselors	1	2	5	5	2	6	7	8	9	10
6 Sports Academy	1	2	6	6	6	5	6/7	6	9	10
7 Reason for kids to stay at school	1	2/7	7	7	7	6/7	8	7	7/9	7/10
8 Outdoor pursuits	1	2	8	8	8	6	7	3	9	10
9 Community Events	1	2/9	9	9	9	9	7/9	9	8	9/10
10 Wānanga/Hikoi	1	2/10	10	10	10	10	7/10	10	9/10	8

Pair-wise Ranking Matrix
Table 6.3

times that issue was deemed more important than another. Thus the most important issue identified by rangatahi participants was the need to support Secondary Education within Mokai Patea, emerging nine times in the matrix body. Some issues were also found to be of equal importance.

1) *Secondary Education*

Secondary Education within the region was noted as requiring more support from the community at large. With a dwindling number of students at the local college, participants identified that the retention of students was of utmost importance. One participant stated that during his term at the local college there

were '50 or 60 of us in 3rd form and when I left [7th form] there was about 15'[15]. Another participant noted the poor reputation of the school that is perpetuated by parents who opt to school their children out of the area. However participants acknowledged interrelationships and correlations between all issues. Discussion about this subject noted that having *alternative academic opportunities*, a greater *variety of sports*, good *guidance counselors*, a *sports academy, outdoors pursuits and holiday programmes, community events* and *wānanga* were in fact more *reasons for rangatahi to stay at the local College.* One participant described these relationships as 'te whariki'[16] where the many strands overlap and support each other.

2a) *Alternative Academic Opportunity*

The focus group felt that *alternative academic opportunities* for school students should be offered for those who have a more kinesthetic approach to learning. This may involve horticultural programmes and apprenticeships. While there was an intense focus on *secondary school education*, one participant noted that a community will 'always have to have casual laborer's... [to] leave school, go to university and be some big wig in Wellington... that's not everybody'[17]. Schooling options need to cater for these rangatahi.

2b) *Community Events*

Community events such as the annual Christmas parade, Gumboot day, and the Agricultural and Pastoral show day were seen as events that fostered 'community spirit' with a unique Taihape identity. However the focus group participants noted decline in the active participation of community members.

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[15] Rangatahi participant A
[16] Rangatahi participant E
[17] Rangatahi participant I

The importance of community events and a sense of community identity were best described by one of the participants in stating:

'For me I always felt better going to school knowing that you have a strong 1st XV [rugby team] and then going out and doing [things] in the community that makes the community stronger. And then you want to be in Taihape, like Gumboot day... the [A&P] Show... stuff like that, that makes you want to hang around and then you don't want to go away to boarding school cause you know Taihape 's alright. You make the most of the opportunities you've got here... you've got to look at it on a wider thing... its alright to have those things there, like your academic options and the apprenticeship programmes and that, but you don't want to do it if Taihape sucks. You don't want to live in Taihape with an apprenticeship with a fulla you don't like in a town you don't like, what's the use? You've got to get the community spirit up, and make it so that kids want to stay here[18].

2c) *Wānanga, Hikoi, Iwi Sports Days*

Participants who had previous involvement in wānanga and hikoi stated the benefits of these, and were enthusiastic to implement more of these events. Participants identified wānanga and hikoi as being just as important as community events, but with specific regard to being Māori and Ngāti Whitikaupeka. With regard to guidance for rangatahi, one participated noted that guidance was abundant at wānanga[19] another participant stated that wānanga 'is a way of getting guidance'[20]. Wānanga and hikoi were also noted as involving out door activity, in recalling previous wānanga and hikoi one

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[18] Rangatahi participant I
[19] Rangatahi participant O
[20] Rangatahi participant I

participant stated 'wānanga are outdoor pursuits'[21]. In addition, whanau health initiatives such as the 'Marae Ora' walking programme[22] as well as iwi member participation in Lake Taupo walking and cycling races were identified as positive health initiatives to be taken advantage of.

2d) *Reasons for Kids to Stay at School*

This theme specifically referred to the local college. The focus group discussed the notion of enticing rangatahi to school locally which encompassed many of the issues that are addressed individually, however reasons for rangatahi to school locally was of notable concern to the group.

3) *Sports Academy*

The implementation of a sports academy through the local college was observed as a potential incentive for school students to stay at school. Discussions were around the declining number of students at the local college. The number of students who sought out of town schooling, especially the sporting elite was of concern. One group member stated that 'all the schools are stealing our good sports players [by offering scholarships] cause there's nothing for them'[23], this participant gives two examples of elite sports players who have left Mokai Patea, both of whom are New Zealand representatives. However another person observed 'but maybe they would have never been as good as they are if they had of stayed here'[24]. This situation was noted as being pertinent especially in the light of 'kids who go back to school to play rugby'[25] or other sports.

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[21] Rangatahi participant I
[22] This programme involves scheduled walks that are timed and designed around neighborhood streets with people joining and leaving the walking group at the near their homes.
[23] Rangatahi participant E
[24] Rangatahi participant A
[25] Rangatahi participant E

4) Outdoor Pursuits

Although the group members identified wānanga and hikoi as occupying a similar role to outdoor pursuits, participants also acknowledged the need to implement more of these activities. Discussion involved the notions of 'making use of the outdoors'[26] and 'getting them [tamariki/rangatahi] off the playstation'[27]. Participants also confirmed their own desires to attend such programmes.

5) Guidance Counselors

Comments were made that on a whole the guidance counselors that participants had encountered during their schooling at the local college were of little assistance. The concern was to ensure 'opportunities for [kids] if they aren't going to learn in the classroom... whether there is any advice for them'[28] inclusive of careers advice.

6) Variety of Sports

Netball and rugby were noted as the two main sports that are offered within the region, however participants suggested a greater number of sports, that might include volleyball, basketball, touch rugby, fishing, horse trekking and 4wheel driving which could entice rangatahi participation and provide an alternative to drinking and disruptive behavior. Focus group members noted that other sports were previously available in Mokai Patea, but that a limited number of sports were now available. The students who leave Mokai Patea were mentioned as contributing to low numbers of sports players that resulted in a

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[26] Rangatahi participant I
[27] Rangatahi participant E
[28] Rangatahi participant U

limited number of sports being offered. Concern was raised given that Mokai Patea midget[29] sports, for instance rugby, were quite strong but that college aged students had a limited sports competition. The notion of enticing students to school locally by offering a variety of sports within the community was discussed.

7) *Recycling Center*

Of final importance was the need to have better access to a recycling center. Although the Taihape Township currently has basic recycling facilities, they are not generally accessible. The rubbish tip requires transport to the outer perimeters of the town to recycle, and the township recycling center requires a fee.

Venn Diagrams

The rangatahi focus group also provided information through the use of Venn diagrams. Two Venn diagrams were produced, the first diagram pertained to individual perception of needs, their importance and their accessibility, and the second diagram pertained to participant perception of community needs, importance and accessibility. Most issues that were identified during this exercise were addressed through the Pair-wise Ranking exercise, however some further issues were also identified. Job opportunity and good policing were identified as very important elements of the community that were generally inaccessible.

Analysis

This study has identified some of the concerns and aspirations of those Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members who participated in a questionnaire. Consequently

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[29] Primary school

this information has provided a valuable foundation for the potential development of Ngāti Whitikaupeka. Three specific roles for the rūnanga can be drawn from this research. These are: the formation of strategic relationships, the dissemination of information, and direct action.

The information that has been gathered in this research suggests that strategic relationships, that can enhance the development of Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members, should be formed between Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka and existing institutions that:

- foster te reo Māori (Kohanga Reo, schools, tertiary institutions such as Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Te Taura Whiri I te Reo Māori[30])
- provide services for the disabled and the elderly (local and national social services)
- provide study options (schools, tertiary institutions such as Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ministry of Education)
- enhance and conserve the environment (District Council, Department of Conservation)
- provide local and national social services (Sport Wanganui, Housing New Zealand, Home Care, Police)
- provide health services (Taumata Hauora, physiotherapists, mental health, Ministry of Health)
- involve sports and recreation (River Valley[31], sports teams)
- involve local, regional and national businesses and organizations (for employment opportunity)
- foster community spirit and identity

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[30] The Māori Language Commission.
[31] A local rafting and outdoor experience venture.

In addition to this, strategic relationships should also be built with any other institution that may assist in facilitating the identified aspirations of Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members.

Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka should also consider the collation and dissemination of information for the benefit of iwi members. In particular, specific information that has been identified by this research as being potentially beneficial to Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members pertain to:

- te reo Māori[32]
- hui and wānanga[33]
- social services
- health services
- environmental issues
- study programmes, support and scholarships

However, to encourage the active participation of Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members with their iwi the dissemination of information should also involve wide spread notification of iwi members about marae and iwi activities.

Finally a number of possible direct actions for the Rūnanga have been identified by this study. Other than forming strategic relationships and the collation and dissemination of information, further actions include:

- the implementation of specific types of hui, i.e. reunions and wānanga, for the benefit of iwi members. In particular wānanga that pertain to te reo Māori, Māori and Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi history and Māori issues with regard to the marae, the iwi, inter-iwi, national and international affairs
- the implementation of programmes and initiatives to raise the awareness of iwi members with regard to social and health services

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[32] Given the decreasing number of speakers upon Ngāti Whitikaupeka marae
[33] Given the small numbers of those who can facilitate the roles regarding whaikorero, karanga and ringawera

- to establish or lobby for the establishment of services not currently available to iwi members, for instance a Māori Health Centre
- the implementation of programmes for rangatahi
- further research into re-connecting urban iwi members with Ngāti Whitikaupeka
- the facilitation of wānanga, hikoi and iwi sports days
- lobbying for the establishment of facilities that are not currently offered but are deemed to be beneficial to iwi members

In addition to this, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka should also discuss facilitating activities for iwi members such as sports, a sports academy, holiday programmes, socializing opportunities, and employment if facilitation by or in conjunction with existing organizations does not eventuate.

Conclusion

This research has provided some foundations for the facilitation of Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi member needs and aspirations from the peripheries of development. Three key areas have been highlighted from research information: participant concerns, aspirations, and the potential role of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka in addressing and facilitating these issues. The research has been undertaken in an attempt to maintain an association between Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members and Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka. As Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka is located at the semi-periphery of development frameworks, it is therefore in a better position than iwi members at the periphery to effect change. This research may be useful to Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka in formulating future directions for the well-being, re-empowerment and flax-root development of Ngāti Whitikaupeka.

Chapter Seven
Conclusion
Ka rauna te haere i ngā hiwi[1]

Introduction

The aim of this thesis was to provide a body of information to assist in the positive development of Ngāti Whitikaupeka. It was intended to examine the role of rūnanga as a traditional Māori authority and as a valuable social structure to facilitate iwi aspirations. In particular, it examined the evolution of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka and some of the issues leading up to and surrounding its establishment. There was also a discussion about the viability of the traditional rūnanga into an established institution of contemporary times.

Dependency theory, World Systems theory and modes of production were used to analyze the historic-disempowerment of Māori. World systems theory provided a particularly important foundation for understanding the role and location of rūnanga institutions within wider development frameworks.

Both quantitative and qualitative research approaches were used to provide an opportunity for Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members to identify and convey their own specific concerns and aspirations from the flax-roots. This information was also intended to form a foundation from which Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka could derive initiatives and strategies to facilitate the aspirations of Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members, thus producing re-empowering consequences for iwi members. Community Development and Empowerment were then used as a means of considering the resistance of the peripheralisation of Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members, and was underpinned by the principles of whakapapa and mana. In turn these theories and principles have provided foundations that support iwi development and offered ways in which resistance to peripheralisation could be transformed into positive change.

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[1] And on to navigate a path along the ridges

Two themes that have underpinned this thesis are whakapapa and mana. These themes encompass the notions of history, relationships and power, and are explicitly interrelated. In this respect the historical evolution of rūnanga as an institution and its application to the development of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka have highlighted the relationships of power that exist between Māori and the state, as well as internally within Māori social structures.

The whakapapa of rūnanga showed that rūnanga have always played an important part in Māori societies, from the earliest accounts of Māori migration, rūnanga have been subject to a great evolution. Their presence in contemporary societies is a tribute to the many customs that transversed Te Moana Nui a Kiwa to survive in a new world. However, while the founding principles of rūnanga have survived the perception of them and their function have been largely co-opted by the state and therefore there has been considerable change in the way rūnanga, as a body, are now utilized in Māori social structures.

World Systems theory has been utilised to locate the position of rūnanga in general with reference to macro development frameworks. In particular this theory described the historic power relationships that have and continue to exist between Māori (in general), as a periphery, and the state, as a core. But the theory also demonstrated how the co-option of rūnanga by the state resulted in the establishment of a semi-peripheral body that was used to disguise the core's exploitation of the periphery.

The historic account of the evolution of rūnanga in chapter four examined the pre-European functions of rūnanga as well as highlighting issues of mana in both the rūnanga utilisation for resistance and eventual submission to state domination. Resistance was notable with 'traditional' rūnanga who were independent of state control though state co-option of rūnanga also historically contributed to some extent in Māori subordination. This is why traditional rūnanga were seen as a threat to the government agenda and they were eventually co-opted by the government to ensure state control over Māori decision-making. 'Traditional' non-

coopted rūnanga have continued to operate however their enterprises are not well known and until recently non-legislated rūnanga have not been acknowledged by the state or any of its constituent parts. Most rūnanga that exist today are structured, constrained and operated within western ideology.

However, this thesis has shown theories of Community Development and Empowerment can be utilised as a way to both understand as well as to operationalise resistance to groups who assume semi-peripheral positions. The principles that are involved in these theories have been used to guide re-empowerment initiatives. With regards to Ngāti Whitikaupeka they have been utilised within this research to consider the viability of rūnanga as an appropriate structure for Ngāti Whitikaupeka but also to ensure that rūnanga is something developed by Ngāti Whitikaupeka, not as a state definition of rūnanga.

While Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka is an institution that has evolved from its own unique set of circumstances, it nonetheless does not stand independent of the evolutionary history of rūnanga as a whole. It has had to contend with a multitude of issues of mana, that being the notions of power, resistance and reassertion. The establishment of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka was instigated to provide an iwi authority that could represent Ngāti Whitikaupeka in a Resource Consent process where Resource Consent applicants, Genesis Energy, had entered into a consultation process with Ngāti Tūwharetoa with regard to the damming of the Moawhango Rahi, the Ngāti Whitikaupeka ancestral river. At this time Ngāti Whitikaupeka decided that the iwi itself should be in direct in consultation with Genesis Energy as a separate body from the mantle of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and as a people who were directly affected by any consent agreement.

The larger unit of Ngāti Tūwharetoa had for various reasons[2] consumed Ngāti Whitikaupeka, at least in terms of authoritative representation. As World Systems

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[2] The consumption of smaller units into the broader iwi regime is outlined in Ballara, A. (1998). IWI the dynamics of Māori tribal organisation from c.1769 to c.1945. Wellington: Victoria University Press. Pg 250-259

theory shows, Ngāti Tūwharetoa could potentially have relegated Ngāti Whitikaupeka to the peripheries of this decision making process. In reasserting the identity of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi and establishing Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka, the iwi demonstrated its traditional rights to represent itself as an independent unit. Establishing Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka allowed decision making to take place on behalf of those who would be directly affected by decision-making outcomes. In essence this was about reasserting the mana of Ngāti Whitikaupeka as an iwi.

In the last decade this has also led to the re-educating of Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members about the unique identity of the iwi rather than perpetuating the idea that we were a smaller unit of the larger. It highlighted notions of ideological imposition where re-empowerment was sought through the process of identifying historical information to authenticate Ngāti Whitikaupeka as a traditional, unique and autonomous unit. Notions of retribalization and neo-tribalisation[3] reasons for establishment are not relevant to Ngāti Whitikaupeka. In re-asserting the identity of Ngāti Whitikaupeka, the iwi acknowledged its traditional right to determine its own future, epitomising the notion of 'kaupapa Māori' and the re-centering of Māori knowledges. Ngāti Whitikaupeka have resisted the notion of being consumed by a larger entity and reasserted its rights to be acknowledged as an independent unit in order to re-empower its iwi members. Once again themes of whakapapa and mana are apparent.

As a final note of resistance, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka has not adopted a legal entity. The adoption of state legislation as a covenant of the rūnanga was seen as restrictive for iwi development. Therefore Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka has sought a more 'traditional' capacity in its structure and operation so that state requirements did not dictate the terms and conditions of its function. Although delegation to the rūnanga is facilitated by a nomination process to ensure

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[3] Rata, E. (1996). *Global capitalism and the revival of ethnic traditionalism in New Zealand: The emergence of tribal capitalism.* PhD thesis, University of Auckland
Rata, E. (2000). A political economy of neo-tribal capitalism. Oxford: Lexington Books. Pg43-74; 137-154.

adequate representation, the rūnanga forum itself bases its decision making process on the 'rūnanga principle'[4] or consensus and does not incorporate the western notions of committee authorities. However further development of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka as a structure to facilitate iwi member aspirations. All minor decision-making is made with unanimous resolution and all pressing matters are referred back to the iwi forum for iwi decision. These are modest actions, but they are significant measures of resistance to colonial domination and the desire to maintain traditional structure and autonomy where possible. It enforces, as Freire describes, a type of psychological empowerment[5] that re-centres Māori tradition into contemporary iwi development.

The notions of community development and empowerment do offer an opportunity to weaken the domination of the core (as prescribed by World System theory). These theories illustrate how intermediary bodies also possess the potential to benefit the peripheries. As an organization that exists much closer to community reality, rūnanga, and other similar institutions, have the opportunity to use their position to facilitate flax-roots development. This is the case with the establishment of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka. Iwi Strategic planning initiatives as well the field research that has been presented in chapter six is expected to provide a foundation for the directives of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka. While iwi planning takes place at one level of iwi direction, the needs and aspirations of iwi members also need to be accounted for to ensure that proper representation is being fulfilled and that rūnanga directives are consistent with iwi member aspirations. Accountability to iwi members is one measure by which rūnanga can maintain a re-empowering role while directing iwi development. At the same time, rūnanga must be cognisant of its position within a greater development framework. As accounts of Māori bourgeois, Māori elite, and Māori

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[4] Mead, H. M. (1992). *The mandate of leadership and the decision-making process.* Wellington: Te Puni Kokiri. Pg 13
[5] Friere, P. (1996). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* London: Penguin Books.

intelligentsia highlight the growing gap between Māori social classes[6], Māori institutions that parallel the semi-periphery must endeavour to act on behalf of their constituents rather than to use such positions as an exploitive measure against peripheral members. Incorporating tikanga Māori as principles for operational foundations, fair representation, and sound accountability measures much like those described by kaupapa Māori research methodologies would go a long way in ensuring that flax-roots developments occur with positive benefits.

The re-empowerment of Māori will never be fully instated until the state is willing to surrender parliamentary power. Until that time, Māori development will continue to occupy the semi-peripheries and peripheries of the world system, subject to the state core. With this in mind, rūnanga, and other 'semi-peripheral' institutions should endeavour to take advantage of what little authority they do possess and extract benefits from the core to facilitate aspirations of the peripheries. Re-empowerment for Māori is a vicious cycle of politics, education and social leverage where Māori must maintain consciousness of the structures in which they operate in order to appropriately facilitate the flax-roots. With rūnanga assuming a semi-peripheral position in the larger development framework, exploitation of the periphery is not an option if any positive development for the flax-roots is to ensue. Peripheral exploitation will only enforce assimilation processes that have been manufactured by the state.

The ideas of domination, subordination and co-option are not only apparent in the constructs of rūnanga, but they are also highlighted in chapter two with regard to knowledge. Kaupapa Māori theory resists the peripheral position that Western ideologies assign it, and validates itself by re-centering Māori knowledge without subordinating any other knowledge paradigm. In undertaking the historic research for chapter four and the field research for chapter six founding principles guided the research: whakapapa and mana. These two principles were by no means an

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[6] Webster, S. (2002) 'Maori Retribalization and treaty rights to the New Zealand fisheries' *The Contemporary Pacific*, 14(2), p341 (37)

effort to re-empower the institutions or iwi participants that it investigated, instead they merely acknowledged the inherent whakapapa and mana of all those involved in these chapters. This was perhaps a mere reflection of the establishment of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka, who also identified their own inherent whakapapa and the mana of iwi members.

Recommendations

This research has also provided an opportunity to contribute to the future direction of Ngāti Whitikaupeka and its rūnanga. The potential role of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka has been addressed in the previous chapter and it is recommended that Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka discuss the issues that have been raised in respect to the research information that has been produced in the Results chapter (pages 118-121). The information that has been collated from Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members who participated in this research suggest three areas that need to be addressed pertain to:

- Building strategic relationships that enhance Ngāti Whitikaupeka and its iwi members
- Collating and disseminating information to iwi members to raise the awareness levels of iwi members with regard to range of issues
- Implementing direct actions that facilitate the aspirations as identified by the study

Although there are only three general directives for Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka to take on board, they encompass a wide range of areas including; tikanga (including te reo and wānanga), education, employment, health, social services and the environment.

This study has also highlighted the need for more research to be undertaken with particular regard to Ngāti Whitikaupeka history. This research has not only documented the issues surrounding the establishment of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka, but the research enquiries themselves have acted as a catalyst that

has prompted some iwi members to re-engage with the history of Ngāti Whitikaupeka. In doing so, it has become evident that the history of Ngāti Whitikaupeka is more illustrious than that which has been portrayed in this research. In addition, it has been identified that particular research surrounding re-connecting urban Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members is also needed. This undertaking may also be done in conjunction with research that further investigates methods to encourage active iwi membership to Ngāti Whitikaupeka in general. Therefore, this study has identified some research directives that may be taken on by Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka in the future, these include:

- Further research and the collation of information pertaining to Ngāti Whitikaupeka histories
- Further research into reconnecting urban iwi members with Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members and social structures
- Further research into ways in which Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka can encourage the active participation of its iwi members in iwi activities

This research has also identified a lack of information pertaining to general regarding traditional Māori notions. Mead particularly noted this situation with regard to traditional decision making[7]. While it does demonstrate the shift of Māori ideologies, it is an area that needs to be researched further and re-centered in order to provide direction for the future directions of Māori. Although some may argue that one cannot live in the past, the example of the rūnanga has verified the validity of traditional notions in contemporary societies. Therefore:

- Further research into traditional Māori concepts is needed to provide valuable options for the future development of Māori in general.

This research has located rūnanga (as well as other Māori authorities) at the semi-periphery of broad development frameworks. It is cautioned that semi-periphery institutions maintain consciousness of their specific role while being

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[7] Mead (1992). Pg 10

located at the semi-periphery and develop specific guidelines and principles that ensure that the mana of those they represent is being enhanced and not worsened. The findings of this study indicate that:

- clear guidelines and principles need to be adopted in Māori governance organisations to ensure that Māori are not further peripheralised within broader developmental frameworks. In addition to this, organisations must have a clear understanding of their particular position within these frameworks in order to resist further peripheralisation, but also to re-centre those that they represent

Personal journey

The process of writing this thesis has provide more opportunity for learning than just the information contained with this thesis. While whakapapa and mana were the foundations for this study, in turn I feel that my personal whakapapa links have been enhanced, in terms of both genealogy and relationships; and that in the process of this study mana, in terms of tino rangatiratanga, has been maintained. This reference to mana specifically refers to the purpose of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka that is 'to enhance and maintain the tino rangatiratanga of Ngāti Whitikaupeka'[8]. I am sure that this research has contributed to the vision of Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka and has provided a pebble in the foundation for 'living the essence of Whitikaupekatanga in a modern world'[9].

In addition I have learnt from the research itself that there is still more research to be done for both Māori and Ngāti Whitikaupeka. Future personal endeavours will include further inquiry into the histories of Ngāti Whitikaupeka, as well as further research around traditional Māori notions that can enhance contemporary Māori societies.

Ehara tāku toa i te toa taki tahi... this particular research journey was not the journey of one individual.

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[8] Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka. (2005). Pg 7
[9] Ibid

Conclusion

Most predominantly the notion of power emerges throughout this thesis. It has clearly identified the location of rūnanga within a greater development paradigm and in relation to this position it has also identified the role of rūnanga in facilitating Māori aspirations.

Dependency theory, the World Systems theory, modes of production, community development, empowerment theory and Kaupapa Māori theory all describe and assist in understanding relationships of power. The first three theories provide a framework by which to assess the position of rūnanga in regard to a historic process of dis-empowerment by the state. The final three theories offer ways in which rūnanga and Māori development initiatives in general may weaken the dominance of the state in order to facilitate flax-roots developments.

Rūnanga are a pre-European concept that has been co-opted by the state to provide the illusion of authority while maintaining the true authority of the state. This is an example of the nature of semi-peripheral institutions that, in the case of Māori, will never assume a core position until the state is willing to relinquish its control over Māori development. In the meantime, rūnanga as an intermediary must reverse and counter the flow of power at the semi-periphery to act as a filter for state domination while extracting benefits from the core for utilisation at the flax-roots. Notions of community development, empowerment and kaupapa Māori complement this role by providing a theoretical framework; whereby directives for flax-roots development are brought into line with the aspirations of Māori. It is acknowledged that the state core is not the only sphere by which to extract any benefits for the flax-roots, alternative avenues do exist. However, as long as the state, and the international state system, controls the education, legislation and policy that fashion Māori, as individuals or collectives, it continues to be the dominating core that Māori must contend with. In a globalising world, with access

to international opportunity, Māori self-determination is still subject to national (and regional) law and regulation[10].

In terms of Ngāti Whitikaupeka, the rūnanga, as a semi-peripheral institution has a dual role for facilitating iwi aspirations. On one level it must attempt to lessen the affects of state domination, while using its intermediary position to access the benefits of the state; and on another level it must facilitate iwi development by making strategic decisions and directives that are consistent with iwi aspirations.

Further research would assist Ngāti Whitikaupeka in two observable areas: first, enquiry into alternative avenues for iwi development and second more extensive research into the needs and aspirations of Ngāti Whitikaupeka iwi members.

Given their location in the world system, the main objective for institutions such as rūnanga should be to acknowledge their ability to suppress or facilitate flax-roots development. Rūnanga can operate in a manner that facilitates and enforces state domination over Māori by continuing to disguise 'indirect rule'; or it can acknowledge the power relationships that exist and utilise its intermediary position to resist subordination and re-empower the flax-roots.

Enhancing and maintaining the mana of those they represent should be the first priority. *Kua takato te manuka.*

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[10] See: Durie, M. (1998). *Te mana te kāwanatanga the politics of Māori self-determination.* Auckland: Oxford University Press.

GLOSSARY

Aotearoa	renamed New Zealand
ariki	noblemen
aroha ki te tangata	respect/love for people
Atua	supernatural being
hapū	pregnant, commonly refers to 'sub-tribe'
Hawaiki	from which Māori migrated
He Whakaminenga o Ngā Hapū	the Declaration of Independence 1835
hikoi	expeditions
Hui Taumata Mātauranga	Māori Educational Conference
hui	gathering, meeting
hui-a-iwi	gathering of iwi members
iwi	bone, commonly refers to 'tribe', tribally
kai	food and drink
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
kanohi kitea	the seen face, to meet face to face
kapahaka	performing arts
karakia	prayer
karanga	welcoming call
kaua e mahaki	don't flaunt your knowledge
kaua e takahia te mana - o te tangata	maintaining the integrity of others
kaumatua	elders
kaunihera	council
Kaupapa Māori Theory	theory that re-centres Māori knowledges
kaupapa whakaaro	theory
kawa	protocol
kawemate	spiritual return
kia tupato	be cautious
Kingitanga	The Māori King movement established to parallel the sovereignty of the Queen
koha	most simply described as being a gift.

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Kohanga Reo	Māori language pre-schools
komiti	committee
korero	discussion
Kotahitanga	refers to a movement that has brought iwi together for a common cause
koura	crayfish
Kua takato te Manuka	contemporary meaning – a challenge has been laid
kuia	female elder
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori Language Primary Schools
Maatua whangai	Social Service - Māori orientated foster care
mana	authority, control
manaaki tangata	to care for a person/people
manaakitanga	sharing and caring
mānuka	botanical name: leptospermem scoparium
marae	tribal or community cultural centres
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledges
mauri	life force
Mokai Patea	Inland Patea, home to Ngāti Whitikaupeka
mokopuna	grandchildren
Ngai/Ngāti	denotes tribal/ancestral affiliation, is followed by the name of an iwi ie: Ngāti Whitikaupeka – the people of Whitikaupeka
Ngāti Whitikaupekatanga	the notion of being Ngāti Whitikaupeka
paepae	speaking forum/mantle
Pakehā	European
pātaka	repository
patiki	flounder
pepeha	proverb
poari	board
rangatahi	iwi youth
rangatira	chiefs
rangatiratanga	self determining rights
Rangiatea	the marae at the homeland Hawaiki

ringawera	facilitators, caterers
rohe	region
rongoa	Māori herbal medicine
rōpu kapa-haka	performing arts groups
rūnanga	traditional Māori forum for decision making, contemporary – council, assembly
rūnanga-a-iwi	tribal councils/assembly
rūnanganui	overarching authority, assembly of tribes
taitamatane	male adolescent
Takitimu	ancestral waka, commonly affiliated to the lower east coast of Aotearoa
tane	male
tangata whenua	native to the land
taonga	treasures, cherished belongings
Taumata Hauora	Wanganui Health Service
tauutuutu,	reciprocity
Te Aitanga a	denotes tribal/ancestral affiliation, is followed by the name of an iwi ie: Te Aitanga a Kahukare - the descendents of Kahukare
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te ao pākēha	the Western world
te hekenga mai	commonly known as the great waka migration
Te Puni Kōkiri	Ministry of Māori Development
reo	language
te reo Māori	the Māori language
-me ōna tikanga	and customs/protocols
Te Rūnanga Nui o Ngā Kura	
- Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa	the national authority for Māori language primary schools
Te Rūnanga o Aotearoa	the national Māori nursing authority
Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whitikaupeka	tribal assembly of Ngāti Whitikaupeka
Te Rūnanga Whakawhanaunga i	
- Ngā Hahi	the national Māori assembly of religions

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Te Taitokerau	Northern Aotearoa
Te Taura Whiri I te Reo Māori	Ministry of Māori Language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	the Treaty of Waitangi 1840
te whariki	a woven mat
tikanga	custom, systems, protocols
tino rangatiratanga	the right to self-determination
titiro, whakarongo... korero	look, listen... speak
tohunga	specialist, expert
tuna	eels
tupuna	ancestors
wahine	female
wairuatanga	the notion of spirituality
waka	seafaring vehicle
wānanga	Māori forum for higher learning
Whaikorero	formal oration
whakapapa	genealogy, relationship
whakapono	truth
whakatauki	proverb
whanau	family
whanaunga	relatives
whanaungatanga	acknowledging links by whakapapa
whare rūnanga	assembly house
whare wānanga	traditional houses of learning, Māori tertiary institutions
whare/kura waananga	learning houses for traditional knowledges
wharekai	dining room
wharekura	Māori Language Secondary Schools
wharepuni	meeting house

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Massey University

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

APPENDIX A

CONFIDENTIAL
ID:_____

Rūnanga: Manuka Kawe Ake

Facilitating Māori Aspirations

2004

Questionnaire to assist in
identifying iwi aspirations

148

Tēnā koe.

This questionnaire is for Ngati Whitikaupeka descendants who are aged 16 or over. To answer these questions all you have to do is tick (√) a box or boxes, or write in the space provided. After some questions, there is an instruction explaining what to do. Some questions may not apply to you, in which case go to the next question.

This questionnaire is designed to collect information about a range of subjects that may affect your life and to gather information that may assist in future iwi developments. Your opinions are important in assisting me with my research topic.

Your participation in this questionnaire is **completely voluntary**, and all information that is collected is completely confidential.

Completing and returning the questionnaire to the research implies that you consent to participating in the research. If you do not wish to participate in the research, please do not fill out or return this questionnaire.

Returning the questionnaire

When you have completed the questionnaire, please return it to the researcher, Te Rina Warren as soon as possible. If you would like to return the questionnaire at a later date, and/or would like to be sent a copy of the research findings, please fill in the tear off section at the back of the questionnaire, and give this section to Te Rina.

Thank you for your time and effort. If you have any questions you can contact me:

Te Rina Warren

[Personal details omitted]

Ngā mihi ki a koutou I manaaki mai.

A   TIKANGA MAORI - CULTURE
This section relates to general tikanga Maori (Maori culture)

Q1   On a scale of 1 to 10 how would you rate your own level of te reo Maori?
PLEASE CIRCLE ONE NUMBER

None		Little			Conversational				Fluent	
0	- 1	- 2	- 3	- 4	- 5	- 6	- 7	- 8	- 9	- 10

1

Q2   How often do you have contact, i.e. speak, hear or read te reo Maori in any of the circumstances listed below

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE

	Daily	Weekly	Occasionally	Never	Does not apply	
Home	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	2
Work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	3
School (either yours or your child's)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	4 / 5
On a marae	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	6
Other _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	7

(Please state where)

Q3   How did you come to speak/understand te reo Maori?
PLEASE TICK THE ONE BOX YOU THINK WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT

Spoken at home	☐
Learnt at school	☐
Learnt through classes or training	☐
Learnt from a family member	☐
Learnt on a marae	☐
Self taught	☐
Other _____	☐

8

(Please state)

Q4   Would you like to improve your level of te reo Maori?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Don't know ☐   9

Q5   How often do you attend the following occasions at either of the Ngati Whitikaupeka marae? (Whitikaupeka or Oruamatua)

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE

	Never	Sometimes	Often	
Hui (meetings)	☐	☐	☐	10
Tangihanga (funerals)	☐	☐	☐	11
Kawe mate (spiritual return)	☐	☐	☐	12
Weddings	☐	☐	☐	13
Christenings	☐	☐	☐	14
Reunions/marae celebrations	☐	☐	☐	15
Waananga (learning initiatives)	☐	☐	☐	16
Working bees	☐	☐	☐	17
Other_____	☐	☐	☐	18

(Please state)

Q6   On what occasions would you like more contact with either of the Ngati Whitikaupeka marae? (Whitikaupeka or Oruamatua)

PLEASE TICK ALL THAT APPLY

Hui (meetings)	☐	19
Kawe mate (spiritual return)	☐	20
Weddings	☐	21
Christenings	☐	22
Reunions/marae celebrations	☐	23
Waananga (learning initiatives)	☐	24
Working bees	☐	25
Other_____	☐	26

(Please state)

Q7   How often do you have contact with other marae:

Never	Occasionally	Often	
☐	☐	☐	27

Q8   How often do you watch or partake in kapahaka:

Never   Occasionally   Often

☐   ☐   ☐   28

Q9   How much would you say that you know about Maori history in general?

Know none	Know very little	Know some	Know a lot	
☐	☐	☐	☐	29

Q10   Would you like to learn more about general Maori history?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Don't know ☐   30

Q11   How much would you say that you know about Ngati Whitikaupeka history in general?

Know none	Know very little	Know some	Know a lot	
☐	☐	☐	☐	31

Q12   Would you like to learn more about general Ngati Whitikaupeka history?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Don't know ☐   32

Q13 Are you are interested in any issues that affect Maori people in the following settings:

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE

	No interest	Some interest	Interested	
On the marae (I.e. maintenance, meetings etc..)	☐	☐	☐	33
Within the iwi (I.e. runanga, trusts, developments etc..)	☐	☐	☐	34
Inter-iwi (developments, relationships etc..)	☐	☐	☐	35
Locally (relationships with local government, developments etc..)	☐	☐	☐	36
Nationally (relationships with national government, developments etc...)	☐	☐	☐	37
Internationally (relationships with inter-national peoples, declarations etc..)	☐	☐	☐	38

Q14 Would you like to be more involved:

	Yes	No	Don't know	
On the marae (I.e. maintenance, meetings etc..)	☐	☐	☐	39
Within the iwi (I.e. runanga, trusts, developments etc..)	☐	☐	☐	40
Inter-iwi (developments, relationships etc..)	☐	☐	☐	41
Locally (relationships with local government, developments etc..)	☐	☐	☐	42
Nationally (relationships with national government, developments etc...)	☐	☐	☐	43
Internationally (relationships with inter-national peoples, declarations etc..)	☐	☐	☐	44

B **EDUCATION**

The following section is about education in general.

Q15 Have you or any of your children attended the following:
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ON EACH LINE

	Yes	No	Don't know	
Kohanga Reo	☐	☐	☐	45
Kura kaupapa Maori	☐	☐	☐	46
Ruma Rumaki (total immersion Maori classes)	☐	☐	☐	47 / 48
Bilingual units	☐	☐	☐	49
Wharekura	☐	☐	☐	50

Q16 Which one of these categories best describes the highest level of formal education you have had?
PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

No formal schooling ☐

Kura kaupapa/primary school (including intermediate) ☐

Secondary school for up to 3 years ☐

Secondary school for 4 years or more ☐

Some university, Waananga, polytechnic or other tertiary ☐

Completed university, Waananga, polytechnic or other tertiary degree ☐ 51

Q17

If you wanted to attain more qualifications, could you do so in your area?

Yes ☐

No ☐ 52

If you could attain more qualifications, what might they be?

(Please state) _____ 53

_____

_____

C EMPLOYMENT

This section is about employment. Remember there is no identifying information on these questionnaires, they are confidential. You may refrain from answering any questions.

Some of the questions ask you to write in your response, please do so in the space provided or tick the appropriate box.

Q18 In terms of employment are you:

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX FROM EACH SECTION

	No	**Yes**

Working ☐ ☐ ──────────► If yes ──►   54

┌──────────────────────────────┐
│ What is your occupation?   │
│   │   55
└──────────────────────────────┘

Studying ☐ ☐ ──────────► If yes ──►   56

┌──────────────────────────────┐
│ What are you studying?   │
│   │   57
└──────────────────────────────┘

Beneficiary ☐ ☐ ──────► If **yes and** you are **not** employed   58

┌──────────────────────────────┐
│ Would you like to be employed? │
│   Yes   ☐   │
│   No   ☐   │
│   Don't know ☐   │   59
└──────────────────────────────┘

House wife/husband home duties ☐ ☐ ──────────────► If **yes**   60

┌──────────────────────────────┐
│ Would you prefer to be employed? │
│   Yes   ☐   │
│   No   ☐   │   61
│   Don't know ☐   │
└──────────────────────────────┘

Q18 (continued)

In terms of employment are you:

	No	**Yes**
Permanently disabled	☐	☐

→ If **yes and** you are **not** employed   62

> **Would you like to be employed?**
> Yes ☐
> No ☐
> Don't know ☐   63

	No	**Yes**
Retired	☐	☐

→ If **yes and** you are **not** employed   64

> Do you have any hobbies? (Walking, sewing, marching etc.)
> Yes ☐ →
> No ☐   65

If yes, please list them: 66

D   HEALTH

This section is to collect information about the state of your health, and what health services you may need or use. Remember you do not have to answer any questions.

Q19   On a scale of 1 to 10 how would you rate your health? 1 being very poor and 10 being in good health.

PLEASE CIRCLE ONE NUMBER

Poor   Average   Good

0 - 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10   67

Q20   How often would you use specialist health services?
PLEASE TICK THE APPROPRIATE BOX FOR EACH SERVICE. IF A SERVICE HAS BEEN EXCLUDED PLEASE ADD IT.

	Never	**Sometimes**	**Often**	**Don't know**	
Doctors	☐	☐	☐	☐	68
Hospital	☐	☐	☐	☐	69
Optometrist	☐	☐	☐	☐	70
Physiotherapist	☐	☐	☐	☐	71
Chiropractor	☐	☐	☐	☐	72
Hospital Maori liaison officer	☐	☐	☐	☐	73
Counselling	☐	☐	☐	☐	74
Dialysis	☐	☐	☐	☐	75
Home care	☐	☐	☐	☐	76
Plunket/Karitane	☐	☐	☐	☐	77
Other _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	78
Other _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	79
Other _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	80
Other _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	81

(Please state)

Q21   Please list any health services that are not available in Mokai Patea (Taihape) that you believe you need or would benefit from.

_____

_____

_____

_____   82

E   SOCIAL SERVICES

This section discusses social services. *Social services* are any personal or community services for members of the community, for example: day-care, after-school programmes, housing, crisis intervention, support groups, probation, budgeting advice etc...
THESE QUESTIONS ASK YOU TO WRITE YOUR RESPONSE TO THEM IN THE SPACE PROVIDED.

Q22   What social services do you use?

_____

_____

_____

_____ 83

Q23   Are these services available in Mokai Patea (Taihape) or do you have to go elsewhere?

_____

_____

_____

_____ 84

Q24   What other social services are you aware of in Mokai Patea (Taihape)?

_____

_____

_____ 85

Q25   What social services are not available the Mokai Patea (Taihape) that you think should be available?

_____

_____

_____

_____ 86

F ENVIRONMENT

This section asks about your views on the environment.

Q26 On a scale of 1 to 10, how important is the environment to you?

PLEASE CIRCLE ONE NUMBER

Not important   Some importance   Very Important

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10   87

Q27 If you think there are any problems with the environment in Mokai Patea (Taihape), please state what they are. **PLEASE WRITE IN THE SPACE PROVIDED**

Land _____

_____ 88

Rivers/waterways _____

_____ 89

Flora (plants, trees, bush etc...) _____

_____ 90

Fauna (animals, creatures, fish etc..) _____

_____ 91

Q28 Would you contribute to conserving the environment if you had the opportunity?

For example	Yes	No	I already do	
Re-cycling	☐	☐	☐	92
Planting/ Replanting trees	☐	☐	☐	93
Cleaning environments	☐	☐	☐	94
Possum hunting	☐	☐	☐	95
Environmental Working Parties	☐	☐	☐	96
Other _____	☐	☐	☐	97
Other _____	☐	☐	☐	98
(Please state)				

G   **GENERAL**

Tane/Male	Wahine/Female

Q29   Gender   ☐   ☐   99

Q30   Age: _____   100
            (Please state)

Q31   Where do you live? If you live in a rural area, you may wish to include the
            nearest town or city.
            PLEASE WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE BELOW

            _____ 101

Q32   In terms of aspirations for Ngati Whitikaupeka, are there other areas not
            currently mentioned in this questionnaire that need to be considered?
            PLEASE WRITE THEM IN THE SPACE BELOW

            _____

            _____

            _____

            _____

            _____

            _____ 102

            Do you have any additional comments?
            PLEASE WRITE THEM IN THE SPACE BELOW

            _____

            _____

            _____

            _____ 103

Tena koutou i mahi i tenei pukapuka patai. Nga mihi nui ki a koutou katoa. Mena ka hiahia koe i te purongo mo tenei mahi rangahau, ka pirangi koe ki te whakahoki i te pepa nei a tetahi atu wa ranei, tuhia to ingoa, to wahi noho me to tapeta emera ki te WAHI TIHAI, a, me TIHAI kia hoatu ki te kairangahau. Kia ora.
Thank-you all for taking time to complete this questionnaire. Your time and effort is deeply appreciated. If you wish to receive a summary of the research findings or wish to return the questionnaire at a later date, please write your name, address and email address below on the TEAR OFF strip.
The TEAR OFF strip should be returned to the researcher.

-- Tihai/Tear off --

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

Email: _____

APPENDIX B

Rūnanga: Manuka Kawe Ake, Facilitating Māori Aspirations

INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher(s) Introduction

Ko Aorangi te maunga
Ko Moawhango te awa
Ko Moawhango te marae
Ko Whitikaupeka te whare tupuna
Ko Ngati Whitikaupeka te iwi
Kaupeka ki runga, kaupeka ki raro, kui, kui, whiti ora e!

E ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā karangatanga maha, tēnā koutou e te whanau,
My name is Krystal Te Rina Warren; most people will know me by Te Rina. I am of Ngati Whitikaupeka descent and I am currently studying towards a Masters Degree in Development Studies at Massey University. My contact details are:

Researcher:

Te Rina Warren
[Personal details omitted]

I am supervised by two Massey University staff members, and their contact details are:

Supervisors:

John Overton   Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata
[Personal details omitted]   [Personal details omitted]

Research background

The project has three main concepts. Firstly it will look into the concepts of traditional and contemporary rūnanga and how rūnanga can help Maori, iwi, hapu and whanau development and how rūnanga can help Ngati Whitikaupeka descendants to achieve their ambitions. The research will also

- Investigate the aspirations of Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members
- Investigate the current role of Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka
- Investigate how this role may be enhanced to address the aspirations of the iwi

Approval to undertake the research has been obtained from Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka.

Participant Recruitment

Participants will be asked to in complete a questionnaire and/or be part of a focus group. The research will be undertaken by:

1) **Questionnaires:** Ngati Whitikaupeka descendants who attend an initial iwi hui will be invited to partake in the research by completing a questionnaire. Other Ngati Whitikaupeka descendants whom iwi members believe might benefit from the research process may also be identified at this time. If this occurs, then the researcher will contact these people and invite them to partake in the questionnaire. Additional to this, Ngati Whitikaupeka descendants will also be invited to

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participate in the research via the Ngati Whitikaupeka email database. The questionnaire will attempt to involve as many participants as possible to provide a good base of information.

No identifying information will be held on these participants unless the participants request that the research findings be posted or emailed to them, their identity may be known to the researcher, but will be known to no other, confidentiality will be maintained.

2) **Focus groups**: a selection of Ngati Whitikaupeka descendants will be invited to participate in focus group. One focus group will involve kaumatua, iwi workers/representatives, and various members of iwi committees and organizations. The other group will contain a selection of iwi youth aged between 16-30 years of age. Both groups will contain between six to eight people each. Participants for these focus groups will be selected because of their active involvement in the activities of Ngati Whitikaupeka or because they could offer valuable information to the research.

Project Procedures

Questionnaire participants will be asked to fill out a questionnaire, which can either be returned immediately or sent back to the researcher at a later time. Focus groups will be asked several questions by using participatory rural appraisal exercises. These questions will form the basis of discussion and focus groups will be audio taped.

The data collected from the questionnaires and focus groups will be used to identify the needs and aspirations of Ngati Whitikaupeka descendants. It will be used as a base to see how Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka may help to facilitate those needs and aspirations.

The researcher will analyze the data that is collected, and the final outcomes will be discussed with the supervisors. The data will be stored in a locked cabinet at the researchers home, and any information stored on the computer will need to be accessed by a pin number or access code.

The researcher will report back regularly to the iwi about the progress of the research and then a final iwi hui will be held to give feedback and to discuss the outcomes and recommendations of the research. A one-page summary of the research will be given to all iwi members who attend the final hui and/or sent to those iwi members who do not attend the hui but who request a summary. In addition, the one page summary will also be sent out to all Ngati Whitikaupeka members who are on the iwi email database.

A copy of the completed thesis will be presented to Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka and participants will also be notified of where copies of the final thesis can be obtained.

Questionnaires: the identity of participants will be known to the researcher and no other. No identifying information will be held on these participants unless the participants request that the research findings be posted or emailed to them.

Focus groups: Participants will be given the opportunity to have their comments remain confidential and in which case will be assigned a pseudonym. Edited transcripts of the focus group interviews identifying the quotes that will be used in the thesis will be returned to the participants to either add or delete.

Participant involvement

Questionnaires: it is expected that questionnaire participants will need to spend 20-30 minutes filling out the questionnaire.

Focus groups: it is expected that between 3-3½ hours would be required to carry out the focus group exercises.

Final hui: it is expected that this hui would take one hour to report and discuss the findings and recommendations of the research.

Participant's Rights

For all participants:

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- *decline to answer any particular question;*
- *withdraw from the study by not returning your questionnaire*
- *withdraw from the focus group at any time during the interview*
- *ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;*
- *provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;*
- *be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.*

For focus groups where audio taping will be used:

- *I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during the focus group.*

For questionnaire participants:

- *Completion and return of the questionnaire implies consent. You have the right to decline to answer any particular question.*

Project Contacts

If you have any concerns or questions at any time, you can contact either the researcher or the supervisors. All contact details can be found at the beginning of this information sheet.

Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, PN Application 04/55. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Sylvia V Rumball, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: Palmerston North, telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethicspn@massey.ac.nz.

Te Runanga O Ngati Whitikaupeka

Te Runanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka
PO Box 161
TAIHAPE

APPENDIX C

13 June 2004

10 Toroa St
TAIHAPE

Kaupeka ki runga, kaupeka ki raro, kui kui whiti ora e!

Kia ora Te Rina,

Members of Te Runanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka have received and discussed your research proposal. Your proposed research will be complementary to other Ngati Whitikaupeka initiatives and is consistent with current Runanga objectives, therefore, Te Runanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka supports your request to undertake the research and grants access to the Ngati Whitikaupeka email database for the distribution of questionnaires and research information.
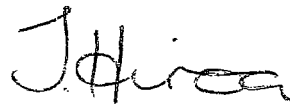
We look forward to your research progress reports at iwi Hui, and look forward to viewing the final research product. We commend our iwi members for taking the initiative to produce information relevant to the past and future of Ngati Whitikaupeka and wish you the greatest of luck on this journey.

Mauri ora ki a tatou whiti ora e!

Te Runanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka

Delegate

Delegate

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Kaupeka Ki Runga Kaupeka Ki Raro Kui Kui Whiti Whiti Ora!

Application No: _____ / _____
This number is assigned when your application is accepted.
Quote on all documentation to participants and the Committee.

Massey University
Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

Human Ethics Committee

APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL OF PROPOSED RESEARCH/TEACHING/EVALUATION INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS

(All applications are to be typed and presented using language that is free from jargon and comprehensible to lay people)

SECTION A

1. **Project Title**   Rūnanga: Manuka Kawe Ake

April 2004	December 2004
Projected start date	**Projected end date**

2. **Applicant Details** *(Select the appropriate box and complete details)*

ACADEMIC STAFF APPLICATION

Full Name of Staff Applicant/s

School/Department/Institute

Region *(mark one only)*   **Albany** [ ]   **Palmerston North** [X]   **Wellington** [ ]

Telephone   **Email Address**

STUDENT APPLICATION

Full Name of Student Applicant   Krystal Fain Warren

Employer (if applicable)

Telephone   *06 3565595*   **Email Address**   kewa@ihug.co.nz

Postal Address   [Omitted]

Full Name of Supervisor(s)   John Overton, (Primary), Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata (Secondary)

School/Department/Institute   School of People, Planning & the Environment, Department of Development Studies

Region *(mark one only)*   **Albany** [ ]   **Palmerston North** [X]   **Wellington** [ ]

Telephone
John: (06) 356 9099 ext 2504
Wheturangi: (06) 356 4963

Email Address
John: J.D.Overton@massey.ac.nz
Wheturangi: wheturangiw@raukawa.iwi.nz

GENERAL STAFF APPLICATION

Full Name of Applicant

Section

Region *(mark one only)*   **Albany** [ ]   **Palmerston North** [ ]   **Wellington** [ ]

Telephone	Email Address
....	....

Full Name of Line Manager ....

Section ....

Telephone	Email Address
....	....

3. **Type of Project** *(mark one only)*

Staff Research [ ]

Student Research:

PhD Research	[ ]
Master's Research	[X]
Honours Research	[ ]
Undergraduate Research	[ ]
(individual project)	

Evaluation Programme	[ ]
Undergraduate Teaching Programme	[ ]
Other	[ ]
If Other, specify:	

....

4. **Summary of Project**

Please outline in no more than 200 words in lay language why you have chosen this project, what you intend to do and the methods you will use.

(Note: all the information provided in the application is potentially available if a request is made under the Official Information Act. In the event that a request is made, the University, in the first instance, would endeavour to satisfy that request by providing this summary. Please ensure that the language used is comprehensible to all)

I have chosen this project because I believe that the traditional system of iwi governace, the Rūnanga is a relevant means of assisting Māori community development. My own iwi, Ngati Whitikaupeka and their Rūnanga will be used as the case study because I am a known and active member[1] of Ngati Whtikaupeka.

The research intends to investigate the potential role of Rūnanga in facilitating hapū and iwi development. This will be done by investigating the aspirations of Ngati Whtiikuapeka (as an iwi and as individuals), and by investigating the current and future role of Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka in facilitating these aspirations.

I will attend iwi hui to describe the research and to invite Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members to participate in the research. Participation will require completing a questionnaire and/or being part of a focus group. Snowballing will be used to contact iwi members who might not be at these hui and by utilising the iwi email data base. A selection of members will also be asked to participate in two focus groups. These participants will be those who are identified as being able to provide information rich data. Focus groups will utilise participatory rural appraisal methods.

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[1] Genealogical descendant

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5. **List of Attachments** (tick boxes)

Completed "Screening Questionnaire to Determine the Approval Procedure" (compulsory)	X	Advertisement	
Information Sheet/s *(indicate how many)*	X	Health Checklist	
Translated copies of Information Sheet/s		Questionnaire	X
Consent Form/s *(indicate how many)*	X	Interview Schedule	X
Translated copies of Consent Form/s		Evidence of Consultation	
Transcriber Confidentiality Agreement		Letter requesting access to an institution	X
Confidentiality Agreement *(for persons other than the researcher / participants who have access to project data)*		Letter requesting approval for use of database	X
Authority for Release of Tape Transcripts			

Applications that are incomplete or lacking the appropriate signatures will be returned to the applicant for completion. This could mean delays for the project.

Please refer to the Human Ethics website (http://humanethics.massey.ac.nz) for details of where to submit your application and the number of copies required.

SECTION B: PROJECT INFORMATION

General

6 **I/we wish the protocol to be heard in a closed meeting (Part II).**   Yes [ ] No [X]

(If yes, state the reason in a covering letter)

7 **Does this project have any links to other approved Massey University Human Ethics Committee application/s?**   Yes [ ] No [X]

If yes, list HEC protocol number/s and relationship/s.

8 **Is approval from other Ethics Committees being sought for the project?**   Yes [ ] No [X]

If yes, list the other Ethics Committees.

9 **For staff research, is the applicant the only researcher?**   Yes [ ] No [ ]

If no, list the names and addresses of all members of the research team.

Project Details

10   **State concisely the aims of the project.**

The aim of this research is to investigate the role of Rūnanga in facilitating hapū and iwi development using Ngati Whitikaupeka as a case study.

- Investigate the aspirations of Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members
- Investigate the current role of Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka
- Investigate how this role may be enhanced to address the aspirations of the iwi

11   **Give a brief background to the project to place it in perspective and to allow the project's significance to be assessed.** *(No more than 200 words in lay language)*

In 1997 a resource consent process led to the establishment of Te Runanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka where skilled personnel devote their time and services to the rūnanga, without financial compensation and in addition to individual employment. Taihape lies within Ngati Whitikaupeka tribal boundaries and has a large Māori population. In the 2001 census this totalled 36.8% in comparison to the national average of 14.7%, the number of people in Taihape with no school qualification totalled 41.6% compared to the national statistic of 27.7% and 59% of the Taihape population earned between $1 and $30, 000, with the national percentage being 47.4%[2]. Māori disparities that are documented in the 'closing the gaps'[3] report, coupled with the statistics pertaining to Taihape endorse the need to establish an adequate local body to facilitate some type of positive development. The question is, is the Rūnanga that appropriate structure and does it, or can it adequately cater for the needs and aspirations of Ngati Whitikaupeka?

12   **Outline the research procedures to be used, including approach/procedures for collecting data. Use a flow chart if necessary.**

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[2] Statistics New Zealand. 'Taihape Urban Area Community Profile'. *Census 2001.*
[3] Te Puni Kōkiri Ministry of Māori Development. *Progress Towards Closing Social and Economic Gaps Between Māori and Non-Māori.* A Report to the Minister of Māori Affairs May 2000.

Given that Ngati Whitikaupeka is geographically rural, a Māori community development approach is being utilised as a framework in which to consider the facilitation of development for the whanau/hapū/iwi of Ngati Whitikaupeka.

Having sought permission from Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka, I would then attend an iwi hui to describe the research and seek participants. Questionnaires with information sheets attached will be distributed at these hui to those interested in participating. These questionnaires may also be collected at the hui.

Snowballing is another method that will be used to collect the names of other iwi members who did not attend the hui but whom the researcher will contact and invite to participate in the research questionnaire.

The iwi email database will also be used to invite members to participate in the research. The invitation will include the information sheet and questionnaire.

Questionnaires will be collected by the researcher on their completion either at the hui, from their house or via the post. It is hoped that questionnaires delivered via email will be emailed back.

Two focus groups of six to eight participants each will be utilised to collect information relating to the group's aspirations. One group will involve participants who are involved with various iwi committees or organizations as well as participants who hold iwi representative positions within Ngati Whitikaupeka. The other group will include iwi members between the age of 16 –30, who are iwi members and that the researcher believes can provide information rich data. This is an attempt to gather a younger perspective of the Runanga and their aspirations for the iwi of Ngati Whtikaupeka.

The focus groups will utilise Participatory Rural Appraisal methods/excercises. Namely Venn diagrams, services and opportunity mapping, pair-wise ranking and cause and effect diagrams.

13   **Where will the project be conducted? Include information about the physical location/setting. If the study is based overseas, specify which countries are involved.**

The project seeks to contact Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members. While the hui will be conducted within the tribal boundaries of Ngati Whitikaupeka, iwi members may live nationally and in some instances internationally. Iwi members may travel home to partake in the hui or focus groups, and questionnaires that are emailed may reach both national and international participants.

14   **What experience does the researcher/s have in this type of project activity?**

The researcher is a known and active member of Ngati Whitikaupeka, who has previously conducted interviews for Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka. These interviews involved several iwi kaumatua and a local historian. Additional to this the researcher has been involved with researching local history for the purposes of granting resource consents and maintains good relationships with the people of Ngati Whitikaupeka.

Participants

15   **Describe the intended participants.**

All participants will be Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members aged 16 and up, who are genealogically affiliated to Ngati Whitikaupeka. For focus groups, a selection of these iwi members from kaumatua, iwi workers/representatives and members of various iwi committees and organizations will be used as well as a selection of young Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members aged between 16 and 30.

16   **How many participants will be involved?**

For the focus groups it is thought that 12-16 people would participate, that is, 6-8 people in each group.
For the questionnaires it is envisaged that between 50-100 responses will be collected.

What is the reason for selecting this number?
(Where relevant, attach a copy of the Statistical Justification to the application form)

Having six to eight participants in the focus groups is to keep the focus groups small and manageable. Kruegar[4] states that the size of a focus group is typically six to ten people, however the size could range from four to twelve.

It is thought that 50-100 questionnaire responses is realistic given the time frame, the use of focus groups and keeping in mind that this is a Masterate research project.

17   **Describe how potential participants will be identified and recruited?**

Having gained permission from Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka to conduct this research, I will attend iwi hui to describe the research and to invite Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members to participate in the research. Participation will require completing a questionnaire and/or being part of a focus group. The hui will also be used to identify other iwi members who did not attend the hui but whom iwi members believe might benefit from the research. The use of the Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi email database will also identify potential research participants. All participants will have to be able to link genealogically to Ngati Whitikaupeka, this will be done by the researcher who is of Ngati Whitikaupeka descent.

18   **Does the project involve recruitment through advertising?**   Yes ☐ No ☒

(If yes, attach a copy of the advertisement to the application form)

19   **Does the project require permission of an organisation (e.g. a school or a business) to access participants or information?**   Yes ☒ No ☐

(If yes, attach a copy of the request letter/s, e.g. letter to Board of Trustees/Principal, CEO etc to the application form. Note that some educational institutions may require the researcher to submit a Police Security Clearance)

20   **Who will make the initial approach to potential participants?**

The Researcher

21   **Describe criteria (if used) to select participants from the pool of potential participants.**

For the questionnaires, those iwi members who attend the hui and agree to participate in the research as well as those who are contacted via snowballing and by email.

For the focus groups potential participants will be selected by the researcher, who as an 'insider' has a knowledge of Ngati Whitikaupeka. These particular participants will be identified as being able to provide information rich data.

22   **How much time will participants have to give to the project?**

Time expected for the questionnaire will be 20-30 minutes.

Time expected for the focus groups will be 3-3½ hours. This is to allow for a combination of Māori community development processes and participatory rural appraisal exercises to take place.

Time expected for the final feedback hui is 1hour.

Data Collection

23   **Does the project include the use of participant questionnaire/s?**   Yes ☒ No ☐

(If yes, attach a copy of the Questionnaire/s to the application form)

If yes: i)   will the participants be anonymous?   Yes ☐ No ☒

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[4] Kruegar, R. (1994). *Focus Groups a Practical Guide for Applied Research. Second Edition.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications. Pg 17

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ii) **describe how the questionnaire will be distributed and collected.**

(If distributing electronically through Massey IT, attach a copy of the request letter to the Director, Information Technology Services to the application form)

Questionnaires will be distributed in person by the researcher at hui or at a later date to those members who did not attend the hui and via the Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi email database. Questionnaires will be collected directly or the participant will be informed that they can send the questionnaire back by post or by email, or the researcher will personally collect them if necessary. This is why anonymity cannot be guaranteed. A coding system will be used keep track of the questionnaires as they are returned, and in case they ask for the findings and recommendations of the research to be sent to them.
No identifying information will be on the questionnaires and confidentiality will be assured.

24 **Does the project include the use of focus group/s?**   Yes | X | No | |

(If yes, attach a copy of the Confidentiality Agreement for the focus group to the application form)

25 **Does the project include the use of participant interview/s?**   Yes | | No | X |

(If yes, attach a copy of the Interview Questions/Schedule to the application form)

26 **Does the project involve audiotaping?**   Yes | X | No | |

27 **Does the project involve videotaping?**   Yes | | No | X |

(If agreement for taping is optional for participation, ensure there is explicit consent on the Consent Form)

If yes, state what will happen to the tapes at the completion of the project.

(e.g .destroyed, returned, stored by the researcher, archived in an official archive)

The audio tapes will be stored by the researcher and destroyed after 5 years.

28   If audiotaping is used, will the tape be transcribed?   Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, state who will do the transcribing.

(If not the researcher, a Transcriber's Confidentiality Agreement is required – attach a copy to the application form. Normally, transcripts of interviews should be provided to participants for editing, therefore an Authority For Use Of Participants' Tape is required – attach a copy to the application form. However, if the researcher considers that the right of the participant to edit is inappropriate, a justification should be provided below)

The researcher.

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29   Does the project require permission to access databases?   Yes ☒ No ☐

(If yes, attach a copy of the request letter/s to the application form)

30   Who will carry out the data collection?

The researcher

SECTION C: BENEFITS / RISK OF HARM TO PARTICIPANTS

31   What are the possible benefits (if any) of the project to the participants?

The research identifies iwi needs and aspirations, this contributes to a long term strategic plan for the iwi and helps Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka to develop policies and procedures for future use.

32   What discomfort (physical, psychological, social), incapacity or other risk of harm are participants likely to experience as a result of participation?

(Consider the risk of harm to individuals and also to groups/communities and institutions to which they belong)

None anticipated.

---

33   Describe the strategies the researcher will use to deal with any of the situations identified in Q32.

---

34   What is the risk of harm (if any) of the project to:

i)   **Researcher/s**

Once the researcher has begun the research there will be an expectation by the iwi that a) the research be completed, b) that the research will be of high quality.

ii)   **Any other persons/groups/organisations affected by the research.**

None anticipated

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35   How do you propose to manage the risk of harm for points i) and ii) above?

Good supervision is expected to keep the research on target for completion and quality control. As well as regular feedback to iwi forums, for example hui, about the progress of the research project.

36   Is ethnicity data being collected as part of the project?   Yes ☐ No ☒

(Note that harm can be done through an analysis based on insufficient numbers)

If yes: i)   will the data be used as a basis for analysis?   Yes ☐ No ☐

ii)   justify this use in terms of the number of participants.

---

37   If participants are children/students in a pre-school/school/tertiary setting, describe the arrangements you will make for children/students who are not taking part in the research.
(Note that no child/student should be disadvantaged through the research)

SECTION D: INFORMED AND VOLUNTARY CONSENT

38   **By whom and how, will information about the research be given to participants?**

The researcher will present the research project inclusive of the information sheet at iwi hui. The Researcher will also distribute the questionnaire at this hui to those who wish to participate. Snowballing will provide further possible participants for the questionnaire in which case the researcher will also send the questionnaire and information sheet out to participants or contact them and ask if they wish to participate. The email database is the final means by which the questionnaire and information sheet will be distributed. The focus group participants will be contacted by the researcher and asked to participate in one of the two focus groups at which time they will also be given an information sheet if they would like to participate in the research.

39   **Will consent to participate be given in writing?**   Yes [X] No [ ]

(Attach copies of Consent Form/s to the application form)

If no, justify the use of oral consent.

40   **Will participants include persons under the age of 16?**   Yes [ ] No [X]

If yes, indicate the age group and competency for giving consent.

(Note that parental/caregiver consent for school-based research may be required by the school even when children are competent. Ensure Information Sheets and Consent Forms are in a style and language appropriate for the age group)

41   **Will participants include persons who are vulnerable or whose capacity to give informed consent may be compromised?**   Yes [ ] No [X]

If yes, describe the consent process you will use.

42   **Will the participants be proficient in English?**   Yes [X] No [ ]

If no, all documentation for participants (Information Sheets/Consent Forms/Questionnaire etc) must be translated into the participants' first-language
(Attach copies of the translated Information Sheet/Consent Form etc to the application form)

SECTION E: PRIVACY/CONFIDENTIALITY ISSUES

43   **Will information about participants be obtained from third parties?**   Yes [ ] No [X]

If yes, describe how and from whom.

44   **Will any identifiable information on the participants be given to third**   Yes [ ] No [X]

parties?

If yes, describe how.

45	Will the participants be anonymous (i.e. their identity unknown to the researcher?)	Yes ☐ No ☒

If no:	i)	will the participants be given a unique identifier?	Yes ☒ No ☐
	ii)	will the participants' identity be disclosed in publication of the research?	Yes ☐ No ☒

46	Will an institution (e.g. school) to which participants belong be named or be able to be identified?	Yes ☒ No ☐

(Ensure that institutions have been informed of this in your request to access them)

47 Outline how and where the data (including tapes/transcripts) and Consent Forms will be stored.
(Note that Consent Forms should be stored separately from data)
These will be stored in a locked cabinet, information on computer will require an access code/pass word, in the researchers home.

48 i) Who will have access to the data/Consent Forms?
The researcher and supervisors.

ii) How will the data/Consent Forms be protected from unauthorised access?
Data/Consent Forms will be stored in a locked cabinet, information on computer will require an access code/pass word, in the researchers home.

49 Who will be responsible for disposal of the data/Consent Forms when the five-year storage period is up?
(The Massey University HOD Institute/School/Section / Supervisor / or nominee should be responsible for the eventual disposal of data)
The researcher's primary supervisor.

50	Will participants be given the option of having the data (particularly tapes) transferred to an official archive? *(This option may apply when data collected is of historical significance)*	Yes ☐ No ☒

(If yes, include this option in the Consent Form)

51	Will participants be given the option of having their tapes returned to them? *(If yes, include this option in the Consent Form)*	Yes ☐ No ☒

SECTION F: DECEPTION

52	Is deception involved at any stage of the project?	Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, justify its use and describe the debriefing procedures.

SECTION G: CONFLICT OF INTEREST

53   Is the project to be funded in any way from sources external to Massey   Yes ☐   No ☒
University?

     If yes: i)   state the source.

---

           ii)   does the source of the funding present any conflict of interest with regard to the
research topic?

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54   Does the researcher/s have a financial interest in the outcome of the   Yes ☐   No ☒
project?

If yes, explain how the conflict of interest situation will be dealt with.

---

55   Is there any professional or other relationship (e.g. employer/employee,   Yes ☒   No ☐
lecturer/student, practitioner/patient, researcher/family member) to
the researcher?

If yes, describe the relationship and indicate how the resulting conflict of interest situation will be
dealt with.

The researcher is related to all participants by means of whakapapa (genealogy).
The researcher is an insider which offers an opportunity to access participants and information
that might not ordinarily be available however I will be clear with all the participants that in this
instance my role is as a researcher.

SECTION H: COMPENSATION TO PARTICIPANTS

56   Will any payments or other compensation be given to participants?   Yes ☒   No ☐

If yes, describe what, how and why.

*(Note that compensation (if provided) should be given to all participants and not constitute an
inducement. Details of any compensation provided must be included in the Information Sheet)*

A koha of money will be given for the purposes of venue hire for hui and focus groups. A koha
of kai will be given at all hui and for the participants of the focus groups.

SECTION I: TREATY OF WAITANGI

57   Does the proposed research impact on Maori persons as Maori?   Yes ☒   No ☐

If yes describe how.

All participants are Māori and are from Ngati Whitikaupeka. The results have the potential to
influence some changes in Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka in terms of the role that the
Rūnanga plays in facilitating iwi/hapū/whanau aspirations and development.

58   Are Maori the primary focus of the project?   Yes ☒   No ☐

(If yes, complete Section I, otherwise proceed to Question 63)

59   Is the researcher competent in te reo Maori and tikanga Maori?   Yes ☒   No ☐

If no, outline the processes in place for the provision of cultural advice.

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60   Identify the group/s with whom consultation has taken place or is planned and describe the consultation process.

(Where consultation has already taken place, attach a copy of the supporting documentation to the application form, e.g. a letter from an iwi authority)

Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka

61   Describe any ongoing involvement of the group/s consulted in the project.

The researcher will give regular reports to the Rūnanga and the iwi (via iwi hui) about the development of the research project. The researcher will report the final findings and recommendations back at an iwi hui upon concluding the research project. A one-page summary of the research will be given to all Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members who are present at the final hui and the summary will be sent by post to those who have indicated that they would like to receive a copy of the research summary. Iwi members will be informed that a copy of the completed thesis will be presented to Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka and participants will also be notified of where copies of the final thesis can be obtained.

62   Describe how information resulting from the project will be shared with the group/s consulted?

The researcher will give regular reports to the Rūnanga and the iwi (via iwi hui) about the development of the research project. The researcher will report the final findings and recommendations of the research back at an iwi hui. A one-page summary of the research will be given to all Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members who are present at the final hui. Iwi members will be informed that a copy of the completed thesis will be presented to Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka and participants will also be notified of where copies of the final thesis can be obtained.

63   If Maori are not the focus of the project, outline what Maori involvement there may be and how this will be managed.

SECTION J: OTHER CULTURAL ISSUES

64   Are there any aspects of the project that might raise specific cultural issues, other than those covered in Section I?   Yes ☐   No ☒

If yes, explain. Otherwise, proceed to Section K.

65   What ethnic or social group/s (other than Maori) does the project involve?

66   Does the researcher speak the language of the target population?   Yes ☐   No ☐

If no, specify how communication with participants will be managed.

67   Describe the cultural competence of the researcher for carrying out the project.

(Note that where the researcher is not a member of the cultural group being researched, a cultural advisor may be necessary)

68   Identify the group/s with whom consultation has taken place or is planned.

(Where consultation has already taken place, attach a copy of the supporting documentation to the application form)

69   Describe any ongoing involvement of the group/s consulted in the project.

70   Describe how information resulting from the project will be shared with the group/s consulted.

71   If the research is to be conducted overseas, describe the arrangements you will make for local participants to express concerns regarding the research.

SECTION K: SHARING RESEARCH FINDINGS

72   Describe how information resulting from the project will be shared with participants.

The researcher will report the recommendations back to an iwi hui. A one-page summary of the research will be given to all Ngati Whitikaupeka iwi members who are present at the final hui. Iwi members will be informed that a copy of the completed thesis will be presented to Te Rūnanga o Ngati Whitikaupeka and participants will also be notified of where copies of the final thesis can be obtained.

SECTION L: INVASIVE PROCEDURES/PHYSIOLOGICAL TESTS

73   Does the project involve the collection of tissues, blood, other body fluids   Yes ☐   No ☒
     or physiological tests?

(If yes, complete Section L, otherwise proceed to Section M)

74   Describe the material to be taken and the method used to obtain it. Include information about the training of those taking the samples and the safety of all persons involved. If blood is taken, specify the volume and number of collections.

75   Will the material be stored?   Yes ☐   No ☐

     If yes, describe how, where and for how long.

     If no, describe how the material will be destroyed.

     (Note that the wishes of relevant cultural groups must be taken into account)

76   Will material collected for another purpose (e.g. diagnostic use) be used?   Yes ☐   No ☐

     If yes, did the donors give permission for use of their samples in this   Yes ☐   No ☐
     project? *(Attach evidence of this to the application form)*

     If no, describe how consent will be obtained. Where the samples have been anonymised and consent cannot be obtained, provide justification for the use of these samples.

77   Will any samples be imported into New Zealand?   Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, provide evidence of permission of the donors for their material to be used in this research.

78   Will any samples go out of New Zealand?   Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, state where.

(Note this information must be included in the Information Sheet)

79   Describe any physiological tests/procedures that will be used.

80   Will participants be given a health-screening test prior to participation?   Yes ☐ No ☐
(If yes, attach a copy of the health checklist)

SECTION M: DECLARATION (*Complete appropriate box*)

ACADEMIC STAFF RESEARCH
Declaration for Academic Staff Applicant
I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. My Head of Department/School/Institute knows that I am undertaking this research. The information contained in this application is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

Staff Applicant's Signature .... Date: ....

STUDENT RESEARCH
Declaration for Student Applicant
I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and discussed the ethical analysis with my Supervisor. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants.
The information contained in this application is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

Student Applicant's Signature .... Date: ....

Declaration for Supervisor
I have assisted the student in the ethical analysis of this project. As supervisor of this research I will ensure that the research is carried out according to the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants.

Supervisor's Signature .... Date: ....

Print Name ....

GENERAL STAFF RESEARCH/EVALUATIONS
Declaration for General Staff Applicant
I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and discussed the ethical analysis with my Line Manager. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. The information contained in this application is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

General Staff Applicant's Signature .... Date: ....

Declaration for Line Manager
I declare that to the best of my knowledge, this application complies with the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and that I have approved its content and agreed that it can be submitted.

Line Manager's Signature .... Date: ....

Print Name ....

TEACHING PROGRAMME
Declaration for Paper Controller
I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the teaching programme as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. My Head of Department/School/Institute knows that I am undertaking this teaching programme. The information contained in this application is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

Paper Controller's Signature .... Date: ....

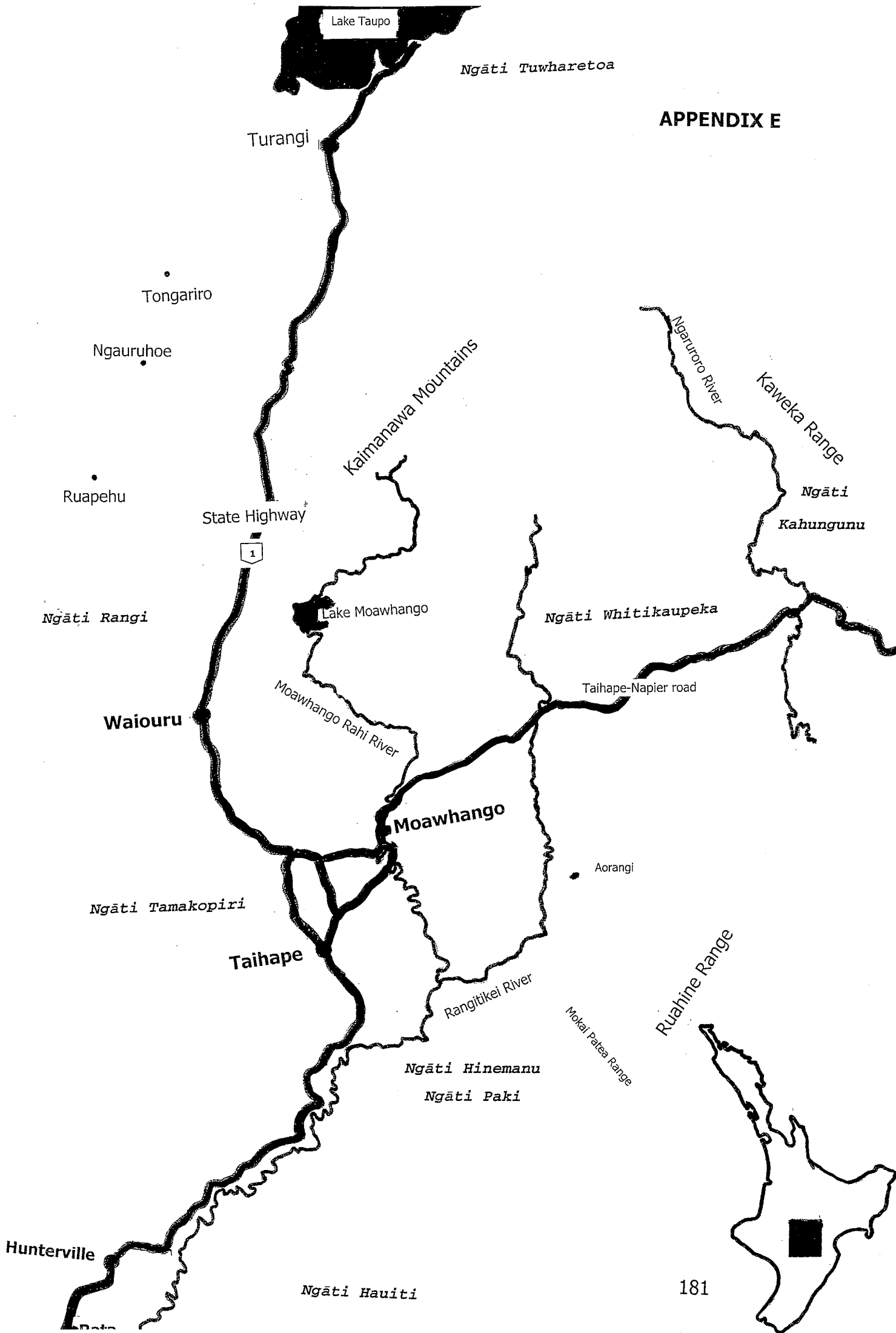**Declaration for Head of Department/School/Institute**
I declare that to the best of my knowledge, this application complies with the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and that I have approved its content and agreed that it can be submitted.

Head of Dept/School/Inst Signature .... Date: ....

Lake Taupo

Ngāti Tuwharetoa

Turangi

Tongariro

Ngauruhoe

Kaimanawa Mountains

Ngaruroro River

Kaweka Range

Ruapehu

State Highway

1

Ngāti Rangi

Lake Moawhango

Ngāti Kahungunu

Ngāti Whitikaupeka

Moawhango Rahi River

Taihape-Napier road

Waiouru

Moawhango

Aorangi

Ngāti Tamakopiri

Taihape

Rangitikei River

Mokai Patea Range

Ruahine Range

Ngāti Hinemanu

Ngāti Paki

Hunterville

181

Ngāti Hauiti

APPENDIX F

Whakawhanaunga

Tērā te uira e hiko I Aorangi

Te tohu o Pohokura kaitiaki o te iwi

Ki Rangitīkei e ripo atu ra

Te pikautanga o ngā awa ki a Kiwa

Rere tika te haere te Riu o Puanga

Kia mihihia ōku tupuna whare

Ki Oruamatua, Whitikaupeka

O Ngāti Whitikaupeka e

Ka titiro titaha ki Tumakaurangi

O Ngāti Tamakopiri e

Te Tahi o Pipiri e mokemoke mai ra

Te Karere ki te uru ko Rangituhia

Kei te tonga Tautahi

Te Korowai o Ngāti Hinemanu me Ngāti Paki

Kokoia e ara e!