



He Mātāpuna

Some Māori Perspectives

**Te Kaunihera Whakakaupapa mō
Aotearoa**

New Zealand Planning Council



\$30
NZ Maori

He Mātāpuna

A Source

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Aotearoa**

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Māori Tribes of New Zealand

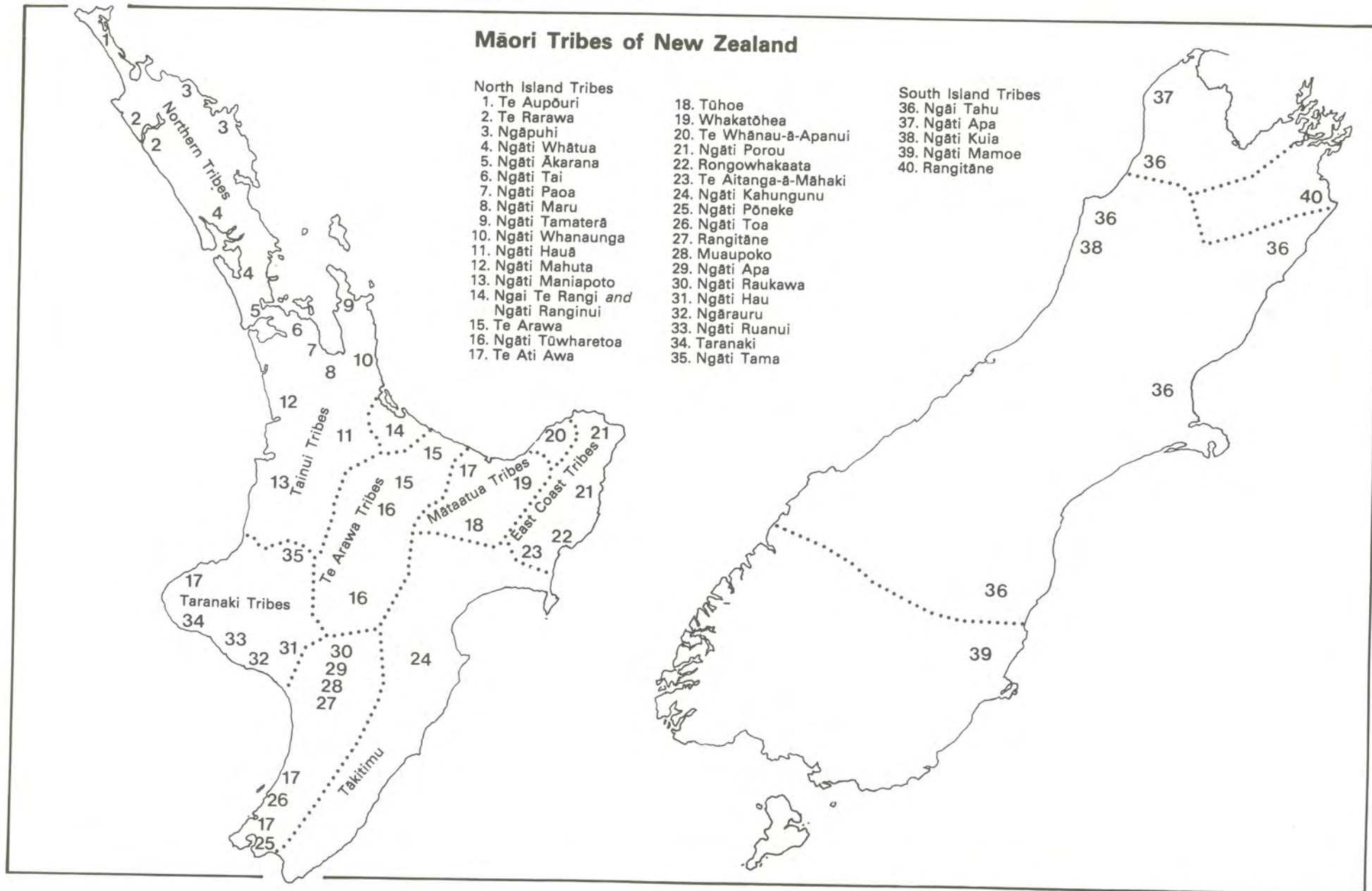
North Island Tribes

1. Te Aupōuri
2. Te Rarawa
3. Ngāpuhi
4. Ngāti Whātua
5. Ngāti Ākarana
6. Ngāti Tai
7. Ngāti Paoa
8. Ngāti Maru
9. Ngāti Tamaterā
10. Ngāti Whanaunga
11. Ngāti Hauā
12. Ngāti Mahuta
13. Ngāti Maniapoto
14. Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui
15. Te Arawa
16. Ngāti Tūwharetoa
17. Te Ati Awa

18. Tūhoe
19. Whakatōhea
20. Te Whānau-ā-Apanui
21. Ngāti Porou
22. Rongowhakaata
23. Te Aitanga-ā-Māhaki
24. Ngāti Kahungunu
25. Ngāti Pōneke
26. Ngāti Toa
27. Rangitāne
28. Muaupoko
29. Ngāti Apa
30. Ngāti Raukawa
31. Ngāti Hau
32. Ngārauru
33. Ngāti Ruanui
34. Taranaki
35. Ngāti Tama

South Island Tribes

36. Ngāi Tahu
37. Ngāti Apa
38. Ngāti Kuia
39. Ngāti Mamoe
40. Rangitāne



Te Taahu Kōrero: Contents

Page

4	Ngā Kupu Māori: Māori Words and Phrases
6	He Mihi: A Greeting <i>Rangi Mete-Kingi</i>
8	He Whakamārama: Foreword <i>Frank Holmes</i>
10	Te Kupu Tuatahi: The First Word <i>Paul Reeves</i>
14	No Man's Land <i>Kara Puketapu</i>
17	He Hinengaro Motuhake: A Separate Reality <i>Robert Mahuta</i>
23	Taku Taha Māori: My Māoriness <i>Rangimarie Rose Pere</i>
27	Taku Taha Māori: My Māoriness <i>Timoti Sam Karetu</i>
33	The Urban Māori <i>Ranginui Walker</i>
43	The Māori in the Future: A Woman's View <i>Tilly Reedy</i>
49	He Pō! He Pō! Ka Awatea!: Darkness! Darkness! Daylight! <i>Bruce Stewart</i>
53	Land as a Tūrangawaewae: Ngāti Whātua's Destiny at Ōrākei <i>Hugh Kawharu</i>
59	He Ara ki te Aomārama: A Pathway to the Future <i>Sid Mead</i>
69	Generation 2000: An Experiment in Tribal Development <i>Whatarangi Winiata</i>
74	Te Kupu Whakamutunga: The Last Word <i>Manuhuia Bennett</i>
80	The Round Table: Supplementary Papers

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Ngā Kupu Māori: Māori Words and Phrases

Within this publication we have chosen to use the macron (a mark above the vowel) to indicate the lengthening of a vowel. The value given to a vowel sound affects the meaning of the word. For example:

kaka: dress	kākā: New Zealand parrot
keke: cake	kēkē: armpit
pipi: a shellfish	pīpī: young of bird
matua: father	mātua: parents
tipuna: ancestor	tīpuna: ancestors

This list does not include Māori words and phrases that are translated in the articles.

e rapu ana i te mea ngaro: seeking the unknown
ka pai ra: very good indeed
mā te tuakana ka tōtika te taina, mā te taina ka tōtika te tuakana: the older and younger siblings will help each other and ensure that all is correct and right

Aotearoa: the Māori name for New Zealand (lit. long white cloud)

aroa: sympathy, compassion, affection, yearning, love

atua: god

hari mate: the tradition of taking the spirit of the dead to areas significant to the deceased, in order to allow the people of those areas to mourn the passing of that person (lit. hari = carry, mate = dead)

hapū: sub-tribe

Hauhauism, Hauhau Church: a Māori movement that flourished during the period of the Land Wars

Hawaiki, Hawaiki-nui: the original homeland of the Māori

hui: a gathering of people

ika: fish

iwi: tribes

karanga: call of welcome on to a marae

karengo: a species of seaweed

kaumātua: an elder

kāuta: cooking shed

kawa: protocol

Kīngitanga: the King Movement

Kingites: adherents of the King Movement

kuia: a female elder

mana: a divine power for leadership; prestige

manaakitanga: to offer hospitality, to be courteous and respectful

manu: birds

Māori: a branch of the Polynesian people; pre-European settlers of New Zealand

Māoridom: the Māori world

Māoritanga: those values and symbols which have meaning for people who identify as Māori

marae: a gathering place; the physical dimension of a group's identity, beliefs, mana, mauri, etc.

Matakite: a voluntary group that enquires into Māori land transactions

marae matua: principal marae

maunga tapu: sacred mountain

mauri: life force



mihi: greeting
 Moana-nui-a-Kiwa: Pacific Ocean
 mokopuna: grandchild, grandchildren
 pā: marae complex
 pāua: a species of shellfish
 Pākehā: a New Zealander of European descent
 (pākehā = white-skinned person)
 Pākehātanga: those values seen to belong to the
 Pākehā people
 papakāinga: the original area of settlement
 papatuanuku: the earth
 pipi: a species of shellfish
 poroporoaki: farewell message
 pōwhiri: welcome
 ruru: morepork, a species of owl native to New
 Zealand
 taha Māori: being Māori (lit. taha = side)
 taha Pākehā: being Pākehā
 tamariki: children
 tangihanga, tangi: bereavement, mourning

tangata whenua: hosts, people belonging to a
 particular place (lit. tangata = person,
 whenua = land)
 tāonga: treasures
 Te Arikiniui: Most High Chieftainess
 Te Hāpati: the Sabbath
 te reo Māori: the Māori language
 te whenua: the land
 Te Wiki Pākehā: the Pākehā week
 tūpuna: ancestors (also tūpuna)
 toheroa: a species of shellfish
 Toko: a shortened form of Tokomaru, one of the
 canoes in which the Māori came to New
 Zealand
 Tōmairangi: personification of the early morning
 mist
 Tū-Tangata: our stance as a people
 tuakana: elder brother
 tuatara: a reptile like a large lizard, native to
 New Zealand

tui: a species of bird native to New Zealand
 tuna: eel
 tungāne: a brother
 tūpuna: ancestors (also tūpuna)
 tūrangawaewae: the rights of a tribal group in
 land and the consequential rights of individual
 members of the group; the land so defined (lit.
 standing place for the feet)
 urupā: burial place
 waiata: sing
 whakapapa: genealogy
 whakataukī: proverb, aphorism
 whanaunga: relatives
 whanaungatanga: relationship; kinship ties
 whāngai: a child that is brought up by its kin (lit.
 to feed)
 whare tapu: sacred house
 whāriki: mats

[illegible]

Counties	%	Cities & Boroughs
	less than 20	
	20-29	▲
	30-39	■
	40-49	●
	50 & over	◆



He Mihi:

Ngā waka, ngā mana, ngā reo.

Tēnā koutou. Tēnā koutou.

Tēnā koutou i te āhuatanga ki o tātau tūpuna: te hunga i kopengia o rātau whakaaro i ngā wā ki muri; i ūtaina mai i runga i ngā waka; i ūhia ki runga i ngā marae maha o te motu hei tauira, hei kaupapa mo ngā uri whakatupu.

Heoi, waihongia rātau kua whetūrangitia ki a rātau. Ko tātau tēnei ngā uri tuku iho. No reira tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou.

Ko te pae tawhiti

Whāia kia tata

Ko te pae tata

Whakamaua kia tūna.

He kōrero hōhonu tēnei, he kōrero aatāhua, he kōrero tuku iho.

I te wā i o tātau tauheke, kaha tonu to rātau whai i ngā kaupapa whānui hei oranga mo te tinana me te ngākau Māori. Piri pono rātau ki ngā āhuatanga i heke mai i ngā tūpuna mai i Hawaiki. Ū tonu rātau ki ngā kōrero me ngā ritenga i puta mai i ngā wānanga hei tauira mo ngā uri. I te haerenga mai o tauwi e noho mana ana te Māori i runga i te motu. Ka mīharo te pākehā i te mea kātahi anō rātau ka kite i tēnei tū tangata. Te ihi, te mana, te wehi! Ka puta a rātau kupu mihi mo te iwi: 'Noble savage!'

Kua pau te rau tau mai i te ūnga mai o te pākehā. I tēnei rā kei te takiwā e rere ana ngā kōrero kino mo ētehi o tātau—a tātau tamariki, mokopuna. Kīhai i pēnei o tātau mātua i te wā i a rātau. Ko ngā tāngata i tae ki ngā teiteiranga o te motu Pākehā—a Apirana Ngata, a Timi Kara, a Te Rangihiroa, a Maui Pomare—i tupu ake i roto i ngā karangatanga o te motu, i whai i te mātauranga o tauwi hei oranga mo te iwi nui. Nā, kei te wawata te ngākau kia uru anō tēnei āhuatanga ki roto i tēnei whakatupuranga kia tū tika tātau i roto i ngā hīkoinga o te wā. He ao āpōpō he ao tea!

Rapua te huarahi whānui

Hei ara whakapiri

I ngā iwi e rua

I runga i te whakaaro kotahi.



Dr W. R. Mete-Kingi

A Greeting

The descendants of our canoes, the pillars of our society, the voices of authority—greetings, greetings. Greetings to you and to the memory of our ancestors. A long time ago they made a deliberate decision to launch their canoes and to come here. Their thoughts were as one and in harmony. They spread across the land and inculcated their philosophy of preservation and conservation as a foundation for future generations to build upon. They have departed to the distant stars. May they rest in peace.

We, their descendants acknowledge each other. Greetings. Greetings. Here is a profound and beautiful saying from our people:

Seek out the distant horizons

And cherish those you attain.

Our elders of yesteryear earnestly sought those things in life that benefited them physically and spiritually. They followed religiously the customs brought by their ancestors from Hawaiki. They were faithful to the teachings and rituals taught in the schools of learning and diligently passed the knowledge on to successive generations. When the strangers arrived the Māori was master of his destiny. The Māori was in total control of his land. The pākehā marvelled at such a man . . . Inspiring! Powerful! Awesome! They expressed their admiration for these people in the words—'Noble savage'.

A hundred years have passed since the arrival of the pākehā. Today there is much negativism being widely expressed about some of us—our children and grandchildren. It was not like this in the time of our parents. Those men who attained the pinnacle of the Pākehā world—Apirana Ngata, James Carrol, Peter Buck, Maui Pomare—grew up among their people. They pursued the knowledge of the Pākehā in order to benefit the wider community. Now, it is my fervent hope that the present generation may be imbued with the same spirit, that we may stand proudly through the vicissitudes of time. The world tomorrow holds a bright future.

Seek the broad highway—

That will unite the two peoples

Towards a common goal.

He Whakamārama: Foreword

One of the roles of the Planning Council is to stimulate New Zealanders to think about issues likely to confront us over the next few years. These issues must include how to create conditions which will promote the welfare of the Māori people. They must also include how to foster constructive and harmonious relationships among people of different racial origins.

Having decided that the Council should open up discussion in this area, we had to decide how the Council, as a body with a majority of non-Māoris, could best do justice to the Māori viewpoint. How could it produce a set of Māori perspectives on national development which would be true both to the values of the traditional Māori culture and to the needs of the modern Māori? Under Rangi Mete-Kingi, the elder of the Council, we therefore agreed to set up a group which would operate according to Māori procedures. Its aim was to bring together some of the different viewpoints held in the Māori community.

This group was named Rangi's Round Table. The results of its work are contained in this volume, and some of the authors were themselves participants in the Round Table. The group was particularly fortunate in enlisting the support of

two distinguished Māori churchmen. The Right Reverend Paul Reeves, Bishop of Auckland, has written the introduction. The Right Reverend Manuhuia Bennett, Bishop of Aotearoa, has prepared a summary of the main issues which need to be debated. This appears as the end-piece of the publication.

Not so long ago governments, along with many people from all racial and cultural groups, assumed that the way ahead lay in integration. Everyone would fit into the New Zealand way of life. Everyone would have equal opportunities. Our children would grow up to be members of one united family. No conscious planning was needed to achieve harmonious race relations.

These assumptions are no longer valid. We cannot, and should not, attempt to fit all New Zealanders into the same mould. We must recognise that we come from a variety of cultural backgrounds. In our schools, in our public services, in all our organisations and enterprises, we must recognise that different people have different needs. Different approaches are therefore necessary if their needs are to be satisfied.

Diversity should not mean division. Although we may have made less progress than we thought, we are still building a single nation,

with one citizenship for all its peoples. No doubt the culture of each group will in time be influenced by contact with the others. The fact is, however, that it will take a long time to arrive at a common culture and the notion of 'one nation, one people' may not be particularly helpful in the situation we find ourselves in today. For the time being, the position is perhaps closer to that of 'two peoples, one nation'. After reading the contributions to this symposium, several of my colleagues were saddened at the gulf which still exists between the Māori and the Pākehā worlds. However, we all believe it is important that New Zealanders should learn to see the situation as it is.

As far as planners and decision-makers are concerned there is one conclusion which emerges very clearly. The authors are unanimous in the judgement that Pākehā institutions and Pākehā procedures have not provided a satisfactory framework for the achievement of Māori goals. We must stop using Pākehā values as the sole basis of our planning and policy-making.

The diversity of our society is a fact of life. We should not run away from it. We should accept that one aspect of freedom in New Zealand is the freedom to choose our lifestyle. Individuals—

Māori, Pākehā, or other—should be able to live in a way which satisfies their cultural and spiritual values. Recognition of the right to this freedom is the best foundation on which to pursue our common interest in harmony and mutual respect rather than conflict and racial prejudice. We should also recognise more fully the opportunities which our diversity offers us to develop a stimulating and sensitive plural society.

Some may feel that while the contributors have illuminated their attitudes, values, and objectives—an important element in planning for improvement—most of them have not gone far towards setting out a plan of action which might bring about the improvements which they would like to see. Members of the Round Table have made it plain to me that they think that this should come later. They trust that what they have written will act as a catalyst for Māoris and others to discuss the issues, and to think ahead constructively about what should be done. Some have spoken of the possibility of a Māori Development Conference as a stage in the planning process which they envisage.

This volume also makes it plain that there is a diversity of approaches to important national issues among individuals who identify as Māoris. As a Council, our role in publishing this volume is not to pass judgement on which approaches are best. Through Rangi's Round Table we have asked a group of leading Māori thinkers to challenge not only other Māoris, but all interested New Zealanders to look at strategic issues of development from a different perspective.

We trust that a vigorous debate will ensue from their work. We hope that from it will flow constructive action to ensure New Zealand draws

strength, rather than acrimonious division, from its cultural diversity.



Frank Holmes
Chairman



Te Kupu Tuatahi: The First Word

Paul Reeves

My parents shifted from the country to the city in 1921. Theirs was not so much an urban drift as a conscious decision to go where the work was, to be city rather than rural people. My mother had grown up on the edge of the pā, the child of a Māori woman, whom I can just remember, and a Pākehā man who died tragically leaving a wife and five children. For my mother, to marry and move to the city was to move away from the world of her home and her Māori relatives to a situation where she could not do Māori things in a Māori way—even if she wanted to. I never sorted out our Māori relatives, where they came from or why he was my cousin or she was my aunty. It would have been very confusing, but fortunately, as it seemed to me then, we did not see much of them. Transport was not readily available in the 1930s and we were poor, so we stayed home. Once or twice we went back to my mother's old home but I have no memories of that.

I am describing my experience as I felt it and as I remember it. Each one of us has a story to tell and this book brings together the stories of some Māoris. I am a Māori. I claim and I am claimed by Māoridom, it's where I get my understanding of myself, it's where I am

enriched. Yet in order to make this claim I have had to go through the pain and confusion of going back to find my heritage in order to go forward as an integrated and put-together sort of person.

It is not a case of wanting to be different. Rather, I have found me, and give or take a few rough edges, I am prepared to live with the beast. My starting point is not that of Sam Karetu, probably it has much in common with Bruce Stewart. Yet Sam, Bruce, and I end up in approximately the same place. Māoridom accepts what you've got to offer. If you claim it, there is a place for you somewhere. I can't over-emphasise the importance of this all encompassing acceptance.

We know that our cities are full of people who are Māori by descent, but don't know what to do about that. I was one of them. I went to a secondary school where every year the headmaster asked boys 'with any Māori blood' to put up their hands. I knew blood was red and contained corpuscles, but I suspected there was no such thing as Māori, Chinese, or European blood. In my time at that school I never put my hand up in response to that question. I am rather proud of that.

In the end the Māoris came looking for me. Would I apply for a Māori post-graduate scholarship? There were not enough Māoris taking them up and I had the qualifications. Identity, as I have hinted, is offered as well as claimed. I was offered it and I found out that in laying claim to that identity I took a tiger by the tail. Identity means searching, finding, and for me, never quite arriving. It really began when I took up that scholarship. Some years later I was sent to Taranaki to work as a priest among my relatives. It was not planned by the Bishop, it just happened. They scared me stiff. Their assumptions, language, and experience were strange to me and yet I belonged. I made some big mistakes at that time and it took a few years to put that right. But I got my genealogy, I stood on my land, I met people who remembered my grandmother Roka and knew my mother in her pre-Pākehā days.

So here I am—a member of the Puketapu hapū of Te Ati Awa of Taranaki. Pehimana Tamati is my uncle and my kaumātua. His marae at Bell Block is called Mururaupatu, which means 'confiscation'. I don't see him very often but I know that he is there. My wife, who I suspect finds me more interesting now than when

she first married me, understands. My daughters, as they grow up, may not identify themselves as I have done, but I know that they will find their answers and live by them.

I don't think about gangs. I grin to myself about the young Māori who looked rough and acted rough and turned out to be a relative. I don't generalise about the social problems of Māoris in South Auckland. I keep in touch with my cousin who is a community worker in the area. I can't make great statements about Māori culture and I would not want to. I go to hui and tangis and I do my best.

What's a complicated person like me doing introducing a book like this? Probably it's because identity is not some static showpiece and the private property of the person so identified. Identity is a set of relationships whereby I am bound to a group of people who have their history, their present experience, and their painful but persistent hopes for the future.

Most of the authors of these articles have been exposed to what optimistically we used to call 'higher education'. They write good English and this alone distinguishes them from most people in this country. Indeed some of the best New Zealand prose has been written by Māoris. They are in touch with the earth and the environment, their words sing and plumb wells of experience that go deep. Kara Puketapu and Rangimarie Rose Pere speak of the relationship with the earth, papatuanuku, and the reverence and strength they derive from that. Bruce Stewart makes the same point—'To grow vegies is a whole life study.'

To my shame I garden mostly with a tin opener. But many people, including Māoris, think through the soles of their feet and the palms of their hands as well as with their brains. The





temptation for the intellectual, so called, is to retreat into a study or a library in order to solve a problem. But you are more likely to find that the answers and the resources to tackle problems will be recruited close to the problems themselves. Similarly, when we are in doubt, we should not hesitate to trust our hunches and intuitions. Whatarangi Winiata's article on Whakatupuranga Rua Mano illustrates the point. The Raukawa Trustees have identified their goals for raising the educational attainment of the people. But increasingly the resources needed to reach those goals are being found among the people themselves.

These articles are written out of experience. That is why they are valuable. Tilly Reedy speaks of the difficulties which as a woman she has had in adapting traditional roles and values to city life. The difficulties are compounded because as she says, 'Our struggle is the same as for women everywhere but we start from a weaker position—bigger families and lower income.' Hugh Kawharu is well known as a chronicler and participant in the fortunes and misfortunes of Ngāti Whātua of Ōrākei. Bruce Stewart sees young Māoris as an endangered species heading, if not for extinction, then for a hopeless, all encompassing darkness. His account of women unable to conceive and men not wanting children but only a good time is very painful. Rangi Walker from his experience of South Auckland sees Māori gangs as offering protection to their members from a world which is alien and threatening.

How have these things happened? Is it because Māoris are a shifty and undependable group of people, or is it because the educational, judicial, political, economic, and any other systems in this country are not serving the needs of Māoris? Just

as I am sure that Māoris are not always paragons of virtue, so I am equally sure that they are disadvantaged in their own land. To even ask the question as this book does is to invite reactions of impatience and exasperation and cries of special treatment. Bob Mahuta is prepared for this. He knows the truth of Marx's dictum that history is written by the victors. He casts a steely eye over popular interpretations of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Land Wars and Hauhauism which imply that Māoris must continue to find their future within a Pākehā dominated society. He believes that Māoris must understand the political and planning system and make them work to their advantage.

Sid Mead picks up the point and develops it. He, too, is conscious of a Pākehā veto over Māori affairs and he offers some alternatives. Full autonomy for Māoris is rejected as unrealistic. Instead he offers a model of 'two people, one nation'. I am challenged by the logic and clarity of the argument. It forces me to look at my identity, the aspirations of my family, and the choices I might be required to make. That article has made me sweat.

We don't really need to be reminded that in times of economic downturn and monetary inflation the economist is seen as the saviour of mankind. But economics is about choice and that is an ethical activity. It expresses what we value and believe to be important. The economist can tell us how much our choices will cost. He cannot tell us whether or not these choices make human beings any more contented, fulfilled or responsible to each other. If you agree that there is a distinctive entity in New Zealand called Māoridom that will continue because Māoris want it that way, then the voices of Māoridom must be heard at all levels. The values of the

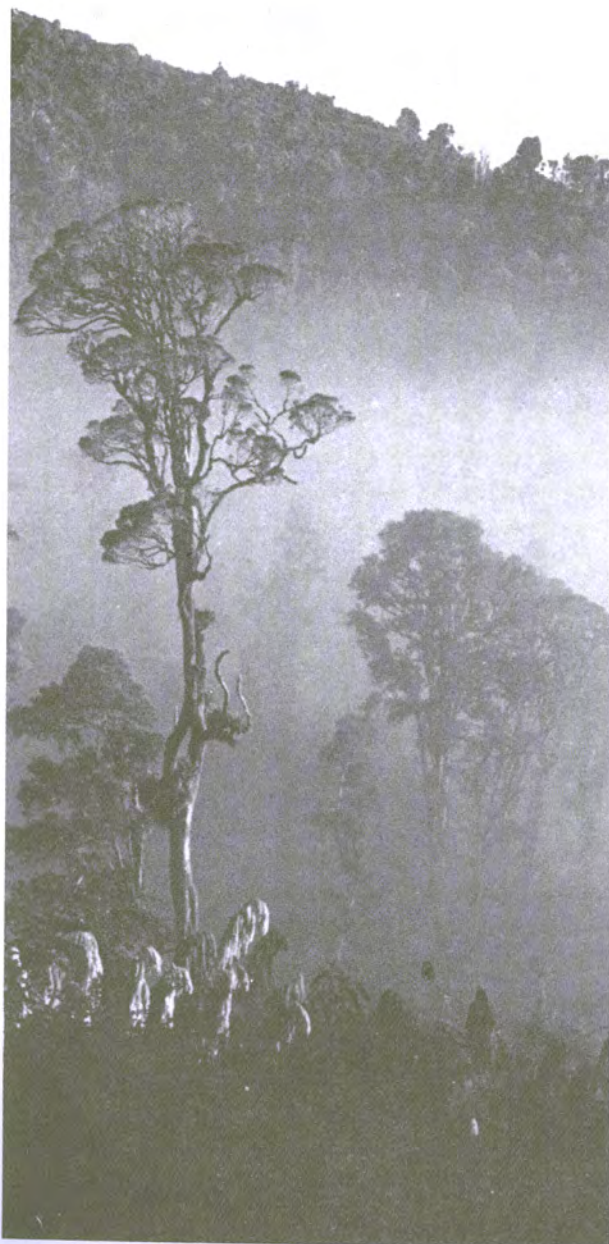
economists and the planners don't readily equate with the values of Māori people. That is how Māori people feel it and this book should be seen as a contribution towards the necessary debate about what is vital for New Zealand.

The tragedy in this country is that we don't handle at all well the debate about what is ultimately important. Nor do I believe that time is on our side. We have to make our choices from

a tight corner. When Bruce Stewart describes some of the young people he knows as 'dead but clever', I ask myself why does living in New Zealand do this to some people? How can we change this state of affairs?

The authors of these articles offer their experience to those who share their concerns. Change will not come easily and while I am not optimistic I remain ever hopeful.





No Man's Land

Kara Puketapu

Ihakara Porutu Puketapu is Secretary for Māori Affairs. For him, the story of the Māori in New Zealand begins with the arrival of the Tokomaru canoe.

Creatures' land
Nature supreme
Came man . . .
Seeking the unknown
E rapu ana i te mea ngaro.

'Welcome e Toko?—
Well that is what it sounded like.'
'But we were told there would be no one here
except the manu, the ika,
and a few old crusty tuatara'.
'Oh, but this is to be our home,
so let us not worry about those we cannot see.
We have our atua to protect us.
I can smell fresh water, and see,
the tuna is living here—ka pai ra.
There is Tōmairangi, I wonder what she hides?
The land is green and warm as promised;
the new smells and sounds are good. And look,
the treetops sway with a gentle pōwhiri
for us to land.'

And the Māori did land on his Aotearoa,
the long white cloud of his dreams.

Much courage had it taken to uproot
from his homeland, from his Hawaiki.
Now all was rewarded.

The land was found to be good in climate
and sufficient in food to sustain him.
For the Māori, this was no intrusion,
this was the end of a journey well planned.
This land was prepared for him,
and with the imprint of his feet
he claimed it for his own.

Transplanted and with new stance
the Māori sang his greatest songs.
He sang of his home country, Hawaiki;
he sang of his voyage, and his kinsfolk
left on the islands of Moana-nui-a-Kiwa.
He sang too of the stars that had guided him
to this land of peace and plenty.

But, for the creatures of Aotearoa,
for ruru, tuatara, ika, and tuna,
this was confusion,
this was disorder,
for this was no man's land.
'Go home,' the Tui sang,
'Go home to your own Hawaiki-nui,'
but the strangers stayed on.



In time, the Māori spread
across the surface of the land.
Generations passed, and his new roots
grew deeper, stronger, in the land of his birth.
Here the Māori wove and painted and carved,
echoing a past now shrouded in time.
Only the ancient canoes and paddles were
proof of the journeying; of another land
and other ancestors left behind.

And when tamariki dreamed of Hawaiki,
of the return to their ancestral home,
the elders would say:
'Why do you want to go to Hawaiki?
Hawaiki is not home for you.
This is your home,
here beneath Taranaki maunga,
here is your motherland,
here is where Papatuanuku gave you breath.
Let the shadow of the mountain cast over you,
so you may drink of her
life-giving sources forever.
And as she gives out so will she take back
her own man, woman, and child
whom she allows to live upon her breast.'

As elders died,
memories of Hawaiki dimmed.
But her heritage remained
well-guarded through knowledge and lore,
entrusted to the wise,
generation to generation;
each nurturing the sacred taproot
not by the written word,
but in custom, language, and song.
By faith in an intellectual gift,
in a creativity bred deep,
bred in Hawaiki.

That there were other lands and
other strange peoples;
of these the Māori knew and wondered.
Where did the manu fly off to?
Where did the tuna go?
And tired from long travel
from where did they return?
And these things washed up by the sea,
pieces of wood strangely fashioned
not by a Māori,
and strange clothing soft and shapely
worn not by a Māori,
from where did these come?
From another life, another man.

He came seeking the unknown,
treading the imprint of the Māori,
a stranger from a strange land.
Each, firm in their own faith,
knowing that Māori and Pākehā
must grow from their own taproots—
they would breed from them, live by them,
give each his own stance—
here on the breast of their Papatuanuku,
whom they cannot possess.
For her stance, her taproots,
though common with man,
are her own.

Kara Puketapu writes about the voyage into the unknown which led his ancestors here to 'no man's land'. He challenges the stance of the Māori and the Pākehā in relation to each other and reminds us that we each have to draw on our separate tap roots, our separate traditions. Ultimately, however, it is the land which will assert itself and determine the common destiny of New Zealanders.

Robert Te Kotahi Mahuta, Director of Māori Studies and Research at the University of Waikato, Hamilton, sees the conflicts which have been created by these separate traditions. He explains the relationship by a model. He suggests some implications for planning. He then defines his view from a Waikato-Kīngitanga perspective.

The King Movement is a Māori institution which over the last hundred years has survived both racial and cultural contact and conflict. It has gone through the full cycle beginning with the Land Wars—confrontation, confiscation, withdrawal, then resurgence. The revival began under Princess Te Puea, and continues to grow under Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu.

Bob Mahuta has had the experience of seeing his marae at Huntly overshadowed by one of the largest construction projects in New Zealand. The effect on the lives of his people, and the ideological conflicts that were brought into focus by that project give him a particular set of insights which he shares with us. This article challenges many of the assumptions we have made in the past. Bob Mahuta believes we need to discard them if our future relationships are to develop.



He Hinengaro Motuhake: A Separate Reality

Robert Mahuta

I believe that here in New Zealand there is a separate and distinctive culture that has survived 200 years of contact with the Pākehā. I also believe that this Māori culture will continue to survive because people want it to. So, in planning for the future and in making dreams a reality, Māori input must be part of these plans. Many people will agree that planning decisions are based on only one set of values, Pākehā values. Despite this the Māori has a responsibility to look at himself and the ideas involved in the planning and decision-making process.

This is a simplified model of my theory of the basic divisions within society and the different levels at which individuals are confronted with choice. I believe the Māori has never really had any choice because all his decisions were made for him by the Pākehā. That for me is the basic difference between the Māori and the Pākehā—the Pākehā with the political and economic power called the tune, and the Māori danced. This created the ideological conflict that still exists between the two groups today.

To illustrate this, let me go back to our historical experience and reflect on how these events have been interpreted. From the time of the Treaty of Waitangi, through to the Land

Wars, the rise of Hauhau Church, World War I, the conscription issue, World War II, and the recent events in Māoridom, this basic conflict of ideology between the Pākehā and the Māori continues. There is a Māori continuum and there is a Pākehā continuum of interpreting historical events. My perceptions of history and our relationships with other groups are the results of the tribal and historical experiences of my people of the Waikato tribe.

It always puzzled us as children listening on the marae that we seemed to be out on a limb not only from Māoridom but also from the rest of the country. Our perspective of history was a totally different perspective from what we were being taught in the schools. We grew up, to some extent, with a kind of negative image of ourselves. But time, education, and travel have seen the pendulum swing the other way. We are now a very young people, vibrant, living, and demanding to be heard.

Take the gang phenomenon for instance. It is not a new thing. Nor is it to be feared, provided we understand what makes it tick. Many of the frustrations and tensions associated with these young people are only manifestations of long-standing illnesses within our society and not just

Māori society. Liquor continues to be the scapegoat for the high incidence of crime and violence amongst our people. All I can say is, what does society expect when booze bars pump gallons of grog into people and then chuck them into huge carparks? Ideal ingredients for the kind of violence we see. The situation has nothing to do with liquor licensing laws, but it has everything to do with profit making. This profit-orientated system suits the breweries, so why change it? What we as a people need to actively pursue are new patterns of drinking and our own system of profit distribution based on community needs. At the same time we must accept that in trying to overcome our drink problem we could find ourselves in direct conflict with the profit-making powers.

Since the dominant culture sets the pattern for development, we the Māori have suffered the ideological onslaught. The levels at which we make decisions are the everyday battles we face in life.

In my model, I start off by making the obvious point that there is not only a basic conflict between Māori and Pākehā but also a basic social distinction. At the level which I call the layer of reality we look at the relationships



between Māori and Pākehā, between Māori and Pākehā and others, between Māori and Māori, between Pākehā and Pākehā. These are areas of conflict and compromise we need to be aware of. As we got older and went out into the world we found that it didn't really matter where we were we had to have a base to fall back on, and that base tended to be our people, our home communities. We tended to internalise the conflicts, not to show them outside. We tried to cope as best we could with the everyday hassles of living. Within this course we pursued our tribal goals. This is the reality for most of us. This is what most of our politics, most of our organisation, and most of our institutions are geared towards.

In most public statements and policies the reality of tribalism is ignored. Many people feel that 'tribalism' is an obstacle to progress, to the creation of the decent joker, the 'New Zealander'. That is why I view with a certain amount of pessimism Māoridom's ability to withstand the language and the generation crisis. The bulk of our people are very young, urban dwelling, and non-Māori speaking. They are not only alienated from our society but also from their roots and extended kin group. So they have had to devise new patterns of interaction and organisations based largely on the consequences of having to move into the city to live. An immediate problem for us as Māori is how we are going to transmit many of the values and the symbolism associated with Māoridom in a language which is foreign to the people we are trying to reach.

Land continues to occupy a central place in the Māori consciousness, yet I question its importance for youth today. The debate is essentially with the land owning group—not the mass of the people. The mass of the people are

young and have no prospect of ever owning land. The values that people are talking about associated with land are foreign to our young ones. Indeed, the attitudes of the land-holding group are little different from the middle-class Pākehā. Perhaps we should be subscribing to some kind of title structure which ensures group inheritance; trusteeship rather than individual ownership. Perhaps the only way in which we are going to get back to this idea of group ownership is to lose all our land before we learn our lesson. Then we work to buy it back.

The next level of my model is the layer of ethnicity where we talk about Māoris as a group as opposed to Pākehās as a group. Here, we as Māori people are only marginal participants. At this level the Pākehā tended to perceive the Māori as a nation and organised accordingly in terms of Māori affairs, Māori parliamentarians, Māori schools, and whatever. There was always one group in power, the other was always the recipient of what that power structure decided. Most of the nation's history and experiences have been recorded from perceptions and assumptions made at this level. Most of the decisions—planning, political, and economic decisions—have been made at this level. These are made as if the two groups were entities within themselves. The justification for the kind of decision-making and activity at this level was, and still is, 'to serve the national interest'. When we seek to define the national interest, we find that it tends to be heavily weighted towards the Pākehā perspective. Indeed, some of our recent experiences show that the Māori isn't part of the national interest, unless it coincides with the assimilationists' ethos.

The most immediate example for us as a tribe is the Huntly Power Station Project. The basic



objection to the Huntly Power Station was the question of siting. We as a community could not understand why one of the biggest thermal power stations in the southern hemisphere had to be sited right next to our marae. And so we went back to our historical experience and said, 'Well maybe this is part of the whole conspiracy theory. If you can't beat them, wipe them out. These Kingites, they wouldn't knuckle under, so let's get rid of them.' We saw this whole development not just as a kind of planning exercise, but as a clear demonstration of the ideological conflict we have been undergoing all the time.

The first thing we did was to look at the system itself, to try to understand the processes operating within it and to see whether we could utilise those processes to our advantage. So while there were internal conflicts within the community and between Māori and Pākehā, we kept pushing the basic issues and the principles involved. The principle involved this whole feeling of community and what part we as a community play in the planning process. What is our input, and is the State genuine in its desire to include the Māori within this decision-making? We made our concern known at the tribal, ethnic, and national levels. We made our concern known through talking to the people, through writing papers, through using the media, and through attending public meetings. Then we started to lobby. We found confirmation of our view that it doesn't matter what people say about all being equal under the sun, some are more equal than others. Moreover, for the Māori the striving has to be not so much to be equal, but to be more than equal, otherwise we go down. And so we lobbied and lobbied and lobbied.

One of the key areas officials tend to avoid and

gloss over is the fact that massive technological development hurts. This is a fact largely ignored by planners, technicians, bureaucrats, and politicians. In planning major alterations to the environment, uprooting populations or making old adjustments impossible, they count the engineering costs but not the social costs. Yet it is this social cost that causes most concern to local communities. We argued on the principle that our community should be no worse off because development took place there. That was all the assurance we wanted. Although the money was not our major concern we felt quite strongly that if certain things happened because of the decisions made, then that was the decision-makers' responsibility. If it cost \$x to correct, then that was their problem. We have to retain our sense of community because that is the focal point of our identity.

What started off as a confrontation forced everyone, Pākehā as well as Māori, to marshal their resources, to look at where their strengths were and then to at least attempt some sort of dialogue. Once we had gone through this whole process, very serious ideological conflicts were resolved. Huntly was a salutary experience for everyone. The solicitors said that, at the end of the Water Rights Hearing.

One of the most important things about Huntly is that we are now able to take this experience into other communities facing similar problems. Whenever a conflict situation arises, we help them define it and then look at the alternatives within the system and see how these alternatives can be turned to advantage. Take the unemployment situation for instance. It is a fact of life for young people today. It is a new phenomenon. Some leave school facing the prospect of being unemployed for 3 or 4 years.

For many of us it may seem a demoralising prospect to look forward to but it can be turned to more positive ends. For example we should be using the opportunity provided under the temporary work programme run by the Labour Department, for community development, both within the cities and home in our rural areas.

What is implicit in my discussion is that there is a Pākehā experience and a Māori experience. Both groups have vested interests in their own viewpoints for that is human nature. What we must do is educate our people towards a long-term vision of where we as Māori, are going. We must learn the game, know the rules, and how to bend them. For me, the two keys to success in this society are money and education—they are the keys that deliver the goods. With education and money you can bring about whatever changes you want. Unless you have a surplus of one or the other you are not going anywhere.

One of the quickest ways to get this change is through intellectual advocacy. This has got to be 'he hurihanga o te hinengaro'—a revolution of the mind. This is what the dominant society fears most, not the social revolution but the intellectual revolution. We are then in tune with an international mainstream that knows no boundaries. We as a people need to build a nucleus which will intellectualise our condition and think it through for our people.

The topmost level of my model is what I call the layer of mythology which propounds the view that we are all New Zealanders. For many Māori, this is a myth. In traditional and historical terms the Māori is descended from a real nation, the Polynesian nation. There is a definite sense of nationhood in that perspective, yet we have been indoctrinated into believing that our nationhood is derived from a west-

European tradition. It is only now that this concept of nationhood is being slowly rejected. There is a grudging realisation that we are a Pacific nation, that we have to look towards Asia, towards Black Africa and towards the Americas if we are going to develop as a nation.

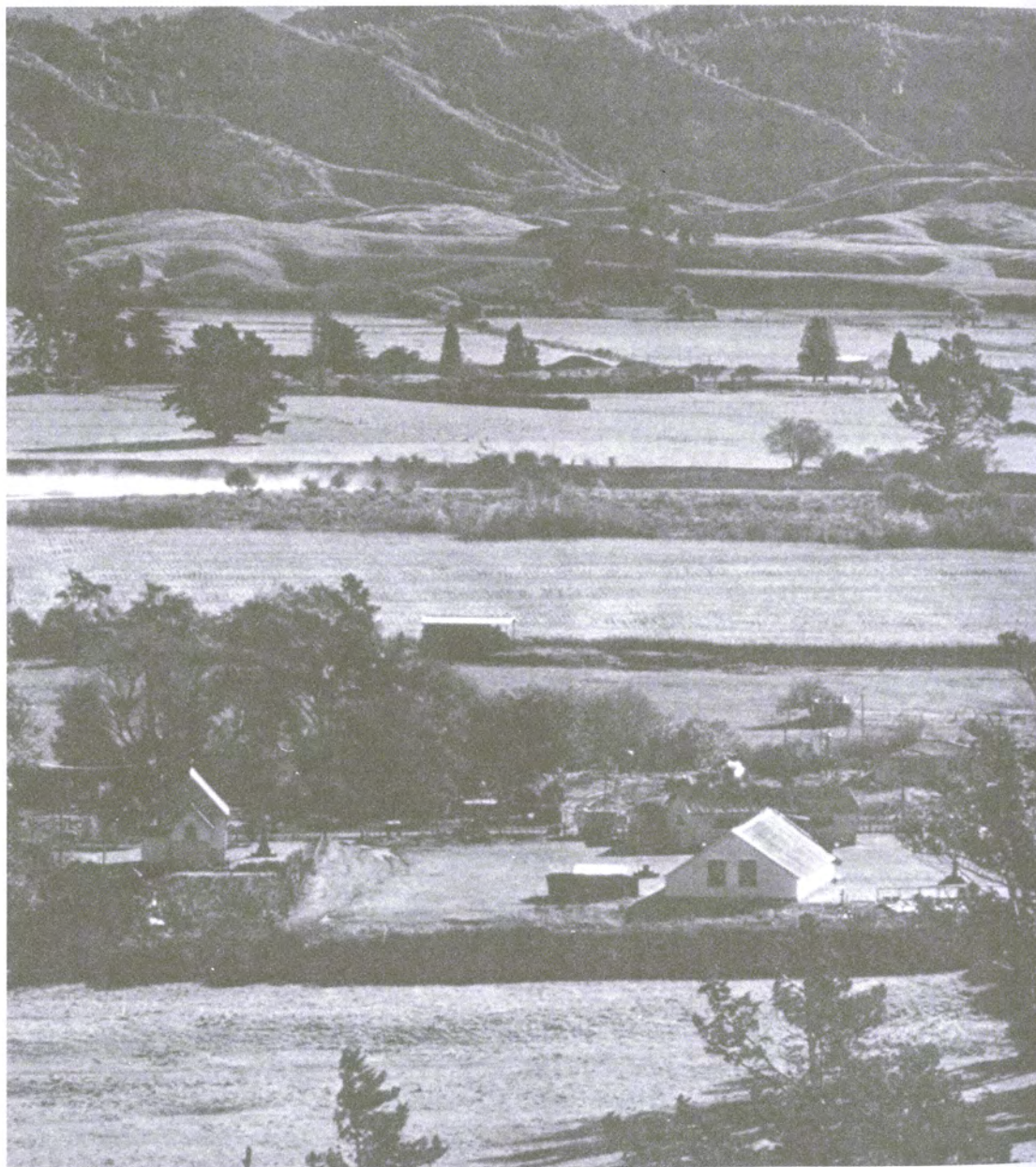
I can accept the national policy aimed at developing a sense of nationhood within our geographic and ethnic reality. I can accept a national label that will have a bit of Māori and a bit of Pākehā in it. But for this to succeed there needs to be a joint commitment by Māori and Pākehā to create this nation. We as a people might have to forgo a lot of what we currently believe in but that's the kind of price we need to be prepared to pay. How much Māoritanga are we prepared to forgo? How much Pākehātanga is the Pākehā prepared to forgo to allow us into that eventual image of nationhood? It is not going to be easy.

People may ask, are we ready? My answer is that we are as ready as we can ever be now! Our problem is that we want the future to guarantee our security. But we can't ask that because we are asking the impossible. What we have to do is to take the same kinds of risks that our tūpuna did when they climbed into their canoes and sailed into the unknown. This voyage into the future is a voyage into the unknown for us. There is strength in this venture if we have firm allies who are committed to the same course.



Bob Mahuta tells us that we can share a common nationhood by making room for each other. To do this requires a basic sense of security. Tolerance does not spring from a vacuum. Rangimarie Rose Pere and Timoti Sam Karetu have found tolerance an attainable goal because of the strength of their taha Māori which is their Tūhoetanga. They have no difficulty in accommodating other people. They have, with confidence moved from the protected natural fortress of the Urewera to other parts of New Zealand, and for Sam, to London for 8 years. Today, Rose Pere is an Adviser for Māori and Island Education in Hamilton. Her tungāne, Sam Karetu is a Reader in Māori at Waikato University, Hamilton.

These two essays are concerned with values. It is often pointed out that choices involve value judgements; that to plan is to weigh up different choices. Both Rose Pere and Sam Karetu are unequivocal about the value they place on their Māori inheritance. This is reflected in the importance of their genealogy and their kinship ties. Their whakapapa shows how they are related and acts as a backdrop to their respective views on being Māori. Both essays demonstrate that although the extended family and the communal approach are part of the Māori tradition, there is also a clear concept of individual worth which is part of Māori identity.



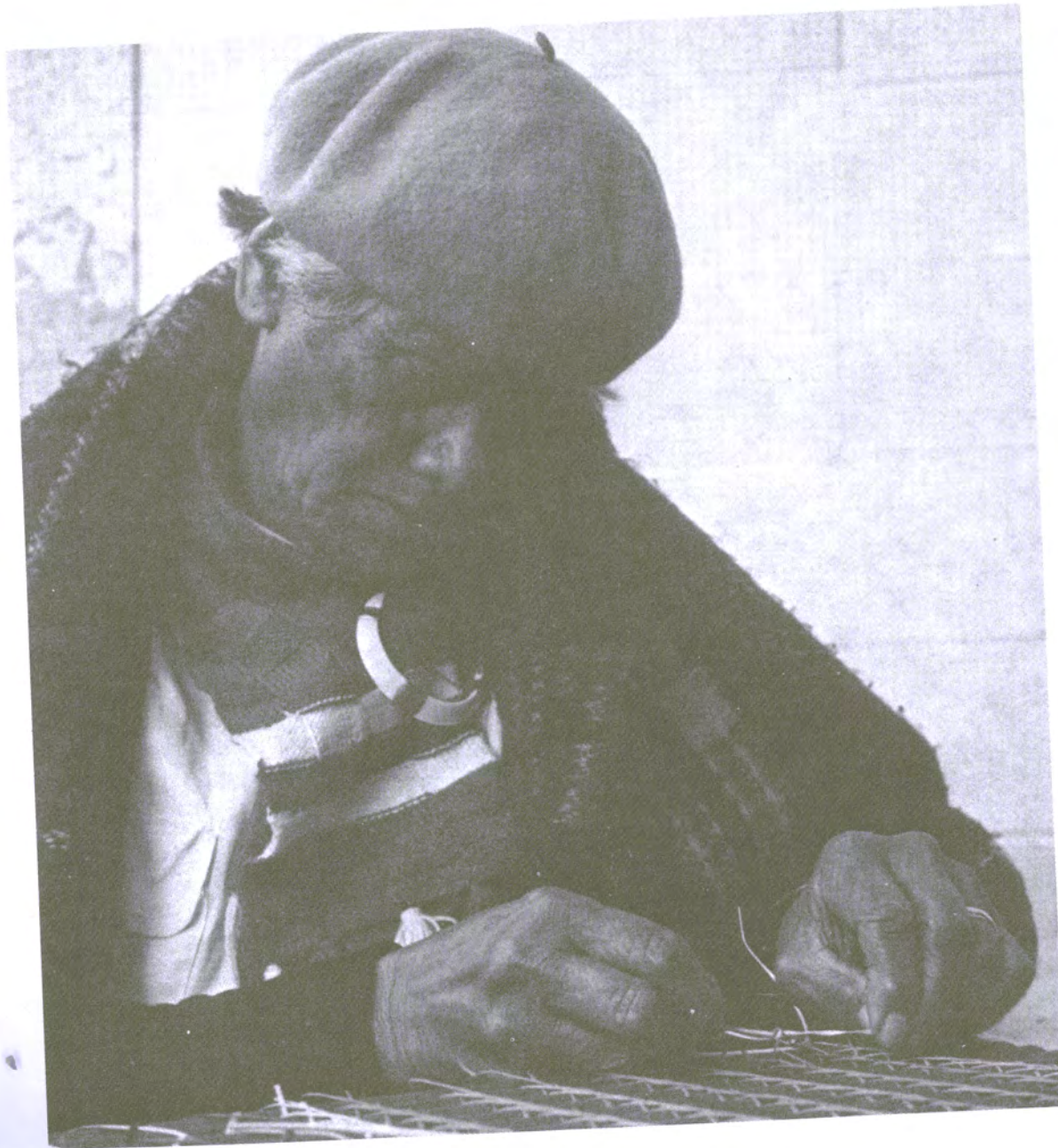
Taku Taha Māori: My Māoriness

Rangimarie Rose Pere

The Parapara is a tree that produces clusters of leaves. Each cluster has a set of five leaves which symbolise for me, my Māoritanga. The five leaves lead into a stem, me. The stem is attached to a branch, which for me represents the Māori people. The whole tree as I see it, is humanity itself.

The five leaves represent the dimensions that influence me. The first leaf depicts spirituality. I believe in a divine force, indeed forces that are far greater than man. I cannot see these forces but I can certainly feel their power, a power that is so strong that my whole life is governed by it. While some people in New Zealand derive that dimension of their lives from a Christian doctrine and philosophy, the spirituality that I speak of makes me sensitive to the spirituality that is within other people who are not Christian. I belong to an international organisation called Servas. Our members come from all over the world and represent the different religions. We have no difficulty coming together in terms of spirituality. There is respect and understanding given to that which is sacred for each individual, or group of people. I never feel completely alone, even when other people are not present. Within





this spirituality I can appreciate the meaning of divine guidance and protection, the meaning of sacredness, the meaning of humility, and above all what it means to be a mortal being with so many frailties and weaknesses.

The second leaf symbolises for me ancestral ties, the dimension that determines my physical and psychological existence and heritage. My ancestors have passed on beliefs and traditions that enable me to know who and what I am in terms of New Zealand, and indeed in terms of the world community. I regard myself as a universal person with a strong tap root that reaches back to the Urewera, the home of my Tūhoe ancestors. From this root comes my language and the blood line that helps me to understand my own institutions, and the way they influence my approach to life. The genealogy—the rope of people that links up each generation—the rope that gives me my history also helps to give me a better understanding of myself as a person.

As a human being I have the basic right to seek enlightenment, to extend my own mauri, my life-force, in every possible way. I have many limitations but the influences of my early childhood in Ruatāhuna (my birth place) and Waikaremoana make me strive to go forward, to learn, and to face up to the challenges that confront one in today's world. I remember one of my elders saying that if I stood tall, my ancestors would also stand tall. I can respect and appreciate other cultures, including other traditions, because of the way I feel about my own. I am learning to understand my own culture by comparing it with others, and I am proud to be able to share and to contribute something that is from my own Māori heritage. While humanity has many universals, the Māori

people have their own unique contribution to make, to the fellowship of peoples.

The third leaf symbolises kinship ties, the dimension that deals with the group of people who have the same ancestral and historical ties as my own. The survival and well-being of the kinship group is of prime importance to me. Conflict sometimes comes into the role that I have in the wider community, because of the commitment that I have to the kinship group. While I am very much the individual, I have very strong feelings about the very large extended family I belong to. Like any other family we have our strengths and weaknesses and believe in sharing both the good times and the bad times together. As a person having to work outside the tribal area, I know I am not fulfilling all my responsibilities and obligations to them but I try to uphold their beliefs and their aspirations. As a woman, I know my specific role complements that of the men, and is based on the traditions of the kinship group. I know the protocol that applies to my own marae and the importance of every member working together to retain the customs that have been passed down. The marae within the tribal group gives me my *tūrangawaewae*—a place where I have the right to stand in terms of my ancestry, so I feel I am able to stand up with pride anywhere in the world. The survival and well-being of the kinship group brings out the best qualities and values of each individual in the group because the main concern is for all humanity.

The fourth leaf symbolises humanity, the dimension that influences my life as a social being. I believe in basic human rights and the need for every person to feel that he or she is

making a positive contribution. It is the right of every person to get the best possible information about the institutions that govern. A well informed imaginative person can do so much more for the social development of a community. Each individual needs to feel that he or she has a secure, worthwhile niche in the community, to be able to communicate in a positive way with other people. The wastage of potential and creative ability alone in New Zealand is criminal. Every adult from my childhood community was involved with parenting as part of our social control and if I had difficulty communicating with my natural parents or grandparents, there were numerous others I could turn to for help. The people from my own generation I regard as brothers and sisters, and I also regard their children as sons and daughters. I have extended the philosophy of that community to include other people. If I am able to make people feel warm, content, and important with few material props, then I know that I am getting closer to attaining the qualities that are important in human relationships.

The fifth leaf symbolises Papatuanuku, the earth, and the way I relate to her. The land for me has the same significance as the placenta that surrounds the embryo in the womb—the Māori word 'whenua' is the term used for both the land and the placenta. Papatuanuku is personified as a female and it does not matter where I travel, I feel a strong affinity towards her. Each living thing has a *mauri*, a life-force, that relates to, and interacts with, the earth's forces. Of all the living things as I know them, the human being is the one most capable of either protecting the natural environment or destroying it. When man changes the landscape completely, he cannot

return it to its former state. A conservationist at heart, I am very grateful that the Urewera bush, the ancestral home of the Tūhoe people, is still intact. The bush-clad ranges, the mist, the smell of the undergrowth, the company of birds and insects; Panekire—the majestic bluff that stands sentinel over the tranquil or sometimes turbulent waters of Lake Waikaremoana—all give me a strong sense of identity and purpose to life.

The tangihanga funeral rites, an institution that portrays the values and traditions of a people, is also a part of life and nature. While I can mourn and grieve very deeply for the death of the physical dimension of a person, I believe that most of the other dimensions live on. Each person at his or her physical birth comes from a woman, and at his or her physical death goes to Papatuanuku, a female personification.

There is my *taha* Māori and the five dimensions that influence my life—spirituality, ancestral ties, kinship ties, humanity as a whole, and the earth as part of a vast universe. Taku *taha* Māori, my Māoriness, gives me a strong core, a force-field that can help me to stand up and do something for myself in today's world.



Taku Taha Māori: My Māoriness

Timoti Sam Karetu

To state categorically at the outset what my taha Māori is, is quite difficult because none of us is able to be objective in our analysis of ourselves. We see ourselves quite differently from the way others see us, and what we may say might be a direct contradiction of what others might say and think.

None of us is exclusively of one tribe. Our tīpuna intermarried with people outside of their own tribal territories and so we can lay claim to being of many tribes. So, in terms of my whakapapa I am as much of one tribe as of another, although emotionally I feel more attached to one tribe in particular. I do believe that I am the product of the community in which I grew up and not really the product of my antecedents in terms of my way of thinking and reacting. I suppose that even my Pākehā side would lay claim to part of me and yet I feel no particular draw to that side of the family, nor has it ever been of any significance in my way of thinking and acting. I am not unique in this sense, as there are many Māori, or people who openly profess to be Māori, who think in the same way.

My greatest sense of belonging is to the tribe among whom I grew up and who influenced me

'Kia whakataukitia,
Tāhora ki raro, Panekire ki runga
Maungapōhatu ki waenganui
Waikaremoana! Hei!
Ruatāhuna! Hei!
Te rohe pōtae o Ngāi Tūhoe
Aue! Hei!

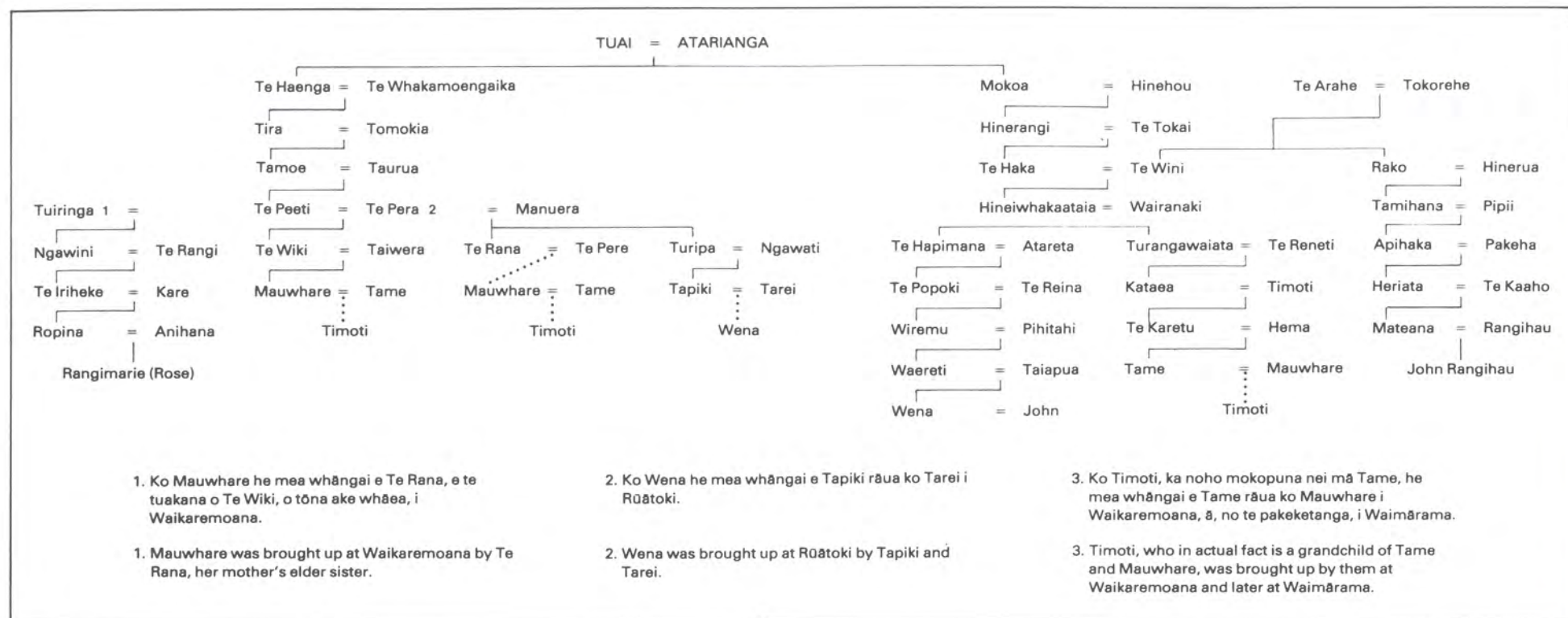
Let me prophesy
Tāhora below, Panekire above
Maungapōhatu in the centre
Waikaremoana! Hei!
Ruatāhuna! Hei!
The tribal area of Tūhoe
Aue! Hei!

most strongly in my attitudes to things Māori and to being Māori. The above extract is from a recent composition performed by a Tūhoe group at the annual celebrations to mark the accession of Te Arikiniui, Te Atairangikaahu, to the ancestral throne of her people. Many of the salient features of the Tūhoe where I grew up and to which I feel a strong emotional attachment are mentioned.

Tāhora is a little mountain located in Waimana, the northern part of our territory. Panekire is a sheer bluff at the southern end of Lake Waikaremoana which is also the southern point of our area. Like all tribes we have a maunga tapu. Ours is Maungapōhatu located in the centre of Tūhoe land. Waikaremoana is for me the most salient feature of Tūhoe territory—it

is where I grew up. Ruatāhuna is regarded by the tribe as 'te kōhanga o Tūhoe'—the cradle of Tūhoe. It is from here that the tribe migrated to points north and south. For all major events like discussing matters of tribal importance and paying its respects to distinguished guests, the tribe returns here.

I grew up at Waimako. In those days there would have been about a hundred people there with everyone's home clustered around the focal point which was the marae with the meeting house, Tūhoe-pōtiki, dominating the whole scene. Not a stone's throw away was the marae of Kūhā Tārewa with approximately the same number of inhabitants. Both communities were very closely related, had intermarried a great deal and yet there was a strong, but healthy,



rivalry between the two. They competed against each other in tennis, badminton, and other sporting events as well as in the cultural sphere. But in spite of this competitive spirit there was a very close community spirit which bound the two closely together in times of human crisis and need.

Our kāuta, called Kaitū, comprised one room with a dirt floor and no mod. cons. as defined by today's standards. Ours was in no way unique as there were many similar kāuta. Perhaps I should state here that I was a whāngai, a very good way to be! Mauwhare and Tame were the people I

was to know as Mum and Dad. Soon after my birth I was taken by them so I knew no other parents but them. They were to indulge me, love me, care for me, nurture me, and give me all the material comforts that was in their power to give. To all intents and purposes I was an only child as their only natural child was already married and rarely came to visit after she and her husband moved away from Waikaremoana. They were both Māori speaking, especially Mauwhare who used no other language and whose distinguished academic career came to an end in Standard 2. Tame, on the other hand was quite well-

educated and had attended Te Aute for 4 years and so was bilingual. But the language of the community in which I grew up was Māori, and the school I attended, Kōkako, was exclusively Māori; all the Pākehā children, including those of the Head, attended Tūai Primary, a predominantly Pākehā school.

Apart from the strong language influence, I can recall that at Waimako there was a where tapu by the meeting house and one of the kuia, Te Motu-o-rahi, would be brought to it by her mokopuna to do whatever she had to do. We were too young and ignorant to know what she

was doing, but I have this picture in my mind of this old lady doing what she considered important to her, while we, the young ones, were convinced that she was weaving spells! Now, only in retrospect, when I think of this old lady do I realise how strong she was in her convictions.

The area was Ringatū in faith with a mild tolerance of the Presbyterians who had established a mission at Waimako, the result of which was our having to attend Sunday School. Hence we accepted that Saturday was our Sabbath and Sunday that of the Presbyterians, but all activity ceased whenever the bell rang. In the minds of the community, there was no problem or confusion over Te Hāpati and Te Wiki Pākehā.

This then, was the background in which I grew up and which influenced me initially. We often returned to Ruatāhuna to visit my mother's natural family and I remember her mother, Te Wiki, quite vividly. The old dear was bent with age and spent much of her time in the meeting house, Te Ngawari, weaving whariki. I recall that every time we visited it wasn't just a case of getting off the bus and saying hello to everyone. We had to pay our respects to all those who had passed on since we had last visited, before we, the living, could fraternise with one another. I remember this was also the case with boys and girls from Waikaremoana who went away to schools such as Te Aute and Hukarere. They too, when they came home for the holidays had first to come to the marae and tangi before they could relax. Because both my parents were actively involved in marae activities, I spent a great deal of my early life in the meeting house situation but without really appreciating how fortunate I was—that realisation was to come very much later.



When I was about 12 we returned to Waimārama to live among my father's people. In every way this community was in direct contrast with the one in which I had grown up. The language of the community was English, the only speakers of Māori being people in their fifties, or people who had come from Māori-speaking communities and had married a local. As a speaker of Māori I was unique and the community realised that my mother was more at home in Māori than she was in English and so tried to speak Māori to her. She always spoke Māori, and while many of the community did not speak the language there were many who could understand it. Perhaps I should state here that my mother and father had had their marriage arranged and that in their early married life had actually lived in Waimārama. For some reason they returned to live in Waikaremoana and then, again returned to Waimārama. Living in Waimārama was to see the beginning of a change in attitude in me towards things Māori, and latently, I suspect I enjoyed the notoriety of being the only Māori-speaking child in Hastings! It was here that I realised I was quaint in the eyes of the locals just as my mother was in all she did. She was Māori in a way quite different from the local people.

While at Waimārama Primary School, I won a scholarship which took me to Wellington College where I was to spend the next 5 years in an environment that was so different from that in which I had grown up and yet in which I seemed to thrive. During these years, either by intent or accident, my Māori side found very little avenue for expression except when I came home and attended a tangi or went on hari mate trips with my parents. This whole period was the beginning of my interest in things Pākehā, an interest which

has remained with me all this time. It was while I was in Form 7 that I was to meet a lady who was one of the strongest influences on my life, the late Beth Ranapia.

While at Wellington College, I never studied Māori but Beth had heard I was there and was a native speaker so she asked if I would be prepared to do some things for her correspondence courses in Māori. She was a very fluent speaker of Māori but was aware of her Pākehā accent which only seemed to be apparent on air—in natural conversation it was not so easily recognisable. And so we met and remained firm friends right up until the time of her death. After graduating from Victoria, I taught for 2 years at Taumarunui High School then left for London in 1961. I was Information Officer on the staff of the New Zealand High Commission in London until my return to New Zealand in 1969 to take up a teaching position at Fairfield College in Hamilton.

I really enjoyed Europe and all that it had to offer, especially since my education at Wellington College and Victoria University had equipped me so well. But Beth felt otherwise. In 1968 I received a 12-page closely written letter from her telling me in no uncertain terms why I should return. From the time of my return to her death, I became involved with her in many seminars and hui relevant to the Māori language even though I was not actually teaching it myself. As editor of *Te Wharekura* she was instrumental in getting native speakers to write stories that she could publish for use in schools, and the culmination of our working relationship was the publishing of my textbook *Te Reo Rangatira* after her death. Beth convinced me that in my upbringing I had been more fortunate than most and because of it I should involve myself

more in the Māori world.

I was not really all that convinced in my own mind that this was what I really wanted, but the turning point came at two seminars of Tūhoe that I was to attend within my first year back. The first was at Te Whai-a-te-motu, Ruatāhuna, where in the mihi to me I was made to feel like someone of consequence and that I had come home at last. While I had been in England my parents had died and so in these initial mihi to me and in the poroporoaki to my two old dears I felt a stirring—an emotional stirring. The second was another seminar at Kūhā Tārewa marae, Waikaremoana, where it suddenly dawned on me that this is where I wanted to be. My last visit to this marae had been with my parents to a hari mate, 15 years earlier. Many were no longer living. My mind was settled. Up until this time, I had been seriously contemplating returning to Europe to the life I thought I really wanted. This then, was the turning point, being on the marae of my youth among people who knew me and accepted me for what I am. This was where I wanted to be.

Within a year of my return I was on the staff of Waikato University teaching Māori and returning to seminars in Tūhoe to recharge my batteries which had really gone flat during the time I was overseas. However, there was to be another big influence on my life, a person who still influences me very strongly and for whom I have the greatest respect. The person I am referring to is my tuakana, John Rangihau.

John's late wife, Wenarata, and I were close. She was a whāngai-with close genealogical ties also. But apart from that we were kindred spirits in the lyrical sense and John was our mutual critic and mentor.

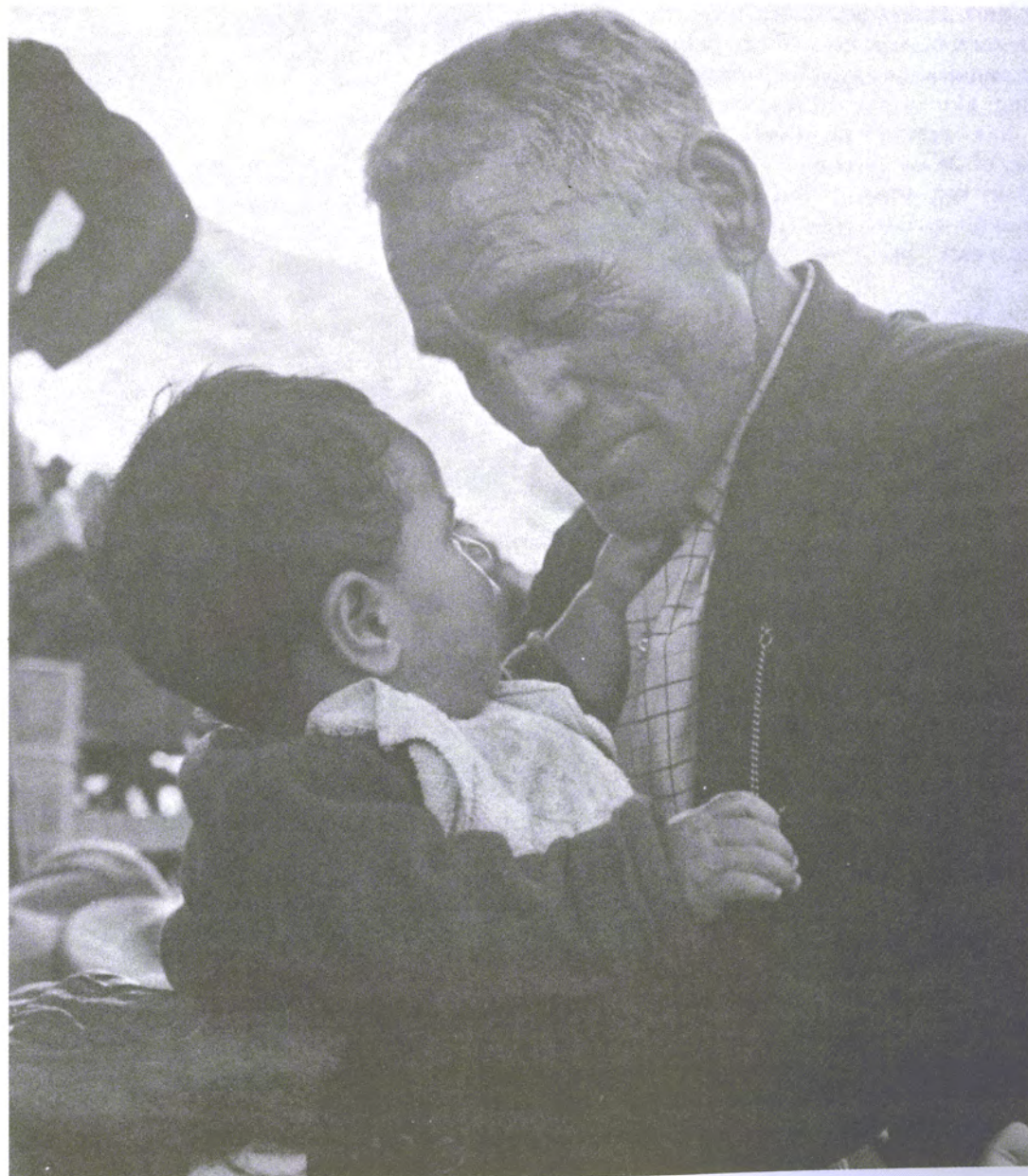
Although John, too comes from Waikare-

moana, the difference in our ages meant that we had little in common when I was growing up. I knew him as a member of the community and that was all. Later we were both students at Victoria; he was doing his Diploma in Social Work and I was in the first year of an arts degree. It was to be at the seminar referred to earlier that I first realised how much I admired the man—an admiration which was to grow and grow the better I got to know him. Our respect grew stronger at a week-long seminar of teachers of Māori language held at Te Whai-a-te-motu to launch my book, *Te Reo Rangatira*. Why do I feel this way towards Te Rangihau, as he is so affectionately known in the Maori world?

He, to me, exemplifies what I would like my taha Māori to be. It is he who showed me that without any difficulty my taha Māori is compatible with my taha Pākehā and that both can be lived without one detracting from the other. He lives his life in a Māori way and makes no apology for it. I have learned to do the same. We return to tangi, to hui, to satisfy the requests of our whanaunga throughout 'te rohe pōtae o Ngai Tūhoe' and that is what my taha Māori means to me. I am the sum total of all the influences exerted on me by my community and by my family, but in my strengthening of my Māori ties, I am influenced by my tuakana. He has never heard me say this before, either publicly or privately, because it is something that has never needed to be stated. It is understood that 'mā te tuakana ka tōtika te taina, mā te taina ka tōtika te tuakana'.

Finally, let me state that while all my aroha is for Waikaremoana, I have returned often to Waimārama, for that is where my parents, Tame and Mauwhare, lie, but emotionally I feel no draw to the place whatsoever. A month ago I was

invited to this marae to help teach Māori to people in their fifties who now realise what they do not have. That to me is my taha Māori—the realisation of what I do have in Māori terms and the sharing of it with others who have it, with others who would like to have it and with others who have yet to be made aware that they, in fact, need it, even if this is a Pākehā world.



More and more New Zealanders have, in recent years, become aware of separate Māori beliefs and values. The renaissance of Māoritanga has created something akin to a cultural offensive. Not everyone has reacted positively. Even though the place of Māori forms of expression may be assured in our cultural heritage there would be many who question the contribution this renaissance can bring to present-day problems.

These problems are those of the cities, not of the rural marae. With 75 percent of the Māori population now living in the cities (and 90 percent of Māori births occurring there) it is the urban setting which will dictate the future.

Dr Ranginui Walker is Senior Lecturer for Continuing Education at the University of Auckland. He studied the process of urbanisation and its effect on the Māori. He discovered that a commitment to the maintenance of the kinship organisation with its philosophy of mutual support, valued by Rose Pere and Sam Karetu, was very much part of the lives of the Māori migrant to the cities.

Following his study Rangi Walker sounded a warning that the impact of a town-planning and housing policy that shattered extended kinship ties held many risks. He argued that an education system which was insensitive to some of its clients would create a problem that would be costly in more ways than one. Today we have the urban-born Māori youth with an identity crisis, gang groupings, and unemployment. He sees urgency in the situation we face. He believes that overseas precedents should convince us that time is not on our side.



The Urban Māori

Ranginui Walker

It is my belief that biculturalism can be a source of great strength to this country. I have learned this myself by finding out how to stand on two legs—one Māori, one Pākehā. My experience during my student years was simply one of striving to achieve in Pākehā educational terms. Then I was asked to help in the struggle for greater acceptance of Māori rights. What an eye-opener it has been!

It depresses me to realise how reluctant people are to accept another view, another culture. Almost daily, I find that my role as a Māori activist draws abuse, often of a very personal kind. One can bemoan this fact but it seems to be typical of public debate in New Zealand these days.

Despite the pressures, I find that as a bicultural New Zealander I have a strength greater than that of my critics. You certainly have to be resilient when putting the minority view and I am grateful to the Jesuits for teaching me how to be rigorous in debate.

It took me a long time however to sort out what the Pākehā was really on about. It was not until I stood on a village green in England that I understood the traditions of Pākehātanga. There I could see the space, the people around it, and

their relationships one with the other. It all fitted together. Then I realised that the Pākehā in New Zealand had lost much of this, but nothing had taken its place. I saw the strength of the Māori, who was forced to be bicultural, in a completely new light. It is with this perspective that I have studied the history of the so-called urban drift which has shifted the whole focus of Māori life during the last 25–30 years.

The first wave of Māori migrants were in the main poorly educated. They were not equipped with skills to take advantage of the wider range of jobs in the towns and cities. Because they were poor they were forced to seek jobs and homes in the run-down inner-city areas—the traditional reception areas, the world over, for new migrants.

Joan Metge's study in 1964, *A New Māori Migration* revealed a complex pattern. Half the people studied went directly from their home area to the city; a third shifted from one rural area to another before heading to the city; and the rest went from smaller towns, to larger towns, to a city.

Whatever the route taken, the migrants arrived in the cities with an identity and cultural background that made them different from the

Pākehās who dominated urban society. Although much traditional Māori culture had been lost in 150 years of European contact enough had survived to underpin the identity of the migrating Māoris. Māoris generally identified with a tribe and its territory. Kinship networks and the extended family still figured strongly in their lives. Certainly the marae as the focus of community feeling, and the tangi with its rituals and oratory, remained the core of Māoritanga. Most Māoris took these traditions with them when they migrated to the city. They continued to feel an attachment for the community where the family or tribal marae was located.

But obviously the rural migrants had to learn the ways of the city in order to fit in. Some fundamental adjustments had to be made in order to survive, such as taking up regular work to meet the rent or mortgage, hire purchase repayments, and taxes. Once committed to this system the migrants were locked in the culture of an urban industrial society which they had to learn to share in common with the Pākehā. Away from the security of his tribe and marae, and in an environment dominated by Pākehās, for perhaps the first time the Māori came to face the possibility of total assimilation. Indeed, official



policy appears to have favoured it. The Government's housing programme was based on the idea of 'pepper-potting'—sprinkling Māori families throughout communities—in the belief that they would more readily adapt to city life if they were not concentrated in a few suburbs.

It is difficult to assess the effect of the pepper-potting policy. Although it was never officially abandoned it was overridden by other factors. The building programme of the Department of Māori Affairs declined from 1000 houses a year in the early 1960s to around 500 in the mid-1960s. But the Māori population was increasing by about 7000 annually and this programme could house only a small proportion. Many Māori families were therefore allocated State-built homes in the large new housing estates at Te Atatū, Ōtara, and Māngere on the fringes of Auckland, and at Porirua, the new satellite of Wellington. The proportion of Māoris grew to around 40–50 percent in these suburbs, which have been labelled in the popular press and fixed in the minds of most New Zealanders as ghettos.

But they are not ghettos in the dictionary sense. Usually the term covers an enclave, especially a slum area in the inner city, where a particular racial group has congregated. In New Zealand wealth, rather than colour, has always determined where people live. State housing is reserved for low-income people. Even Māoris of moderate means had little access to other traditional sources of housing finance. So the high proportion of Māoris in some areas was a direct consequence of socio-economic status. The term 'ghetto' has become linked in the Pākehā mind with the vicious circle of low incomes, poor housing, and low educational attainment. This has become the pattern for a much larger

segment of society than many people care to recognise.

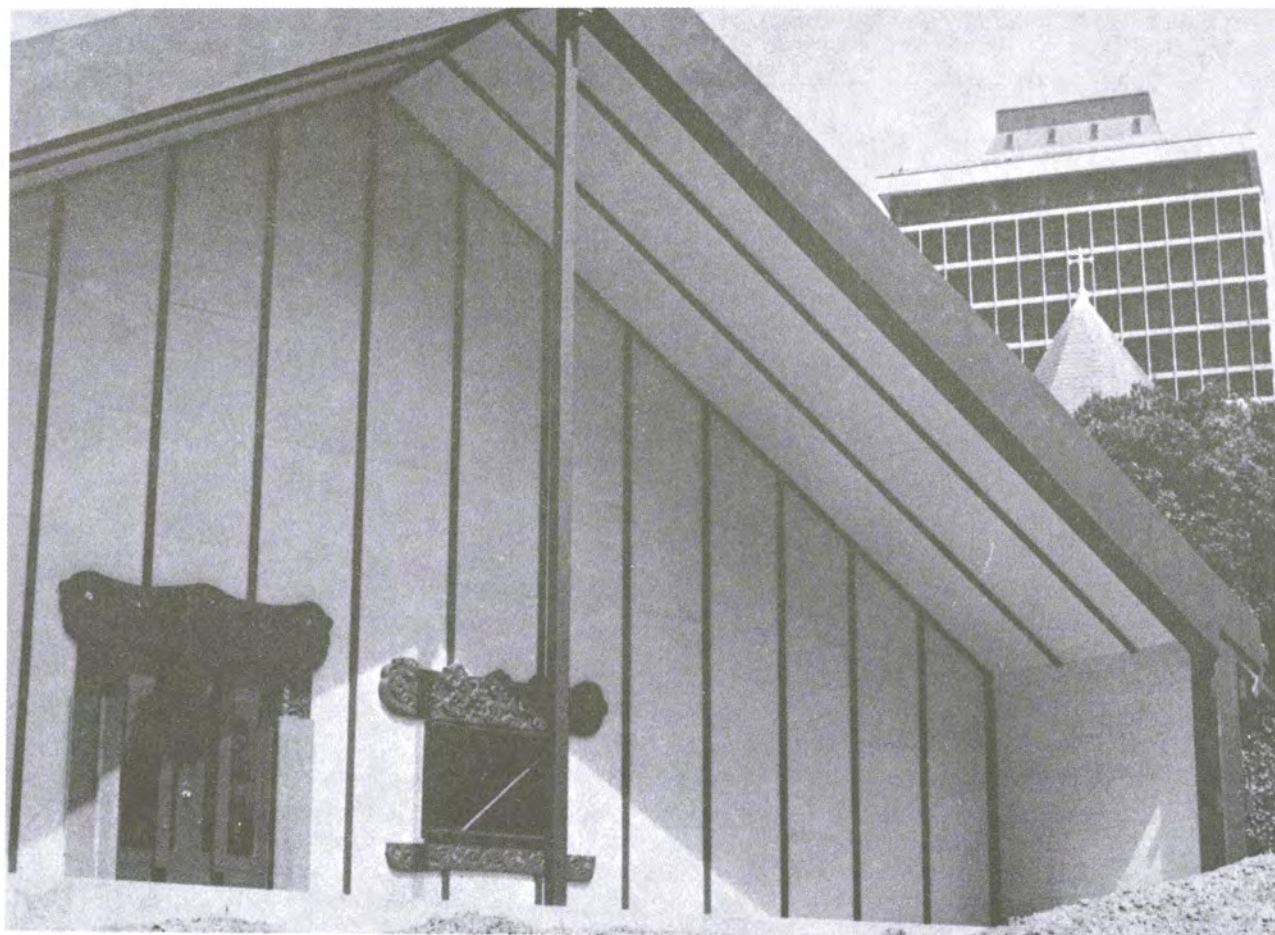
It is in areas where Māoris make up 40–50 percent of the community that the true dynamics of Māori-Pākehā interaction are most readily seen. For this reason I studied Māori urbanisation in Ōtara between 1967 and 1970. I had two main aims in mind. First, at the practical level, I wanted to discover the kinds of adjustments the migrants had to make to urban life. Second, at the deeper cultural level, I wanted to learn if the loss of Māoritanga would accelerate under urban conditions or whether the Māoris would succeed in maintaining their identity and cultural continuity with the past.

Ōtara is a housing estate about 25 km from Auckland city. It was built by the Ministry of Works in the 1960s to house people most affected by the housing shortage at the time. These were people displaced by urban-renewal programmes, low-income families, and migrants to the city.

Close to 40 percent of Ōtara were Māoris. They were clearly aware of their minority-group status. This awareness was a mixture of such factors as the physically obvious ethnic traits of brown skin and dark hair combined with early upbringing in predominantly Māori rural communities, their connections with a marae and tribal territory, and varying degrees of familiarity with Māori language and customs. These people were clearly Māori. In no sense were they culturally divided and ashamed of their identity. Pākehās seldom appreciate how far migrant Māoris in the city are committed to maintaining their Māori identity. At work, at church, in their leisure activities, or in the shared social space of a housing estate they take positive steps to identify with other Māoris.

During times of crisis associated with birth,





death or marriage, the first resort Māoris have in cities is to kinsmen. People with sufficient kin in the city organise themselves into family clubs and benevolent associations to give each other mutual support. At the smallest workable level an extended family in Ōtara whose members could be brought together for special occasions used the home of the kaumātua as a 'mini-marae'. The sitting room was turned into a

whare puni (sleeping-house-cum-meeting-house) by removing the furniture and putting down mattresses. Cooking for 25–30 people was done outdoors, and a double garage furnished with trestle tables served as a dining hall.

The largest kinship organisations are sub-tribal and tribal ones. These now exist in all the major cities and provide an important link with Māori cultural traditions. Members band

together to return bodies of dead relatives to their home marae for burial. They may also come together for festive occasions such as twenty-first birthdays and weddings. As they put roots down in the city these groups complete the cycle of cultural adaptation by building urban marae or community centres. It is no accident that Māori culture clubs are strongest in the cities, and that there are more, and larger, marae building projects in cities than in the country.

Not all Māoris however have kinsmen readily available in cities. For those without kin, the vacuum is filled by voluntary associations. These include Māori churches (Rātana and Ringatū) and Māori sections of the major religions. The Ōtara Māori Catholic Society for instance raised money for educational, cultural and sporting activities. Eventually it built the Whaiora Marae with a fully carved meeting house, a dining hall, committee rooms, and a general-purpose hall. A marae is normally the property of a kin-group, but one with religion as its backbone is an urban alternative for multi-tribal groups.

Other forms of voluntary associations include Māori culture clubs, sports clubs, welfare committees, the Māori Wardens Association, and the Māori Women's Welfare League. There was even a Māori darts club listed among the 23 Māori organisations in Ōtara. All these associations exhibit a concern to maintain Māori identity, values, and customs in the city.

One of the primary concerns of Māori voluntary associations is social control over their members, and their constitutions set out the obligations and rights of members. The associations that concern themselves with welfare draw up guidelines for good conduct, home management, and family responsibility. Māori committees, welfare leagues, and wardens

certainly carried out mediatory functions in Ōtara. They helped solve problems arising between family and school, attempted to curb excessive drinking in hotels and generally co-operated with agencies of the State such as police or social welfare.

At the practical level, most Māoris in Ōtara made satisfactory adjustments to urban living. They had jobs, they met their financial commitments and generally fitted in with the system. A survey of 100 households revealed that 90 were single family units. Small houses and confined space made it difficult to continue the extended family, except in a modified form such as the mini-marae described earlier. So the norm was a single family unit to a single dwelling, with each family responsible for its own economic well-being. Most households were well furnished and equipped with modern home appliances (95 had a TV, 89 a refrigerator, and 83 a washing machine). This new-found prosperity of course was more apparent than real since the goods were rarely bought for cash.

Inevitably some families got into financial difficulties. About 5 percent were subjected to judgment summonses and their goods were repossessed. For families in this predicament, particularly those without kinsmen to help them, the voluntary associations had an important role. Thus the Māori Women's Welfare League operated a 'distress cupboard', and a system of emergency payments to provide food for destitute families. The Māori committee and church groups gave advice on budgeting and general welfare matters.

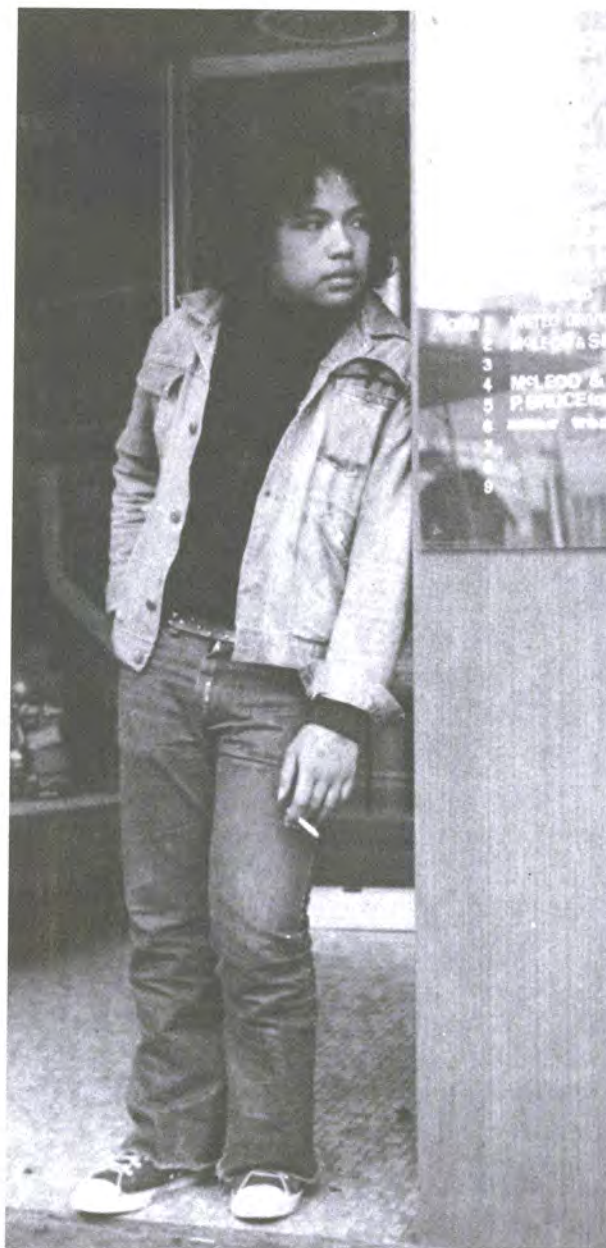
Although urban Māori society exhibits cultural continuity with the rural and tradition-oriented past, the cultural losses that had started with European contact continued. There are now



many Māoris who cannot speak their language or have little knowledge of Māori traditions and customs. The high degree of intermarriage between Māori and Pākehā has contributed to weakening the cultural ties. Almost half the marriages made by Māoris in Auckland in 1960 were to Pākehās. Since the process of intermixture between Māori and Pākehā goes back to the last century there are many Māoris who cannot be readily identified by physical features alone. The most decisive way a Māori can be distinguished from a non-Māori is for a person to say he is a Māori.

Urban transformation has exacted a high price from the city-born offspring of the migrants. Without grandparents and elders the traditional teachers and minders of children in the extended family arrangement, the urban family unit is culturally cut off and disorganised. Financial commitments can strain the resources of a husband and wife to breaking point. Some resolve their difficulties by both partners going out to work. With no parents to receive them, children are left to their own devices after school. The street is their playground where they learn to become street-wise and aware of the existence of gangs. Without elders or grandparents to instruct them about things Māori, the city-born grow up in a world different from that of their migrant parents. They know they are stuck with minority status as Māoris, but they know little or nothing about Māori values and pride in their cultural heritage.

School is a middle-class institution of west-European origin. Māori children are bewildered by the lack of sensitivity to their need to know themselves and to come to terms with their identity. Few of them have been instructed in such elementary things as their tribal name and



their ancestral canoe, or the fabulous doings of their ancestors, and the culture hero Māui. Their parents, without their elders, have failed them; and school fails them. Because few teachers understand them they feel left out. Lack of success, or opportunity to succeed at things they are good at, makes school an unpleasant place from which they withdraw as soon as they turn 15.

Over 76 percent leave school with no recognised qualification. They swell the number of the growing brown proletariat—the new outcasts of urban society. The social position of these outcasts is evident in the high rate of Māori juvenile offending. By their seventeenth birthday 40 percent of the boys and almost 17 percent of the girls have appeared in the Children's Court at least once. In 1976 of the 4600 people in prison, 2000 were Māori, more than 40 percent of the total.

In 1970 Māori gangs signalled their presence in New Zealand society with an outbreak of violence in South Auckland. Māori youths, like their parents before them, sought resolution of their social needs in voluntary association. They banded together for security and protection in what seemed a hostile environment: they felt that safety in numbers would protect them from police harassment, insults from Pākehās, or attack from other gangs. The gangs adopted uniforms with patches on their denim jackets proclaiming their identity.

As with any organisation the gangs established their own hierarchy and code of conduct. The names they assumed—the Stormtroopers, Mongrels, and Niggs—symbolised their marginal status in society. The gangs of this period were basically fluid organisations that came together at night or in the weekend. Eventually they were



channelled into harmless leisure pursuits or socially useful activities. In the Western Districts, Sunday dances were organised for gangs at Te Atatū by the Māori Committee. At Ōtara the Stormtroopers were invited to a meeting of the Auckland District Māori Council which arranged for dances in their area. They were also invited to a Young Māori Leadership Conference at Auckland University. Some of their members helped form Ngā Tamatoa, a Māori activist group that fought for the introduction of Māori language into both primary and secondary schools. The Stormtroopers even came to be seen as 'good guys' when they organised a rock concert to raise funds for Queen Victoria Girls' School. The gangs then became quiet for the next 7 years.

In 1978 the gangs re-emerged, the most prominent being the Mongrels, Headhunters, and Black Power. It is clear that high levels of unemployment have contributed to this second wave of gang activity. Recruitment begins in the middle teen years when boys drop out of school. The older ones in their twenties introduce them to gang activities such as drinking, frequenting pubs, 'scoring' women, parties, and generally 'hanging out'. The age range of these gangs is much wider than those of 1970. Some are even in their mid-thirties. Clearly gang membership for some has become a way of life instead of a passing phase before entering adulthood and taking on the responsibilities of family living.

Although the name Black Power drawn from the American scene has political overtones, so far, there is no political thrust in the gang movement. At present the gangs are mainly concerned with protecting their territory—with arms if necessary; and revenging attacks on other gangs. In this respect they regard the police as



just another gang that interferes with their activities. Even when gangs go about harmless peaceful pursuits, such as a convention on a marae called by responsible Māori leaders to relate them to Māoritanga, they are subject to police observation by 'shadow' patrols. One such patrol was brought to a halt by gang retaliation. The police car was smashed and the policemen assaulted.

Failure to understand gangs has created white paranoia: the gangs are seen as a Māori revolutionary front; a recruiting ground for urban guerillas. The current police response is to keep close watch on gangs and to arrest them for unlawful assembly, especially when there is an outbreak of fighting at hotels. As recently as March 1979 police arrested 108 gang members in Auckland on a charge of unlawful assembly after a gang brawl. The 39 Mongrels and 69 Black Power rivals were charged at 2 separate sittings of the Magistrate's Court and the cases adjourned. Whether this increases respect or contempt for the law remains to be seen.

In the transformation which took place in the 25 years after World War II, the urban Māori met the dual challenge of adapting to the demands of the urban industrial system and successfully transplanting their culture into the urban centres. But the first and second generations born in the city face a new crisis of identity. It manifests itself in gang and anti-social behaviour.

The next task facing the early migrants is to wrest some of the power from the Pākehā in the hierarchy of New Zealand's social institutions and transform them from monocultural to multicultural ones. This challenge was taken up at the beginning of the sixties for education, and gathered momentum in the seventies. Today, the

Māori language is taught in both primary and secondary schools to at least a quarter of all pupils.

It is hoped this shift towards cultural pluralism is more than superficial. That it will not be too little too late. The Department of Māori Affairs has been transformed by Māori people themselves. It is more responsive to Māori needs than it was even 2 years ago. The same task has to be accomplished with other institutions such as the Department of Justice, the Department of Social Welfare, the Police Department, and the Public Service in general. It is a formidable task. Success will depend on Māoris acquiring the knowledge and skills to work in them and bring about changes from within.

There is a tremendous inertia in bureaucratic systems so what has been accomplished by the efforts of one generation is encouraging. If the momentum continues New Zealand may become a model of the new multicultural society. If it falters, then New Zealand may very well in the next 20 years follow the route of urban violence charted by America.



Urbanisation has brought many changes. One of them has been the role of women in Māori society. Tilly Te Koingo Reedy picks up the challenge thrown out by Rangi Walker. She believes that Māori women hold the key to influence the future—if they have a mind to use it.

Tilly Reedy, a curriculum officer with the Department of Education, was on secondment to the Planning Council during 1979. Her main concern is for those who face a dead-end in the cities; for those who do not share the privileged position of other women; for those who cannot draw on a Māori strength for support.

The response to such a situation calls for the establishment of personal goals. Tilly Reedy has several on her list. The first step must be to learn to love again. Next is the need for a positive self-image reflected in pride in one's appearance, and to care for one's health. She stresses the need for economic success so that Māoris can afford to express their taha Māori. She offers some of her Māori values as a possible salvation.



The Māori in the Future: A Woman's View

Tilly Reedy

When we the Māori turn to discuss our future it is vital that the women make their voices heard. Have we not always had the power to influence our men? Our whakatauki proclaim this:

He wahine, he whenua Women and land
E ea ai te pakanga Are the causes of war

There is also the Pākehā saying 'The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.' If these sayings are true then we hold the key to influence the future. If they are true, we have a lot to answer for and a lot of hard work to help ourselves and our children into the future.

As a girl growing up in Hiruharama on the East Coast, I never imagined that one day I would move away from the roots of my strongly Māori environment to live in a city. I never thought that I would be involved with Māori affairs, educationally and socially, at the national level. It happened because my parents gave their time and their love to help Tamati and me further our Pākehā qualifications so that their grandchildren would have a future in this land.

I know how lucky I am that as a woman of the Ngāti Porou tribe I know my roots, my identity and those strands of my life that no one can take from me—my Māori influences. They link me

with my tribe—with those who have passed on and those that are to come. They highlight the extended family ties that support me, my eight children, and our grandchildren.

This Māoriness, which is at once a strength, can also be my greatest obstacle. It can give me mental agonies, but I have learnt to come to terms with it, to adapt and to adjust my urban Wellington life to fit into those values which I bring from my Māori source, my Māori beginnings. In my own home, for instance, the men are always served before the women.

What will I take into the future with me? First I would take my belief in a spiritual force greater than myself. It gives me strength and stops me from going under. I am reassured that no matter how black the day, it will pass and the light will shine again. Perhaps one of the reasons for the gang phenomenon we have today is their lack of spiritual strength. Dare one suggest that they group together to counter the mental and emotional violence they experience in the society we have created for them? Can we escape this criticism?

I also believe that my ancestors are always there as part of the environment of this spiritual force, yet quite separate and identifiable. This

enables me to be protected by them. However, I realise that in today's society there are many who cannot draw on these strengths. Many women have had to bring up their children in a setting where their links with the past were no longer available. Instead there was television, work, housie, and the pub. No old people nearby to pick up the young. No spare hands to help with the jobs. No one for the kids to talk to. Just the fragments of a Pākehā world that shouted at them from the 'box'.

This world, as I see it, is a world of paradoxes. On the one hand individual rights are glorified, and on the other we are told we should care more for others. The fact is most people nowadays see themselves as individuals nurtured in an individualistic society. It takes money to do something for others and it is easier simply to mouth philanthropy because words are cheap!

Paradoxes can also create conflict in a world of differing cultural obligations—Māori or Western. Often the choice is not easy. For instance, do we go to my grandfather's tangi tonight or wait till the weekend? If we wait, the children will get their schooling but we miss the funeral. If we go tonight, the children will miss their school exams but our taha Māori is satisfied.

Also, what about the conflict between what I want to take into the future with me and what I will be allowed to take? At what point do I make a stand? How far do I allow myself to be compromised? In a democracy, so I am told, we can all have a say and our opinions should count. Will my voice be heard? The political reality is that a democracy can breed an elite group who stand apart with the power of wealth and decision-making in their hands. They can be found anywhere, even in Māoridom! Graham Latimer, President of the New Zealand Māori Council, reminded us of this when he repeated the advice given to him by his kaumātua: 'The only successful leader is the one who arrives at his destination with his people beside him—never on his own.' Leadership therefore is an important consideration for us at this time.

What do I look for in a leader? The person, man or woman, must be someone I can trust; someone who will be honest; someone who will research the facts, encourage discussion, and make a decision when required. Someone who listens and is able to offer alternatives when this is required. Someone who is sensitive to the group that he or she leads. Someone who gives a helping hand when it is needed and a kick in the right place when that is needed. Someone I am willing to follow.

An alternative path for leadership is to gather a group of experts who can influence the system. For this we should educate ourselves about the political pressure points and harness our talents in a co-operative way. This would prepare us for a future we can control. We must learn about western politics, high finance, and professional lobbying. Without political power we are nothing. We must develop the social and political skills and talents in our groups, but we must not



leave them there. We must move up and out to where the decisions are made. Quite simply, it means being more political and getting more involved.

We must also build up an economic security, an economic strength, and an economic stability. Without these things we are nothing. We should rise above the belief that to be well-off is contrary to the best Māori traditions. Rubbish! It is only by being materially well-off that we can indulge in our taha Māori.

Today the women in Māori society must speak up and reach out to touch and influence other groups, other organisations, and other people. We have always had the power to influence our men, though tradition decreed we stand behind them. Today we should not stand in their shadow, but with them. We need to be seen up front with them, adding our voice to theirs. When they move, we move forward with them. Strength can only come with this sharing. For me this can only be possible if our men recognise and accept the contribution we women can make to Māori society.

What is it to be a Māori woman in New Zealand society today? Well, whatever it is, we should never allow ourselves to be token gestures—token women, token Māori. We are only as token as we allow ourselves to be, so we must do our homework and be up with the play. We can be doubly disadvantaged or twice as good; it is up to us. If we think that being a Māori woman is a double disadvantage then we have lost the race before we start. However, if we believe that being a Māori woman is to be doubly endowed, that we have something special to contribute not only to the Māori world but to New Zealand society generally, then we create a positive role for ourselves.

There will be conflicts which we as women, and we as Māori, must resolve. Some decisions will come easily; others will not be so clear cut. It will help if we are true to ourselves and act according to what we are most comfortable with at the time. If in looking back we remain comfortable then we have added another dimension, another decision to our lifestyle. I think you should find your equilibrium in one aspect of your life at a time. Establish a point of security and build on it. When we are secure in one particular social context, only then are we more free to explore our identity beyond it. A basic need for human beings is a sense of belonging.

The 1976 Census figures reveal a big drop in the birth rate, but on average Māori families are still larger than European families. Since the average Māori parent earns less and has a larger family than a non-Māori the stress factor is compounded. Many of us experience difficulty in coping with day-to-day life let alone preparing for our future and those of our children. Our struggle is the same as for women everywhere, but we start from a weaker position—bigger families and lower incomes.

This economic pressure has forced Māori women, especially those in the cities, to take a job so that their families can live more comfortably. The tragedy is that we return to work without the extended family support, and often at a time when our children are most dependent on us. Juvenile crime has risen steadily. The numbers of Māori women admitted to psychiatric hospitals has increased sharply. Today, the responsibility on women, Māori women, is greater than it has ever been.

We must learn to love again because we will need a lot of love to survive the tomorrows that



are to come. We need to learn to care for ourselves before we can begin to try with others. We need to believe in ourselves as women, as Māori, as people. A positive self-image is the first requirement. We need to care for our health and

for our appearance. We must learn to listen, to understand, and to be tolerant of others. We have to accept also the responsibility to teach tolerance. We must try to broaden our activities and encourage families to go out together again.



We must break down the barriers created by society that make it impossible to go to some places with our children and our grandchildren.

No one can tell us what the future holds but we can at least make an attempt to decide what it is we as a people want to take into the future with us. The colour of our skin as an identification could become less important. But right now it could be used to positive effect in a non-white world by the New Zealand Government. What about Māori representation in 'black' countries, third-world countries, on South Pacific commissions and at international conferences?

Whatever it is you decide to take with you into the future there is no doubt in my mind that I want to take my taha Māori with me. The many facets of my Māoritanga are so much a part of me that I could not divest myself of them even if I wanted to. These traditional values can also provide us with an escape route from our suburban struggle to suburban survival. What are some of these values?

Te Reo Māori. Our language can be revived and maintained but it will only be as important as we allow it. What about compulsory Māori language for all Māori—especially those seeking assistance as Māori? No salving our conscience by making Māori compulsory for our children and not for us! No English language at a formal function on a marae or other Māori occasion!

Te Whenua. Land structures will change with a possibility of reverting back to common ownership. But what about the beliefs and values associated with land? I believe we are only caretakers of our family lands and that no law has the right, under the guise of uneconomic shares, to take that role from us. However, we do not have the right, either, to sell this role.

Whanaungatanga. Extended family links are a very real strength and the need for this support system, especially in the cities, is clear. This need will increase with continued economic recession and unemployment.

Manaakitanga. To be courteous, to respect people and to offer hospitality is a human need that industrial urbanisation has highlighted. This we must retain and maintain. Community involvement and decision-making is an area that we as people have been involved with for centuries. The return to this level of government gives us an opportunity to lead, and to offer an expertise learnt from practice and not theory. Beware of the book writer and the speech maker who become instant experts at your expense!

Aroha. Aroha is an overworked and misunderstood concept. Often in the past and very likely into the future this word will be used as a whip on the Māori back. Misuse of this word is a result of our lack of responsibility to teach the rule of reciprocity on which aroha flourishes. Aroha is not something anyone can expect to command from others because they imagine it's their right. To accept and enjoy the loving, the sharing, the caring of aroha means you give back a little more that you received. This keeps the networks alive and functioning. The acceptance of aroha in any shape or form places one unequivocally under obligation to that person, that family, that group. Perhaps it is not too late for us to spell out the meaning of aroha, more especially the obligation and responsibility that go with it. This applies to governments and their departments as well. No one should expect God in the world-to-come to be the only one to hand out the rewards. That is our responsibility in this world also.

Te Marae. The marae for me is the last bastion against annihilation of my taha Māori. So, given a choice, I would choose this because it not only embodies all the above and many more of the facets of my taha Māori but also much that is immeasurable. It will be a physical reminder of my identity, my roots. The marae will be my tūrangawaewae, my strength, but if our culture is to survive into the future then we must entrust the information to our young. We will teach them te-kawa-o-te-marae—the disciplines, the roles, the structures, and acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Time has changed, and will continue to change, the shape of the marae and its functions, but whatever the changes, these can be with our co-operation, and with the knowledge and understanding of our young. Sources for the upkeep and maintenance of every marae must be part of its plans to ensure its future and avoid the resentment of our coming generations.

What sort of future do I want for myself, for my family, for all of us? I can only answer for myself. I would like a future where people will accept me for what I am—a woman, a Māori, a member of the Ngāti Porou tribe of New Zealand; accept me for my differences as much as for my similarities; respect me and what is mine, my differences as much as my similarities; recognise that I am human with all the strengths and weaknesses of a human being; concede that my spiritual beliefs, my need for my taha Māori and all that that embodies, cannot be separated from me.

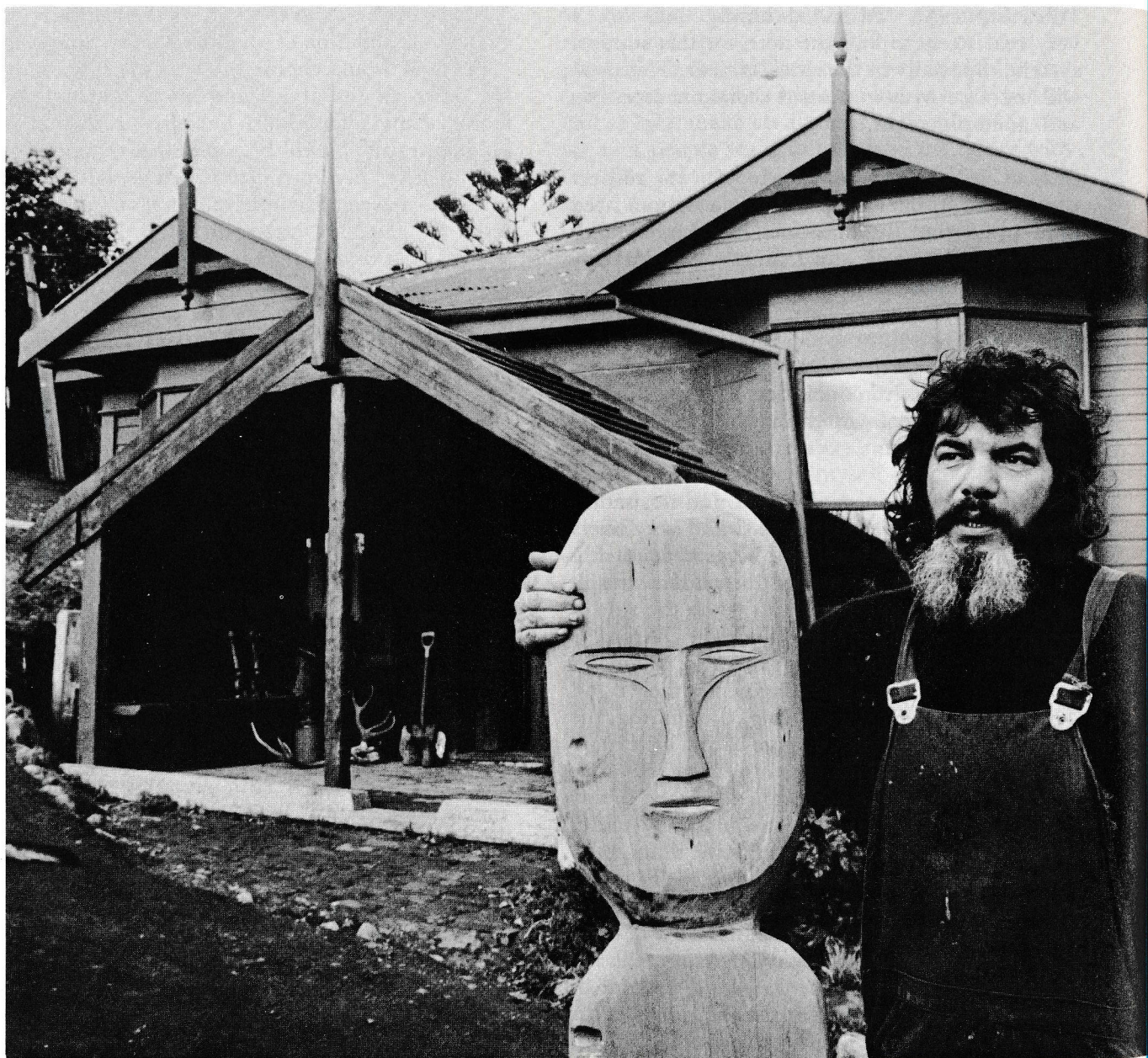
What I ask for in my future are those things that I am most willing to give—to accept and respect people for what they are and not what I would like them to be.



It may well be that the solutions put forward so far will not reach some of the groups who resent the system and who show this in anti-social or criminal behaviour. In his introduction Paul Reeves reminded us that Māoridom accepts what you have to offer. This has been the basic philosophy of those working with the gangs and urban drop-outs. One such person is Bruce Stewart, founder of a self-help marae, Taputeranga, at Island Bay near Wellington.

Bruce Stewart's article reveals a stark picture of where the young Māori people are at; it echoes Rangi Walker's warnings and Tilly Reedy's concerns. No economic security; no aroha; no identity; unable to cope—gang groupings offering security. Through his Taputeranga Trust, Bruce Stewart offers some answers and gives us hope for the future. In practical terms dislocated youth are taught self-help and given back the dignity to pull themselves up by their bootstraps—but first he gives them the boots!

Bruce sees aroha and a long hard haul as the main ingredients for a successful co-operative. His message is clear. If you ask anyone to give up something you must offer something better. Never expect anyone to give up something for nothing. Therein lies the problem: therein lies the answer.



He Pō! He Pō! Ka Awatea!: Darkness! Darkness! Daylight!

Bruce Stewart

Today very few of our people are strong and have a firm belief. We're a people in darkness who don't see very much, who are limited to a small space. It's probably because so many of our people have been put down hard, really hard, and now there's no spirituality, no family strength, no culture, no economic base. There are very few strong ones left, and our kids don't have an example to live up to. So we must dedicate ourselves to teaching the little ones in darkness, to help them understand and see much wider.

From what I've seen in 5 years at Taputeranga I reckon it's the girls that have the toughest time, especially the ones with little children. They have a hell of a tough time and have to put up with a lot of hardship. They won't go home because there's probably nothing there, so there has to be a place for them.

The young girls are the hardest to deal with. They tell lies, thieve, are pretty useless in the house, and a lot of them can't have babies—they can't conceive. The terror the little ones go through. That's what I mean by darkness—there's no life, no love, nothing. They can't even have children because they're in darkness.

Ask the boys and they'll tell you they're not

going to have kids, they're going to look after Number One. Maybe it's God's way to wipe out some of our lines. The women aren't having any more children, the men don't want children, just a good time, so the roots are severed.

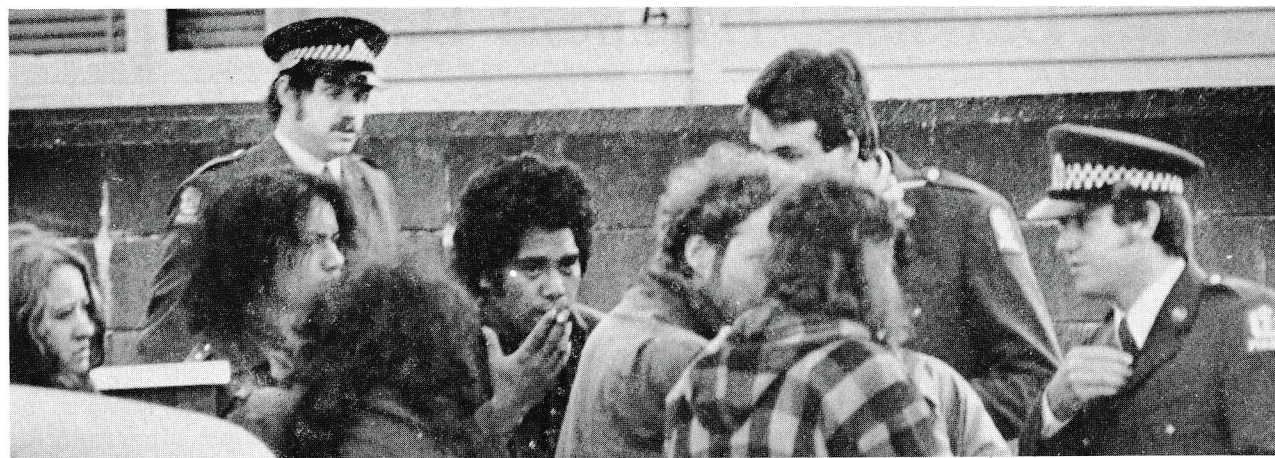
We need aroha. Aroha! That to me is the essence of Māoritanga. It's not the language, not the land, not the buildings, but to love and share and mean it truthfully. The way of love is the longest way and the best way, but it's also the hardest way. If we're going to teach aroha then we've got to set an example. Short cuts like bashing people up, putting them in prison, giving them a hiding, are so much easier. It's much harder to put in time and effort—to wash dishes, to talk to people. I believe that with a lot of aroha the people will grow strong and everything else will fall into place. The buildings will get built, the language and the culture will be learnt. But don't let's romanticise that it's all loving and sharing in Māoridom. There are some who don't want to share. It's a power game to them and they don't want to lose their power; there's no real love there. To me, if we want to teach aroha we've got to set an example.

The boys work harder at Taputeranga than they did for any boss because there's a lot of

aroha around here. They all have a share in the place. Some of the young people come from the country. You would think that they would come with the teachings from home, but in fact they don't. Others come from some of our best families. There are two here—their eyes are wide open. They see and they know why they're disillusioned with society. They can't fit into any niche, but they're searching, so they come here. Kids want to know what's over the horizon, but if they have no example, no one to lead them or show them how to do things, what happens? I'll tell you.

Our kids are smart, smarter than us. They do very well for themselves. 'Man, you don't have to work. We do all right cashing a dole cheque, pinching gear, spending the dole on dope. We've got a cool pad, got a good stereo. What's the system got to beat that?' You can't tell me that's stupid. That's clever. They're dead—but they're clever!

It's very hard to convince someone who can live better than you without working his guts out that there is another way. It's very hard to convince them because in a lot of cases we've become dependent on handouts and social security all our lives until now we're dead. And



because we're dead on our feet we're bringing our children up to be social security cripples. That's the example we've given them. They'll never be warriors unless we show them a new way of life with love. Our kids are looking for something to believe in, but they have to be actually shown it to believe in it.

So, I've started something new here at Taputeranga for these young people who are searching and fighting for their survival, for the new ones coming up, especially the babies. It's hard to worry about the dead ones. Here we have our own family house, our own spirituality, our own marae. I had to leave the established hapū—it's too much, too big, too dead. There are too many power games going on. My tribe means nothing to my children and my grandchildren, because they haven't been brought up on our tribal land. So what I've got to do is to set an example here with new rules, new kawa. For me the institutions and structures are not the essential part. In order to live the values important to me I have had to remove myself

from those old structures. So we have our own marae, our own structure—one that suits our way of living.

We had to get back to Mother Earth too—to the belief that she has mana and she supplies us. We have established a strong economic base, because one of the essentials is to do most of the things for ourselves. We grow our own food, and if we don't get any jobs—so what?—we can still live. In the old days you had to get your seeds in so you could live. Well, it's the same today. We've got to get our seeds in to live. Gardens were quite normal for our people, but now there aren't any. There's no living off the land. To grow vegies is a whole life study. Some people pooh-pooh the idea, but we've got to keep our children in touch with nature—the worms in the soil, the first harvest. We've got to learn to help ourselves because that's not only good for us, but it's good for the country as a whole. We have to teach our young people that hot water doesn't just come out of the tap, they must pay for it not by social security but by what they can

contribute. A lot of our kids are missing out on nature and on making a contribution, because we aren't teaching them anything.

Here at Taputeranga the boys have to think, act, and contribute as part of our community. We're a co-operative. We talk things through, make decisions, allocate responsibility gradually. Our people like to talk things through and be given responsibility, but they have to earn the responsibility, earn the respect, earn the love—even the leader.

We as a people need a leader we can trust. Everyone can have a talk but in the end the leader makes the decision. All the gangs are like that. The leader decides, and if he's wrong he won't get away with it. He's got to be in an honest frame of mind, honest to the cause, and if he is, he won't make a wrong decision. I can't find better friends than the boys here, they're honest, and they're staunch. If I fall my boys will pick me up or stand for me.

Our young ones want a leader, that's why you get gangs. The gang leader can tell them, 'Go and get some toilet paper and wipe my bum', and the boys will do it because they have to. But the publicity the gangs get doesn't help those boys. If you're in a gang and you're nobody and somebody shouts you an aeroplane trip and dinner at Bellamy's, suddenly you're somebody—names in the paper and all that. Those boys love *Truth*, they want to see if they've made it. If the whole country knows about it they feel really good. Sensationalism makes it for those boys—'role playing' they call it.

In the cities there are a lot of well-intentioned people who fail to help our kids. The people in charge of the handouts and the temporary work schemes don't really know what the kids are up against because they've never been unemployed,

and they haven't the background of these kids. So the kids are conning and fleecing the very people who want to help them. There are some people who are helping our dislocated youth—mostly women, hardly any men. Women like Julia up the Wanganui, doing good things for our boys, looking after them and getting them jobs. She's a great woman. But there are a lot of others coming to this type of work, especially Pākehās but some Māori people too. They try to put their coat on to the other person, you know, trying to make it fit without listening to the other person's point of view. I hate that, I really hate it.

For instance, I can't expect the kids to like my kind of music, just as they can't expect me to like theirs. When they have it on all the time, I tell them 'You're forcing, you're forcing.' You see, we have to make way for one another. The extreme is when someone says, 'You've got to be like this, you've got to be like that. Now will you sign a truce? Now everything will be all right. Now shake hands.' That's nonsense!

If you give up something you've got to have something else to take its place. That's one of the most important things to remember. If you ask anyone to give up something you must replace it with something better. Never expect anyone to give up something for nothing. You only throw something away because you've got something better. You can't just sign a piece of paper and say I'm going to give up such and such. That's negative. You must have something better.

So I suggest that we ought to be supporting those people who are already doing things on their own. We don't need to start more government-run things. We have to teach the young ones who are willing. Give our expertise to help them. They need meaning for what they do.



Everyone knows about the importance of land to the Māori. This is not to say that land is not important to others. Bruce Stewart showed us that even in the detribalised urban situation land can be the one link that can count.

The loss of land, the loss of a tūrangawaewae brought into focus the Bastion Point confrontation. Here was an enclave of prime real estate in the centre of Auckland's most affluent suburbs under dispute. The Ngāti Whātua of Ōrākei who reached a settlement with the Government received little publicity. More attention went to the protest camp and its final eviction.

Professor Hugh Kawharu, Anthropology Department, Massey University, is a member of the Ngāti Whātua tribe. He was, and still is, directly involved with the land at Ōrākei which is now held in perpetuity. He restates what Māori history reveals, that as a people they can lose their land, their tribal state or tūrangawaewae, through individual title. He firmly believes that a successful negotiation and settlement with the Crown was necessary in order to get Ngāti Whātua's tūrangawaewae back. This will enable the rebirth of Ngāti Whāuatanga in our largest city.

Bruce Stewart has a plan in action in Wellington. Hugh Kawharu offers a similar plan for Ngāti Whātua in Auckland—land as a tūrangawaewae.

A fuller version of this article is available from the New Zealand Planning Council (see page 80).



Land as a Tūrangawaewae: Ngāti Whātua's Destiny at Ōrākei

Hugh Kawharu

The history of the Ngāti Whātua of Ōrākei over this past century is typical of the fate that can befall a tribal group when titles to its landed estate pass to individuals. By the 1970s the bulk of the community knew little or nothing of their origins, their language, or their lore. At Ōrākei, Ngāti Whātua had no land, no marae, and no identity save that given them by the mortal remains of their relatives and ancestors lying at rest in the Ōkahu Bay urupā.

Now, however, they have title to land with individuals able to claim the right to use it on proof of lineage; and the whole is grounded in a statute—protected trusteeship. It may not be much, but it is enough to give them back their identity and their self respect: a tūrangawaewae upon which they and their children may resolve the problems of being Ngāti Whātua in a Pākehā world and so find a richer, more creative life.

This discussion is thus about the rebirth of Ngāti Whātuatanga in the Ōrākei hapū. It is not an article of protest but a personal perspective. It is not the statement of a kaumātua but a sketch of cause and effect as seen by one who belongs. Nevertheless, that there might be something more to be said about Bastion Point itself justifies a preliminary explanation.

While the media did their best with the facts as they saw them, Bastion Point will be remembered as a prize example of the folly in assuming that one can understand, interpret, or even report Māori issues in terms of Pākehā categories of thought and action. For Māori owners, land is now as it has always been, part and parcel of tribal and sub-tribal politics. In the end, elders articulate the majority view; the idiom is Māori, the stage is the marae.

In 1977–78, the elders of the Ōrākei hapū were no exception to this. They felt under no obligation to give press conferences, submit to television interviews, write letters to newspapers, or explain themselves to anybody, least of all in English. In their view, their responsibility lay firstly with their people—to help shape opinions and reach a consensus. After that, they were determined to see their people's case presented to the Government. But in achieving this, they did not deem it necessary to enter the lists of political-party or local-body politics. Their adversary was simply the Crown. For it was the Crown that, at Waitangi, had guaranteed them undisturbed possession of their lands. It was the Crown that had given them inalienable title at Ōrākei. It was the Crown that had taken it away,

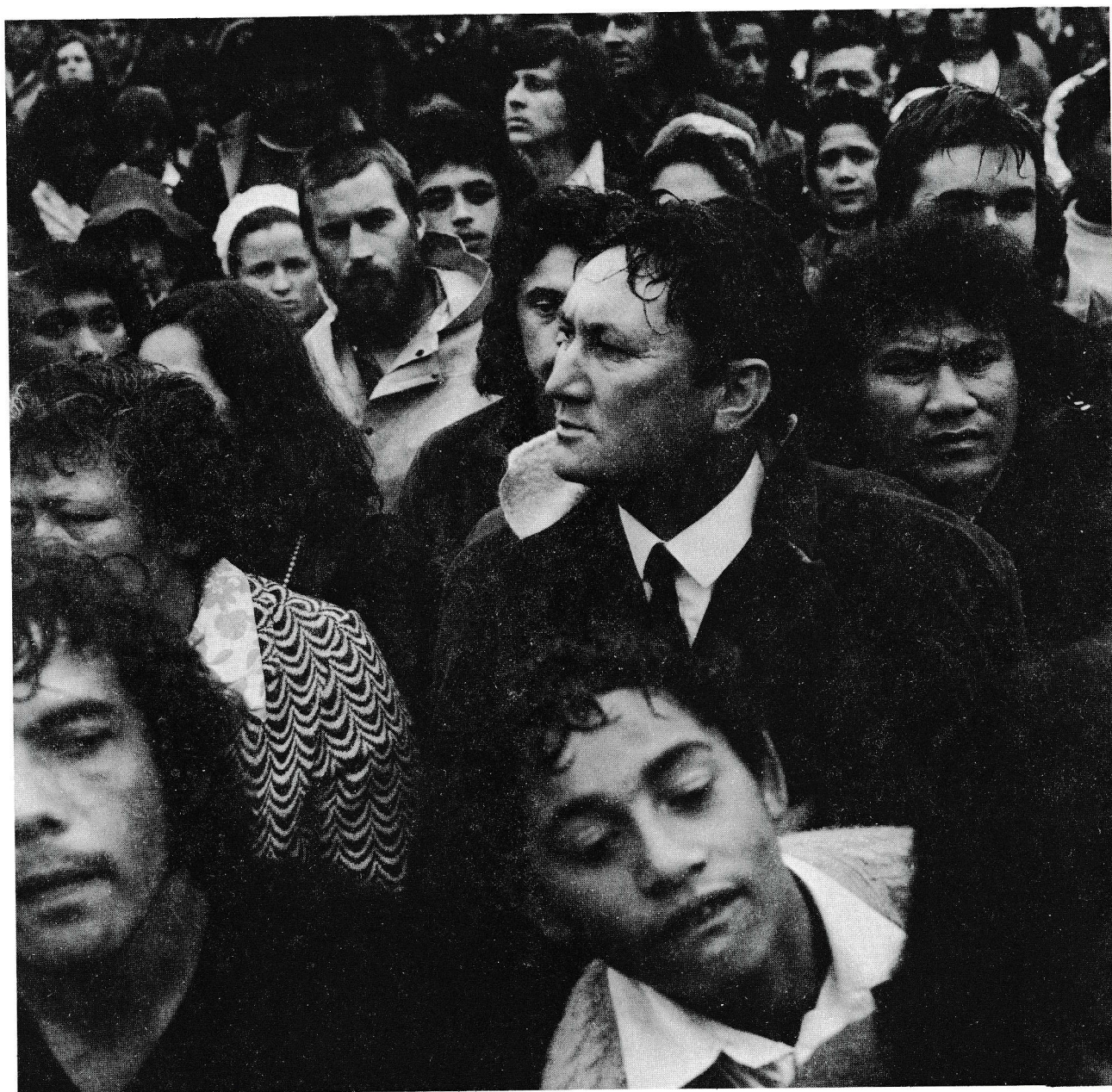
and so it was the Crown that was being asked to give it back. The matter was at once public and private; either way mana was on trial but with the enticing prospect of there being no losers.

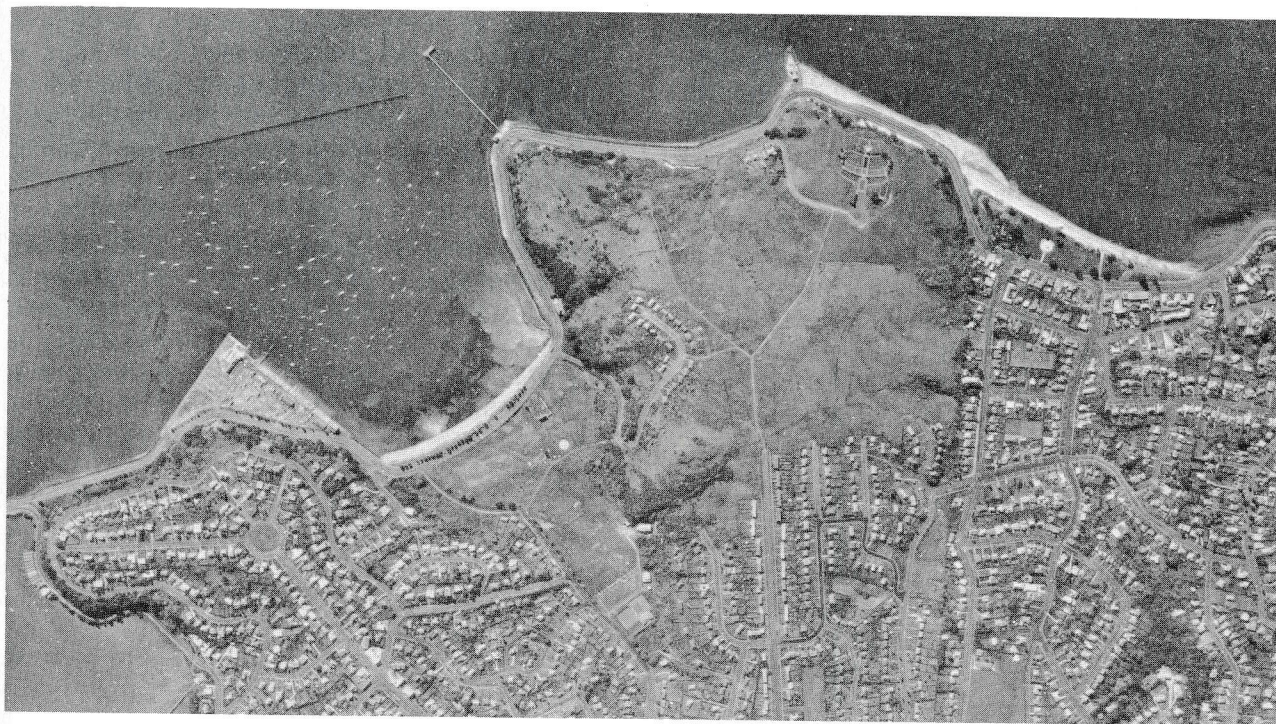
For the purpose of this volume, I would like to summarise the main historical threads in order to show that land, even in an urban setting, can offer a channel for rediscovery of Māori identity and tribal identity. First, the chronology of the claim is set out.

- 1740 Ngāti Whātua occupy Auckland Isthmus by right of conquest.
- 1868 Title of 280 hectare Ōrākei Block granted by the Māori Land Court to Te Taou, Ngāoho, and Te Uringutu hapū of Ngāti Whātua.
- 1873 By Crown grant—ownership of the land vested in the chief of these hapū, Apihai Te Kawau, and 12 others as trustees for Ngāti Whātua. Apihai was however already deceased and the law only provided for 10 trustees, not 13. Despite this anomaly the land was declared inalienable.
- 1882 Act passed which allowed for 42-year leases.

- 1898 Estate partitioned by the Court and the parts allocated to the trustees as beneficial owners.
- 1909 Native Land Act gave beneficial owners increased freedom to sell (despite finding of the Stout-Ngata Commission that the Court's partitioning was illegal and void).
- 1913–
- 1918 Bulk of land sold to the Crown.

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s attention focused on the papakāinga, the 16-or-so hectare Ōkahu Bay flat encompassing the marae, most of which had been sold. By now the full realisation of the consequences of their actions, and the actions of the elders, had become apparent to Ngāti Whātua, and in some desperation they appealed to the Crown for the return of this land. With their kinswoman Te Puea Hērangi, as their most ardent supporter and advocate, they promised the world at large a 'model village' at Ōkahu Bay. But the world at large was not interested. World War II intervened and when it was over the once sympathetic Labour Government was now seen to be out of sympathy with Ngāti Whātua's aspirations. In 1949 a National Government came to power but appeared to be even less sympathetic. And so Labour's plans to tidy up Ngāti Whātua's 'blot on the landscape' were in the end executed by a National Government. But such combination of responsibility mattered little to Ngāti Whātua; what did matter was that owners of freehold title and squatters were, in the 'public interest', parted from the last vestige of their tūrangawaewae. This extraordinary event, of barely a generation ago, but inconceivable in today's political climate, marks the nadir of Ngāti Whātua's fortunes in Tāmaki.





By the early 1950s, Te Taou, Ngāoho, and Te Uringutu hapū of Ngāti Whātua found themselves stripped of their land and stripped of their mana. Yet paradoxically they were still together. It was this that 25 years later made it possible for them to emerge again as a coherent group.

Before the 1950s ended, two organisations relevant to the Bastion Point debate of 1977–78 had made their appearance at Ōrākei. One was the Ōrākei Tribal Committee, the other the Ōrākei Marae Trust Board. The first (later to become the Ōrākei Māori Committee and later still to include a subcommittee on land known as the Action Group), was like all such committees, a statutory body elected triennially to assist

Māori people advance their welfare and cultural interests. Such a body, however, does not have the right to speak out on tribal land issues ahead of the actual owners, or former owners.

And the same underlying principle has at least as much relevance to the position of the Ōrākei Marae Trust Board. When the Crown took Ngāti Whātua's marae in 1951, it offered them an alternative site above and behind Kitemoana Street. But the elders rejected the offer outright. They held fast to the view that the sanctity of their traditional marae was irreplaceable. The Crown thereupon turned its offer into a reserve for the 'use and benefit of Māoris'; and in 1959 a board representing 'Māoris' was duly appointed

to administer it. Hence by no stretch of the imagination can the Ōrākei marae be regarded as a Ngāti Whātua marae, nor the Ōrākei Marae Trust Board as being comprised of only Ngāti Whātua trustees. Above all, the land is now, as it has been since 1913, Crown land.

Between 1957 and 1976, Bastion Point had been the subject of a number of planning exercises carried out at the instigation of successive governments. In September 1976 the Minister of Lands released plans for the use of 24 hectares for public reserves and housing; the latter being divided between private housing, Māori State housing, and a welfare trust home known as Youthline. The plans at once excited controversy among ratepayer and neighbourhood organisations, environmentalists, political parties, architects, religious bodies, and individuals. But none went as far or as fast as the land subcommittee of the Ōrākei Māori Committee (the Action Group) which reacted by setting up a camp as a mark of protest on part of the land designated for development. This committee was led by a Matakite activist, Joe Hawke, whose mother had once been a beneficiary in the papakāinga. It had mobilised support from most of the Ngāti Whātua in Ōrākei by the end of the year to claim for the return of ancestral land wrongfully taken in the past.

The elders and former owners made their specific requests to the Crown for the return of certain areas. After acknowledging the Action Group for their stand the elders suggested they be allowed to press for the official answer. It was at this point that the split emerged between the two factions. The point at issue was whether land was to be regarded as a political end in itself—a platform for machismo and for agitators; or

whether it was to be regarded as a means to an end, namely to regain tūrangawaewae and Ngāti Whātua identity. If it was to be the latter, then a clear distinction had to be made between land that had been freely sold and land that had been taken, lest by asking for the return of the first as well as the second, Ngāti Whātua should lose both.

In short, there had to be a consensus, which at the very least included the former owners and the elders. Accordingly, Ngāti Whātua's trauma in the early months of 1977 arose not from outside, but from within their ranks. In the end, more than 90 percent of the community in Ōrākei, plus those entitled to live there while domiciled elsewhere, chose to adhere to the principles embedded in tūrangawaewae rather than support the militant intransigence of the Action Group. What was seen to be at stake was not so much land, as Ngāti Whātuatanga; the very existence of the Ngāti Whātua hapū of Ōrākei as a social and cultural entity.

The main body of Ngāti Whātua and the Action Group were not the only Māori people to put ideas to the Government by word or deed. The Ōrākei Marae Trust Board produced a massive document at a public meeting on its marae in March. The Board, having already acquired capital assets worth more than \$250,000, was struggling with major financial and administrative burdens in promoting its multi-racial urban marae programme. Since the so-called marae was on Crown land and Ngāti Whātua were in nearby rental houses also owned by the Crown, the Board came to the not illogical conclusion that by taking over Ngāti Whātua's houses, and more especially their rents, they could make ends meet. Little wonder then, that Ngāti Whātua whose rights in Ōrākei have

needed neither embellishment nor reinterpretation for almost 250 years, found themselves out of sympathy with the Ōrākei Marae Trust Board.

Ngāti Whātua then entered a phase of direct negotiating with the Government. The group of 12 people who could demonstrate that either they themselves had been owners or they had direct genealogical connections with owners whose land had been taken under the Public Works Act and not used for the intended purposes, made their proposals to the Minister of Māori Affairs. Of all the millions of words that issued over the Māori dimension of the Bastion Point controversy, no other group offered bona fides of this order.

The Government's response was to offer the return of various parcels amounting to 10 hectares to be held by a Ngāti Whātua trust with statutory protection. It was recognised, however, that the Trust would have to pay a sum covering the improvements to the land. All other claims against the Crown at Ōrākei would be forgone. When settlement was finally reached in February 1978, the sum for improvements was set at \$257,000 (an amount subsequently reduced to \$200,000).

The agreement was enshrined in the Ōrākei Block (Vesting and Use) Act 1978. It is based on two related articles of faith, that fundamental Māori values can be secured in Pākehā statutes, and that Māori goals can be achieved by Pakeha techniques. The principal sections of the Act are those which refer to:

- (a) the Ngāti Whātua or Ōrākei Trust Board
- (b) the duties and powers of the Board
- (c) the beneficiaries of the Board
- (d) the specific blocks which are to be subject to Board control and the payment to the Crown by the Board of \$200,000 by way of 'equalisation'.

So much for Ngāti Whātua's charter at Ōrākei. It seems to me that it places the Ōrākei hapū at the threshold of its reintegration as a tribal entity of tangata whenua status in Tāmaki. Conceivably, this can take place on at least six different levels.

Decision-making. To begin with the Trust Board, an interim board, came directly from the core of the Elders Group. It comprised the principal kaumātua, Mr Reweti, and six others ranging in age from 65 down to 50 years. Then at its first meeting in February 1979 the Board decided to retain as far as possible the techniques of consensus and collective responsibility which had emerged during the dispute. It has appointed all the elders not on the Board to a kaumātua committee and upwards of a dozen younger people from a 'support group' to an advisory committee.

Resource personnel. All Ōrākei families have in the past subscribed to a belief in the benefits of education. But the benefits have always been couched in terms of the stay-on-at-school-to-get-a-good-job syndrome, which is, perhaps, understandable. Suddenly, as a result of the dispute the realisation has emerged that the hapū has among its younger members a registrar of the Māori Land Court, a surveyor, a business studies graduate, a deputy-chairman of the management committee of a multi-million dollar incorporation, and others with professional expertise that can now be brought to bear on policy decisions. As is now realised this development has been entirely fortuitous. Accordingly the hapū needs to deepen and broaden the range of its expertise in some systematic way—and keep it available for consultation.

Community Development. There are two senses in which the community may develop, and both entail problems of integration. First, there is potential for building upwards of 175–200 town houses at Ōrākei, for a hapū of maybe 700–800. Since this is around four times the present numerical strength of the community there will be questions of scale and of optimum size to be resolved. There is scope here for a type of co-operative housing for which there is no precedent in New Zealand or, so far, among tribal minorities anywhere. Second, there are the human resources in the present community which can now be mobilised to pursue community goals. The advent of a totally new Government-sponsored programme of Māori community development (the Marae Enterprises scheme) should encourage the community approach. Some of the land which is not built on could be used for commercial cropping, as an interim measure to pay the rates. Craft skills in the community could also be developed. Doubtless other possibilities will emerge.

A marae. For almost 30 years the hapū has resorted to tents, garages, front lawns, back lawns, and rooms in private homes as settings for their most cherished customs. They need a place to stand as the Ōrākei hapū of Ngāti Whātua, an institution in which to reassemble and nurture their Ngāti Whātua lore. Somewhere, somehow, they must acquire a marae. Meanwhile they are laying the foundations for its use by revising their genealogies. In particular they are tracing the descendants of their acknowledged ancestor, Tuperiri, all of whom have rights in the Ōrākei tūrangawaewae and the obligation to help sustain it.

Ōrākei and Ngāti Whātua. While Ōrākei is certainly an enclave in the Pākehā world, it is at the same time a unit in a small network of communities in the Ngāti Whātua world. These communities are mainly of Taou stock in the southern Kaipara, 40 to 55 kilometres to the north-west of Ōrākei. They are communities where almost every Ōrākei household still has small land interests intact. It may be expected that reciprocity between them will find a new vitality in the future, and serve the needs of Ngāti Whātua migrants to Auckland, whether or not they live at Ōrākei.

Ōrākei and the Māori World. Although other tribal and non-tribal groups in Auckland are pursuing various social and cultural interests, there is a traditional obligation on the tangata whenua to establish a clear basis upon which to relate to others who come to their area. Since 1950 there has always been an element of uncertainty in Auckland: did Ngāti Whātua still exist or didn't they, and if they did, where was their marae? The sheer size of Māori immigration to Auckland, and the growing permanency of that population, presents problems of scale that are unique to Auckland, as well as to Ngāti Whātua.

The return of 10 hectares of land in 1978 has given back to the Ngāti Whātua of Ōrākei their tūrangawaewae. They can now shape their destiny at Ōrākei. They must initiate and reinterpret for the twentieth and twenty-first centuries the symbolism in the name 'Tāmaki makaurau'—Tāmaki of the hundred lovers. I look forward to the day when Auckland is a place where all may feel they belong, not despite but because of Ngāti Whātua.



The future which Ngāti Whātua now look forward to could be part of a broader future for Māori development. There are however important issues of an ideological nature which need to be resolved. How far are we prepared to promote separate paths for Māori development?

After many years of academic study overseas, Professor Hirini Moko Mead, Professor of Maori, Victoria University of Wellington, returns to test us and our conscience with some forthright propositions about where we're heading. He discusses but rejects the notion of separatism—the creation of two nations. He discusses a pathway by which the Māori could have greater influence in controlling his own affairs. This could be achieved through a form of autonomy. In this ideology Sid Mead promotes the 'two people, one nation' concept.

A fuller version of this article is available from the New Zealand Planning Council (see page 80).



He Ara ki te Aomārama: A Pathway to the Future

Sid Mead



According to myth, the old sun, Tama-nui-te-rā, traversed the sky in too big a hurry and he gave out more energy than mankind needed or appreciated. So Māui-tikitiki-a-Tāranga, the planner supreme of Polynesian mythology, held a one-man meeting and decided on a plan by which order could be brought into the lives of long suffering mortals. His plan required imagination, cunning and drastic action which like other revolutionaries he felt was entirely justified because of the benefits it brought to mankind. Out of the pain suffered by Tama-nui-te-rā was born a world of order and certainty, or so the myth would have us believe.

Today, as our ancestor looks down at us, he must shake his head in disbelief. Now it is mankind that is throwing confusion into the world. Man is using up the resources of the earth at too fast a rate. He is building a technology of war which is becoming too hot to handle and a microprocessing technology which is making man redundant. Now it is possible to visualise the total destruction of human civilisation. We need a Māui-like plan to help guide us into the twenty-first century, and we need to begin the search for such a plan now. It would be unrealistic to merely wait and hope that something from heaven will drop into our laps.



I would like to attempt to set out the requirements of a desirable plan, that is, one which takes cognisance of Māori aspirations and which best allows the people to live a life that is satisfying and dignified. The 'shopping list' described here is a first effort at trying to articulate Māori aspirations as manifested in the words, both written and spoken, of various Māori spokespersons. Not everyone will be satisfied with the list nor agree with each item on it. But it is useful to say what people want and then try to find the political arrangement or idea which can best accommodate their goals.

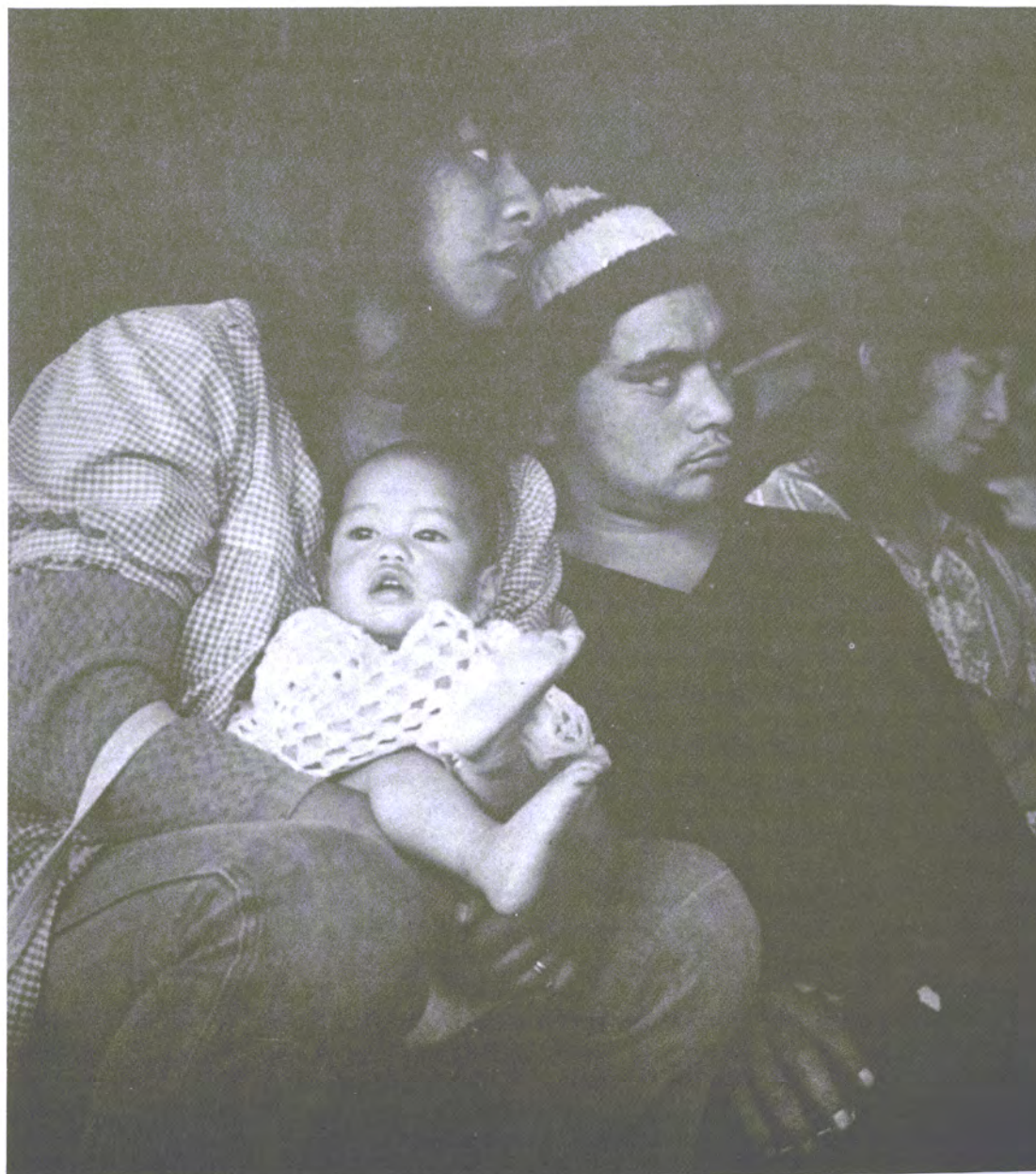
A desirable plan is one which, with economy of effort and finance, makes it possible for the Māori people to:

1. Retain and develop Māoritanga in order to maintain a continuity with the past and provide a foundation for life in the twenty-first century.
2. Establish Māori as an official language of New Zealand and use it more widely in contexts other than the marae.
3. Develop a bilingual education programme where Māori is given a value equal to English and with the possibility of development from primary to tertiary levels.
4. Have control over a bilingual television channel, a bilingual national radio network, and some newspapers and magazines.
5. Develop a banking system, perhaps based on the office of the Māori Trustee, and obtain finance, from overseas if necessary, to help Māori individuals or groups establish business enterprises.
6. Exercise a greater degree of control over decisions and enterprises which affect the lives of the Māori minority.

7. Establish a modern leadership system that is based partly on achieved and partly on ascribed status and which is founded upon Herbert Spencer's dictum that 'Society exists for the benefit of its members, not the members for the benefit of society!'
8. Return all uneconomic shares in land to hapū ownership and re-establish the mana of the hapū.
9. Increase the number of Maori parliamentary seats and change the basis of representation away from an arbitrary geographical zoning as at present to tribal groupings in which electors are registered on tribal rolls.
10. Enjoy an ordered and meaningful life, to respect cultural differences among the population, to help protect the heritage of the nation and to pass it on to the next generation: and, if necessary, to play our part in defending that heritage.

It should be observed that certain arrangements to accommodate special Māori interests are already in place in New Zealand. Examples are the Department of Māori Affairs, the Māori Land Court, the Māori Trustee, various Māori Advisory Committees, the Māori Education Foundation, the four Māori parliamentary seats, the Kīngitanga at Waikato, and so on. There was also a fairly efficient Māori school system which was dismantled only recently.

Among nationwide organisations are the Māori Women's Welfare League, the Māori Wardens Association, and the New Zealand Māori Council. The Rātana and Ringatū churches are, theoretically, also nationwide in their coverage but their actual strength may be limited to fairly well-known districts. A new national organisation established only in 1978 is





the Bishopric of Aotearoa with the Bishop of Aotearoa at its head, and a Council made up of representatives from around New Zealand as the main administrative and decision-making body.

Another new arrangement worth looking at is the Māori and Pacific Island Radio Unit, established at Papatoetoe. In this arrangement, as in the case of the Bishopric of Aotearoa, a parallel Māori structure is established within a larger New Zealand structure. What is interesting in both cases is that a major battle had to be won for their acceptance. But once this was accomplished, there was little further difficulty in making the organisations work: only the usual ones of quality of mind, vision, dedication to the task, and adequate finance.

An interesting question is why these parallel structures are being requested by the people now and in the past. I believe the most frequently quoted reason is the desire to have greater control and participation in decision-making which concerns the Māori. Another expression of the same concern is the initiative which underlies the Tū-Tangata programme launched by the Department of Māori Affairs. Yet another concern has to do with the quality of presentation of Māori events—proper reporting, respect for Māori customs and institutions, and 'proper' behaviour on the marae. Underlying the facade of goodwill towards the Pākehā is a dissatisfaction and resentment against a sort of imprisonment of Māoritanga within the institutions of New Zealand.

If we are to plan for the future we need to ask what are the alternatives before us? For many New Zealanders this is a dangerous question which no one dares to ask seriously because to deal with it honestly is to invite the ire of an indignant population. There is likely to be talk of

treason and urgent pleas of 'please do not rock the canoe'. Yet, we must consider the matter and try to find a solution which will help us survive as a cultural entity into the next century and beyond.

One obvious alternative is to opt for more of the same, that is, more of the 'one people, one nation' concept which the Pākehā New Zealanders have pursued with single-minded purpose since Governor Hobson enunciated it in 1840. The policy worked out over a period of 139 years, and with a determination hard to match, has been so successful that today we contemplate the possibility of the Māori language becoming extinct, of there being no such thing as Māori culture, or Māori art and of the startling fact that choosing to be a Māori or not has become a matter of individual conscience. Māoritanga itself has become a sort of religion.

There are many things wrong with this arrangement. The biggest single fault with the present system is that the Māori people find it difficult to initiate any important moves without the prior approval of the Pākehā voters. It is an unfair and undemocratic burden upon the Māori to be placed in the position of having to persuade the voters of the dominant society first before any initiative can be launched. What this arrangement does is to keep real power firmly in the hands of the Pākehā majority. There seems little doubt of this when looked at from a Māori point of view. For example, during the moments of great stress and anxiety associated with Bastion Point, we seemed unable to get our point of view published in the newspapers, heard on radio, or shown on television: the mass media was very firmly controlled by the Pākehā. Some editors of some newspapers almost thumped their chests with pride because of the power that lay in their

hands.

Bastion Point also demonstrated clearly our lack of political power and our vulnerability in the face of a determined, unscrupulous, and no-aroha Government. Of course, it showed up other things, such as the fragmented and still-antagonistically tribal orientation in our thinking. It revealed the readiness of some of our people to betray any cause that might be seen as Māori; this, in turn, pointing to the embarrassing weakness of wanting to ingratiate ourselves to the Pākehā. We are so hungry for praise and so scared of displeasing the Pākehā that we appear to be a little too willing to turn a blind eye to what is happening to our people or to our culture. We have been rather too eager to take a hand in our own destruction as an ethnic group and too ready when political pressure is applied to denounce our own people. This sort of Iscariot-like behaviour must cease.

The balanced judgment on this first alternative has to recognise that recently the leaders of New Zealand have exhibited a ready willingness it seems to allow to the Māori people more say both in the decisions which affect them and in the manner of putting these decisions into effect. The reorganisation of the Department of Māori Affairs, and the various programmes put into operation since 1978 by it, provide evidence of this. There is hope in the present political arrangement. For many of our people, however, the openness of the system has come rather too late. Faith in the system has already been lost and the most telling evidence of the loss is the apathy of the Māori people, the absence of the happy sparkle in the eye.

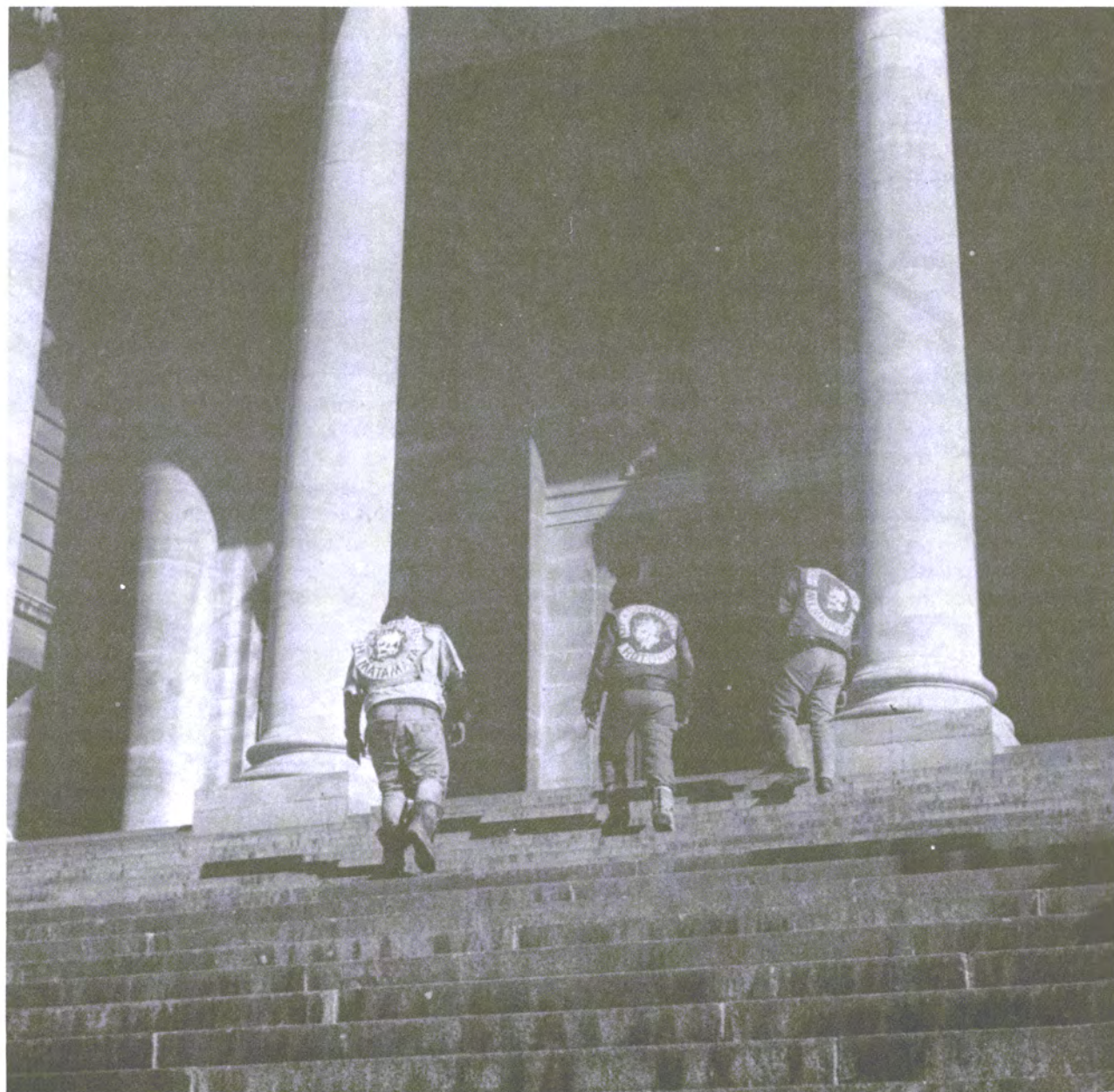
A Māui would reject this alternative as lacking in imagination—too frustrating, too cumbersome to accommodate readily to Māori aspirations

and too slow to remedy the ills which face us now. It is worth pointing out, however, that many of our present leaders are not at all like Māui and would prefer more of the same. This is an easy way out for them, a way of avoiding unpleasant decisions, a way of not becoming responsible for our future.

A second alternative is to opt for full autonomy following the example of Samoa, Tonga, and the Cook Islands. With this plan we could envisage being given the machinery required for self-government. We would then be able to have all of the items mentioned in the shopping list of Māori aspirations and also add certain specific measures. These could for example be designed to:

1. Have control over some units of the police force and of the armed services.
2. Prevent the export of Māori foods such as pāua, pipi, toheroa, karengo, mutton birds, and crayfish.
3. Allow for the development of a separate court system to handle all cases involving Māori and New Zealand Polynesian offenders.
4. Change the status of the Minister of Māori Affairs to that of Chief Minister of Māori Affairs and make his position subject to the Māori vote.
5. Establish a Māori and Polynesian unit within the Department of Health and so assume greater control over the health of the Māori people.

Even more, through this plan our political status would change from that of being a member of the Fourth World to that of the Third World. We would then be equal with the Tongans, the Samoans, and the Cook Islanders, and no longer be pitied because of our subject condition. In



many ways, being equal to other Polynesian nations is far more important and significant than being equal to the Pākehā. But the importance of this fact has not yet entered the awareness of most Māori leaders.

At this point in the essay, a thousand people are ready to shout that there are major problems with this wonderful idea. On one side is the fact that our Pākehā voters who believe strongly in the 'one people, one nation' policy, understanding of course what that really means in practice, will have none of it. Even the most persuasive oratory we can muster will do nothing to change anything. On the other hand is the ambiguous position of the Māori. Despite all that has happened since 1840, a lot of Māori people would not agree to drive the Pākehā out to sea, or to create a state without them. To a very large extent, our lives have become enmeshed and our kinship system and our social, economic, political, and religious networks criss-cross one another and overlap at many points. It is perhaps ironic that the Māori is more enmeshed in the Pākehā world than the other way round—the Pākehā can get by without us but we have become a dependent child unable to contemplate a future without the Pākehā.

A third plan is a modification of the notion of full autonomy towards the idea of 'two people, one nation'—an idea Hohepa discussed in detail in 1978. A name for it is 'limited autonomy' and it implies settling for an arrangement that is less than full self government but which might be just as effective or even better given the economic difficulties facing the world today. Under this plan we capitalise on what is already happening in New Zealand and we explore the possibilities of a suitable accommodation with the Pākehā population.

There are two kinds of limited autonomy, the 'soft' and the 'hard'. The soft version seeks to introduce the notion with as little change as possible and relies on a great deal of infiltration of the present structures and organisations with the 'right' personnel. In this case, the aim would be to Māorify the institutions of New Zealand and set up Māori and Pacific Island units within them. The soft limited autonomists would argue that in the end you achieve what you want and you do so with little disruption to the system.

The hard version calls for more drastic reorganisation and demands some real changes. It could incorporate some of the additional goals linked above with full autonomy; for example, the creation of a new position, Chief Minister of Māori Affairs, the setting up of a Council with the functions of a parliament. This would be made up of representatives from the main tribes of New Zealand and could include representatives from other Polynesians who have settled here. The Department of Māori Affairs might be reorganised into providing all public sector services. As part of the package, a hard limited autonomist will ask for a parallel court structure to deal with Māori and Polynesian offending and a parallel police force to enforce the law and, in fact, all of the goals listed in this essay could now become part of the package.

It is clearly recognised by the United Nations and its various agencies and committees such as UNESCO and the Decolonisation Committee that ethnic groups such as the Māori have a right to determine their own future. They have a clear right and indeed an obligation on behalf of the communities of the world to maintain and develop cultural institutions consonant with their values and wishes. The Māori people have so far not exercised their rights, and have, in fact, fallen





behind other ethnic groups such as the Eskimos and the North American Indians in reasserting and developing their culture. We have been Pākehā watching for so long and so busy defending our culture from one crisis after another, that we no longer know how to grasp the initiative. As a people, we are even scared to do so: defence has become a way of life.

Now we must rise from our despondency and lethargy and take the initiative by demanding limited autonomy for our people. I believe that we must commit ourselves to this ideal in a way that leaves no doubts as to our desire to grasp our destiny. I have said publicly that the sort of commitment we need is that of the religious convert who is prepared to suffer and even die for the faith. The task before us is to develop that sort of commitment as quickly as possible for, without it, we will never be able to achieve the goal of a fully-functioning Māori parliament by the year 2000.

Our priorities are first to gain acceptance of the notion that we want autonomy or *mana motuhake* for our people. Then we need to define more precisely what we mean by the notion of 'two people, one nation' which is implied in the notion of limited autonomy. Finally, there is the task of filling in the details and giving form to the idea so that we can actually live and experience limited autonomy. These are important tasks which have barely begun and which deserve our serious attention during the next few years.

Underlying the quest for a pathway to the future (*he ara ki te aomārama*) is the belief that to go on with what we are doing now is not really satisfactory from a Māori point of view. The responsibility for the future of Māoritanga and Māori culture is really ours and has always been so. Our history and our very existence and

identity as a people are bonded in Māoritanga. The fact that the Pākehā population sees its identity as being closely linked to Māoritanga as well should not side-track us. Nor should we wait any longer for the dominant population to sort out its problems.

In the end, because it involves our destiny and future in a world that is full of uncertainties, we are the people who must make the decision about whether we want limited autonomy or not. It is our decision and not that of the Pākehā population. It is a decision which is of importance to us and to the world community. We are not in a position to negotiate with others in New Zealand until we have made up our own minds—without the interference of, but rather with the co-operation of, the mass media.

Many of our leaders longed for this day, for example, King Tawhiao, Te Ua Haumene, Te Whiti, Tohu, Te Kooti, Rua Kenana, Aperehama Taonui, and Te Heuheu Iwikau. This was a pathway on which they longed to tread but could not achieve. Today it is possible to walk that path to the world of light that our ancestors dreamed of. It is up to us who walk on the breast of Papatuanuku to carry this cause through to its realisation. My hope is that by the year 2000 we will be at long last equal in a political sense to the Pākehā New Zealanders and that we will live together as one nation.

Tuia te kawē;
Tairanga te kawē
Ko te kawē o te haere!

Make the shoulder pack,
Take up the shoulder pack,
And let us go!



The decision on alternative futures must be part of the planning process. It may, however, take some time. Meanwhile there are practical steps which can be taken. On all counts, some form of educational planning in the widest sense must be part of any Māori development. The Raukawa Trustees have such a plan.

Professor Whatarangi Winiata of the Department of Accountancy at Victoria University is one of the trustees. His article describes their educational programme. In effect it is a manpower plan for the skill attainment of younger members of the tribes over the next 20 years. It is also a mission to influence the Pākehā decision-maker to be more aware and more sympathetic to Māori values, procedures and institutions. Finally it has a responsibility to its members to foster and inform them of their taha Māori, and to rejuvenate their many marae.

Whatarangi Winiata's statement is very much about things that are happening, lives that are being shaped. It offers a blueprint for action that other tribal groups can think about and possibly emulate.

A fuller version of this article is available from the New Zealand Planning Council (see page 80).



Generation 2000: An Experiment in Tribal Development

Whatarangi Winiata

Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000, is an experiment in tribal development which aims to prepare the people of Te Atiawa, Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Raukawa, and their 18 hapū, for the twenty-first century. Late in 1975 a confederation of these tribes and hapū, which are based on the west coast of the lower part of the North Island, extended its planning horizon from the usual 1–2 years to 25 years and beyond.

The Raukawa Marae Trustees comprise representatives of these iwi and hapū. It was set up in 1936 by the Māori Land Court mainly to administer Raukawa Marae, Ōtaki. This is the marae matua of the confederation. The marae is only one of a number of co-operative ventures undertaken by the confederation, but by adopting Generation 2000 the Trustees have expanded their range of activities considerably.

Te Atiawa (who came to the region from Waitara in Taranaki), Ngāti Toa (who came from Kāwhia), and Ngāti Raukawa (who came from Mangatautari, now Cambridge) have an alliance which goes back to pre-European times. Combined military and political activities in the region including defence of their own papakāinga and their confrontation with Potatau Te Wherowhero (the first Māori king) and his forces

at Urenui, are examples of co-operative ventures.

Probably the most significant post-European symbol of the alliance is the Rangiātea Church in Ōtaki. Its construction was inspired and guided by Te Rauparaha and Hadfield in the 1840s. It continues to be a uniting force regardless of the many religious denominations represented in the confederation.

Generation 2000 which focuses on the development of these tribes and hapū will help the alliance to endure. It will also draw strength from it. The project has two main approaches. Within the confederation of about 40 000 people it aims to increase awareness of their culture, and to encourage higher educational attainment in the young. But it also aims to reach out to and involve the Pākehā community. The main lines of attack are through three different types of mission: Raukawatanga, Toatanga, and Atiawatangā Mission; Education Mission; and Pākehā Mission.

The word 'mission' was chosen for two reasons. First, with little research, statistical data or past experience to help them, the Trustees can only proceed with faith that the programme they have chosen will work. Second, the Trustees believe that the work in hand needs pursuing

with a missionary zeal if the project is to succeed. The Trustees believe that over the next few decades Māori institutions must be promoted and encouraged as a basis for training for both Māori and Pākehā people.

So far, all three missions have been promoted primarily through hui. Between April 1976 and March 1979 a total of 36 hui were held. Of these 17 were classed as Pākehā missions, 9 as Raukawa, Toa and Atiawa missions, and 10 as education missions.

Some people may find it surprising that almost half the hui conducted in the first 3 years were Pākehā missions. The Trustees are fully aware that the Pākehā vote dominates decision-making. The allocation of money and other resources is determined by Pākehā people, and their decisions reflect their values, preferences, and attitudes. The Trustees hope that the Pākehā Mission will encourage Pākehā decision-making to be more sympathetic to Māori values, procedures and institutions.

Pākehā Mission is directed at the Pākehā people of the Raukawa region. It seeks to convince them that there are aspects of Māoritanga which are potentially of great value to New Zealand society. These include whanau-



ngatanga—the extended family and the way it works; tangihanga—a real-life drama with ordinary people involved, and in which grief and despair are openly shared; the Māori language—a source of well-being because of the extra power of communication and the added insights it makes possible. Even if the Pākehā decision-makers reject things Māori as having a value for

themselves, Pākehā Mission seeks to convince them that they must encourage and promote Māori institutions and the Māori language for the Māori people at least.

The Trustees believe that only if people regard the Māori language as a national treasure will there be the sort of commitment needed to ensure its survival. Language revival means ensuring

that succeeding generations are better in the language than their parents. If this is achieved then a century from now the Minister of Finance could present his Budget in English or in Māori, or parts of it in one language and parts in the other, to an audience which is at ease in both languages.

In the immediate future there are ways in which the Pākehā decision-makers could help give recognition to the Māori point of view. One is to give the Māori people more freedom and the resources to make decisions which are in harmony with their own values and beliefs. For instance the Anglican Church, which over the years has not been particularly responsive to Māori values and preferences, recently created a new Bishopric of Aotearoa. This new institution has been set up to give Māori people the freedom to make decisions which reflect their own values and preferences. Another way is to ensure that a Māori viewpoint is expertly documented and presented whenever matters of importance are to be decided. Māori representation on decision-making or policy formulating groups is a fairly popular practice. For various reasons, including omissions, from the Commission for the Future for instance, there are reasons to doubt the effectiveness of this approach as a prescription for national planning.

The Trustees believe that to achieve their objectives Pākehā Mission is absolutely necessary. However, it is an enormous and never-ending task; indeed the task may be too great for the Trustees.

There is much that also needs to be done to promote Raukawatanga, Toatanga and Atiawatanganga among the tribes themselves. All the marae in the region are extremely shallow in terms of Māori language ability. At present there is not

one Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa, or Te Atiawa child in the Raukawa region who is able to converse freely in Māori. Moreover, less than 5 percent of the adult population of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa, or Te Atiawa have this capacity.

There is concern about the lack of instruction in our formal education system on Raukawatanga, Toatanga, and Atiawatanga. The threat of continuing disintegration of communities and their values is very real and is the reason for adopting as one of the aims the rejuvenation of all the marae associated with the Trustees by the year 2000. Rejuvenation would mean making each marae the best home for the iwi or hapū in physical terms with increasing numbers of kai-kōrero (speakers), kai-karanga (women able to karanga), kai-waiata (people able to waiata), kai-karakia (people able to lead church services), ringa-wera (kitchen-workers) and so on.

An important by-product of the activities of Generation 2000 has been the increased confidence and ability of the tangata whenua to handle the affairs of their marae. Many of them have willingly attended classes during the week, and have then been enthusiastically involved in the real thing on weekends.

The Trustees are exploring the possibility of promoting Raukawatanga, Toatanga, and Atiawatanga, through programmes led by young people who would train and then serve in the field for a total 2 or 3 years on a voluntary basis. This idea has been floated and has been quite well received.

In 1975 when the Trustees began to think about planning for the twenty-first century emphasis was put on the relatively poor educational accomplishments of the tamariki and



mokopuna of the individual trustees themselves and of other elders in the confederation.

One of the facts that came out strongly in the 1972-74 education conference was that, on average, Māori children were only doing half as well as all children. The Trustees saw this situation like two cars travelling in the same direction, but at different speeds—both making

progress, but the gap between them widening. When Generation 2000 was initiated emphasis was placed on the need to close the gap in educational attainments. The strategy has been to identify some well-known professions, set goals for the confederation, and promote these among the youth. These professions, the number of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Atiawa



qualified at present and the goals, are shown here.

The Professions: Present and Future

Profession	Qualified	Goals
Accountancy	2	10 by 1985; 20 by 1990
Agriculture	1	5 by 1985; 10 by 1990
Architecture	2	5 by 1990; 10 by 2000
Dentistry	—	5 by 1990; 10 by 2000
Engineering	1	5 by 1990; 10 by 2000
High school teaching	5	15 by 1985; 30 by 1990
Law	1	10 by 1990; 20 by 2000
Medicine	2	10 by 1990; 20 by 2000
Ministry	—	10 by 1985; 20 by 1990
Professional music	1	5 by 1985; 10 by 1990
Veterinary science	1	5 by 1990; 10 by 2000

The targets for individual professions may not be achieved. But the Trustees hope that their young people will recognise how important these goals are and will be stimulated to make their contribution to the total scene. Specific kinds of careers have been emphasised, rather than higher education generally, to encourage real thought about careers.

Generation 2000 was launched with the improvement of educational attainment foremost in the minds of the Trustees. This will be a vital element in ensuring that the confederation has the necessary knowledge and skills to make well-considered decisions. Not just to make decisions on the marae, but also to make their contribution to the major decision-making process in New Zealand.

At a hui in December 1978 the Trustees adopted nine proposals, which have since been discussed with the Government. Some of them, such as appointing a Trustee of the Māori

language, or establishing a Māori Academy of Performing Arts, or seeking financial assistance from the Government to help marae cope with the costs of educational visits, would be of national benefit. Some were specifically directed at furthering Generation 2000, though, if successful, they could become models for similar projects in other parts of the country. These include research into the health of the members of the confederation, the acquisition of artifacts that have an importance to Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa, and Te Atiawa, and the establishment of a secretariat for the Raukawa Trustees. The secretariat would be responsible to the Trustees for a variety of things such as identifying and updating the titles of all Māori land in the region, advising the Trustees on legislation affecting their people, establishing a communication network among the hapū, conducting surveys and so on. Financing for at least 1 year has been offered and the Trustees have advertised for an Administration and Research Director, but unfortunately the fact that the job cannot be guaranteed for more than a year has discouraged some well-qualified people from applying.

The most important proposal is to establish the Raukawa Trustees' Centre of Learning. The aims of this centre will focus on encouraging and promoting research and study into the origins, history, literature, and contemporary developments of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa, and Te Atiawa. The hostel of the former Ōtaki Māori Boys College could be adapted to this purpose and negotiations for the use of this building and for capital to undertake the necessary alterations and renovations should be underway by the end of 1979. It is intended that the Centre will have residential and other courses of study and that it

The iwi and hapū are listed by the towns and districts in which the homes and marae of their members are concentrated:

a. Bulls, Fielding, Tokorangi:

1. Ngāti Kauwhata
2. Ngāti Parewahawaha
3. Ngāti Pīkiahū

b. Himatangi, Foxton, Shannon:

1. Ngāti Rākau
2. Ngāti Te Au
3. Ngāti Tūranga
4. Ngāti Whakatere

c. Levin, Ohau:

1. Ngāti Huia ki Poroutāwhao
2. Ngāti Kikopiri
3. Ngāti Ngārongo
4. Ngāti Pareraukawa
5. Ngāti Takihiku
6. Ngāti Tūkōrehe

d. Manakau, Ōtaki:

1. Ngāti Huia ki Katihiku
2. Ngāti Kapumanawawhiti
3. Ngāti Korokī
4. Ngāti Mai-Ōtaki
5. Ngāti Pare
6. Ngāti Wehiwehi

e. Waikanae, Porirua, Wellington:

1. Ngāti Toa
2. Te Atiawa



will collaborate with other institutions when appropriate. It is also envisaged that it would have a resource centre which would include a library and taonga collection. The Centre of Learning will assume responsibility for the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000, programme.

If the confederation's project is successful it

will have made a major contribution to New Zealand society. Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa, and Te Atiawa will be true to themselves. Their programmes can be conducted in a way which will be fair to all concerned. They are confident that they will build friendship and goodwill and that their work will be beneficial to New Zealand society at large.

Te Kupu Whakamutunga: The Last Word

Manuhuia Bennett

I have been asked to summarise the issues raised in *He Matāpuna*, and to comment on them in a provocative manner. My aim is to spark off a process of discussion which might lead to the formulation of a Māori action plan. After reading all the material that has come to me from the Round Table, it is with great timidity that I approach this task.

The one thing that calls for an immediate reaction is the fact that nearly all the contributors belong to the same socio-economic academic group. I would like to have seen a contribution from someone representing what is perhaps the largest group of Māoris. They are Māori only by their wanting to be Māori. Their claim rests entirely on the line of descent from some early ancestor but their only language is English. They are therefore debarred from taking part in the activities on the marae of their own tribe because the kawa is based on the use of Māori language. These are some of our people who are identified as Māori by the Pākehā and Pākehā by the Māori. They have the misfortune to be made to feel they belong nowhere.

I think, therefore, that in planning for the future we must encourage people to constantly challenge the Māori and their tribal institutions.

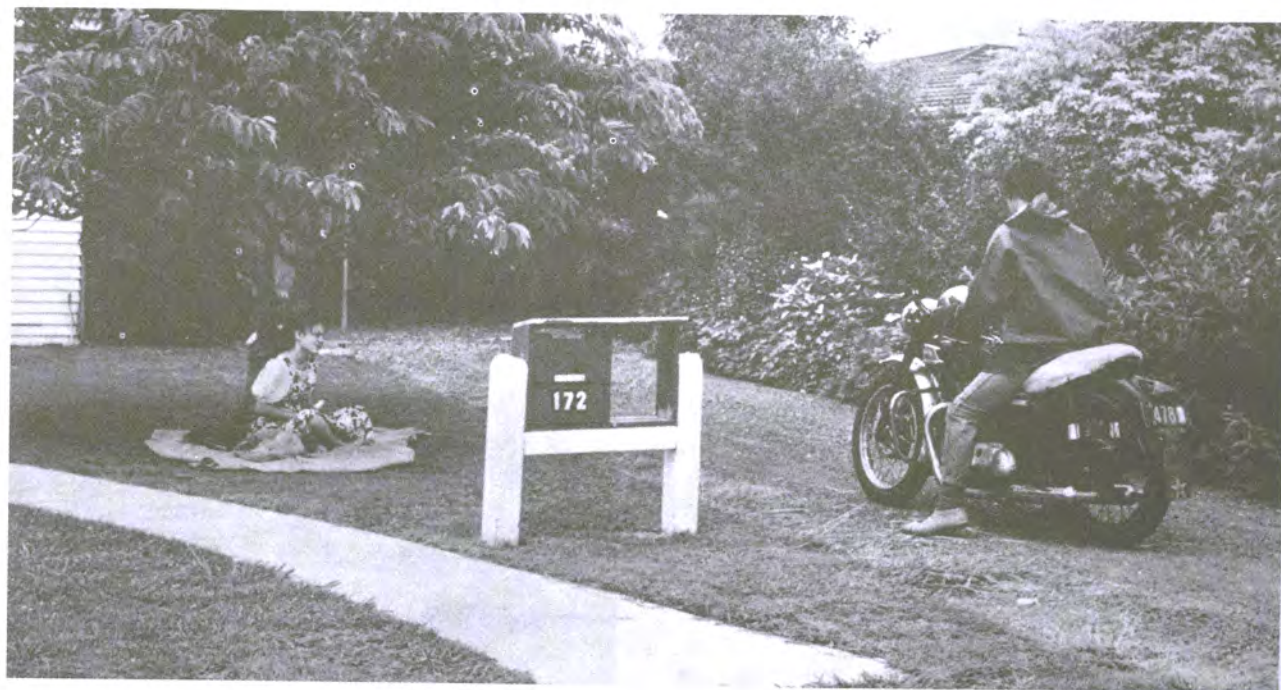


We must challenge the values by which we restrict the definition of a Māori, or participation in things Māori. After all, we make special provisions for Māori football.

In New Zealand, names such as Reedy, Mead, Bennett, and so on can no longer be considered Pākehā names. They are now an intrinsic part of Māoridom. By the same token, when I look at the blue eyes and the fair skins of the descendants of people such as Puketapu and Parata, I am convinced that the day is not far off when those names will no longer be just Māori names.

To me this says something about how, and for whom, we plan the future. It also says something about the natural goals towards which the nation as a whole moves, when it accepts the different make-up of its citizens. One contributor to *He Matāpuna* reminds us that we must not think just of the diversity which exists between ethnic groups in New Zealand, but we should also remember that there are variations within each group. The diversity which exists between Māori and Māori is as great as the diversity between Māori and Pākehā, or Māori and any other New Zealander. True or false?

There are some Māoris who seek to return to the base of their Māori ancestors in order to rediscover their heritage and become a 'put-together' person. There are others who really believe that service to the Māori people could be done as well from a base in the wider society. Sir Peter Buck was one who followed this path. There are many Māoris who now live overseas and adopt a similar philosophy. In the fields of the arts the first who comes to my mind is Kiri Te Kanawa. She retains as strong a sense as anyone of being Māori. Again, Dr Pare Hopa's success in the academic world overseas continues to uphold and sustain her sense of being Māori.



These women are but two of the many Māoris whose success in the non-Māori world reflects to our advantage because of their awareness of their Māori descent.

At the beginning of this volume we were reminded of the intrusion our ancestors made on the life of 'the manu, the ika, and a few old crusty tuatara.' This also reminded me of my childhood. My father kept one of these crusty old reptiles as a family pet. It had an effect on our lives as we had to share both our space and our time with him. But we were all aware of the difference between him and us. Our pet tuatara accepted what he was absolutely. He certainly did not seem to criticise his situation although, ultimately, he changed it by escaping.

Some of our people are not able to do much more. Sometimes because they do not have the resources; sometimes because they are victims, subject to forces they cannot control. Yet they can do something the tuatara could not do. They can dream. They can still have desires. They can still act. Maybe they are playing at being the tuatara. One of the unique things about our tuatara was that he looked dead, but wasn't. That was how he survived. It was also how he fooled us, and in the end changed his situation by escaping. Clever eh?

Someone once said that in order to grow we must become something other than what we are. If we don't, in the end we could find ourselves with the tuatara, the manu, and the ika. By

nature we are part of nature but also by nature we are apart from nature.

It seems to me that in *He Mātāpuna* there is some sort of inspired ideology running through the whole thing. Like the Israelites of yesteryear the authors seem to long for deliverance. They long for deliverance of things Māori from the pressures and onslaughts of the non-Māori world. I am not sure whether this longing is related to our Māoritanga more than to the Māori, but I suppose you can't save one without saving the other. Just as a body is more important than the raiment, so I believe the Māori is more important than his Māoritanga.

On this premise then we must, as we plan a future for the Māori as part of the nation, think of him within that context. For the life of the modern Māori is now worked out in his bedroom, in his kitchen, at the hotel bar, in and around the motorcar, and in the streets where his children play. The marae is rapidly becoming symbolic of another time and another place. More and more it is becoming a neutral thing for the modern Māori. But the man's home, the man's car, the man's TV set, the man's small family—these are far from neutral. Therefore, one of the duties that lie before planners is to recognise that the modern Māori will find his objectives and understanding of his purpose in these non-neutral things. They will often be more real than what takes place on the marae or on his tribal land.

While we have heard many times of the difficulties encountered by Māori families and individuals in the fast-moving world of the city, there are two or three observations I would like to make. The first is, that when a Māori moves from the country to a city like Auckland, or any big town, we call this a drift. Yet when the



relatives of the same Māori move to cities like London, or New York, or Sydney, this movement—the result of the same pressures that activated his Auckland relative—is described as a migration.

There are now more than 30 000 Māori living overseas. In my recent trips abroad I have been amazed at the success of Māoris who work in ordinary jobs. They seem to do much better than those who live in Auckland. In their homes they seem more relaxed, and the friends they rally round them come from all walks of life and all groups of people. There seems to be something that makes it difficult for a Māori to live and work successfully in New Zealand. Why is it that a Māori in London finds it easier to succeed than a Māori in Auckland? It would be very helpful if planners could undertake some research that could throw light on why this should be.

In the cities I believe we are seeing the embryo of new Māori political movements, but at present this is recognised only as gangs. One feature of gang activity is the challenge it presents to all our present institutions and values. The system, with its emphasis on academic attainment, is seen as one geared to keep the world largely under the control of the non-Māori in the community. I hope that our generation will have enough wisdom to sift out the dynamics on which the gang activity is based. I believe that in the end, judging by the fidelity they seem to show towards their leaders and each other, time and maturation will direct this tremendous energy towards replacing what they destroy with something of value. The one thing in which nature reigns supreme is that in the end we all grow older. So the year 2000 may indeed see a new social and economic system introduced by those who are in revolt against the failure of the



present one.

The Raukawa Trustees have produced a programme directed towards the year 2000. It is closely allied to other pathways to the future as described in *He Matāpuna*. My main concern about these is that they are based on a marae pattern that may indeed be no longer relevant at the end of the century. The Trustees' emphasis on Māori language as a national treasure has also caused me to think deeply. Māori language should have a real place in any plan for the nation's cultural development, especially as culture is the manifestation of our brand of the humanity we share with others. To me it is a national treasure only because language is the principle ingredient which refines and communicates culture. However, I wonder what changes to the system will be needed to make the Generation 2000 plan succeed. I do not think the present system is appropriate or adequate to the needs of Generation 2000.

I have had certain difficulties over the ordination of women to the priesthood, but I realise that this difficulty is ingrained mainly by my Arawa background. Because of this I lack the freedom which my Ngāti Porou counterpart enjoys when considering the place of women in the plans for the Māori of the future.

It is interesting that some of our women themselves feel that they can be doubly disadvantaged or twice as good. I am encouraged by the confidence shown in the belief that Māori women have something special to contribute not only to the Māori world but to New Zealand society generally.

Attitudes to women, at least in the Western world, have changed so much in the last two decades that more and more it becomes difficult to distinguish between male and female, as you



pass them in the streets. I am all in favour of women and men being treated with equal dignity and equal justice in every field of human endeavour. But I shudder at the thought that women may become so busy and so powerful that their principle function could be lost. They have been created as man's equal in all things, but they were not created the same.

In the end man cannot find his fulfilment without the pleasure and joy that the woman brings as a wife and mother. This is the supreme privilege with which woman is endowed. To her, in a very special way, is given the absolute responsibility of life for the future. If she says no to this, she says no to life. It is my fervent prayer that the Māori women, especially, will continue to regard this function as her principle responsibility in life. Because if our women rebel against this, then all our worries and our copious verbiage about our land, our marae, and our culture being important for the future turn into a lot of hogwash.

Our children must embody all the things we value. To them we must entrust the complete responsibility for survival into the future. This we cannot do without the consent, the co-operation, and support of the women. So, if the consent and support is not available because of overcommitment in areas of competition with her men folk then I, on behalf of Generation 2000, give the women from Ngāti Porou and the women of all the other tribes the salute of the ancient gladiator—'Morituri te salutamus'—We who are about to die salute you.

Land is another topic covered in this volume. Attitudes to the land are many and varied but in essence the concept of *tūrangawaewae* is that the land becomes an outward and visible sign of something that is deeply spiritual. It is a source

of nourishment to the inner man rather than to his physical needs. His identity belongs there, his sense of self-awareness begins there, his sense of mana and importance originate there.

But do we actually have to own legal rights to this land in order for it to continue its symbolic role and its effect upon our sense of who we are and what we are? I do not believe that private ownership of property, as we know it, will last beyond the next two generations. Indeed this change might be one of the phenomena of Generation 2000. What then happens to that little piece of dirt which today is sacred to our identity and our inner well-being?

Is there not perhaps another set of values unrelated to land upon which the concepts of our tūrangawaewae can be based? I believe that one such value is truth, and truth can be powerful. Perhaps in time our whole being may be rooted in knowledge and in truth rather than in more tangible things. To be landless Māoris doesn't mean that we are less Māori, or does it?

Finally, let me say, that I too believe, that taku taha Māori, my Māoriness, gives me a strong core, a force-field that can help me stand up do something for myself in today's world. We must therefore all define our stance firm in the faith that man everywhere and at all times draws strength from a taproot that goes deep.

God said, 'Let the water be filled with many kinds of living beings, and the air be filled with birds'. And He blessed them all. And on the sixth day He said, 'And now we will make man in our own image and he will be like us and he will have dominion over all things'. And on that sixth day the first Māori and the first Pākehā had arrived, because this one man, made in the image of His Creator, was our common ancestor and the tīpuna of us all.

Ma te Atua tātou katoa a manaaki, e arataki, i
roto i ngā rā e tū mai nei i mua i a tātou.
Kia ora tātou katoa





The Round Table

Rangi Mete-Kingi (*Convenor*)

Robin Irvine

Taki Marsden

Sid Mead

Ken Piddington

Tilly Reedy

Turoa Royal

Whatarangi Winiata

Supplementary Papers

The following papers are fuller versions of articles in this volume. Copies are available from the New Zealand Planning Council, P.O. Box 5066, Wellington.

Land as Tūrangawaewae: Ngāti Whātua's
Destiny at Ōrākei

I. H. Kawharu

Finding a Pathway to the Future: He Ara ki te
Aomārama

S. M. Mead

Whakatupuranga Rua Mano-Generation 2000:
An Experiment in Tribal Development

Whatarangi Winiata