

# NGA WHAKAARO

A VIEWPOINT ON MAORI ISSUES

RANA WAITAI

A REPORT TO THE NEW ZEALAND PLANNING COUNCIL  
ON ISSUES ARISING FROM ROUND TABLE DELIBERATIONS

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The Round Table is a discussion programme established under the auspices of the Planning Council to obtain Maori perspectives on important issues of national development.

Rana Waitai BA (Sociology) MPP is an Inspector of Police who was seconded to the Planning Council Secretariat for a 16 month period in 1980/81.

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The Maori race is a distinct, young, vibrant entity and it is absolutely essential to the harmony of the New Zealand future, that it have a meaningful involvement in the shaping of that future - that is perhaps the central message of this paper.

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This paper sets out various thoughts, ideas, insights and general perspectives that have emerged in the course of a series of Round Table discussions convened under the auspices of the New Zealand Planning Council. As will be explained in the next section of this paper, the Round Table is part of the Maori input to national planning.

Additionally this paper contains various impressions and interpretations of the dynamics of Maoridom in the 1980s, as gained by the writer during his 12 month term with the secretariat. Coverage is far from exhaustive, in fact in many areas the surface has scarcely been scratched.

The objective of this paper is to inform the reader of some of the lesser known initiatives of modern Maoridom - aspects often quite well known in the Maori world itself, but which are not of the kind that command the attention of national decision makers. It is unfortunately in the nature of news dissemination that popular focus dwells on the spectacular - this can lead to wrong impressions in the public perception. It is intended therefore that this paper will appraise the reader of the initiatives being taken by Maoridom to come to terms with itself, with social change, and with its future.

Both external and internal cultural constraints have meant that much Maori enterprise could be characterised as disparate and spasmodic. But there is much positive energy abounding and gradually some coordination of effort is emerging. There is much in Maoridom that is beneficial to New Zealand society as a whole - it is a matter of two-way adaptation and accommodation.

The Maori race is a distinct, young, vibrant entity and it is absolutely essential for the harmony of the New Zealand future, that it have a meaningful involvement in the shaping of that future - that is perhaps the central message of this paper.



## THE ROUND TABLE

Alternatively known as "Rangi's Round Table", after its original custodian, Dr Rangi Mete-Kingi, it serves as a vehicle for inserting a Maori point of view into the Planning Council function. Until 1980 the Round Table membership consisted of a set group of prominent Maori thinkers, the majority of whom came from the education field.

Tuning in to the dynamics of Maoridom is a massive task and therefore there are limits to what can be achieved by a static "think-tank". The efforts of the group led to the publication in 1979 of "He Matapuna", a collection of perspectives from 12 noted Maori contributors. Bishop Manuhua Bennett, in summarising He Matapuna, commented "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 ..." <sup>1</sup> and he suggested a broader stream involvement.

The reaction that he called for came in August 1980 when a quite different style of Round Table was conceived. Instead of a fixed group, which by its inherent nature can only touch a small area of Maoridom, it was decided that a more effective canvassing could be achieved by having a constantly changing membership. This new approach brought with it an examination of those topics that are relevant to Maoridom in the 1980s - relevant to everyday life activity and relevant to the shaping of a multi-cultural future.

To date 70 different people have attended a series of 9 Round Table meetings. Some, because of their particular expertise, have attended only the meeting relevant to their special knowledge, while others, because of their particular skills, have attended several meetings. Some have come to offer

1. He Matapuna, p.74

their thoughts, others have come to listen, some have provoked reaction, while others have felt compelled to adjust their own view points.

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.<sup>2</sup> The Round Table set out to promote this aim and it soon became apparent that most participants were taking serious steps to prepare themselves for the coming discussion. In the course of this preparation they found themselves addressing issues that had not previously demanded their concerted attention. This quite often resulted in a re-evaluation and development of personal attitude as the chemistry of the Round Table worked its particular magic. On the basis that a thinking people are a people best equipped to survive, one can only be heartened by the breadth and depth of thought that tended to emerge. This was over-arched by a sense of optimism in the ability of the Maori to challenge and deal with the future.

The selection of participants was basically aimed at bringing in as wide a coverage as possible on the indices of age, sex, socio-economic placement, geographic location and general life experience. In addition each was known to have a particular area of expertise to offer.

As a rule a maximum of 10 persons are invited as this is a fairly comfortable discussion group. Additional persons with specific relevant expertise are also invited to attend as observers or to contribute if they wish. From the first meeting which was two hours long, the time period now is likely to be six or seven hours.

The topics dealt with to date include general directions, aspects of social change as it affects the Maori, employment, justice, land use, education, Maori participation in the decision making process.

2. *ibid* p.8

In most cases the topics have been so broad that quite often only the surface has been scratched. Nevertheless it required only a narrowing of the focus to cause some surprising insights and initiatives to emerge from people who may not normally have ready access to the higher realms of policy making.

As an evolving concept itself the Round Table has now entered a new phase which targets specifically on current Planning Council projects. Hence the latest Round Table provided a Maori input to the Rural Issues project.

A most useful by-product of the Round Table is that members are able to discover each other's projects and exchange ideas. It is encouraging for one member to know that someone else is attempting to do the same sort of thing in another part of the country, and as much of their work does not normally attract news media attention, they would not necessarily know of each other's activities. For example, Tahu Asher, Whetu Rolleston, Hori Tamihana and Tumanako Wereta have combined to form the successful Morehu Social Services - amongst other things this has virtually eliminated the "Street Kid" phenomenon from Wellington city. Following contact made at the Round Table, Tumanako Wereta found it easier to make approaches to the Mayor of Wellington and to the upper hierarchy of the Maori Affairs Department. This in turn short-cuts a number of bureaucratic obstacles. Paul Tahau, keeping a low profile in Hawkes Bay finds that John Tahuparae's idea of a Maori Outward Bound scheme encapsulates his own ideas. Jenny Wilson, appointed to the Advisory Committee on Women's Affairs, and seeking inspiration for a local seminar, invites Round Table members Dennis Harrison, John Tahuparae and Rana Waitai to assist her at Kaikoura. Kingi Houkamou, living in isolation near East Cape, discovers that others have similar ideas to his own regarding the coordination of means to solve Maori youth problems. Claude Edwards, later to lead a trade mission overseas, was able to hear first hand of the crime problems on large urban

scale. Pauline Kingi, in collaboration with colleagues in Auckland, has produced a "Planning Kit" which will assist the Maori to become actively involved in the planning process. She will find a ready group of potential kit-users in Round Table members nation wide. Four Round Table members combined their efforts to have the issues of the Gear Meat Freezing Company dispute presented to all parties concerned at a marae venue.

Many of the projects of individual members were in various stages of development prior to their contact with the Round Table, however, and that contact has served to promote a commonality of interests, endeavours and support.

The Round Table then is an access point to the higher levels of decision making; it is an information pool, an ideas exchange, and a forum.

GETTING THINGS IN PERSPECTIVE

It is necessary before this paper proceeds much further to get a few things into perspective and before we consider the Maori vis-a-vis New Zealand, we must consider New Zealand vis-a-vis the world.

Three odd million people, 60 odd million sheep, we are isolated and some would say insignificant, and that realistically is what we are - a protein factory on a back street at the edge of the global village. By virtue of the miracle of mass media technology we have a very good view of what is happening on "mainstreet", and as such we can be tempted to inflate the importance of our involvement in world affairs. But the reality is the "mainstreet" barely knows about us and has no particular reason to care.

We are largely subject to the whim of tidal shift in world economics and by virtue again of media technology, with increasing rapidity we are caught up in the turmoil of global social change. This is particularly important when thinking about the role of youth and the role of women, which this paper discusses.

The message to be taken is that in many ways the affairs and life patterns of our New Zealand society are determined elsewhere.

Reducing the focus to the New Zealand scene but bearing in mind the previous comments, first consider the Maori race. Putting aside the current semantic argument as to who is a Maori and who is a New Zealander, we find a distinct racial entity, conscious of its being distinct, numbering some 300,000 complete with language, culture, values and attitudes. I say distinct because such is the nature of the racial consciousness even though cultural assimilation has modified all Maori institutions. While that consciousness of being a different racial entity remains - and there is no sign of it diminishing -

then both races, the majority European and the minority Maori, are going to have to live with each other. Neither are going away, and in any case, unlike the other racial entities that make up the population, the Maori has nowhere to go away to.

The western cultural character of the European New Zealander has not remained and increasingly will not remain static. A changing global influence sees to that. The ties with "Mother England" are no longer what they were. The demise of our old markets and the advent of new markets have put us in touch with a greater diversity of global neighbours - and the character of our national attitude will alter accordingly.

Eventually we will distinguish our own New Zealand ethos, and it is absolutely essential that a significant Maori component be part of that ethos.

There is much in Maoridom that could and should be part of that ethos, and that involves the existence of a strong buoyant Maori race. That in turn implies the need for unfrustrated Maori development at the social, cultural but principally the economic levels.

One need not dwell upon the consequences of frustrated Maori development efforts. There have been numerous frustrations in the past, mainly economic in character, but there are sufficient warnings abroad to indicate the social detriment that accrues from having the bulk of one racial group at the lower reaches of the socio-economic ladder.

The message is that there is nothing to fear in Maori development. A strong Maori people means a strong New Zealand society.

Certain themes will be developed through this paper to qualify the claim that the Maori has much to offer the New Zealand future ... perhaps to offer the world. Those themes include:

- (a) The role of Maori women in modern Maori society and by extension in society generally. This considers the impact of social change and the implications for aspects of Maori tradition.
- (b) The degree to which youth should be involved, given the fact of social change and the constraints of culture.
- (c) The need for an examination of the conventional wisdom as it applies to employment, justice and education.
- (d) The need for a more flexible bureaucratic response, for example in the judicial process.
- (e) A variety of Maori initiatives are outlined, many are of a contingency nature and illustrate the trend towards self-reliance in lieu of total state dependence.
- (f) The fact that they are of a contingency nature also indicates that some coordination of effort is required. Such coordination is taking form in the Huarahi development involving Bay of Plenty Trust Boards, but there is scope for over-all coordination.
- (g) There is great potential in the community to manage a decision-making capacity in matters of immediate concern. This implies the desirability of some devolution of power.

Those then are the themes that will be developed through this paper.

The Maori is young ...

The Maori is impatient ...

The Maori is not proud ...  
he is fiercely proud.<sup>3</sup>

3. Mahuika A.T., 2 June 1981

GENERAL DIRECTIONS: FOR THE ROUND TABLE

The participants in this Round Table were:

RICHARD CARSON	Wellington	Secretariat
EDDIE DURIE	Wellington	Chief Judge, Maori Land Court
PATSY FISCHER	Wellington	Secretariat
SIR FRANK HOLMES	Wellington	Chairman, Planning Council
CHRIS LIVESEY	Wellington	Secretariat
REV. TAKI MARSDEN	Wellington	Clergyman
JOHN MARTIN	Wellington	Director, Planning Council
WHETU ROLLESTON	Wellington	Researcher
JOHN TAHUPARAE	Wellington	Consultant
IRI TAWHIWHIRANGI	Wellington	Maori Affairs Executive
RANA WAITAI	Wellington	Coordinator



The first of the new form Round Tables was held on 9th September 1980. In this inaugural meeting the chairman sought to test the water insofar as the new "revolving" membership concept was concerned. The prime function of the meeting was to define the direction that future Round Tables should pursue.

Given the minimum amount of directing and the maximum amount of licence, it became apparent that the participants wished future meetings to address matters relevant to social change as it affected the Maori.

Specific items mentioned shall be dealt with under specific headings later, but at this stage several of the insights presented are given to illustrate the shape of the 2½ hour discussion, which was later to continue outside the formal context.

The issue of Maori youth surfaced early and that was appropriate as 57.6 percent of the Maori population falls in that category (against 39.3 percent in the general population).<sup>4</sup> The focus was defined as the voice of Maori youth and it was generally agreed that there are too few outlets for such a voice.

It was commented that a discussion of the voice of youth is really a discussion of the alienation of youth. This led to a consideration of the causes of alienation and the effects of traditional cultural constraints emerged.

Next arose the issue of the role of Maori women, and once again the matter of traditional constraints emerged.

This led to the consideration of tradition in a context of rapid social change.

4. 1976 Census

Maori society has been viewed as traditionally patriarchal with the decision-making capacity residing with the elder. This gave rise to various cultural practices that, subject to tribal variation, generally enshrined a male elder orientation to the leadership responsibility.

The problem is that such an orientation is out of line with world social patterns in the 1980s.

The problem that the Round Table defined was how traditional constraints could be removed without imperilling tradition itself. Tradition remains the constant resort for the validation of a plethora of Maori values, and the elements that make the Maori racially distinct.

Reservation was voiced that to tamper with one aspect could mean the collapse of other aspects. How then to move the constraints of youth and women without, in the process, destroying the whole?

One member, experienced in matters of tradition, led the meeting to some enlightenment by pointing out that the view of traditional things as being absolute and unchanging was quite erroneous. Such a view of tradition was comfortable and gave the sense of cultural security but as he indicated, it tends to be a pleasant myth that is resorted to when resolving ambiguities. His answer to re-define the myth - to do this by expanding the cultural base. In this way the integrity of tradition remains while social change is accommodated.

Another member cautioned that there must be as far as possible the element of control in social change - such control was not apparent in the past, particularly at the urbanisation stage. This theme was to be pursued in other Round Table discussions. Bureaucratic control was also considered and it was queried as to where the level of control was to reside. One member cautioned as to the danger of replacing the "tyranny" of local control.



This in turn led to a discussion of the devolution of power, or more precisely the devolution of decision-making authority. This theme is pursued later with more specific application in the discussion of the Tu Tangata concept.

At the end of the meeting the direction for future Round Tables had been defined. There had to be consideration of the impact of social change with particular attention to youth and women - their roles in Maoridom and by extension their role in the New Zealand societal future. Three other themes had emerged in nascent form for future attention.

1. The notion of an integrated community approach to development.
2. The devolution of power.
3. The notion of flexibility in the bureaucratic response.

#### SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE MAORI

The next two Round Tables dealt with social change as it affects the Maori. There are a number of aspects of social change that the Maori has to continually confront and grapple with. Some are general in character, being well known if not necessarily appreciated by society at large. They concern land and justice and socio-economics - the usual problems that have gained currency in the last two decades.

But there are internal matters also - in-house, domestic problems that the accelerating pace of social change has drawn into focus. Problems that the Maori must come to terms with and resolve internally.

The Round Table meeting of 4th November 1980 dealt with the role of Maori women, while the meeting of 8th December 1980 dealt with the role of Maori youth.

These problems, if that is the correct term, are not exclusive to the Maori people, nor to New Zealand, but rather they are part of a movement towards emancipation, that has been sweeping the world since the late 60s.

This emancipation implies a desired freedom from a form of oppression, but perhaps a more accurate description of the youth and women's movements would be a sense of dissatisfaction with a status quo that has effectively excluded their participation in the power decision-making process that determines the shape of their lives.

It is very easy to interpret these movements as being part of some subversive design, but the reality is that these movements are equally potent and have a high degree of commonality regardless of the political and ideological context in which they occur. Youth in Russia are just as restive as youth in America.

There are, of course, both inter and intra societal gradations to these forms of consciousness but basically it comes down to a dissatisfaction with historically prescribed roles. The reality is that the movements are real, they are now, they will not go away, and societies will have to adapt to them.

What relevance does that have for Maoridom? On the surface at least, the female has always played a secondary role to the male, and likewise the elder has always prevailed over youth. But closer examination suggests that this does not necessarily accord with traditional prescription.

A society's myth system, according to Levi Strauss, is a fair indicator of the society's normative priorities, and a consideration of the Maori myth system reveals that it was Maui, one of the youngest rather than an elder, who was a dominant figure. Likewise it was Hine Nui Te Po, a woman, who was posited as the ultimate arbiter in the destiny of man(kind). If this was the traditional prescription of role we must look to the pragmatism required of more recent social contexts to discover the ascendancy of the male and elder roles.

From pre-European times until mid 20th century, given the social context of that period characterised by internecine warfare the Maori male and elder, by necessity assumed the dominant roles.

The reality in 1981 is that the Maori male and elder will resort to tradition as the source of a "divinely" prescribed leadership role.

That then was basically the point of origin from which the respective Round Tables commenced their discussions.

#### THE ROLE OF MAORI WOMEN: IN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The participants in this Round Table were:

RUKA BROUGHTON	Wellington	Lecturer
RICHARD CARSON	Wellington	Secretariat
PATSY FISCHER	Wellington	Secretariat
ALISON GREEN	Wellington	President, Te Huinga Rangatahi
PAULINE KINGI	Auckland	Solicitor
HEATHER LITTLE	Hawarden	Planning Councillor
CHRIS LIVESEY	Wellington	Secretariat
JOHN MARTIN	Wellington	Director, Planning Council
VERA MORGAN	Wellington	Social Worker
TILLY REEDY	Wellington	Educationist
IRI TAWHIHIRANGI	Wellington	Maori Affairs Executive
SYBIL YOUNG	Rotorua	School Teacher
RANA WAITAI		Coordinator

In the changing circumstances of western society the role of women is an issue that demands increasing attention. So many provinces of the real power structure have historically been the male prerogative, and there is a reluctance to cede to women any part of that prerogative.

In as far as the Maori woman is concerned there is an added factor - that of race. This can act as a double impediment to the realising of potential.

But there is yet another factor - one that impedes development not only within the western societal context, but within the Maori context itself. These are the constraints of cultural tradition that narrow the range of social effectiveness of the Maori woman. Constraints determined by the particular tribal kawa.\*

These cultural features are characterised by the various prohibitions that apply (for the purpose of this discussion) to women on the marae. They are restrictive or relaxed depending upon the tribal area involved.

On the face of it a cultural restriction upon the role of women is negative - but kawa is a crucial element in the concept of identity that the Maori currently find highly positive.

An important part of the discussion was to place kawa into some sort of modern perspective - to see if it was possible to assess:

- (a) To what extent the woman's role is constrained;
- (b) Is that traditional constraint on-going;
- (c) If it impedes development in the Maori world does it likewise affect Maori women in the European context.

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\* Kawa - social protocol

Re Item (a) -

It was generally agreed that quite often the various traditional restrictions are more apparent than real. In reality a considerable flexibility obtains, even in the most "hard-line" areas, and there is a definite response to necessity and expedience.

By way of focus the kawa of the Arawa-Mataatua areas (Bay of Plenty) was considered as one of the Round Table members had made a brief survey of attitudes amongst elderly male and females in that area. In terms of the kawa of those tribes, a woman must not:

- (i) Whaikorero (orate) on the marae;
- (ii) Open a speech with the phrase - Tihei mauriora (an invocation to the life essence);
- (iii) Make reference to the dead or spirit world in a formal speech (off the marae);
- (iv) Make pronouncements on behalf of, or as affecting the tribe.

Items (i), (ii) and (iii) are matters of marae ritual in which it is probably unlikely that a woman would particularly desire participation - in much the same way that a male would be unlikely to desire to carry out the Karanga (call of welcome - invariably a task carried out by women).

It was generally decided that those aspects of kawa did not inhibit the role of Maori women. They were matters of substance rather than form.

However, item (iv) is also the aspect that responds to necessity and expedience, depending upon the matter at hand and the personnel available. A closer examination of item (iv) was therefore warranted. Within it it was possible to isolate two components:

1. There was a negative response from the Maori male where the Maori female sought to function in a Maori context, e.g. as a priest, as a Land Court Judge, as the chairperson, or even as a member, of a Tribal Trust Board. An array of traditional precepts were available to rationalise this response.
2. But there was much less of a negative response if the Maori female was functioning in a "non-Maori" capacity, e.g. as a lawyer, doctor or judge.

It is therefore possible to define two major areas as not being impediments to the development of Maori female potential.

Firstly, there is the purely ritual aspect.

Secondly, there is the "Maori-in-European context" aspect.

Therefore, it could be said that items (i), (ii) and (iii) aside, the Maori female has almost unlimited scope for contributing to and influencing the decision-making process in Maori matters.

But the actual effect is quite different. There is a non-legitimate aspect to item (iv) and when taken together with items (i), (ii) and (iii) there is the tendency for the idea to be engendered against Maori females that the prohibitions upon their participation is much broader than it actually is.

This is an attitude of subjugation and it has a complementary Maori male attitude, viz. males extend the idea of kawa so as to believe that the female has only a secondary role in decision-making.

As to item (b) - whether the restriction on women is on-going - insofar as the ritual element is concerned it does not really affect the potential development of women as their desired involvement is unlikely. But, insofar as the

non-legitimate aspect of restricting women is concerned, it was pointed out that some younger generation Maori males are adopting an attitude that attempts to deny speaking rights to women - in any context. They took a stance, supposedly based on their tribal kawa. It was generally agreed that far from being based on kawa, it was rather a matter of using kawa to rationalise personal interests.

That being so, it is only the non-legitimate component of tradition that is on-going. Therefore women can disregard that component without doing injury to tradition.

As to item (c) - does the fact of kawa affect Maori women in a European context - it would appear that the only real limiting factors to the development potential of Maori women are the limitations that they carry in their minds.

Nothing, of course, is as simple as that. There are in fact impediments in the objective social situation but there was ample evidence at the Round Table that these can be overcome by assertive and resolute action by the woman herself.

What are needed are strategies designed to enhance the awareness of Maori women (or women generally) as to their own potential.

Education of women to this end, and the encouragement to seek representative capacity, was suggested.

As Tilly stated after the discussion had moved some distance -

"Yes, we have a problem and its basically to do with attitude. It's got nothing to do with kawa constraints or anything. My problem in being a Maori is my problem .. it's here in my head and if I want to stand up and be equal to my men I can do it, if I can get out of my mind being culturally constrained. It's got nothing to do with anybody else but me."



THE ROLE OF MAORI YOUTH: IN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The participants in this Round Table were:

RICHARD CARSON	Wellington	Secretariat
LORNA DYALL	Wellington	Researcher
CHRIS LIVESEY	Wellington	Secretariat
DR RANGI METE-KINGI	Rata	Planning Councillor
PHILLIP MARSHALL	Wellington	Community Officer
JOHN MARTIN	Wellington	Director, Planning Council
JOHN TAHUPARAE	Wellington	Consultant
HORI TAMIHANA	Wellington	Marae Worker
IRI TAWHIHIRANGI	Wellington	Maori Affairs Executive
JENNY WILSON	Kaikoura	Youth Hostel Manager
RANA WAITAI		Coordinator

MAORI YOUTH

The analysis of the discussion re the role of Maori youth, stated more specifically as the voice of Maori youth, was as follows:

It had been considered that there was a wide-felt sense of frustration on the part of youth as regards tribal constraints of a traditional nature that curtail their social participation. This view was not reflected by the participants present.

This would lead to the conclusion that either a much wider canvass of opinion is needed or else the constraints of tradition are of a different form to those that restrict the role of Maori women.

One of the most insightful statements was to the effect that there is a kind of conditioned or structured separation of young and old, and this is reinforced by the various social systems - particularly the education system.

It was also observed that we tend to erect our own social barriers, e.g. Maori male/Maori female, young/old.

One member expressed the view that the idea of whanau<sup>5</sup> as contained in the Tu Tangata philosophy, helped to realign priorities and perspectives as regards the integration of young and old.

The youngest of the group felt that it was in the natural order of things to keep quiet when on his home marae, but to speak his mind in the urban situation. This was not regarded as exceptional by other members which seemed to indicate that little traditional restriction is encountered.

5. Whanau - Maori concept of family



Contrary to common belief the idea is firmly lodged in tradition that youth does have an important role to play - one member used Tane and Maui as examples from the Maori cosmogeny, and another cited the example of the crucial role played by Major Kemp's daughter early this century.

Reference was made to the initial elder resistance, but later acceptance of Peter Sharple's young group addressing the people of Ngati Porou.

It would seem that the current view is that there is a place for youth and a place for the elders to voice their own opinions: and the principle factor is expertise in the matter under discussion. The requirement for such expertise is particularly relevant where the matter relates to a Maori institution such as land.

The matter of the young kaumatua (elder) was raised. Necessity rather than age becomes the determining factor in some places. (This parallels the idea from the previous round table of females taking over tribal leadership roles in the absence of suitable males.)

The conclusions from this discussion could be summarised as follows:

1. The obstructions to the voice of youth tend to be structural rather than traditional.
2. There is some danger in taking a simplistic view of the role of youth vis-a-vis the elder simply in terms of age.
3. One young member of the group commented that if youth wishes to be heard it must be believable.

An interesting view that is relevant to youth from a noted Maori thinker:

"For too long we have been trying to regulate and pace ourselves against the pakeha.

But we must instead regulate and pace ourselves against the world, viz. in a global context.

It is not the pakeha that we are up against but a world system that we cannot control.

It is the urban thing that is assimilating us.

We must target our attention on the 15-17 year olds.

The Kaumatua have the correct perspective - they see themselves as part of the whole world.

It is only the under 60s who narrow the range, who make our plans and talk in a confined environment.

The younger generation must be able to pitch beyond.

We must ensure that they are protected until they are of age.

The only alternative is a retreat into separatism - and you cannot live in isolation any more."

EMPLOYMENT/UNEMPLOYMENT AS IT AFFECTS THE MAORI

The participants in this Round Table were:

NEVILLE BAKER	Wellington	Maori Affairs Executive
SIR FRANK HOLMES	Wellington	Chairman, Planning Council
GEORGINA KIRBY	Auckland	Maori Women's Welfare League
CHRIS LIVESEY	Wellington	Secretariat
DR RANGI METE-KINGI	Rata	Farmer
PUNGA PAEWAI	Dannevirke	Maori Council Secretary
LESLIE PARR	Wellington	Community College Instructor
ROGER STEELE	Rotorua	Consultant
JOHN TAHUPARAE	Wellington	Maori Affairs Executive
IRI TAWHIHIRANGI	Wellington	Vice President, New Zealand Maori Council
APA WATENE	Petone	
RANA WAITAI		Coordinator

This Round Table was held on 10th February 1981. There was general acknowledgement that the unemployment situation is presently bad overall with serious social costs accruing to the Maori people. There was no attempt to assign blame for the situation nor to suggest any macro-economic solutions. It was observed that even if the situation was suddenly to "come right", there would be continuing detrimental social effects that would take a long time to pass.

The attitude of the participants was that we should be making the best of a grim situation so as to prevent the Maori people becoming more disadvantaged.

A member from the Waiariki Community College, Rotorua, outlined the acutely bad Maori unemployment situation in his region - particularly affected being the young Maori female. Some three-quarters of those unemployed with whom he deals are Maori. Another member expressed similar sentiments in relation to the urban Auckland situation. The Rotorua member suggested that the following would assist the problem in his area:

In Rotorua a flax-working course of 6 weeks duration to ease the young female unemployment situation. Kit making etc.

Courses designed to provide the skills for the horticulture industry in the Bay of Plenty.

There are currently two work co-ops in Rotorua and they have funding assistance from the YMCA. However, funds from that source are not inexhaustible and the co-op will require a more assured source of finance.

It would seem that such funding would be positive and much more desirable than the negative financing presently channelled into i.e. the judicial process. That, of course, raises the question of who is to do the funding. Various suggestions

mooted Maori Affairs, Social Welfare, Labour Department - as far as this Round Table was concerned, the question remained unresolved. The Rotorua member's view was that there was a need for paid community workers, supportive services and counselling in his area.

Another member, an executive officer of the Maori Affairs Department, outlined the history of that Department's training programmes. The previous emphasis was in the conventional training areas where apprentice courses were run in various trades.

The conceptual thinking of the Department has since changed with the inception of the Tu Tangata philosophy. This will be discussed in depth at a later stage in this paper, suffice to say at this point that it is now the Department's role to generate community based activity. Where there was once a role for the community worker attempting to attend to a number of "Maori" problems, in terms of the new philosophy the Department now encourages a Maori input from other more appropriate Government agencies - and it rechannels its manpower to those agencies. Maori Affairs trained personnel are now serving in Social Welfare, Housing, Justice and Health.

One matter worthy of mention is that although the Department of Maori Affairs now is functioning under a new philosophy, other social departments are still functioning in their traditional style, they are not in tune with each other. The Maori Affairs Department having shed its "welfare" image and adopted a dynamic as opposed to passive function - perhaps it is time for other social departments to follow suit.

That member identified the following:

Need for Maori to look to the potential of the tourist industry in the 1980s.

The Department has recently established the Tu Tangata Management Programme at Massey University. This has been developed on a cooperative basis with the business community. It provides for Maori students to train for managerial positions and 20 persons will commence the course in 1981.

The Department instituted the system of business Wananga in which courses are held for aspiring Maori business people who have themselves developed a potential enterprise plan. On the course they acquire the skills, and more importantly the business contracts, to enable the formulation of a viable enterprise. Maori businessmen as such have been rare in the past.

The member from central Auckland outlined initiatives being taken by Maori people in her area.

Using the Tu Tangata system she has been involved in the setting up of a community based work trust. Using the Business Wananga system, mentioned above, one of her Trust members is acquiring the business skills necessary to establish a screen printing enterprise, which should provide employment opportunities.

The Trust has funded 4 young people in setting up a community newspaper. This provides work and has a circulation of 8,000.

Suggested also was the idea of creating jobs in the recreational field. She suggested that there could be scope for employment in teaching skills such as surfing, water safety etc.

Another member raised several important points. He indicated the psychological "change" that occurs as the result of being unemployed - particularly in the case of youth. Failing to establish the habit of work is likely to be damaging to a number of important social attitudes.



He indicated that there is a new breed of young people in the cities. They are rapidly gaining the attitude that receipt of the dole, the receipt of social welfare assistance, is in the accepted order of things.

He felt that there should be a more integrated attach on the unemployment situation by the social departments and the churches.

Previously mooted had been the suggestion of a shorter working week. Another member suggested a re-think of working hours. By way of explanation he pointed out that quite often the work scheduled for 8 hours could be completed in much less time but because we have been conditioned to think in such a time frame, we dutifully go about filling the 8 hour time space. If some means could be found to recompense a worker for a task, rather than on a time basis, then we may be much closer to providing more employment opportunities. This could mean a greater emphasis on contract work where appropriate.

The re-thinking of the "working week" and the "working day" could have vast social implications. But we are moving into the era of the micro-chip and perhaps the time is fast approaching when we will be compelled to address these questions.

Two members suggested that the definition of "work" could be reconsidered in the light of present day circumstances. Perhaps the idea of work could overlap the idea of recreation. Perhaps the two need not be as far apart as our conventional thinking would insist. The idea here is that what is normally classified as recreation could be re-classified as work, for the purpose of remuneration.

There is great merit in this attempt to re-think our common definitions. As it is we have inherited the ethic that there is an inherent virtue in daily labour for labour's sake. It is suggested that the notion is out of date in 1981.

A secretariat member outlined aspects of the Planning Council's employment paper. Speaking to the notion of flexible working hours he pointed out that resistance to this idea would come from the bureaucracy.

Another member outlined the situation as he saw it from his perspective as an employment officer at a freezing works. He voiced concern as to the lack of Maori involvement in managerial positions and suggested that there could be some conjunction between the freezing industry and the Maori Affairs business management scheme previously mentioned.

He expressed some reservations about the Tu Tangata philosophy in as far as it has a high voluntary aspect. In so doing he echoed similar concern expressed earlier - the voluntary approach is not sufficient and there is a call for greater professionalism, i.e. paid community workers. That, of course, returns us to the matter previously discussed re the source of these community workers performing a welfare function. My previous comments apply.

Another member, a farmer from Dannevirke, outlined his view from a rural perspective. He expressed some surprise that unemployment was regarded as such a problem because in his area there is a great need for skilled labour. Realising that persons with farm skills can be difficult to find, he decided to establish a skill training centre on his farm.

There he puts his trainees through a course designed to equip them with the basic skills required in the rural area, shearing, fencing, concreting, willow layering, etc. He also teaches the entrepreneurial skills needed for setting up contracts. As of 2 March 1981 he will have 14 trainees. Some of those who "graduate" will in turn become tutors.

From his network of contacts he is able to ensure the placement of his trainees where their particular skills are needed. His attitude is to train for demand, rather than train for training sake.

This innovative piece of thinking, and action, on the member's part has implications for regional development. Training should be directed to developing skills which are most relevant to the particular region's resources. His scheme must certainly have application in other regions.

It was pointed out that there is a tendency to think of unemployment as an urban problem. There is a need to develop the concepts as outlined above and a need for coordinated planning, there is a need to make use of tribal ties in the urban situation and a need to strengthen the Maori cultural base.

It was also felt that there was a need for greater vocational education.

The need to make available something more relevant to the 14 year olds, building construction courses, pastoral, horticultural type courses, and the need to expand work exploration schemes.

The reality at present is that the bulk of Maori school leavers at 15 years of age have no marketable skills - nor the prospect of acquiring them. Perhaps this is an area to which the educational authorities should give some serious thought. As early as 1968, with the prospect of afforestation in the East Cape area, Api Mahuika was calling for secondary school training that prepared students for employment relevant to the region.

The farming member considered that greater use could be made of our two greatest resources, people and land. Greater use could be made of the land Incorporations and Trusts. Greater use could be made of the unclaimed Maori land monies - using them to finance training. He also saw a need for more coordination in the planning process between the Department of Maori Affairs and the New Zealand Maori Council.

There seemed to be a general feeling amongst the Round Table members that as a country we are enmeshed in a detrimental economic condition that is largely beyond our control. That does not, of course, excuse us from trying to ease the situation as best we can and so contingency plans have been made and are being made. Some are large-scale with appropriate funding, e.g. Tu Tangata schemes, some are small-scale to suit local needs, e.g. some of these schemes have been outlined but a variety of others have not been mentioned.

Some participants sought to identify problems, e.g. lack of skills, inappropriate educational objectives. Others brought into question fundamental ideas that we have acquired and take for granted.

The mood of this meeting was far from pessimistic.

The important point for the purpose of this paper is that the Maori is not taking the adverse employment situation lying down. He is attempting to do something about it. Efforts are of a contingency nature and it can be expected that many will last only so long as necessity determines.

It is vital that these initiatives be sustained. It may involve initial "seeding" of funds or the odd input of public expenditure to maintain the momentum. On the basis that unemployment is the source of a variety of social ills then the alleviation of its effects by encouraging enterprise is much more desirable than the payment of an unemployment benefit.



JUSTICE

The participants in this Round Table were:

TAHU ASHER	Wellington	Marae Worker
JUDITH DAVEY	Wellington	Secretariat
EDDIE DURIE	Wellington	Chief Judge Maori Land Court
CLAUDE EDWARDS	Opotiki	Farmer
PATSY FISCHER	Wellington	Secretariat
PAUL GREEN	Palmerston North	Sociologist
DENNIS HANSON	Auckland	Marae Worker
NED IHAKA	Wellington	Probation Officer
CHRIS LIVESEY	Wellington	Secretariat
YVONNE NICHOLAS	Wellington	Taxi Driver
LESLIE PARR	Wellington	Maori Council Secretary
PETER RANKIN	Wellington	Secretariat
JOHN ROBERTSON	Wellington	Secretary of Justice
JOHN TAHUPARAE	Wellington	Consultant
IRI TAWHIWHIRANGI	Wellington	Maori Affairs Executive
JENNY WILSON	Kaikoura	Youth Hostel Manager
RANA WAITAI		Coordinator

This Round Table discussion was held on 30th March 1981, and the topic was stated as "Justice - the Maori involvement in the judicial process".

From an initial focus on the more general aspects of the Maori and the criminal law, the discussion moved to the question of community support and involvement in the judicial process, and from there to alternative approaches to law and penal institutions.

The ideas mooted had the Maori in mind as that was the central focus of discussion. However, they could have much more general application, which of course is appropriate given the multicultural nature of New Zealand society.

The scene for discussion was set by outlining some of the bases for the inordinate Maori representation in criminal offending.

The pace of the urban migration of a basically rural, tribalised people led to problems of adjustment. There was little official foresight or endeavour to assist adjustment - other than in terms of the reigning doctrine of "integration". The capacity of the Maori to resist cultural assimilation was grossly, if not deliberately under-estimated. Provision was not made for the influx of a different culture at the school level, skill training level or housing level. It would seem that official policy considered that the adjustment to a different cultural lifestyle would follow as a matter of course. But there were adjustment problems and these perpetuate through to the first and second generation of urban born Maori. Hence we have disenchanting youth with little interest in school or the systems that follow. A lack of marketable skills does not enhance prospects in the current economic climate.

* Re Urban Migration - 1951	29.3% of the Maori population were urban dwellers
1976	76.2% of the Maori population were urban dwellers

\* Maori Population and Dwellings 1976, No. 8 Department of Statistics publication

Those then are some of the contributory aspects.

Various substantive topics were discussed:

One criminal law for pakeha and another for the Maori?

This topic gave rise to some interesting thoughts. It was pointed out that as far as land law is concerned, there is the statutory assumption that the Maori is a separate entity, i.e. a quite different set of rules determine how Maori land is dealt with. This racial distinction does not follow though to the criminal code where all races are treated alike.

However, there was a consensus of opinion that there is room for only one criminal law as such. Nevertheless there was room for considerable flexibility in the exercise of justice. Given that only one code is to operate, perhaps a different cultural appreciation is required in some matters.

It was considered that the "inservice training" of Judges should include a significant cross-cultural component that permits insights into other cultural perceptions. The marae based weekend course for Judges (I understand that at least one has already been held) could be utilised for this purpose.

Disadvantaged in dealings with the Police

Some members felt that there was a negative stereotype operating and influencing the relationship between the Police and the young Maori. It was considered that:

There should be an increased effort on the part of the Police Department to ensure such interaction with the Maori community that cultivates mutual understanding.

That the frequency of marae live-in courses for Police members, particularly junior ranks, be increased.

That the Police continue their efforts to establish a liaison with the Maori community and leadership, taking particular cognisance of the Henderson Court - Police - Marae model.

Flexibility at the interface between Court and Community

This was a theme touched upon by a number of participants. It was suggested that:

In appropriate cases Maori elders could sit on the "bench" with the Judge to assist deliberations where Maori offenders are involved.

Consideration be given to the location of actual hearings - the Marae is in many cases a suitable venue and the quality of justice will not suffer.

In appropriate cases there could be consultation with the Maori community leadership prior to the decision to prosecute - and an alternative means of dealing with the matter could be found.

Criminal Records

This topic was discussed only in passing and then mainly by implication. It was noted that a criminal record can constitute an enduring personal stigma, the consequences of which may far outweigh the social damage occasioned. Obviously there is necessity to maintain such records for habitual offenders in serious crime, but for a whole range of less serious matters it is doubtful whether a permanent record serves any useful purpose. It was suggested that:

1. An inventory could be compiled of offences for which it is not necessary that a record be kept.
2. That for certain other offences, a record be kept for six months and then cancelled should there be no repetition of the offence.

3. That the Judge have the discretion as to whether or not a conviction be recorded as part of a criminal history, rather than have the situation of a perfunctory recording as presently happens.

#### The Honorary Probation Officer Scheme

This scheme was outlined by a member, who had been involved in the operation of the concept in Australia.

It was described as a good example of community involvement in a judicial process. It permits a degree of supervision and interaction between the Honorary Probation Office (HPO) and probationer that would be difficult, given the resources available and the case-loads, for professional probation officers. The HOP worked on a one-to-one basis or at most a one-to-two basis. This enabled the professional probation officer to be freed from mountainous case-loads therefore able to concentrate on more serious matters.

HPOs are basically voluntary but they do receive a minimal sum to cover expenses. They receive sufficient training for their task, they prepare Court reports and they have official access to data. Where the probationer does not respond in terms of his sentence there is provision for sentencing on the original charge - as would occur in the present system.

There are four attractive aspects to this scheme. There is a positive attempt at rehabilitation. There is community involvement. There is realistic personalised supervision. Professionals are released for more serious matters and this would seem to have implications for their job satisfaction.

It was considered that the Honorary Probation Officer scheme be examined with a view to instituting it in New Zealand.

#### Post-Release Adjustment and Employment

Studies have revealed that a person released from custodial detention is at his most vulnerable in the first ten days following. It largely depends on how he negotiates that period that determines his likelihood of re-offending.

That being the case, it would seem to be to the betterment of all concerned, including society at large, if the problems encountered in that post-release period could be minimised.

In the case of the Maori prisoner the cooperation of the Maori community could be enlisted prior to and following release so as to ease the transition period.

If the prisoner has no prospect of employment following release, it is desirable - and it would be a useful social investment - if he was to receive the unemployment benefit as soon as possible. Technically there is a weeks delay before such a benefit could be paid, in practice the period can be much longer. It may therefore be necessary to permit registration for a benefit prior to release.

(N.B. There are very few areas of this paper which exalt the receipt of benefit payments.)

#### An Alternative Sentence

One member described for the group his plan for a Maori Outward Bound Course. The course name is not significant, but was coined as a means of grasping a concept already familiar to the public. The course, for which a venue and finance source has become available since the meeting, seeks to create an environment which is totally Maori. On the course the participant progresses through a series of physical



and mental activities calculated to better equip him to cope with his day to day social environment.

Much has been made of innate Maori spirituality, and much has been said of the defunct role of the kaumatua (elder). This course has a strong "spiritual" undercurrent and it seeks to restore the status of the kaumatua to a role other than a ritualistic one. By this means two of the great strengths of Maoridom will be tapped and put to use.

The physical activities planned are arduous and there is a strong emphasis on the Maori martial arts which inculcate an inner discipline, as opposed to the mechanistic discipline induced by the usual custodial sentences.

In its "judicial" aspect, the scheme combines in a balanced mix offenders with non-offenders. In normal circumstances this mix would be unwise, but not so given the special nature of this course.

That this member's rehabilitation methods have worked in the past - using the vehicle of the Maori martial arts - can be testified to by a number of his proteges, who have become splendid citizens.

If we consider that the present forms of custodial sentencing fail in most respects, as evidenced by recidivism rates, then this scheme with its innovative emphases could do no worse, and there is an excellent chance that it would succeed.

It could be given further consideration as an alternative sentence type.

#### The Neighbourhood Mediation Concept

A theme that developed throughout this, and indeed other Round Table meetings, was that of a dissatisfaction with

assigning functions to officialdom where the task could more desirably be dealt with within the community.

The above concept is relevant here - it was not raised at the meeting, but was brought to notice in discussions following the meeting.

Basic to the concept is the idea that there should be some level short of judicial intervention at which disputes could be settled. The mediation scheme as operated in the United States involves parties to the numerous petty disputes that neighbours can have, placing their "case" in the hands of a trained mediator.

The range of disputes dealt with includes spouse abuse, harrassment, family feuds, property or possession disagreement, boundary issues, custody rights. Mediation can obviate the need for formal or Police involvement, thereby saving the disputants time and money, and enabling official resources to be applied to more serious matters.

The mediator concept could perhaps be grafted to the present C.A.B. system.

The following points could be considered as being central to justice policymaking:

1. Justice must be done and seen to be done to the satisfaction of society, the victim, the agencies involved and the offender.
2. Community involvement does not imply a dilution of the processes, rather it implies a re-acceptance of a responsibility previously abrogated, or passed to officialdom. Its role should be enhanced.



3. Putting aside the rhetoric of rehabilitation, the basic aim of penal policy should be to restore an offender to a useful role in the community. If bureaucratic inflexibility prevents this then much of the effect of the total penal exercise is lost.
4. If innovation can result in the re-directing of negative financing, then that innovation should be attempted regardless of initial cost.

#### MAORI LAND USE

The participants in this Round Table were:

EDDIE DURIE	Wellington	Chief Judge, Maori Land Court
MIKE KITCHEN	Taradale	Trade Union Official
LESLIE PARR	Wellington	Maori Council Secretary
MANU PAUL	Auckland	Lecturer
SIR NORMAN PERRY	Opotiki	Consultant
KEN PIDDINGTON	Wellington	Commissioner for the Environment
MAUI POMARE	Wellington	Consultant
BILL ROBERTSON	Wellington	Lands and Survey Department Officer
JOHN TAHUPARAE	Wellington	Consultant
WAKA VERCOE	Rotorua	Trust Board Secretary
RANA WAITAI		Coordinator

As the topic of Maori Land Use is so broad, the principle aim of this Round Table was to gain familiarity with several projects that are proceeding in various parts of the country.

This Round Table discussion was held on 21 April 1981 and the Commissioner for the Environment, Mr Ken Piddington, offered the use of his premises.

Waka Vercoe (Te Arawa Trust Board) and Sir Norman Perry (Consultant to Whakatohea Trust Board) outlined the basis of the Huarahi Developments. This is a joint venture between TNL Export Ltd and a group of Maori Tribal Land Trusts and Incorporations in the Bay of Plenty. TNL have a 40 percent holding in the company and two representatives on the board, while the Trusts have a 60 percent controlling interest and four representatives. This formula was deliberately sought by the Trusts and TNL to negate any false impressions of a private enterprise take-over of Maori land interests.

This is a joint venture in land use. Huarahi Developments is a servicing company. The Trusts arrange the land and the manpower resource, attend to the recruiting (from the tribal areas involved) for all levels of the venture, including administration. TNL supply expertise in horticulture management supervision and marketing.

The venture has only been in operation for a short while. The present focus of activity is a nursery on a 1,200 acre block at Maketu, and marae hui (seminars) for potential growers.

Future activity involves coordinating the growth of crops in the areas which take in a fair expanse of the Bay of Plenty. Overseas orders will be received by Huarahi and the land and resources necessary to fill those orders will be calculated. The individual growers will be advised at each step and in this organised way assured of a price and a market.

Huarahi are sensitive to the acute unemployment problems of their region. Waka has a liaison with Roger Steele (see Round Table of 10 February 1981 - re Employment) of the Waiariki Community College, and there is to be an emphasis on

horticulture skill training. At present two girls and two boys are undergoing training in Nelson while Huarahi is sponsoring two others who are doing a management course at Massey University. Obviously the manpower requirement and skill training will increase as Huarahi develops across the Bay of Plenty. To assist the short-term unemployment problem the Te Arawa Trust Board has made available, and cleared, an area of land where 24 Maori teenagers are growing cash crops and operating a road-side stall. This is established as a Kokiri programme under the auspices of the Maori Affairs Department. Additionally the Wakatohea Trust Board has established a horticultural training area in association with Opotiki College.

A development such as Huarahi is in many ways the "coming to fruition of the dream" of the late Sir Apirana Ngata who, more than most of his contemporaries, envisaged a bi-cultural partnership of Maori and European.

There are aspects to the Huarahi concept that are both appropriate and appealing to the multi-cultural aspirations of New Zealand. There is the "marriage" of two different and previously distant sets of cultural interests. Both parties have made appropriate accommodations and given that they both start from ostensibly different philosophic bases, the present amalgam augers well for New Zealand's future. The nature of tribal trusts does imply a family character to the venture and this aspect appeals to other cultures, e.g. the Japanese who are showing an interest as a future market source. This insertion of a Maori cultural strength into the New Zealand trading pattern may have more benefits than are presently realised, particularly in the Pacific basin.

Another member outlined a different type of horticulture venture in the Bay of Plenty. This is the Patuwau Trust scheme in the vicinity of Whakatane. The Trust makes use of the 438 provision\* in Maori Land legislation, to develop some 240 acres of land. The scheme commenced in 1980.

\* Section 438 The Maori Affairs Act 1953

In 1980 some 46 acres of asparagus were planted and an even greater acreage in 1981. It is anticipated that by 1983 when the block will be producing the earnings will be \$130,000 per annum.

Further cropping will involve kiwifruit and boysenberries and it is expected that by 1990, when together with the asparagus there is full production, the earnings will be in the vicinity of \$500,000.

As with Huarahi, there is an involvement of private sector concerns. One firm has an advisory capacity, while the other assists with clerical services. Unlike Huarahi there is no private sector shareholding or control. Ultimately the success of this venture will indirectly benefit the private concerns in the area.

This venture has already resulted in a degree of rural re-settlement with Patuwai tribal members at last having a reason to return to the area.

With Huarahi there is the involvement of a number of tribal Trusts, and the benefits tend to be longer term in character with a strong economic emphasis. With the Patuwai venture there is a heavy social orientation and more shorter term, or immediate benefit.

Tribal labour is being used intensively and because of the nature of whanaungatanga (family involvement), time and costs have been halved.

There is an acute unemployment problem in the Bay of Plenty and this is particularly serious for the Maori. This venture affords some relief to the problem locally. A further spin-off is that tribal members, many of whom were previously unemployed are learning horticultural skills and eventually they will be able to contract themselves out to farmers who

need their services. This adds to the skill resource of the region and is something of a hedge against unemployment.

This venture will remain tribally based as this will minimise the problems of cohesion where a number of beneficiaries are involved. One indication of that developing cohesion was the decision that the Trust funds would not be paid out for five years - thus accumulating development capital.

This venture is inculcating a sense of pride, confidence and self-determination in the tribe. This is particularly important in times of a recession. The Patuwai Tribal Trust scheme, small scale as it may be, is important in people terms - important for Maoridom because amongst other things it shows how a traditional Maori value, Whanaungatanga, can be made fruitfully relevant in the modern world.

For its social value alone schemes like this should be encouraged.

The member from Taradale brought quite a different scheme to the Round Table. He outlined the freezing works-forestry venture that he has been involved with for a number of years. In 1971 while employed by the Union at the Whakatu Freezing Works (Hastings) he was involved in the writing of a paper about the social and economic advancement of the Maori people. The paper was presented at a Union meeting and some 800 persons attended (80 percent Maori). In the paper he outlined a scheme to establish a forestry block owned by Union membership. It was envisaged that eventually the forest would be a source of further income and employment for the Union members during the off-season.

From that meeting a committee was formed to get the project underway - a system of weekly contributions was devised and after twelve months some \$11,000 had been banked. A block of



land suitable for afforestation was leased long term. The Forest Service assisted and the Minister, Mr Duncan McIntyre, was helpful to the project.

Now, ten years later, the forest, still some years from the milling stage, covers a 4,000 acre block and the Trust has over \$2 million worth of assets. One thousand members contribute to the cash flow; some 15-16 full-time workers with a manager are employed on the block and some 60-70 persons work there for periods during the year.

An additional social spin-off is that it provides a source of employment for teenagers in the area who have been in strife with the law.

The production of high quality timber with consideration being given to wood panel production, is the future aim of the enterprise - in as far as the Hastings scheme is concerned.

The member has been instrumental in "exporting" the scheme to other areas. In Northland union membership of the Moerewa Freezing Works has accumulated over \$¼ million assets and are purchasing a block of land for forestry - people will be employed there this year although the project is only twelve months old. Similar projects are underway in conjunction with the Wairoa and Balclutha Freezing Works.

He reports that although participation is possible from anyone involved in the freezing work industry, it has to date mainly attracted the "butchers" i.e. the "chain-workers". It was with those workers in mind that the project was established and it is fitting that they make the major use of the scheme.

It would seem that any project that offers some additional income/employment security to counteract the precarious nature

of seasonal work is good. Additionally this project offers a means of participation in an activity, beneficial to the country, that those employees would not normally have.

The Whakatu forestry venture has gone beyond the Maori land legislation and makes use of the Trust provisions of the general law. So too does the "family type" venture set up by a member from the Tikitiki area. He was not involved in this particular Round Table, but he outlined his scheme in the June meeting.

The Tikitiki scheme involves a cooperative kiwifruit venture on a 35 acre block. Family funds were pooled to purchase plants and equipment and the entire 35 acres were planted by family members in the space of one week.

The Trust has been established so as to retain all shareholding within the families involved. The fact that it is viable and has not made use of Maori land legislation, has attracted a great deal of interest from other groups in the area.

Those then are four ventures that are significant efforts by the Maori to develop land and provide an economic base. No mention has been made of the Maori Land Incorporations as they are already well known and some are long established. Each of the four ventures has a varying emphasis on the social aspect, whether it be supplying a source for local employment, supplementing sources of income, developing specialist skills, or providing an economic vehicle for the resurgence of Whanaungatanga. The advent of a Maori land - private sector joint venture is an important step in achieving a bi-cultural development in which Maori land is retained in Maori ownership and control, and is subject to planned development on a comprehensive basis. The private sector also gains.



Those then are the schemes. There are, of course, many more but space precludes their mention. To what extent are they exportable to other regions. That the Huarahi principle could be applied elsewhere is possible, but the nature of the crop, or for that matter the activity type, would depend on the region concerned. As for the Patuwai scheme, there is no reason why this use of the 438 Trust provision could not be applied in other places. The Tikitiki plan is also exportable and indicates a constructive use by the Maori of the general law provisions. The Whakatu scheme, as mentioned, has been applied in three other areas already. It is predominantly, but not exclusively, Maori and it illustrates how cooperative efforts can be used for the benefit of the nation.

One member raised the matter of urban Maori land, which is much more extensive than is commonly known, as this topic is generally overlooked in discussions of Maori land use. He was of the opinion that such areas will be the scene of Maori activism in the future - in the same way that Bastion Point achieved notoriety in 1978.

This Round Table discussion was far from being a comprehensive account of Maori land use and development - but then it did not start out to be so. The subjects covered are well known to those directly involved, but not necessarily appreciated by outsiders. It is well to be aware that the Maori is taking these steps to resolve the dual problem of land retention and land development.

A sentiment expressed in the 60s by at least two high-ranking Government officials, was that "Maoris are poor market gardeners",<sup>6</sup> when there was the suggestion of the introduction of horticulture on the East Coast. At that time Maori labour was required elsewhere, land holdings of

6. Te Kaunihera Maori, Winter issue 1968, p.35

viable horticulture size were declared uneconomic and there was no provision for development finance. It was largely a "chicken/egg" situation for the Maori and a self-fulfilling prophecy for those who expressed such sentiments.

It is to be hoped that such sentiments have not lingered into the 80s.

Perhaps the main message from this part of the paper is that the Maori is attempting to retain land, attempting to buy back land previously lost, but most of all, the Maori is developing land.

A variety of social benefits accrue in the manner that the Maori develops his land and the potential social benefits must be given strong consideration along with the economic prospects, when applications for funding, expert advice, etc. are received.

EDUCATION

The participants in this Round Table were:

BETH ATARIA	Kaikoura	School Teacher
EDDIE DURIE	Wellington	Chief Judge, Maori Land Court
KINGI HOUKAMOU	Hicks Bay	Contractor
CHRIS LIVESEY	Wellington	Secretariat
TUROA ROYAL	Wellington	High School Principal
IRI TAWHIWHIRANGI	Wellington	Maori Affairs Executive
KATE WALKER	Ruatoria	School Teacher
RANA WAITAI		Coordinator

It was a little difficult to know how to deal with the topic of education because like land use it is broad with areas of high specialty. As the Round Table had embarked on an excursion through the areas of Maori concern, obviously education as a topic had to be addressed. There is, of course, continuing research and development in this field and rather than encroach upon the area of the specialists, it was decided that an attempt would be made to extract some insights from members both inside and outside the education profession.

This Round Table was held on 12th March 1981 and the topic was stated as - Maori Involvement in the Education Process.

It is a matter of record that the Maori has not made an auspicious showing in terms of educational achievement. Popular reasons given include:

1. The Maori is dealing with an alien system;
2. The Maori lacks the perseverance necessary for success in the system;
3. His socio-economic environment precludes his succeeding in the system.

The truth of the matter is much more complex than that although there is some validity in each of the propositions.

For the purpose of the Round Table discussion the issue of Maori under-achievement was addressed by way of the following question:

"Is there some inherent fault with the education system that causes the Maori to under-achieve?"

One member felt that there was nothing particularly wrong with the system, but rather that the fact of achievement is related to the learning environment. But he considered that there was much that could be done within the system to enhance the learning environment ... the system contains the potential for much more flexible utilisation.

Another member felt that the system was to blame ... "Children are being structured for the facilities rather than the facilities being put there for the children."

Her statement is really quite profound as it goes right to the heart of the means/end debate which will be mentioned later. Others in effect concur, but shift the blame from

the system itself to the functionaries within it - not just the teaching staff, but also policy-makers who determine the use of school facilities, and the nature of the curriculum.

A member speaking from a South Island background had made a local study of the home environment and its effect on the student. The study was of small scale and the results generally indeterminate. Obviously the home environment, as a single component, is insufficient as an explanation of under-achievement.

One member contributed a view, that surfaced in varied form throughout the series without being seriously challenged. It was her view that "... in this country we are nationally entrenched in the welfare mentality - we are happy to delegate all kinds of responsibility to the professionals ...".

The crux of this assertion is that New Zealanders have become accustomed, as a matter of course, to assign some functions (in this case the education of young) to a state agency, and in so doing they effectively assign total responsibility for the same. The nation she feels has been "psyched" into leaving it to the "professionals". She advocates a greater degree of participation and decision-making at the grass-root level of the community.

There are two characteristic strands of thought that have kept emerging through the Round Table series and in many ways they typify the adaptive propensity of the Maori to his social environment.

Firstly, there is the need for community involvement and secondly, there is the need for flexibility in the bureaucratic approach and response.

Community involvement in its popular sociological sense has been reduced to something of a trite aspiration - rendered almost meaningless in our basically urban society. But it

still retains much of its meaning in terms of the Maori philosophy as enshrined in the notion of "whangaungatanga". It could be said that the Maori deliberately takes steps to avoid individuation and instead "creates community" at every opportunity.

How to incorporate this notion of community into the school system? - that is the question. A member, in reference to an east coast rural district, spoke of the level of community expectation. This relates to the amount of interest that a community invests in its local learning institution, and that level tends to be reflected in the response from the students - and staff. Mediocre response will reflect a mediocre involvement. Some way must be found to establish a more dynamic interaction between school and community.

One member indicated that there are limitations to community involvement (referring to parents). There are some activities, e.g. fund raising, where the parents can be involved with great enthusiasm. However, there are other activities where, due to a lack of academic sophistication, parents do not feel at all comfortable, e.g. homework centres.

Another member made the point that in rural communities the school is perceived as a potential power point. But its power is not utilised unless a purposive attempt is made to establish an on-going involvement with the community. It was said that there is sometimes the attitude abroad amongst teachers that the parents should be coming to them - rather she feels that the teacher should be going more often to the parent. Perhaps all the participants would agree that this interaction should be two-way.

The matter of urban education raises the matter of flexibility.



Considering the school to be part of a bureaucratic system then the "Whanau" concept as operated by the principal of an urban high school is an example of a flexible bureaucratic response. In both cases attempts are being made to insert the quality of relevance to time and social circumstances, where this has meant overturning the "tried and true" - then, such is the nature of progress. Bureaucracies develop means of delivering a resource to a clientele but unfortunately it is in the nature of bureaucracies that over time they tend to calcify to the extent that the means becomes more important than the end - and a strong systems-maintenance effect ensues.

In education one would surmise that the end product should be a student adequately prepared to negotiate his way in society as an effective citizen. If that end results, then one assumes that the means are acceptable, but if that end is not achieved with significant frequency, then a more flexible means may have to be adopted occasioning a departure from the status quo. The whanau concept as practised at Wellington High School, and also at Hilary College, could be described as such an intervention of innovation.

The "Whanau system of education" was described by a member who is the principal of a large secondary school.

"Big schools are pretty impersonal and the sense of belonging is lost - we make assumptions that it could be described as a failing, to need a sense of belonging."

"In order to provide a sense of belonging and provide a living environment, we had to break up the school (Wellington High School)."

"It was considered that the learning environment is as important as learning itself."

"The Whanau group consisted of a quarter of the school students, 3rd - 7th formers who shared the same class, labs, teachers and common room - all located in the same area of the school. The idea was to cultivate the idea of Whanau (family)."

"Therefore three quarters of the school remained non-Whanau and horizontally banded in forms - i.e. the normal horizontal structure of schools. The Whanau section was vertically structured."

"The first Whanau pilot study began in 1979. We put all the students names in alphabetical order and then took a random sample of 60 from 4th, 5th and 6th formers. We then consulted the parents of the selected students to gain their approval. Participation in the scheme was and remains optional."

"As far as teachers were concerned, I selected the head of the unit and he then selected the number and type of subject teachers. He chose seven teachers who could work well together."

"For some six months prior to the beginning of the 1979 school year, the staff members worked to set up the concept. It was decided that four core courses - Maths, Social Studies, English, Sciences would be done Whanau style. For some other subjects it is necessary for the student to go into the non-Whanau area."

"As for ethnic distributions there would be some 30 percent of Maori or Pacific Islanders in the total school population and this percentage is reflected in the Whanau. The only exception that we made to the "random" element was that we encouraged members of the same family to stay together."

"There are two strong emphases in the Whanau system. One is guidance - family type guidance in the relationship between staff and students, and between the various levels of students themselves. (A survey was done of the school to see how many third formers knew seventh formers and vice versa - the Whanau students surpassed the non-Whanau students and this obviously has implications for social environment."



"The other emphasis is upon physical environment and the staff and students were responsible for decorating and maintaining their area of the school. Considerable pride is apparent in their response."

The subject of equality was raised at this Round Table. This popular abstract has gained currency in recent decades in the notion of equality of opportunity. A majority of the group disavowed that notion - the objective, it was stated, should be equality of achievement.

On the subject of the teaching profession itself, a member who has now left teaching offered the following thoughts: "there is a distinct danger in staying put in the teaching community - you can lose touch with the realities out in the general community - there are those who have never been outside. It is very easy to get into the teaching game and then put your head down and have an easy ride. I don't think that is good for teachers, for students, or for the community."

He advocated that for one year in every five years the teacher should be required to become involved in a quite different aspect of the education process, and if necessary get out of the process altogether for a year. Effectively a sabbatical year in which the teacher could -

- (a) Undertake a university course; or
- (b) Be seconded to the inspectorate; or
- (c) Circulate between several different schools in his area, etc.

He considered that there are probably a lot of teachers who would like to take a break from their normal routine but who do not wish to imperil the tenure of their chosen career. Likewise there are others who for various reasons would have difficulty moving outside their home districts - option (c) above could solve that problem. Given that school rolls are dropping

and that there is a potential surplus of teachers, then this idea to overcome career stagnation would seem to have merit.

Another member considered that when discussion the education process there are six important areas.

1. There is a need to look at the pre-school area.

There is a need to capture the imagination of the parent. The parent is usually vitally interested in their pre-school child so a channel for this interest should be provided. To that statement the comment was made, "But don't give people things for nothing - use Iri's method, the Tu Tangata way. Remember how "Head Start" in the USA fell flat."

2. The pre-school area should be part and parcel of the primary school system - there is much educational plant going to waste.

3. We should also be looking at the Continuing Education area.

For those who are not getting through the system there must be ample opportunity for them to obtain education at a later stage in life. This is particularly relevant to the Maori as a number of the more highly educated members of the race gained their degrees when they were in their 30s.

4. Attention should be paid to the Teacher Training area.

Teachers cannot be expected to just change direction without providing them with new skills. This training and re-training must cover all areas, e.g. primary, secondary teachers, and the inspectorate etc. One member considered that there should be a spur to retrain as in private enterprise - they either shape up or ship out.

5. There is a need to look at the Curriculum area.

People have been trained one way and then can come to believe that their subject is the centre of the universe. But it is not the universe of their students - they live in a completely different world. It is a perpetuating thing - we teach maths and so produce maths teachers, who teach maths and produce more maths teachers ... At what stage do we cut into that cycle? We need to challenge the mythology all the time. We need to look at the appropriateness of the curriculum so that it fits the reality of the world.

6. Finally, there is a need to look at the Educational Research area.

Those then are the six areas that were identified as requiring attention. Obviously they have relevance not just to the Maori, but to everyone involved in the New Zealand education process.

Because of the constraints of time, and the expanse of the topic, it was not expected that this Round Table would do other than be generally informative, and perhaps raise some interesting ideas. It is felt that it succeeded in this respect.

The major thrusts in Maori education participation are identified in "He Huarahi", the report of the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education, published by the Department of Education in 1980. That report is the most comprehensive discussion of the topic to date.

There is still too often rife the idea that things Maori have only an auxiliary function in the education process. The attitude persists that "well that is the Maori thing, now let's get on with the real thing". It is necessary that the Maori aspect of a student be perceived as a positive quality, by the teacher ... and the student.

### THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS

This Round Table, held on 2 June 1981, was the first in the opening series that had considered broad topic areas. It had been decided that in the next phase of the Round Table evolution there would be a more specific focusing of topic and a closer integration with current Planning Council projects.

The topic for this Round Table was stated as: Maori Participation in the Decision-making Process. The participants were:

TAHU ASHER	Wellington	Marae Worker
PATSY FISCHER	Wellington	Secretariat
SIR MICHAEL FOWLER	Wellington	Mayor of Wellington
RON GUTHRIE	Dunedin	Planning Councillor
SIR FRANK HOLMES	Wellington	Chairman, Planning Council
PAULINE KINGI	Auckland	Solicitor
SIR GRAHAM LATIMER	Taipuha	Farmer
HEATHER LITTLE	Hawarden	Planning Councillor
CHRIS LIVESEY	Wellington	Secretariat
RALPH LOVE	Wellington	Regional Planning Commission representative
API MAHUIKA	Tikitiki	Farmer
LESLIE PARR	Wellington	Maori Council Secretary
PENNY POUTU	Palmerston North	Student
MARION REDMOND	Wellington	Student
ANDREW ROBB	Wellington	Commission for the Future Consultant
JOHN TAHUPARAE	Wellington	Maori Affairs Executive
IRI TAWHIWHIRANGI	Wellington	Wellington Regional Council
ROGER TAYLOR	Wellington	Planning Councillor
KERRIN VAUTIER	Auckland	Trade Union Affairs Coordinator
TUMANAKO WERETA	Auckland	
RANA WAITAI		

From a potentially very broad topic three areas were isolated to form the discussion format.

The dual concepts, "separate" and "special" development were first considered, and a recently published newspaper article on the subject was used as a focus for discussion.

"Recently there has been considerable discussion about separate development. I am not talking about the South African situation, but the New Zealand one ... the New Zealand Maori Council is reported as promoting separate representation and policy making bodies for the Maori population vis-a-vis by the European New Zealanders and perhaps to a lesser degree the situation is evidenced by an apparent change of direction within the Department of Maori Affairs... This sort of proposal concerns me as a New Zealander and it is not adequately answered by the Secretary of the Department of Maori Affairs, Mr Kara Puketapu, in semantic explanations that special development is really meant and not separate development ... Any move by a special interest group for separate rights should be examined very carefully ...<sup>7</sup>

"... the great Department of State, including the Department of Maori Affairs should be bending their endeavours towards the creation of a sensible multi-cultural community ..."

It was probably the phrase, "a sensible multi-cultural" community which best ignited the discussion. By what criteria or more particularly by whose criteria, is the notion of "sensible" to be determined? Said one member,

"I think it is an example of the type of reaction that we can expect in New Zealand now because in the majority/minority situation the majority has always tended to have the power encompassed within itself and to exercise

7. "Separate Development" published in the New Zealand Times, 24 May 1981



that power on behalf of the minority ... We have reached the situation now where, as Kara Puketapu has said - ... we are quite capable of inverting that situation ... (the minority) is capable of exercising its own power because it has its own resources ... and inevitably in a power game situation where one has had the power for so long, and the other starts balancing it the other way ... (the former) is going to start feeling uncomfortable. The sort of reaction that the writer of the article displays here, is perhaps understandable when you put it in that perspective."

Another member, after outlining the "special" considerations in the form of subsidies, that he receives as a farmer, went on to say:

"Now it is alright when those "special" privileges relate to power and the retention of power ... but when it comes down to giving some simple little privilege to a race of people, so that they can develop themselves economically or come to the same par as their fellow citizens in New Zealand, then it is considered racism."

This gave rise to the response that:

"The use of the term "special" ... is it a privilege, or is it a right? That is the sort of question that we have got to get into... In terms of a social contract it seems to me that the bargaining power of one party has always been stronger than the bargaining position of the other and the attempt now by the Maori people to balance things out, that's where the reaction is - in the whole question of the exercise of power."

Therefore the discussion settled on power and the terms "special" and "separate" must be considered as the parcelling out of part of that power. Depending upon where one stands in relation to the seat of power, these terms imply the giving of a concession or the receipt of a concession.

One considered the label "special" to be patronising.

Another member saw the matter in a quite different light.

"I think that if we are going to discuss this whole power game or where we stand in it, that we must select our words carefully and we must define words carefully so that they have cultural connotations that are relevant to us as a race of people. For this reason I see it as a right rather than as a special or separate development ... I see it more in terms of my ethnic right to develop the cultural, political and spiritual spheres that I have inherited."

To consider something as a right pre-supposes the deprivation of a right or the denial of a right. To explain his line of thought he stated:

"If we look at why we have a right to preserve our identity, whether it be cultural, political, economic or spiritual... if we reflect on history itself and look at land legislation over the years, we see how this in fact deprived us of the cultural base that belongs to us, and at the same time within that cultural base, the history, the legends and story of our people, so that there are now many sub-tribes, who are landless because of the legislation imposed by the majority culture upon us."

Those then were excerpts from the initial area of discussion. It in fact ran to many thousands of words with a number of participants contributing. There is strength of concern in what was said but it is useful to consider who is talking. The three persons quoted are certainly not revolutionaries. It is doubtful that the Maori activism movement being what it is would lay claim to their allegiance. They are not the



usual rhetoric bearers but rather they are three very experienced people, they are part of the unheard voice of mainstream Maoridom. Their words are worth heeding.

To attempt to place discussions within the orbit of this paper I will summarise it as follows:

The participants rapidly defined that power was the crucial issue - the willingness of the majority culture to share power with a minority culture. There was a reluctance to accept the idea of "special" development as it bore the connotation of assigned privilege. The desired connotation, it was felt, should be one of "cultural right".

As for the notion of "separate" development there was no enthusiasm for the idea of a separate Maori State within New Zealand, and any such idea can be dismissed as the resort of the politically naive - of either race.

The notion of "special" development is the basis, or at least the official basis upon which justification has been made for a variety of distinct Maori institutions - including the continuance of the four Maori Parliamentary seats. Whether this label is acceptable within the Maori frame of reference is only part of the story. In terms of the total New Zealand context the idea of "special" is perceived by the majority culture, many of them finding it an unacceptable concession to the minority people.

The fact of that perception must be retained at the forefront of any consideration of inter-cultural activity, because it will be a determinant factor in future social development. The justification, in as far as one feels disposed to justify, is that special developments assist in rectifying certain social imbalances that have historically disadvantaged the Maori people.

As for "separate" development and disavowing the extreme view earlier stated, it may be better to consider this term as does Kara Puketapu,

"It is better to approach the matter of "separate" by simply saying that we have, like all societies, some things that are special developments, i.e. Catholic education, Maori cultures, pakeha cultures, sport and culture, but, on the Maori/pakeha thing the Maori situation is seen as being always part of the total society - the pakeha tends to think that the Maori should be compromising to some sort of nationalistic norm, which in fact the Maori has always done and will, because he is Tu Tangata, that is being a New Zealander."<sup>8</sup>

Aside from the fact that Kara uses the terms "special" and "separate" interchangeably the basic message is in accord with the views expressed by other participants.

It was the opinion of various participants that the opinion contained in the article tend to capture the perception that the majority culture has of the Maori - the view that in the final analysis "you must conform and we will help you be like us". The problem with this sentiment is that it implies a tolerance of cultural "aberration" up to a certain level, but thereafter denies the relevance of cultural integrity to society. If this is the perception, then it is also the reality, for a significant public.

In terms of policy making how is it best to view the notion of "special" as it applies to Maori development? I believe that there must develop the policy climate in which Maori development strategies are viewed as being in the natural order of things - and not as some cultural concessions. Therefore one should view such strategies as being merely designed to adjust historical imbalances so that a mutually beneficial assault on the national future can occur.

Effectively many of the strategies will amount to concessions but this should occasion no more conceptual concern than do the "concessions" already made to, i.e. the agricultural industry, or to exporting, or to religious education. They should be viewed as a necessary adjunct to an enhanced New Zealand future. This involves an exercise in myth-redefinition.

THE FOUR MAORI PARLIAMENTARY SEATS

The fact of these seats was considered by the Round Table because they are an oft quoted example of "separate" development. What is usually forgotten is that they were not established by the Maori, in fact at one point late last century the Maori called for their abolition. The truth of the matter is that they were born of expedience and the reality is that they are still with us today.

The focus for attention in this discussion was whether the four seats should be abolished, or obversely, their number extended on the basis of the formula used for "general" seat representation.

A general sentiment expressed was that they have lost much of their effectiveness by being inextricably meshed into the party politic machine - and these policies were not seen as necessarily being in the 'interest of the Maori people - this situation was seen as obtaining regardless of the party involved. The final consensus advocated a more independent stance being desirable for the four members involved, and an increase in their number, at least to eight.

Certainly until there is much more evidence of participation of the Maori in general seat activity, it would be unwise to precipitate the abolition of the seats.

MAORI INVOLVEMENT IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

As a form of preparation for this particular Round Table a survey was made of some 30 City, Borough and County Councils in an attempt to gauge the extent of Maori participation. It was postulated that election to a local authority, or even the making of oneself available as a candidate, is a positive step towards involvement in the decision-making process.

The details of that survey were not available at the time of the Round Table. However, since that date a survey has been made of all local authority Councils with the exception of the Chatham Islands. Harbour Boards, Hospital Boards, Community Councils were not included.

Inquiries made: 235 Councils

Replies received: 210 Councils

There are 95 Maori Councillors on 68 City, Borough and County Councils.

163 Maoris offered themselves as candidates for 86 Councils in the 1980 elections.

Given that data the immediate reaction of some would be to inquire as to what percentage of all councillors are Maori i.e. does the figure have parity with the magic 10 percent as per the proportion of Maori in the overall population? That, I contend, is entirely the wrong approach and could be quite misleading. For instance, the Waiapu County Council would appear to be well endowed with 4 out of 9 Councillors being Maori - but the Maori makes up 68 percent of the Waiapu population. Or from another angle, there is one Maori on the Blenheim Borough Council and he is the Mayor - the Maori component of the Blenheim population is less than 2 percent.

Perhaps a more useful comparison can be made on a time basis, comparing the present number of Councillors and candidates with the situation in 1962.

Obtaining data for that period was a little difficult however. The Maori in local government was something of an exception and news reports of the day made special mention of such occurrences. Data was obtained for 104 Councils.

There were 27 Maori Councillors on 22 Councils (1962).

There were 41 Maori candidates for 27 Council elections (1962).

Without going into the percentages of the matter the fact of 95 Maori Councillors would seem to suggest that the Maori is taking deliberate steps to become involved in the decision making process.

But having said that, it must be acknowledged that the presence of a Maori member or members does not automatically imply an input of Maori values or aspirations into Council considerations. Whether there will be such an input will depend largely on the individual involved.

To add a further dimension to the survey, an attempt was made to ascertain the degree of liaison existing between the local government bodies and the foremost body of Maoridom - the New Zealand Maori Council. The latter body has 10 District Maori Councils throughout the country and each DMC covers the territory of a number of local authorities. Therefore it was the degree of liaison existing between local authorities and the respective DMC that was sought. In the absence of such liaison contact with any Maori organisation was sought. This part of the survey gave rise to some interesting results:

Of the 210 Councils responding -

- 16 reported a formal liaison with the DMC;
- 18 Councils indicated an accurate identification of the DMC and reported some degree of liaison;
- 166 Councils reported nil liaison, many plainly indicating that they had no knowledge of a DMC.

An analysis was made of those responses in terms of the presence or absence of a Maori Councillor as it was thought that this may have some bearing on such a liaison. The data revealed:

- (a) Councils with Maori Councillor(s) - liaison with DMC: 3.7 percent
- (b) Councils with Maori Councillor(s) - nil liaison with DMC: 21.5 percent
- (c) Councils with Maori Councillor(s) - liaison with some Maori organisation: 12.6 percent
- (d) Councils with Maori Councillor(s) - nil liaison with any Maori organisation: 11.7 percent
- (e) Councils with nil Maori Councillor(s) - liaison with DMC: 4.2 percent
- (f) Councils with nil Maori Councillor(s) - nil liaison with DMC: 54.4 percent
- (g) Councils with nil Maori Councillor(s) - liaison with some Maori organisation: 25.8 percent
- (h) Councils with nil Maori Councillor(s) - nil liaison with any Maori organisation: 36.6 percent

The results indicate a very poor degree of liaison between local government and the New Zealand Maori Council network and when it is considered that the latter is the official network for the channelling of Maori aspirations to government, then the results of this survey should be considered disturbing.

Within the context of this paper three points are indicated:

1. There is an attempt on an individual Maori basis to become involved in the decision-making process at local government level.
2. The presence of individual Maoris on Councils does not have a significant bearing on the degree of liaison between the Council and Maori organisations. (In fact- it could act as a disincentive should the Council regard a Maori presence per se as sufficient discharge of commitment to the Maori community.)
3. The presence or absence of a Maori Councillor makes no significant difference to the present poor degree of liaison between Councils and the New Zealand Maori Council network.



### THE MAORI IN REGIONAL PLANNING

The word "region" has occurred on several occasions throughout this paper, in reference to skill training for regional demand, or educating for regional needs. The recent Planning Council publication "Directions" stated:

"Regional planning provides a framework for focusing regional priorities; for resolving regional conflicts where they arise between regional aspirations and national interest and for facilitating better uses of resources. It should be regarded as offering opportunities rather than constraints, and not seen as the establishment of another costly tier of government."<sup>9</sup>

That it is regarded with some considerable significance by government is illustrated by the following:

"Regionalism is a move with a direct and tremendous impact on local and central government relationships and it is a development which is gaining momentum whether we like it or not."<sup>10</sup>

It is essential that Maoridom become part of that "momentum" at an early stage.

In terms of a formal Maori input the Town and Country Planning Act 1977 provides the following formula in Section 6(3):

"Where in the opinion of the United or Regional Council there are significant Maori land holdings the Council may request such Maori District Council as it considers most appropriate to nominate a representative of the Maori people in the region as a member of the Regional Planning Committee."

9. Directions, NZPC 1981, p.57

10. Planning and the Regions, NZPC 1980, K.M. Comber, M.P., October 1979

There are minor reservations regarding this formula. Firstly, it is highly conditional whether there is to be Maori representation. Secondly, the basic criteris is land holding (which could exclude Maori non-land holders), and thirdly, the Maori Council network is the nominating body.

However, regardless of the first two reservations, 10 of the 17 established Regional or United Councils do have Maori representation on the Planning Committees.

As regards the Maori District Council as the nominating body, this has caused some dismay in areas where that body is not a significant entity in Maori activity, e.g. parts of the South Island where the Runanga system is the popular Maori mode, while there is only one District Maori Council to cover the whole island.

(N.B. I make the assumption that the Maori District Council referred to in the Town and Country Planning Act 1977, is in fact the entity known as the District Maori Council.)

To insert a greater Maori involvement in regionalism there are two possible courses that could be adopted. One course is already in train, the other could be considered by the relevant parties. Both would involve the heightening of Maori awareness as to the possibilities of regionalism.

#### Course One

This is an information dissemination exercise.

The Planning Committee of the Auckland Regional Authority has a Maori representative, Miss Pauline Kingi. She pursues an active form of representation and is assisted by the Auckland Regional Maori Planning Committee which was originally formed to gather Maori submissions in this region. This group has recently produced a Planning Kit primarily for Maori organisations.

The Kit is an information document which sets out all the steps and procedures by which one becomes involved in the planning process relative to local and regional government, health, labour, resource development, etc. The production of this kit is a purposive and positive step to involve the Maori in the overall planning process - previously alien territory. That being the instrument, the course of action would be the widest possible dissemination of the kit and its adaptation to local circumstances.

#### Course Two

This requires the initial recognition that the New Zealand Maori Council is the official representative body of the Maori people. The Council is charged by statute with the task of ... considering, discussing, promoting and giving effect to any measures considered as being beneficial to the well-being of the Maori people ... it must also actively promote harmonious relations between various ethnic groups ... and collaborate and assist state departments and other agencies or organisations in any efforts which benefit the Maori people.

The brief is very broad and except in limited cases there is no statutory provision for reciprocal cooperation with the Council. Nevertheless it has pursued its brief faithfully for 20 years and is at least officially recognised as the representative body of Maoridom.

Whether or not it correctly reflects the opinion of the Maori people is quite another matter and here one of its major faults is its geographic structure.

As indicated in the previous discussion regarding liaisons, the relationship between the New Zealand Maori Council network and the local government network is very poor. The relationship with the United and Regional Council network is marginally better.

Course Two involves maximising the relationship between the Maori Council and the local and regional networks. As previously stated this is a two-way process involving positive initiatives from both groups.

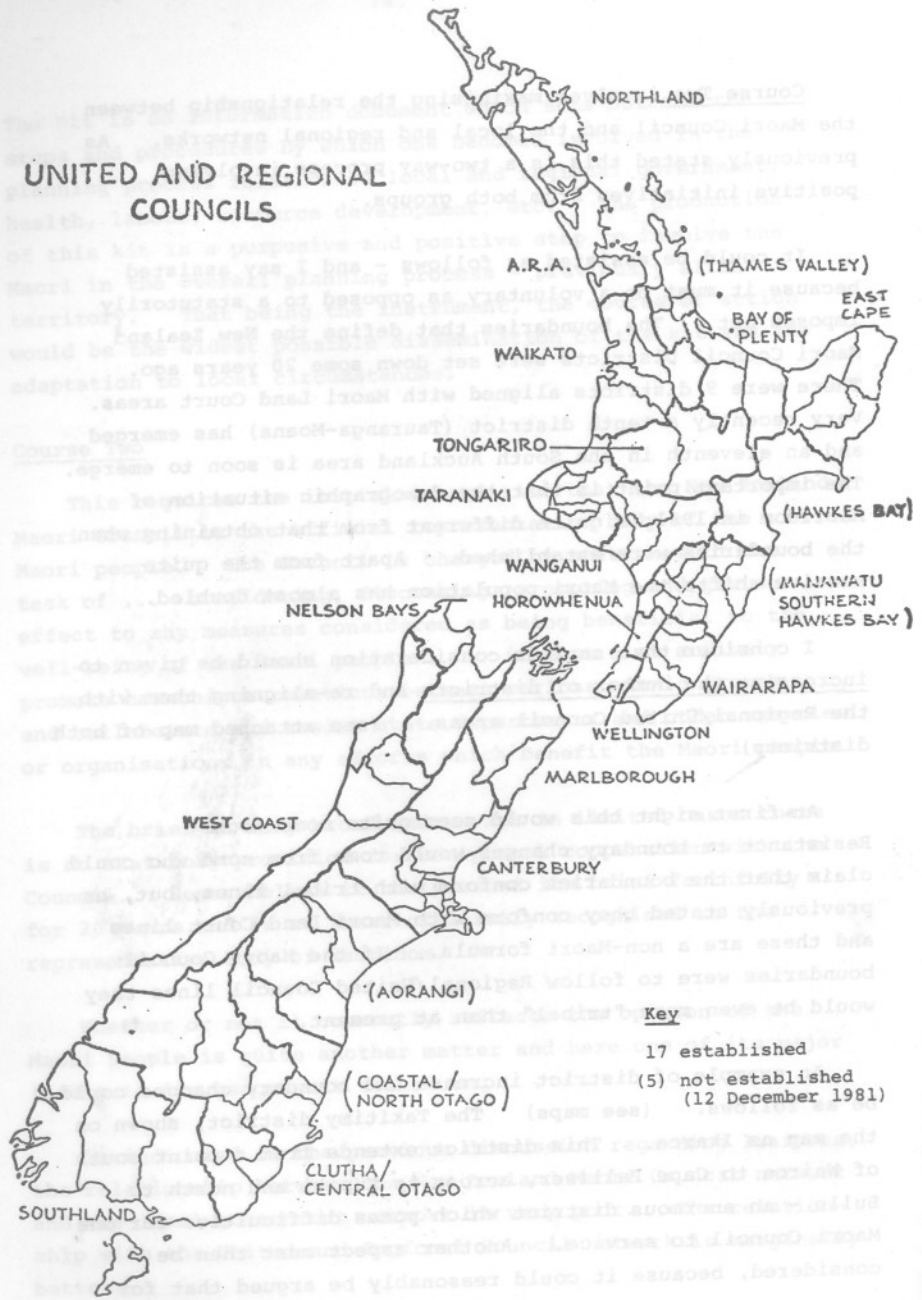
It could be assisted as follows - and I say assisted because it must be a voluntary as opposed to a statutorily imposed act. The boundaries that define the New Zealand Maori Council Districts were set down some 20 years ago. There were 9 districts aligned with Maori Land Court areas. Very recently a tenth district (Tauranga-Moana) has emerged and an eleventh in the South Auckland area is soon to emerge. The important point is that the demographic situation of Maoridom in 1981 is quite different from that obtaining when the boundaries were established. Apart from the quite massive shifts the Maori population has almost doubled.

I consider that serious consideration should be given to increasing the number of districts and re-aligning them with the Regional/United Council areas. (see attached map of both districts)

At first sight this would seem quite momentous. Resistance to boundary changes would come from some who could claim that the boundaries conform with tribal lines, but, as previously stated they conform with Maori Land Court lines and these are a non-Maori formula. If the Maori Council boundaries were to follow Regional/United Council lines they would be even more "tribal" than at present.

An example of district increase and boundary changes could be as follows. (see maps) The Takitimu district, shown on the map as Ikaroa. This district extends from a point south of Wairoa to Cape Palliser, across to Kapiti and north to Bulls - an enormous district which poses difficulties for one Maori Council to service. Another aspect must then be considered, because it could reasonably be argued that for

# UNITED AND REGIONAL COUNCILS



**Key**  
 17 established  
 (5) not established  
 (12 December 1981)

TAI TOKERAU  
D.M.C.

AUCKLAND  
D.M.C.

WAIKATO-MANIAPOTO  
D.M.C.

AOTEA D.M.C.

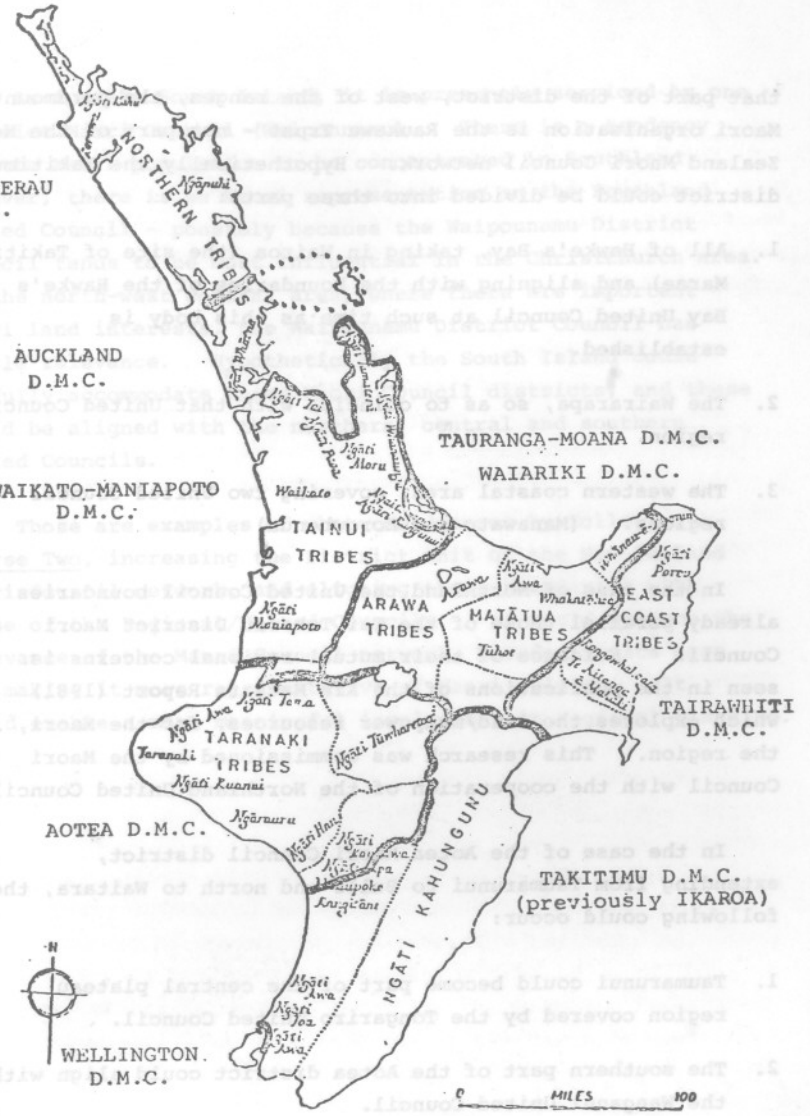
WELLINGTON.  
D.M.C.

TAURANGA-MOANA D.M.C.

WAIARIKI D.M.C.

TAIRAWHITI  
D.M.C.

TAKITIMU D.M.C.  
(previously IKAROA)



N.B. WAIPCUNAMU D.M.C. covers all South Island and Stewart Island.

Tribal areas with District Maori Council boundaries.



that part of the district, west of the ranges, the paramount Maori organisation is the Raukawa Trust - not part of the New Zealand Maori Council network. Hypothetically the Takitimu district could be divided into three parts:

1. All of Hawke's Bay, taking in Wairoa (the site of Takitimu Marae) and aligning with the boundaries of the Hawke's Bay United Council at such time as this body is established.
2. The Wairarapa, so as to coincide with that United Council region.
3. The western coastal area, covering two United Council regions. (Manawatu and Horowhenua)

In the case of Northland the United Council boundaries already parallel those of the Tai Tokerau District Maori Council. Evidence of their mutual regional concerns is seen in the publications of the Kia Mataara Report (1981) which explores the land/manpower resources, for the Maori, in the region. This research was commissioned by the Maori Council with the cooperation of the Northland United Council.

In the case of the Aotea Maori Council district, extending from Taumarunui to Bulls and north to Waitara, the following could occur:

1. Taumarunui could become part of the central plateau region covered by the Tongariro United Council.
2. The southern part of the Aotea district could align with the Wanganui United Council.
3. The balance of the district, which is Taranaki in any case, could align with the Taranaki United Council. This particular division would seem most realistic given the impact upon Maori interests of that region's energy projects.

As for the South Island, it is presently serviced by one District Maori Council (Waipounamu). There is a tendency for the Maori population to be concentrated in Southland. However, there is no Maori representation on the Southland United Council - possibly because the Waipounamu District Council tends to be most influential in the Christchurch area. In the north-west coastal area, where there are important Maori land interests, the Waipounamu District Council has little relevance. Hypothetically the South Island could usefully accommodate three Maori Council districts, and these could be aligned with the northern, central and southern United Councils.

Those are examples of what could occur by following Course Two, increasing the District unit of the New Zealand Maori Council network, and aligning their boundaries with those of the Regional/United Councils. It would enhance the relevance of the Maori Council network, broadening its base and making it more representative of Maori opinion. It would enable a more meaningful involvement in regional planning.



The four topics that follow are matters that were touched upon in various form at Round Tables without being specific items for discussion. They are basically the writers' own perceptions but are augmented in part by the insights of other Round Table members.

The topics are:

1. Tu Tangata
2. The Maori Affairs Department vis-a-vis the New Zealand Maori Council
3. Maori Activism
4. Quotas, Positive discrimination ...

#### TU TANGATA

One theme isolated by the initial Round Table was the issue of the devolution of power, more precisely the devolution of public decision-making authority. An issue couched in rhetoric and noble intent but seemingly difficult to make tangible.

But the Tu Tangata philosophy has done it - or at least is attempting to do it. Attempting for the first time ever at central Government level to invert the traditional mode of bureaucratic response. Some would say subvert, because it brings into question time honoured response modes, but whatever attitude one may adopt to the Tu Tangata philosophy, the fact remains that it has involved a profound shift in official thinking.

The philosophy is totally of Maori origin and it has been the subject of constant reference throughout the Round Table series. To indicate its relevance some comments from the Planning Council publication "The Welfare State" sets the scene.

"In ... areas such as education, or rehabilitation of petty offending, there has over a period been an escalation of expectation of help from the State so that we now over-rate the ability of public institutions to have an impact on the problems faced by some individuals. As a result the State is now being asked (on behalf of an increasingly unwilling taxpayer) to undertake tasks that were previously performed by family, community, church or other network in society. These tasks furthermore are often the consequence of "problems" which did not previously exist, (family mobility, solo parenthood, isolation of the aged)."

"Hence a 'top down' approach to social policy ... this is a process whereby political decisions at all levels of Government determine what services the people will have, where they will have them and how they will be delivered."

"The consequence of passing the responsibility to Government, or other agencies, is that the citizen no longer feels involved in the solution ... the payment of tax ... becomes a proxy for social responsibility and it is only a short step to public apathy." (11)

Prior to the advent of Tu Tangata, the Maori Affairs Department was a welfare agency for the Maori people. Basic to its operation was the notion that the State knows what was best for the Maori people. This approach, seen by many as patronising and certainly paternalistic, was in accord with the ruling doctrine of "integration" as proposed by the Hunn Report 1962.

Over a period of years the Department effectively conditioned its clientele to the role of passive recipients. It created a dependence that the new philosophy is only just beginning to dislodge. It acted as the central point for all State directed Maori functions, e.g. Maori housing, Maori labour schemes, etc. but because of its omnibus character it was only able to give superficial coverage to its varied functions. The expressed needs and aspirations of the Maori community were not a necessary consideration at the policy making level.

But all that has now changed - in line with the Tu Tangata philosophy, those functions more appropriately performed by other Departments are being re-assigned, e.g. welfare to Social Welfare, Court work to the Justice Department, housing and labour schemes to the substantive social agencies.

11. The Welfare State, NZPC No. 12, 1979, p.27

To mobilise the decision-making capacity of the Maori community the thrust has been to establish management groups at the community level consisting of persons from the actual community. There is still a Department presence - necessary, of course, for the initial mobilisation - but it has a catalytic, rather than a directive role. Effectively the community defines its own needs and sets its own priorities, it makes its own decisions, including decisions as to the allocation of funds.

There has been an enormous response from the Maori community but not before problems were encountered. These tended to relate to overcoming the years of conditioned dependence in the client, and there were also adjustment difficulties for the Department staff who had become accustomed to the modus operandi of the old regime.

Tu Tangata translates loosely as standing tall - and this is what the Maori community is challenged to do. The notion of dependence on central government and upon the "professionals" has been disavowed. It has confirmed that at the community level there is a responsible decision-making capacity. The self help potential is being developed and the resources of central government are being more effectively delivered.

The Department picture is as follows:

- (a) Tu Tangata is the over-arching philosophy.
- (b) The 1980 phase of development involved the setting up of Area Advisory Groups of community membership with support from District Offices in the form of administration and services. Once established and functioning the groups were assigned the fund allocation task. A number of centres throughout the country now have such community groups operating.

(c) The 1981 phase, still only operative in Wellington but soon to be exported to other centres, is the advanced phase to date. This aspect involves setting up Community Management Groups - each with a Kokiri unit attached. These units consist of one Department member of District Officer status, assisted by three Community Officers plus up to 16 members drawn from the community. They are each effectively a mobile task force acting according to the direction of a monthly plan drawn up by the Community Management Group.

In this phase there remains departmental oversight but the strong emphasis on community direction has meant that a number of departmental sub-offices have been disestablished.

The development of the Tu Tangata philosophy has been very important not only for the Maori people, but for New Zealanders as a whole. It has indicated a new direction that can be pursued in the effective delivery of central Government resources.

COMMENTS RE THE MAORI AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT AND THE NEW ZEALAND MAORI COUNCIL

As has been stated several times in this paper there is much energy and initiative abroad in Maoridom. There is a strong consciousness of a need to secure for the people a place in the present, and even more so in respect of the future.

Energy and initiative - but so much of it is disparate, spasmodic and generally uncoordinated. Ideas and plans for the ultimate benefit of the nation surface, pass through a brief euphoric phase, and then lapse or tumble into a developmental limbo.

The reason that they lapse can be read two ways.

The cynical view is that because these schemes are of Maori origin, they are registered by the majority culture as being threatening, and so insurmountable barriers are placed in their path. There is some substance to this argument but mainly of historical relevance.

A much more tenable argument is that there is a lack, in fact a total absence, of any viable structural mechanism that ensures the ongoing development of such initiatives. The fault lies largely with the Maori - he tends to be unpracticed at planning beyond the regional or tribal level, and he has not sought by cogent argument to develop the power resources that he has available.

Much of this attitude, and lack of grand scale entrepreneurial vision can be attributed to conditioned inertia - a quote from one member ... "In this country we are nationally entrenched in the welfare mentality. We are happy to delegate all kinds of responsibilities to the "professionals" - the nation has been psyched into leaving it to the professionals."<sup>12</sup>

12. Round Table, 12 May 1981

Given that the Maori is now finding in Tu Tangata the vehicle for shrugging off that inertia, what means are available to begin harnessing the disparate initiatives?

There is the Maori Affairs Department itself - but that is not the vehicle. In terms of Tu Tangata, or in any other future oriented terms, that is not the role of the Department. Its role is to generate, to give initial impetus and then to back off and leave it to the community to sustain the effort. It is a catalyst for community generated activity - to be other than that would be contrary to the Tu Tangata philosophy.

If the Department is not the vehicle, what is left? There is the New Zealand Maori Council - the statutory, pan-tribal entity. The Council has a brief that is of immense scale and a budget that is diminutive. Nominally a statutory body it is effectively a voluntary agency.

Voluntarism characterises much Maori initiative. There is inherent virtue in this, but it grossly limits the scale on which development may proceed.

What is required is that there be a complete re-assessment of the role and operation of the Council. The terms of reference that presently obtain are in the language of the old, discarded philosophy of assimilation. A quite different approach is required for the 1980s.

By the time that this paper is completed the Council will at least have acquired new accommodation befitting the scale of its brief. It will also have a secretariat of sorts which I suspect will be effectively no larger than the "one man band" operation of the past. It may be the plan to make departmental staff and resources available on a "share" basis, but that would be deleterious to both the operation and autonomy of the Council. Both organisations direct their service towards the Maori people, but their strategies are different and it is vitally important that they preserve their respective autonomy.

The points important in this part of the paper are:

1. The present disparate efforts and energies of Maoridom need to be harnessed and coordinated.
2. The Maori Affairs Department is not the vehicle for such a coordinating function - its role is generative.
3. The New Zealand Maori Council is the proper vehicle but it will need a much more professional approach and facility.
4. It is important that the Council's autonomy be preserved.
5. Government funding should continue to the Council as it is actioning a statutory brief - but on a more realistic scale.
6. It is highly desirable that the scheme for a New Zealand Maori Council Trust Fund be pursued as this will be a basis for increased financial autonomy.

I repeat the message from earlier in the paper. There is nothing to fear in Maori development. Rather, it should be celebrated as purposive effort towards developing New Zealand's future.



MAORI ACTIVISM

Although achieving a higher public profile in the 1970s there is nothing particularly new about Maori activism. There has been Maori activism since initial European contact; last century the tendency was for it to be Biblical in character with several Maori movements drawing a parallel between the plight of the race and the children of Israel. Discontent resulted in the land ward and a residual sense of grievance regarding land remains today.

Since the late 1960s when there was a general paroxysm of dissent throughout western society, the character of Maori activism has changed. While land - the basic focus of discontent - remained as a central theme, the activism took on a more international flavour and tended to tune into the global theme of revolt against colonial oppression. Within this line of thought a parallel is drawn with external racial situations and an affinity is sought with other "comparable" third world scenes.

There is much rhetoric in this form of activism - much rhetoric and little else. The basic problem is the tendency to focus exclusively on negative aspects and in the final analysis such a focus is only conducive to rhetoric, while efforts continue to redress what is widely perceived to be historical injustices.

However, there is a positive aspect to this negativism. It has kept New Zealand society on its toes. Maori agitation has niggled away and prevented both cultures from lapsing into complacency.

There is also the other form of Maori activism - the constructive and persistent variety - rarely publicised, but very busy over the last 20 years. This form of activism pursued by both the New Zealand Maori Council and various Maori parliamentarians is also aimed at the redressing of historical

injustices. It could reasonably be asserted that the activities by these sources laid the launching platform from which the more public manifestations of Maori activism sprang. It has been argued that had it not been for the constant plugging away at the power system by those who adopt constitutional strategies, the more blatant form of activism would have had difficulty emerging.

Be that as it may, there are now both forms of Maori activism and both have contributed towards bringing Maoridom to a stage in 1980 where it has an option on writing its own legislation.

A word of caution is advisable at this point. The character and extent of Maori activism will be directly related to the degree of frustration and alienation from mainstream New Zealand that Maoridom experiences in the future. Should there be a drastic downturn in the objective situation of Maoridom vis-a-vis the rest of society, then problems of hitherto unseen magnitude can be expected.

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As one well known Maori thinker describes the situation:

"Maori people are impatient"

"They are impatient with conservatives and they have become very impatient with the radicals - neither of whom deliver the goods."

Miri miria nga raho  
Me kore a rongo pao pao te mahunga.

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QUOTAS, POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION ...

There are various popular formulae that are intended to facilitate the inclusion of a minority group in a power or advantaged situation. There is an under-representation of Maoridom in various social institutions and various devices have been suggested to rectify the situation.

The simplest, and most simplistic device, is that of the quota system. In this system it is claimed that as there are some 10 percent Maori in the overall population then there must be 10 percent Maori representation in a particular group - therefore a certain set number of "places" are set aside exclusively for Maori.

But there are inherent problems here. Firstly, there is the prospect that a person of some other race and possessing better qualifications, will be denied a place. Secondly, it could be the situation that there are more merit qualified persons than there are allocated places - in this case the quota system effectively denies entry after the quota is filled.

Positive discrimination is a slightly diluted version of the quota system. Instead of a set number of "places" being allocated in a structure, a selection mechanism becomes operative at the entry stage. A "gate-keeper" role comes into play where discrimination is practiced in terms of a preference for members of a selected group (race, sex, etc.) Merit or qualification are only secondary considerations in attaining a level of representation.

In the case of the quota system there is an explicit representation level, with positive discrimination the effect is the same but in a covert fashion.

All formulae envisaged by the subject come under the generic heading of affirmative action. To view the gradations as a continuum would place the quota formula at one pole, positive discrimination midway, and at the other extreme a much more acceptable formula, described as follows. In terms of this formula, where there is a level of "under-representation" (e.g. Maori in tertiary institutions), programmes are instituted to bring potential candidates up to a level where entry can be achieved. It may be a level of expertise that is required and so a programme will develop that expertise. It may be a case of appraising potential candidates as to the desirability of seeking office. The important point is that unlike the earlier mentioned formulae, all the bolstering occurs prior to reaching the point of entry.

Among other things this prevents accusations of tokenism that can follow entry via "token access routes".

There is a rather basic and erroneous assumption underlying much affirmative action thinking. It is assumed that a representative of a certain sociological category (e.g. race, sex, age, class) will somehow provide an input "representative" of the special characteristics of that category. Therein lies a fallacy for there is no guarantee that, for example, a Maori elected to a local authority will bring any enhancement of Maori values or aspirations to Council considerations - in fact the reverse could occur where his presence is considered sufficient discharge of any commitment to Maoridom. The concept, in terms of sociological representation is tenuous, it can be counter-productive and unless handled with care, can be downright unjust.

AND HAVING SAID ALL THAT .... There are at least two circumstances where a positive discrimination can be acceptable. These circumstances are:

(1) Where the structure that provides a specific Maori access route was not originally set in place by the Maori. For example, the situation of Maori parliamentary representation. The basic formula of 4 Maori seats was not devised by the Maori and it is arguable whether it was devised for his benefit. Hence the call for more Maori parliamentary seats, earlier in this paper is merely the updating of a formula that was non-Maori in origin. That formula, over the years, induced a certain level of Maori dependence and, it could be argued, acted as a barrier to a more general Maori participation in parliament. (N.B. It was not until 1981 that the Labour Party promoted a Maori in a general seat.)

(2) Where in the past there has been an obvious, if unstated, disincentive to encourage a Maori presence at decision-making levels. An interesting example is the Department of Maori Affairs which was ostensibly established, and continued, to service Maoridom.

It will doubtless be asserted to the contrary, but as recently as five years ago there was a positive, if invisible barrier to the entry of the Maori into the upper executive grades. The departmental "mythology" held that the Maori had a natural tendency to excel in the social work field but was unable to handle the administrative aspect required of the executive branch. Consequently there were virtually two departments - one for the Maori in the social work field with its lower level ceiling for promotion, and one for the non-Maori that handled the administration and decision-making.

This situation has greatly changed since the advent of the Tu Tangata philosophy. Officers from the "social" side are now proving themselves to be completely competent in executive capacity ... rebutting the old mythology.

Similarly with the control at District Office level, in 1976 there were no Maori District Officers ... now the majority are Maori.

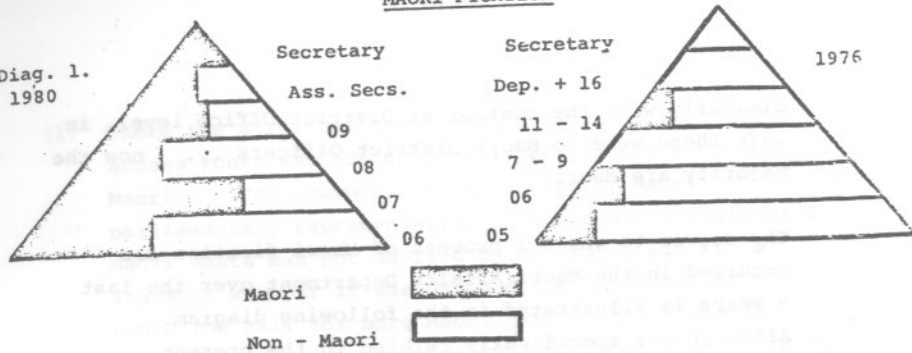
The degree to which a process of Maori-fication has occurred in the Maori Affairs Department over the last 5 years is illustrated in the following diagram. Although not specifically related to the present discussion, diagrams are also included that depict the changing age structure of the department, and the move towards a more professionally qualified department.

To summarise this part of the paper two main points are argued:

1. Formulae under the generic heading of affirmative action range from the acceptable to the unacceptable.
2. More of those formulae become acceptable in the case of purportedly "Maori" institutions that were not "Maori" in origin, or which posited on effective disincentive to Maori participation in matters concerning the affairs of Maoridom.

MAORI-FICATION

Diag. 1.  
1980

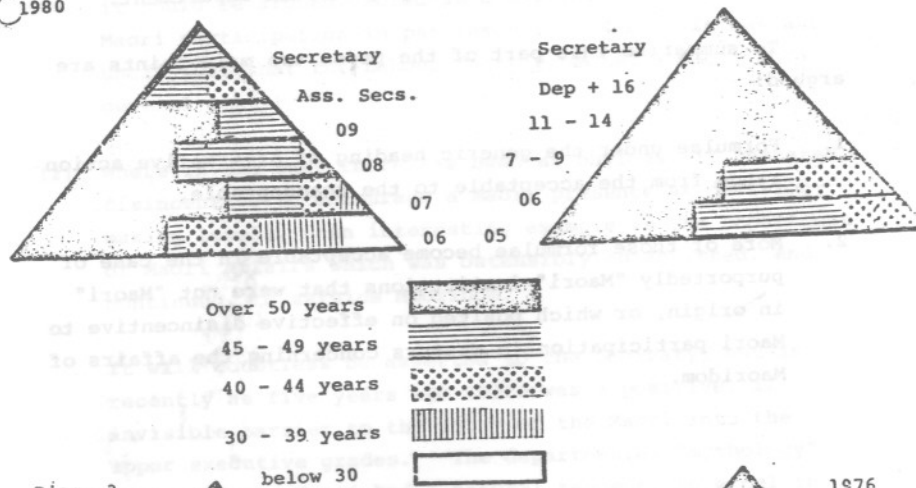


RURAL ISSUES

Having operated in its new form for some 10 months the Round Table had held 8 meetings and had covered fairly general topics. It was time for a further conceptual shift and it was decided that in future the topic for discussion would relate to the current projects of the Planning Council. One current project concerned "Rural Issues" and therefore a Round Table was convened to provide a Maori input.

AGE STRUCTURE

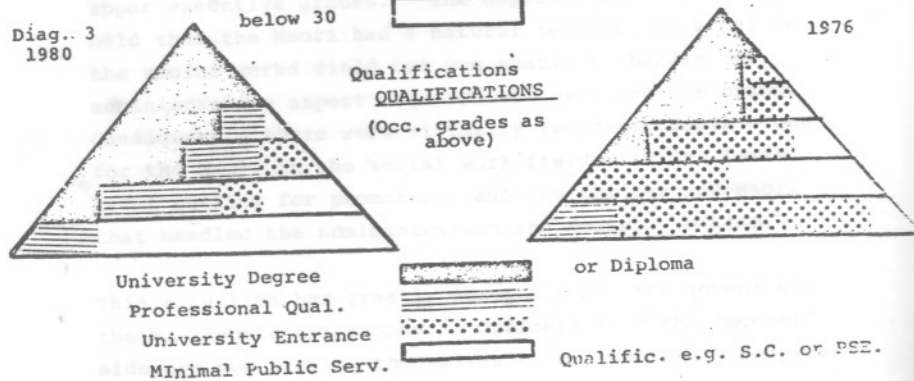
Diag. 2.  
1980



The participants for this Round Table held on 17 September 1981 were:

EDDIE DURIE	Wellington	Chief Judge, Maori Land Court
RON GUTHRIE	Dunedin	Planning Councillor
HEATHER LITTLE	Hawarden	Planning Councillor
CHARLES BAILEY	Waitara	Farmer
PATSY FISCHER	Wellington	Secretariat
BILL MAUGHAN	Palmerston Nth	Massey University
PETER RANKIN	Wellington	Secretariat
GRAHAM ANSELL	Wellington	Director, Planning Council
HIU KAWHARU	Palmerston Nth	Professor, Massey University
JOSIE SAMPSON	Wellington	Clerk
ROBIN JOHNSON	Wellington	Lands and Survey Department
NEIL TAYLOR	Wellington	Meat & Wool Board Economic Service
STEVE O'REGAN	Wellington	Lecturer
API MAHUIKA	Tiki Tiki	Farmer
NGOI PEWHAIRANGI	Tokomaru Bay	Education Officer
PAUL TAHAU	Te Haroto	Farmer
HELEN ORCHARD	Wellington	Commission for the Future
HAPI PIHEMA	Auckland	Maori Affairs Officer
GEORGE POTAE	Milton	Shearing Contractor
JOHN TAHUPARAE	Wellington	Consultant
RANA WAITAI	Wellington	Coordinator

Diag. 3  
1980





The theme of this Round Table was general enough for members to raise whatever issues they perceived to come under the heading of rural issues. Discussions tended to flow over several broad areas and as could be expected, Maori land, its use, development and control featured as a major concern. Town and Country Planning and the alienation from participation in the planning process featured. The matter of unemployment was raised as was the matter of unintended consequences that flowed from otherwise beneficial policies. The need for research, information availability and the consideration of options was also raised.

#### TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING

Several members indicated their concern with the planning process and the apparent ignorance of or the indifference to the cultural needs of the Maori people. In the smaller rural areas the local authorities, not usually being possessed of the necessary expertise, must call upon the services of outside planners, from the major urban centres. It was suggested that they are not in tune with the particular local needs. It was further suggested that rural local authorities tend to be composed of the "landed gentry" who have sons to run their farms, and time on their hands to devote to civic affairs. They represent a specific and narrow range of vested interest. It was suggested that as it is they who commission the outside planners, it is they and their interests that are most influential in the planning process.

The point was therefore made that "outside" planners are:

1. Inherently indifferent to local needs; and
2. Their planning is likely to be influenced by a narrow range of vested interest clients.

A second complaint was that Town and Country planners still tended to conceptualise in terms of the earlier planning regulation. The "economic unit" is an outdated concept that

is not part of the modern Act (Town and Country Planning Act 1977) and yet it was claimed the planners continue to think in terms of that concept.

The query was raised as to whether the presence of a Maori influence on the local authority could alleviate any of the planning difficulties. The response was that there was no guarantee of any difference ... perhaps there is a tendency for Maori councillors to identify with the interests of their Council colleagues. If so that would be consistent with the findings of some studies of representative democracy and its associated mythologies.

As has been suggested for other occupational groups, perhaps the marae-based course of cultural exposure would be helpful for the planning profession. There could also be a cultural input into their professional training.

The Maori Reserve Lands Act came in for criticism by several members who are directly affected by it. This Act has long been troublesome to Maori land owners and although a Royal Commission occasioned certain improvements, it still merits the description given by one member as the most "blatantly racist" piece of legislation in existence. The crux of the problem lies with concept of "leases in perpetuity". The member stated:

"The problem with those perpetuity leases is that ever since they were first made, the successors of the lessors (the Maori land owners) have had to pay for that original act of goodwill - the present owners tend to be regarded by the lessees as nuisances. Having only to pay perhaps 1% rental, the lessees hardly have to take the amount into consideration when they mortgage themselves - consequently they are not necessarily well placed to pay an increased rental as it does not feature highly as a budget planning priority."

Several members suggested that the Act should be repealed. The problem there is that the lease type (known as a Glasgow lease) also is operative in respect of tenure other than Maori land - the political implications would be considerable. Given that repeal is not a likelihood, the next alternative could be to ease the procedures by which owners can buy back the leases.

Skill training and the need for same was cited by several as a rural issue. As consistent with previous Round Tables the matter of training was couched in terms of the demands of the region. One member has been particularly active in his area on the Napier-Taupo highway. Recounting some of the recent history he said:

"When the logging of native timber ceased in our area our local people were without work and they had to move into town. Now there are some 50,000 acres of forestry going in and the area is starting to come alive again."

Although the conditions for rural resettlement are coming into being he cautioned:

"But it could end up like Turangi - only when it served political interests was there any planning."

"As far as our area is concerned, we suggest to every company that comes to us for land, that they provide us with a forward plan."

That member considers it essential that the communities' interests must have an equal rating with the companies' interests.

The days are gone, at least in that member's area, where the Maori land owners stood in awe of the power of companies who would use their land.

He outlined a work training programme that his people have designed. In conjunction with the local forest ranger it is

intended that 60 people from the now growing community will be trained on 600 acres. The proposal has been approved by the local authority subject to the approval by the government.

Previous Round Tables have exalted the benefits of diversity. Referring to forestry one member described the tendency for there to be a fixation with timber types. In his South Island area he suggested there was great potential for growing hardwoods instead of the pinus radiata that dominates forestry thinking. Another member made mention of the "Finnish model" where there are "private forests" - unlike our situation with large forest companies. Perhaps in the interests of diversity we could encourage the establishment of private forests where different types of timber could be grown - this need not disrupt unduly the future plans of the forestry industry.

On a somewhat different note one member raised the issue of recreational use of land. He observed that the gathering of food, particularly sea food, is a major dimension of the quality of Maori rural life ... or Maori life generally.

"We talk of recreational use - this is not meant to imply exclusive Maori use - we certainly have no desire to exclude the recreational gathering of shell-fish by non-Maori. But I consider that the recreational use of land seems to be an important part of the relationship between the Maori and rural land use."

Maori land incorporations featured in discussions as follows:

"Whenever we talk of Maori land use we begin and end with incorporations - no consideration is given to the individual Maori farmer - but it is that sort of individual farmer who supplies the food and supports the marae around the country, not the incorporations."

Another member added:

"Incorporations were intended to give a structure for people participation, i.e. a form that can have meaning as a living institution."

In a sense, although an incorporation is merely a larger form of Trust they tend to be perceived by other farming interests as behaving like companies. That they are able to provide an accumulated funding strength does not dispel the suspicion that they have, as companies, a burgeoning power to acquire land. But when it is considered that the land acquisitions inevitably tend toward the purchase of former Maori land or leases, then the whole matter of the incorporation performance must be seen in the light of "rectifying historical imbalances".

There is a school of thought in Maoridom that holds that the incorporations should be paying a greater "social dividend" to its shareholders. This has nothing to do with financial returns but rather a purposive attempt by incorporations to provide vehicles for employment and training for the people of their regions. For those incorporations that are now well established it is perhaps time that this should become an adjunct of their function.

A more conservative school of thought holds that incorporations must proceed in their development with great caution - if they become too adventurous they will attract taxes and/or land ratings that will be severely to their detriment. They are right to the extent that if some "across the board" taxation or rating impost was to occur then, although the older incorporations may be able to survive, the "younger" incorporations would be in jeopardy.

Yet another school of thought believes that incorporations should throw all caution to the wind and become as companies. One suggestion was made at this Round Table that incorporations could consider the function of stock and station agencies with the people of their tribal area as clients - at least their money would then be kept within the tribe.

Be that as it may, there is a wider social obligation that incorporations should be considering - providing where possible a more intensive farming mode, assisting the unemployment situation, providing the training facilities and if there are fears as to available markets - training the necessary marketing expertise (Huarahi Developments is providing a lead and another group of Trusts in Tuwharetoa is having similar thoughts).

It is probably a characteristic of Maori thought that Maori people are by nature "rural creatures" and the underlying assumption of this Round Table was that, given the opportunity, the urban Maori would readily accept the chance to return to a rural environment.

The youngest member of the Round Table brought the discussion rapidly back to earth with the assertion that:

"I have been listening to all the speakers and I keep hearing about people going back into the country. That may be what some Maori people want, but is that what young Maori people want?"

She pointed out that there is no guarantee that the young Maori will want to leave the cities. On that sobering note she cautioned that there is a need to consult the young Maori to see if that is what they have in mind.

This point has been made in a previous Round Table when it was pointed out that there must be no automatic assumption that training for rural skills will suit the urban-based unemployed Maori youth.

The message - across a generation gap - is that we must always temper our nostalgic idealism with some 1981 realism.



Speaking to the questions of unemployment, another member from the South Island stated:

" ... down South the social problem is unemployment. On my farm contracts we use a system of work-sharing. There are always peaks and troughs in the demand for our work but in the trough period, when not so many workers are needed, instead of putting them off, we keep them on - we keep on a higher number than are needed. In this way they may only get 3 or 4 days a week work but that is better than going on the dole. They share the amount of work available, they are on quite a good pay and so after several days work they may go off pig-hunting or gathering seafood. Work-sharing suits out people."

This system of work-sharing is a way of re-defining the ideas associated with work. Job tenure and a source of income is secure, productivity does not suffer - a social dividend is paid.

Throughout this Round Table a topic that frequently surfaced was the need for information. It may be information about planning, or financing developments, or it may be an examination of available land use options. It may go further than that and relate to a search for ideal models that are known to work, that would provide a packaged social context that could be adapted to local needs. The models may be in New Zealand or they may be overseas.

Time and time again it has been mentioned at Round Tables that there is an enormous pool of goodwill in the wider society - the question is how to tune into it. The need to communicate our needs and aspirations is paramount if we are to merge our efforts into the wider society beyond Maoridom, to the advantage of all.

But before we communicate our needs we must know our needs - particularly if we are to marry our two greatest resources LAND and PEOPLE.

The establishment of a research capacity to ascertain our needs - and to determine our strengths - prompted one member to suggest the establishment of a research facility. The point has been made throughout this paper that there is a great amount of Maori initiative and enterprise proceeding but in total it is disparate and spasmodic. To rectify this disparity an initial step is research.

Having said that one must consider the form that the research should take.

One school of thought would see the establishment of a Research Unit. The intent is correct, the vehicle is wrong. Research units are on-going entities and I would be loathe to add to the present array of quangos that presently decorate the process of government.

Additionally, and perhaps with some cynicism, I see Research Units as vehicles for procrastination - more promisory than productive.

The member who submitted the idea of a research unit obviously had given the matter much thought and was conscious, as indeed were all members of the Round Table, that a purposive step must be taken to systematise optimum Maori economic development.

But, in my opinion, what is required is not a unit so much as a Task Force - a Task Force on Maori economic development.



A TASK FORCE CONCEPT

The statement has been repeated throughout this paper that although there is much Maori energy and initiative abounding, in overview the efforts are spasmodic and disparate. They are:

- (1) Generally localised and uncoordinated in terms of the utilisation of resource, plant and manpower.
- (2) Generally not coordinated with any regional or national development plan.

A number of inevitable consequences flow from this situation, e.g.

- (1) The failure rate of Maori projects is enhanced when, after the initial burst of initiative it is often difficult to know how to enter the next stage of development, if in fact a next stage has been planned for.
- (2) There is a reluctance on the part of finance organisations to fund or invest.
- (3) There arise feelings of acrimony on the part of the resource (land) holders, who feel frustrated in their efforts to develop the resource - hence they may resort to raising unnecessary obstacles to any form of development.
- (4) Initiative is stifled - large resource holders become over-cautious and lose sight of possibilities that could return an enhanced social as well as economic dividend.

If that situation were allowed to continue Maoridom would indeed flourish, in parts, but much energy would be dissipated needlessly where it could be turned to a more useful purpose. But it must be taken a stage further - it must as has been insisted throughout this paper be merged into the mainstream of overall New Zealand development.

The following idea of a Task Force on Maori Economic Development would go some distance towards tightening up the whole act.

OBJECTIVE: To rationalise and enhance Maori economic development and thereby enhance national development.

FUNCTIONS: To examine:

- (a) Options for coordinating all aspects of Maori economic development so that they coincide with regional and national patterns.
- (b) Options re land use type, e.g. from pastoral to more labour-intensive forms.
- (c) Options for funding developments, including the better use of existing finance institutions.
- (d) Options for developing the necessary skills in the marketing, administering and training areas.
- (e) Options for greater communication, of disseminating expert information.
- (f) Options for change in existing laws, regulations and procedure (e.g. rationalising Maori land title) or instituting legislation that could expedite the objective.
- (g) Options re greater partnership with the private sector (as Huwaki Developments is doing).
- (h) Options affecting the nature and form of rural re-settlement - including an examination of models that work overseas.

OPERATION: I would envisage that the Task Force be an independent, multi-cultural group, brought together for a finite term. There could be three phases to the operation.

Phase One (The Agenda Phase). The objective here would be to investigate and inventorise all Maori economic models, projects and schemes. An assessment would be made of the land use type manpower/plant use, funding, growth potential, expertise and training requirements.

Phase Two (The Rationalisation Phase). The objective here would be to assess how best the diverse activities (from Phase One) could be coordinated for optimum resource usage, and integrated within the regional or national economic patterns.

Phase Three (The Recommendation Phase). To make such recommendations as will achieve the objective. These could relate to legislative, structural, administrative or regional matters. They could concern resource usage, funding, training or communication matters.

The overall strategy, as we do not live in a centralised economy, must be advisory - as opposed to directive.

PARENT BODY: The Task Force could be set up under the auspices of the Minister of National Development or the Minister of Maori Affairs.

COMPOSITION: The Task Force could consist of two elements, a Steering Committee and a Secretariat.

A possible scenario would be that the New Zealand Planning Council would call together, in Round Table form, a group representative of all the interested groups and agencies, e.g. New Zealand Maori Council, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Treasury, Federation of Labour, Rural Bank, etc.

The group of perhaps 15 persons would meet prior to and following Phase One, at the end of Phase Two and be responsible for seeing that the recommendations are implemented.

That would amount to 4 Round Tables and would be the main Planning Council contribution.

That group could be designated as a Steering Committee and its function rather than being directive would be to keep an overview and maintain liaison between departments, organisations and the Secretariat.

SECRETARIAT This would be the real working party component of the Task Force. It would consist of:

- (1) A core group - of specialists under a director, who remain as a group for the entire duration.
- (2) Additional specialist personnel brought in as the various phases require.

CORE GROUP In my opinion a core group would be as follows:

- (1) Director
  - (a) To oversee all the day-to-day activity and to co-ordinate the same.
  - (b) To act as the link to the Parent Body and the Steering Committee.
  - (c) To lead the Secretariat.

(2) Tohunga

This would be a completely new role in a government or other form of Task Force. The acknowledgment of such a function as the Tohunga can perform would be the recognition of the status of a Maori institution and it would be an extremely potent expression of a multi-cultural commitment.

To retain the Maori essence in Task Force activity and to expedite access to the many areas to be traversed.

(3) Researcher/Statistician

To be responsible for the collation of all information obtained.

- (4) Economist
- (5) Land Use Expert
- (6) Finance Adviser
- (7) Regional Development Adviser
- (8) Legal Adviser
- (9) Typist and Clerk

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These then are ideas that could guide the establishment of a Task Force on Maori Economic Development.

#### WHERE TO NOW

It is probable that the economic, and therefore social lot of Maoridom will not improve markedly in the first half of the 1980s. That is the general awareness and expectation, so endeavours to cope with the situation have been instituted. Hence we have various contingency efforts underway throughout the country. As previously stated, these tend to be disparate and spasmodic. In that they are efforts to cope with a situation completely outside the control of Maoridom, they should be recognised and appreciated by the determining powers.

If Maoridom was of a different character, given the present pressures, it could just give in. That would involve cultural suicide, the diminution of pride and the eventual demise of the Māori people as a people.

The consequence would be a racial entity at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder, with little inclination or will to better their lot. It is much easier to wallow in despondency and in such a state, the potential for racial disaffection en bloc is greatly enhanced. Such a situation would be not only undesirable but would mean the end of any multi-cultural vision.

Maoridom is trying much harder than is generally appreciated, to keep its end up. It must, in the interests of all, be enabled to keep doing so. Some social mechanisms will be viewed as affording special treatment - what is not generally appreciated is that the notion of preferential treatment is just as odious to Maoridom. But some added increment is still needed, perhaps now more than ever, and if it is hard to view this as rectifying historical imbalances, then it may be wise to view it as a form of social insurance premia.

What could be done:

1. The present initiatives being taken by Maoridom must be encouraged. Throughout this paper mention has been made of various schemes that have been activated or which could be activated. There are many more that have not been mentioned. In all the schemes it will be noticed that there is a beneficial spin-off for society at large whether it be the promotion of economic development or the reduction of social cost. These initiatives must be facilitated and maintained. For example -
  - (a) The Dannevirke member's skill school must be sustained and exported to other areas.
  - (b) The social aspects of the Patuwai Trust scheme must be appreciated.
  - (c) The potential of the Huarahi joint venture must be fully realised.
  - (d) The West Auckland mode of generating community involvement in the judicial process must surely have wider application.
2. As much effort is disparate and spasmodic it is desirable that there be coordination. Presently there is no one entity that is aware of all the various initiatives. Therefore an official entity to monitor and coordinate (as opposed to direct) is required.
3. The function of such a coordinating body would be to -
  - (a) be aware of all the Maori developments occurring;
  - (b) be able to overview and monitor so as to be better placed to advise the means of achieving integrated development;
  - (c) be able to view those efforts within the context of New Zealand development generally;

- (d) be able to advise the parties involved how best to utilise resources, expertise and funding - within the total context. This avoids overlap of effort and uneconomic expenditure of plant and capital;
  - (e) be able to advise the Government and the various funding agencies as to how best to direct their resources in the interest of Maori development;
  - (f) be able to assess and report on the relative economic vis-a-vis social costs and the benefits that accrue.
4. In my opinion the body most ideally suited to this function of coordinating and advising is the New Zealand Maori Council. It is already charged by statute with an advisory function but given its present structure it can only play a re-active role. It is desirable that it be assigned a dynamic coordinating role.
  5. In terms of the above-mentioned role and function, the New Zealand Maori Council would have to be manned, equipped and funded accordingly - I suggest that various overseas indigenous agencies could be used as models, e.g. N.A.C. in Australia.
  6. In terms of bureaucratic policy, the implications of the Tu Tangata philosophy are still too little understood, hence the role of the Maori Affairs Department can be misconstrued, particularly by other social agencies. There is no doubt that this philosophy is an advanced bureaucratic response and perhaps its application to other social agencies could be fruitfully considered.
  7. The capacity of the community to generate its own self-help initiatives should never be under-estimated. Throughout the paper the notion of welfare has been viewed with some cynicism, but it is not welfare per se



that is criticised but rather the mentality that it inevitably conditions over time. Obviously a level of welfare funding and activity is necessary, but the means of enhancing the role of the community should be seriously explored. Some would say that in an urban society there is no community - Maoridom and Tu Tangata are demonstrating otherwise.

8. There has been a gross under-utilisation of the strengths of Maoridom in New Zealand's international dealings. Primarily there were two reasons:

- (a) An input from Maori material culture was considered to be sufficient; and
- (b) Maoridom had little appreciation of its own particular strengths and sought not to intrude into a perceived non-Maori field.

But the ability of the Maori to create affinities with other cultures has been grossly overlooked. This ability will have particular relevance in New Zealand's dealings in the Pacific Basin. It is suggested that a Maori input would enhance diplomatic and trade mission activity and should be afforded a high priority for consideration.

Those are some of the themes and ideas developed from Round Tables or the discussions that followed. Most tend to be suggestions relative to on-going initiatives, or possibilities that should be sustained in the larger term.

As for action of a more immediate nature, let us first dwell upon a challenge issued by the Prime Minister.

In September 1981 in an address to the New Zealand Maori Council, the Prime Minister said:

"I challenge you, the New Zealand Maori Council, to look at yourself and at your people, and to decide where you are going.

"You have two major resources - your people and your land - are you making the best use of them? I think not.

"All of New Zealand needs more jobs, more intensive use of resources, but I fear that the Maori resources are the most under-used."

There are at least three ways of dealing with a challenge:

One may accept the challenge as it stands.

One may deny the validity of the argument - and do nothing.

One may accept the validity, but still do nothing - and walk away from the challenge.

As it was issued to the New Zealand Maori Council, the challenge was by extension issued to Maoridom.

It is not my impression that Maoridom is currently in a mood to deny a challenge.

Similarly, it is not my impression that many Maoris will doubt that what the Prime Minister says is true - because indeed it is.

How then will Maoridom respond?

As is the convention with challenges the recipient has certain rights in respect of choosing the type of weapon and arena, etc.

But to carry the response a little further - perhaps the Prime Minister's words should be taken as an invitation - a gesture towards a much more meaningful participation in New Zealand's future development. And so for the response, or the action of a more immediate nature earlier referred to.

In my opinion the correct response would be:

1. For Maoridom, via the New Zealand Maori Council, and by cooperation with the organisations concerned, to take immediate steps to tune into the regional development pattern. Suggested guide lines have been set out on pages 63-70.
2. For the government to facilitate the setting up of a Task Force on Maori Economic Development as previously outlined.

Both of these courses would go some distance towards alleviating the concerns highlighted by the Prime Minister and duly acknowledged by Maoridom. They would also inject a massive dose of conceptual adrenalin in the Maori developmental experience - and by extensions into New Zealand's developmental future.

#### CONCLUSION

It is said that the kaumatua tended to see themselves from a global perspective, i.e. they saw themselves as part of the whole world rather than in terms of the summary categories that our social system tends to assign. That quality has not been entirely lost - there persists the tendency for the Maori to see his fellow man in his multi-dimensional fullness.

One need not therefore be surprised when the Maori does not get into conceptual binds about notions such as "class" etc ... nor is there anything exceptional in the fact that for the Maori the lines of religion, ideology and politics rapidly become blurred. This is merely part of the Maori view of multi-dimensional man, and it is a view, indeed a quality that can be commended to other cultures.

There is an urge to challenge the myths, the given ethics - the notions of the one right way to do things. Maoridom has its own array of myths to challenge but no more than has pakeha-dom.

In various parts of this paper common myths have been called into question, e.g. must there be an eight hour day? Must there be a five day week? What would happen if the notions of work and recreation were synonymous? Is the only viable bureaucratic response a "top-down" response? Does equality of opportunity really mean anything and can it ever mean anything? Will the quality of justice be diminished should something unusual be attempted? In challenging these myths in a positive constructive fashion the environment for a better national future is enhanced.

It would be possible to dwell at great length on the various themes that have emerged through this paper. I do not choose so to dwell, but rather to offer them for further serious consideration. The notion of an integrated

community approach to problem solving. The notion of the devolution of power - the notion of a more flexible bureaucratic response.

If the Maori is enabled to pursue the lines of development that have been set in train - assisted where the call is made - and involved at the crucial turning points, the prospects for the New Zealand future are good.

Komako te tangi he manu tui

Te tuiti, te tuiti, huia tuia, tui tuia.

