

Puna Wairere

Essays by Maori

Puna wairere

499

NEW ZEALAND

Planning
Council

*Te Kaunihera Whakakaupapa
Mo Aotearoa*

Puna Wairere

Essays by Maori



New Zealand Planning Council
Wellington
August 1990

ISBN 0-908601-72-7

He Mihi

*“Ka hookaa he toroa a uta, ka hookaa he toroa a tai
Ka kookiri ki te whakarua ko ia
Tuia a uta, tuia a tai ko koe e te pookai tauaa
Taratuu, taratuu, tararongo, tararongo tara te wheenau ake i te aroaro
o Uenuku
Noho te ihu, noho te kei, whiria he kaha tuatinitini, whiria he kaha
tuamanomano
He koutu whenua e kore e taea te parepare, he koutu tangata e taea
te parepare
Kotahi kei Kaawhia ko Whakatau anake
Uira rarapa, ko te hau o winiwini, ko te hau o wanawana
Ko te hau o turuturu o whiti, whakamaua ki a tina
Hui e, Taaiki e!”*

*E ngaa iwi, e ngaa mana, e ngaa maataawaka o te motu teenaa koutou.
He reo mihi teenei naa Te Kaunihera Whakakaupapa mo Aotearoa mo eenei
kohinga koorero e kiia nei ko te Puna Wairere. He aroha ake ki a raatou i noho
ki runga i te Kaunihera i ngaa tau kua pahure. Teeraa a Rangi Mete-Kingi te
Maaori tuatahi naana i whakatere te waka. Kua hoki atu ki oona tuupuna i te
uukaipoo, haere e te rangatira ki oo taatou mate i te poo.*

*I muri ko Taihakurei Durie naana i hautuu. Kua tae taatou ki eenei tau
huhuri nooreira e tika ana kia aata tirohia anoo te rere o te waka. Koiraa te
paatai o te hinengaro “Kei whea taatou, e ahu ana taatou ki whea?”*

*In 1979 the New Zealand Planning Council published a collection of
essays by Maaori entitled He Maataapuna. That volume grew directly out of
the establishment by the Council of a Maaori Roundtable under Rangi
Mete-Kingi, the express purpose of which was to introduce into the Planning
Council and into the community at large “a set of Maaori perspectives on
national development”, something which was then clearly lacking.*

*Ten years later, the Planning Council endeavours to incorporate a Maaori
perspective in all its work. In recent years it has involved itself in the Maaori
community and is now widely seen as a neutral mediator between iwi and
government. The extent to which Maaori perspectives have penetrated the
Paakeha community can be debated, but certainly there has been progress
since 1979.*

*Against this background the present volume is intended to provide a wide
range of responses to the task of maintaining a concerted groping by iwi for
nationhood based on the Treaty of Waitangi, in a period of lightning change
and yet with many of the old resistances still intact. Some writers from the*

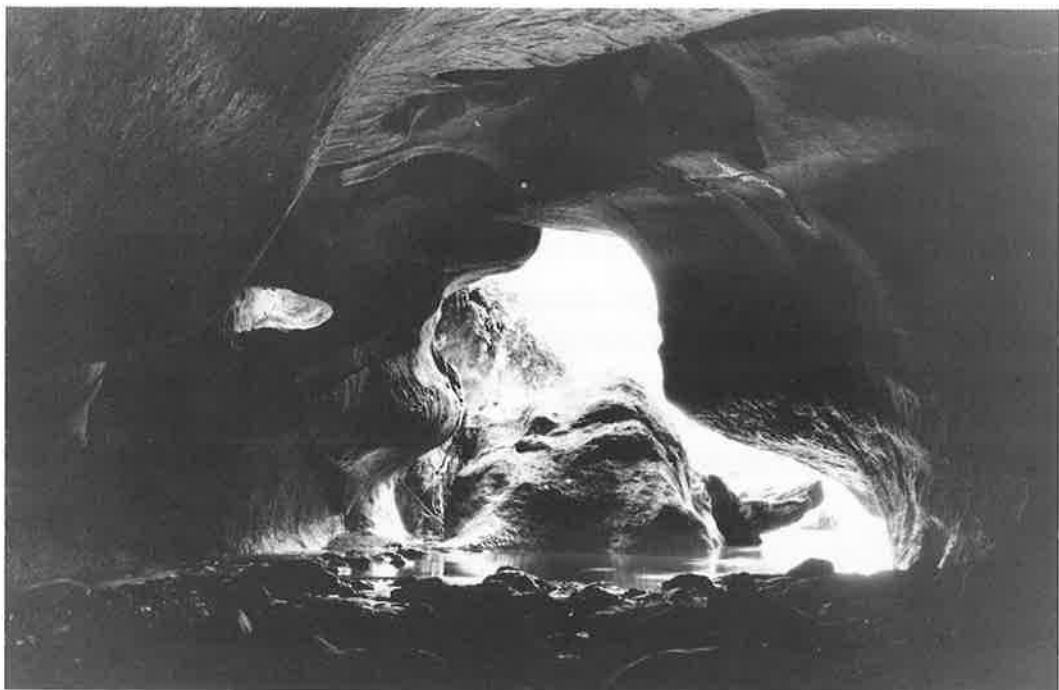
earlier book have contributed again, but most are new voices, in several cases new to publishing. They embody the upwelling of spirit and expression that is now evident.

The diversity of these essays mirrors that of the histories and concerns of individual iwi who, since the publication of He Maataapuna, have once more become the focus for Maaori identity and activity. It is a thrust which at this very time is culminating in a forum of tribes to further their collective interests. That is the bedrock from which flow the essays in Puna Wairere.

Koia nei te taahu o ngaa kupu e whai ake nei. Maa koutou maa te iwi e taatari e waananga oona putanga atu, oona putanga mai. He whakatupuranga anoo, maa raatou hei hao. Teenaa koutou.



*R.T. Mahuta
New Zealand Planning Council*



Foreword

As Governor General I have come to realise that my office is concerned with sovereignty and the ever present debate about what it means to own the ground on which you stand and to belong in Aotearoa in a way you belong nowhere else.

These essays reflect that debate. For Manuka Henare the issue is self reliant development leading to Maori sovereignty. Linda Smith wants an education system that keeps the link between being Maori and being well educated. Eddie Durie, not unnaturally, sees the fact that the courts can now consider the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi as not simply a gain for Maori but a step towards a just society.

In the novel The Brothers Karamazov, someone remarks that "if everything on earth were rational nothing would happen". Rangimarie Rose Pere shows the depth of feeling involved in being a child of Papatuanuku, the earth mother. She speaks as a woman and says "the female source of energy must lead the whole world for a time in order to get the balance of nature back."

Vapi Kupenga, Rina Rata and Tuki Nepe would agree with that. There have been (and still are) notable tipuna wahine from whom other women drew their strength. The difficulties stem from an economic system unknown before the arrival of the Pakeha which rewards the individual and undervalues women. Rangimarie Parata is aware of those issues but it is great to read an exuberant exploration of the world by a young person conscious of being both Maori and a woman.

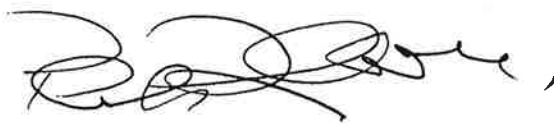
Maori have a concept of time in which past, present and future are related and affect each other. At this moment we are who we have been and who we are becoming. Joe Williams illustrates that with the words of a kaumatua "... our ancestors always had their backs to the future and their eyes firmly on the past." At best that breeds not sentimentality but a perspective which is potentially rich, even wise. It is language, of course, which spans time. Timoti Karetu acknowledges Maori as a language which has withstood "the ignorant, the arrogant and the racist" but he delivers a stern message that Maori must show a greater commitment to learning the language and using it more often.

I believe the Maori will define what their own life will be. No one needs to tell them of the subtlety and wisdom required for that task. Rawiri Paratene demonstrates his strength for the task. Gloria

Herbert whose analysis is every bit as radical as Rawiri's, writes lovingly of her settlement, Pawarenga, its hassles and yet its growing strength. She shares with Diane Ratahi a strong sense of being responsible for what happens to her tribe.

That prevailing note of responsibility for iwi rings in different ways in two final essays. Tilley Reedy meditates on Ngati Porou, Hikurangi and the Waiapu Valley from a vantage point in Geneva at a United Nations Conference. Bob Mahuta speaks very clearly for Tainui. A progressive settlement with the Government for past wrongs is required by returning land and making compensation. The aim for Tainui is self determination and the hope is that any settlement will result in the least possible impact on national interests. It is a message straight from the shoulder, as we say.

There is much energy in Maoridom at the moment. Gloria Herbert says that "in the real world everything happens on the ground level". I believe that frustration at that level can be minimised if Maori are sure inside themselves who they are and what they want to be in today's world and if the systems like education, justice and health which criss-cross our country open up and allow Maori to say what they want from them. I am not without hope.



*Sir Paul Reeves
Governor General*





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Rangimarie Turuki Pere was born at Ruatahuna of Nga Potiki (ancient people), Tuhoe Potiki, Ruapani, Kahungunu and Tahu-Matua descent. A mother and a grandmother, she works as an educational consultant, based in Gisborne.

TANGATA WHENUA

Rangimarie (Rose) Pere

Ka ora te wahine! Puapua.

*I greet Papatuanuku, the earth mother, the placenta, the land, the venerable
ancestress, the source of my umbilical cord.*

*As sure as Hine Pukohurangi the ancient mist mother embraces Maungapohatu the
sacred mountain, I greet you.*

*As sure as I was born of water and my whenua was returned to you after my birth, I
greet you. Salutations Papatuanuku, the whenua from whence I came, salutations,
indeed great salutations.*

As a direct descendant of Papatuanuku and Hine Pukohurangi, I hope to recapture and share some magic. As a child and grandchild of many parents and grandparents I listened to fantastic stories that captured my imagination. These wonderful vibrant people could sandal the feet of their thoughts and walk the ancient paths of wisdom and knowledge. They knew how to take us, their proteges, along those paths with them.

Nga Potiki, our ancient ancestors, the tangata whenua, the aboriginal people of the land, the people who were born of the Urewera, transmitted a philosophy that some of us still follow. As a female person, a daughter, a grand-daughter, a sister, I was made to feel very special and very important. It is with this in mind that I now share a myth of fascination and intrigue.* This myth was ridiculed and scoffed at by European anthropologists and missionaries alike. Read on and see why.

In times long ago, long past, when only supernatural beings and influences dwelt on the earth, there lived one, my ancestor Hine Pukohurangi. Join me as I sandal my thoughts and eyes to walk inside Hinengaro, the hidden lady, the mind of Hine Pukohurangi in this instance, the ancestor of all Tangata Whenua . . .

Behold, I am Pukohurangi the Heavenly Mist Female. I am a very special daughter, sister, mother and ancestress. I am of Papatuanuku the earth mother, and yet again I am not of Papatuanuku. I am of Rangi the celestial father, and yet I am not of Rangi. My universal parents are but a link to the twelfth heaven.

I can stay tangibly close to the bosom of Papatuanuku the earth mother. I can stay intangibly close to Rangi the celestial father. I have embraced my earth parent and celestial parent for aeons of time. The great nothingness I have embraced. The great world of light I have embraced for I am Pukohurangi – the Heavenly Mist Female.

Many tales have been told about me and my different lovers. Perhaps it is time you heard yet another tale about me. This tale is one of awe and wonder.

Unlike my celestial brothers and sisters, I can embrace you in a tangible way if I choose to. Amongst my many treasures is a cloak woven from the finest threads of moist and magic.

With my magic cloak I can tantalize and tease the sacred mountains, many of whom are my lovers. These sacred lone sentinels span the great bosom of Papatuanuku. My love can encircle and surround the mountains; soar to their great heights; or sit

* The author knows several creation myths, including one which has been transmitted over twelve thousand years from the ancient teachings of Hawaiki.

birdlike to brood in their valleys. My love can leap to and fro, or be supple and yielding. My love can be all those things that Hinengaro, the mind, can imagine, for I am both celestial and earthly.

In Aotearoa, during the time of long, long ago, I fell in love with a young sacred mountain, a lone sentinel. The name of this special mountain was Maungapohatu. He had all the wonderful attributes of his mother Papatuanuku and always reached up towards the heavens.

In my usual playful manner I determined to tease and win the love of Maungapohatu – and I did! We embraced each other as only lovers can. In terms of mortal time, we were together in our love for aeons and aeons. In my terms, however, it was for but the twinkling of a falling star. From this special union I had with Maungapohatu I begat Tiki, the first primeval person to be born in Aotearoa.

My son Tiki was very special. He received both celestial and earthly attributes. Papatuanuku provided me with a special mound of earth. The mareikura (supernatural female beings) and the whatukura (supernatural male beings) from the twelfth heaven came to help me form a perfect male child. Tiki came from both the world of darkness and the world of light. When he grew into a young man he met and fell in love with Ea. Ea also came from both the world of darkness and the world of light. She too was very special. She was born of water. To this very day all human beings are born of their mother's water. The offspring that Tiki and Ea begat became known as Te Aitanga-a-Tiki (also known as Nga Potiki) – the Tangata Whenua, the Children of the Mist in Aotearoa.

Tangata Whenua across the great span of Papatuanuku, the earth mother, are all my descendants. They all reach back into the mists of time. They are the custodians, the guardians of the planet earth. They have a responsibility to care for and protect Papatuanuku.

The writer has removed the special sandals from the thoughts of her mind, and is now retracing her way back to her own time and age – a time that is locked into the past, the present, and the future. So be it!

Ka ora te whanau! Puawai.

According to my birth mother, 'whenua' covers so many important concepts. I will deal mainly with its significance for the placenta and the land. The placenta is the lining of the womb during pregnancy, by which the descendant is nourished. The placenta is expelled with the descendant and the umbilical cord following birth.

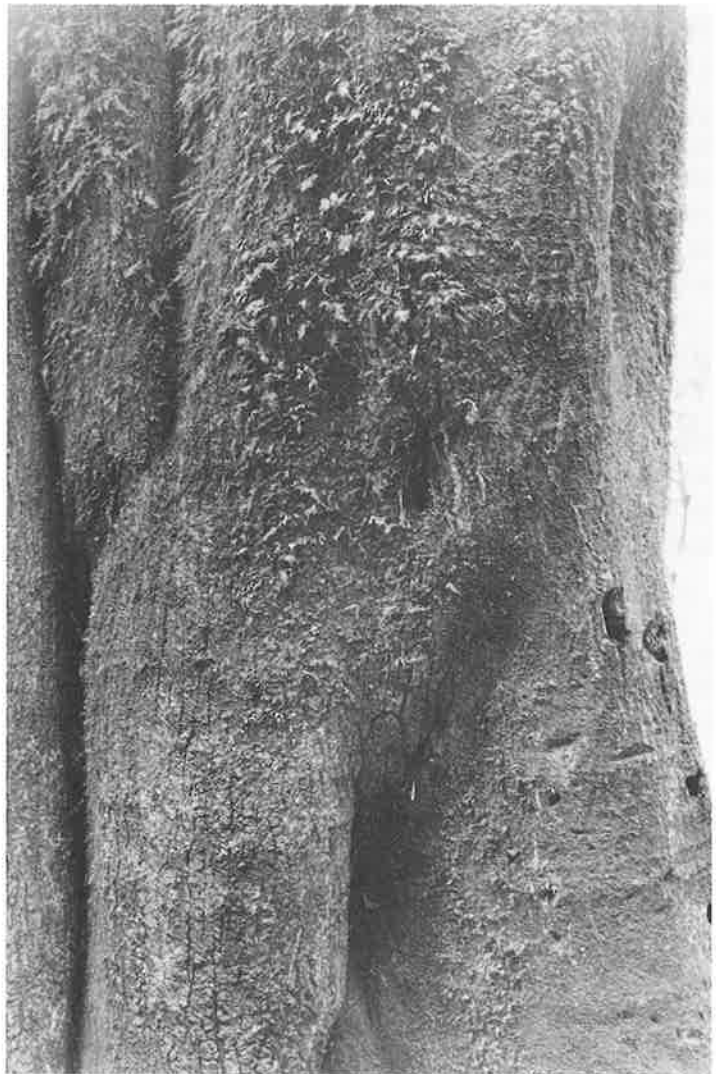
Whenua is also the term used for land, the body of Papatuanuku, the provider of nourishment and sustenance for her myriads of descendants. The proverbial saying 'He wahine, he whenua, a ngaro ai te tangata' is often interpreted in English as meaning, 'by women and land men are lost', but in my beliefs it can also be interpreted as meaning that 'women and land both carry the same role'. Both provide sustenance and nourishment and without them the myriads of descendants are lost.

My 'whenua' was buried in a special place three days after I was born. This special place is a little hillock with an underground cavern. The area is marked by a post and carved bird. The whenua of the first-born in each generation is ceremoniously linked up to Papatuanuku in this ancestral place. As a result, I identify very positively with the earth mother, Papatuanuku. I identify very positively with Aotearoa as 'Tangata Whenua'. My ancestors and I have never seen ourselves as owning the Urewera, my birth place. We see ourselves, the descendants of Hine Pukohurangi and Maungapohatu, as custodians and guardians.

The physical and spiritual well-being of the Maori is linked up to the land that she or he belongs to, and relates to. The land expresses Maori well-being by a partnership with Papatuanuku, by right of discovery or occupation, through ancestral inheritance, or cession and conquest. For me, the maternal partnership with Papatuanuku and the mythological links with Hine Pukohurangi as female personifications, are strengths.

Identifying with Papatuanuku and the ethos of Hine Pukohurangi influences my personal philosophy. I feel very strong within my female and male selves. Tamatane my right side (the male side that endeavours to protect me from life's storms) and Tamawahine my left side (the female side that helps to heal the bruises caused by the storms) make me both vulnerable and resilient. My strongest side is female, however, and I celebrate and rejoice within that.

I am glad my esteemed partner complements and rejoices in my being such a strong female. Like our ancestors we walk together along life's path, for if he were to walk ahead of me, or behind me, then the hand of true partnership would be lost. Sadly, some other Maori men have lost the meaning of partnership with a woman, including that with Papatuanuku, the earth mother. Some European values and beliefs have proved to be detrimental to the total development of women, and have certainly undermined Maori belief systems. However, one would hope that, with more sharing, attitudes will change for the better.



The writer has removed some of the restrictions placed on her in terms of sharing, in order to remove myths that are detrimental to the total development of women.

Ka ora te hapu! Puawananga.

According to my grandfather Iriheke, women are more sacred and special. Women are the living ancestral houses that cherish and nourish the descendants of Hine Pukohurangi. Women are the most sacred canoes that carry descendants from one generation to the next. My grandfather died physically on July 12th 1944, but predicted many things that have come to pass. One prediction included my representing New Zealand at a conference for the International Women's Year held

at Mexico City in 1975. Iriheke, like so many of his generation, was a truly remarkable person.

While I am not as gifted as my grandfather, I believe that all the learning I received from him has made me believe in myself. Iriheke (grandfather's namesake) my nine-year-old grandson will be exposed to the same teachings. He will understand the importance of men and women working closely to keep a balance. He will realise that our thinking and basic beliefs differ from others. He will realise that cultural differences can be exciting and enriching.

I am already predicting that the female source of energy must lead the whole world for a time, in order to get the balance of nature back. Papatuanuku has been disrobed



of the great forests of Tane, she has been so badly scarred and neglected by her descendants. The present world leaders (who are mostly men) have forgotten how to respect and care for the partnership they have with Papatuanuku. Papatuanuku gives only as a mother can give, but what are we her descendants doing?

Tumatauenga, the influence of war and destruction in some beliefs, has no female counterpart and must give way to help his mother Papatuanuku. Hine Pukohurangi (the mist mother), Hina (the moon mother), Hinengaro (the hidden mother in all of us – the mind), Hine Te Iwaiwa (the

mother of peaceful pursuits) and Hine Nui-te-Po (the mother who embraces us at our physical death, and helps us to walk steadfastly through the next stage of spiritual life), are all mother figures. They are mother figures that give a feeling of warmth, love and security.

Iriheke's links with Hine Pukohurangi enable him to link up with Mt Olympus, the great pyramids, the majestic statues of Rakaia (Easter Island), indeed all places across Papatuanuku and Ranginui (the moon, planets, etc).

Finally may I greet and salute all my brothers (protectors) and sisters (healers).

Whether you be the tillers of the soil, or the plants that provide medication, or the guardians of the deep, I greet you, for you are all my brothers and sisters.

Whether you be Kopu the morning star who heralds the new day, or the warm rays of Ra the sun, or the meteorites that shatter silences, I greet you, for you are all my brothers and sisters.

As Tangata Whenua of Aotearoa, I greet and salute you.

Ka ora te wahine

Ka ora te whanau

Ka ora te hapu

Ka ora te iwi! Purotu.

He Waiata Aroha ki Taku Tipuna Ki a Hine Pukohurangi

(Interpretation only)

*Kihai rawa te tohu
O te uha, he waka hei!
He waka kawē uri
He waka whakapiri
Ki te kiri
Ki waenganui
E ko, e ara e.*

*Kihai te tipuna
Ko Hine Pukohu
Pukohurangi
Pukohu whenua
Pukohu tona waka
Tae noa ki te urunga
Te waka!*

*Tihohe tona haere
Ki te maunga tutahi
Ki te maunga tipua
Ki Maungapohatu
Pohatu whakapiri
Kia puta he uri
Tihei mauriora!*

It is said that the symbol
of the element that is female is the canoe
a canoe that can pro-create
a canoe that clings steadfastly
steadfastly clings to the skin
that is central
Friend, arise to the occasion.

It is said that the ancestress
is Hine Pukohurangi
Mist who mantles the heavens
Mist who mantles the earth
Mist who mantles her canoe
until the time of encounter
The canoe!

She tauntingly meanders
towards the mountain who is alone
towards the mountain with magic powers
Maungapohatu
the rock that clings steadfastly
so that humanity can evolve
and thus bring about the sneeze of life!



Vapi Kupenga was born in Ruatoria of Ngati Porou. She lectures in Social Policy and Social Work at Massey University in Palmerston North.

Rorina Rata was born in Whangarei of Ngati Wai and Ngati Whatua. She is a lecturer in Social Work at the Auckland College of Education.

Tuakana Mate Nepe was born at Waipiro Bay of Ngati Porou. She is a lecturer in Maori at the Auckland College of Education.

The following essay has been adapted from an address to a conference, Social Policy and Inequality in Australia and New Zealand, organised by the New Zealand Planning Council and the Social Welfare Research Centre of the University of New South Wales in November 1988.

WHAIA TE ITI KAHURANGI: MAORI WOMEN RECLAIMING AUTONOMY

Vapi Kupenga, Rina Rata and Tuki Nepe

"He putiputi kei i a ia ano tona kakara"

"A flower that exudes her own fragrance"

The autonomy of Maori women can be traced as far back as the Maori creation stories. Papatuanuku, the Great Earth Mother, gifted to iwi the power of birth and rebirth, and her existence remains of great significance. After the birth of a child, the whenua (placenta) is returned to the whenua (land), thereby earthing the child's mana tangata or personal dignity where it is sustained throughout life until, at death, the body is returned to Papatuanuku.

Women and land are regarded as having a symbiotic relationship, both providing nourishment to mankind. A section contained within a formal speech pays homage to Papatuanuku for her gifts:

E! Papatuanuku e takoto nei, tena koe . . . Oh! Papatuanuku displayed here before us, we greet you. We thank you for giving us residence and well-being

. . .

The activities of Hine-ahu-one, the first human created, and her descendants are further evidence of Maori women's autonomy. In their submission to the Minister of Women's Affairs, 1984, the Working Group of Maori Women of Tamaki Makaurau had this to say: "Muri-ranga-whenua held the magical powers for great deeds, the inspiration to courage and adventure. Mahuika controlled the use and distribution of energy. These Goddesses, therefore, are the personification of the feminine dimension of the divine – our sanctity, our dignity, our power and our wisdom which is rooted in the mystical changes and elements of nature."

Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga obtained his magical powers from these Goddesses, his tipuna wahine. Muri-ranga-whenua gifted him her jawbone, which he used as a fish-hook to fish up Te Ika-a-Maui. Mahuika gifted him her nails to create fire which he later bequeathed to iwi for their personal needs and use.

Woman was also central to the last great adventure of Maui. In an effort to conquer death, he changed himself into a fantail and attempted to enter the womb of Hine-ahu-one. But she pressed her knees together and crushed him to death. Subsequently, she descended to the underworld and became known as Hine-nui-te-po, the Goddess of Death. Thus iwi are fated always to know the pain of death, and to recognise the mana and tapu, the sacred authority, of women.

Maori woman lived and drew her strength from the example of her tipuna wahine (female ancestors). Her presence and contribution was respected by the whole whanau (family group), and accordingly she was granted material and power considerations equal to that of men. This provided the forum for her to participate in the decision-making processes at whanau hui where the major decisions were made.

It is to the honour of Maori women that throughout the tribes they were historically recorded and noted, especially when whakapapa (genealogy) was being recited.

Today, Wairaka, whose descendants are of Ngati Awa, Tuhoe and Whakatohea tribes, is still celebrated for her bravery and strength when she saved the waka *Mataatua* from drifting out to sea. Whakatane provides the record for this event, for this was the place where she returned the canoe safely to shore. Hinemoa, whose descendants are of Te Arawa iwi, is remembered for the deep love she had for Tutanekai. So great was her love that it motivated her to swim Lake Rotorua. Rongo-mai-wahine, whose descendants are of Ngati Kahungunu, is celebrated for the beauty that captured the heart of the sought-after suitor, Kahungunu. There are modern Maori action songs describing her beauty.

Despite attempts by the Pakeha to extirpate Maori cultural values, some iwi have retained the traditional autonomy of women. Apirana Mahuika in his M.A. thesis of 1969 lists the areas in which women with the appropriate whakapapa in the Ngatiporou tribe can continue to be recognised.

- Meeting houses bearing female ancestral names . . . Kapohanga, Hinetapora, Materoa.
- Hapu named after women . . . Te Whanau a Hinerupe, Te Whanau a Tapuhi, Te Aitanga-a-Mate.
- Mana whenua or land rights inherited through women . . . Iritekura, Waipiro Bay.
- Tuakana, or seniority, status by virtue of birth . . . Rakairoa.
- Mataamua status, if born first. The mataamua is regarded symbolically as descending from the Gods, and therefore, with their mantle resting on that person, he or she has the mana to perform the special duties adhering to the role of the first-born . . . Tamatea Upoko, Hineauta, Uepohatu.
- Children being known through their mother . . . *nga kuri paka a Uetuhiao* – the renowned warrior sons of Uetuhiao.
- The keeping of oral histories and genealogies . . . Ngaropi Rangi.
- The status of chiefs . . . Hinepare, sovereign leader in the Waiapu Valley.
- The office of tohunga whose main responsibility is to mediate between iwi and God . . . Rangihurihuia.
- The status of Ariki or paramount chief of the tribe . . . Hine-Matiaro.



“Ko te Reo te mauri o te mana Maori”

“The language is the key that unlocks the treasures of a culture”

The language itself provides indicators of the values inherent in a culture. Maori woman’s position can thus be seen reflected through the language that has come down to us:

- The word “ia” means he, she or it.
- The term “tuahine” denotes a revered relationship encompassing warmth and protection that men extend to their sisters or female cousins.
- The terms “koka”, “whaea”, “whaene”, are extended beyond the immediate meaning of mother to include all aunts – that is, all sisters of one’s mother, all sisters of one’s father, and all female cousins of both parents.
- The proverb, *Mo te wahine me te whenua, ka mate te tangata* – For women and land men will do battle, reflects the sense in which woman and Papatuanuku are accorded respect, and protection of ‘their’ resources.
- The meeting house is regarded symbolically as the womb of woman, the idea being that she provides warmth and protection and embraces all who enter her.
- *Nga moemoea a Kui ma, Koro ma*. The aboriginal concept of “dreamtime” is illustrated in the above expression – that women have their dreams, and men have theirs.
- The proverb, *Ko te whenua te wai-u mo nga uri whakatipu* – The land provides the sustenance for the coming generation. Wai-u literally means milk from the breast. Likening sustenance from the land to milk from a woman’s breast again demonstrates the importance of women.
- The term used to describe a wife, expressed in the following, demonstrates the equality of women: *Taku hoa Rangatira* – My executive partner.

One must be careful, however, not to overstate the position of women. There was a clearly defined reciprocal process in the performance of all activities. While women possessed their own autonomy, it is important to note that: *he rereke te mana o te wahine, he rereke te mana o te tane . . .* the authority/prestige of women is different to that of men. *Ko etahi mahi, e kore e taea e te tane, ko etahi mahi, e kore e taea e te wahine . . .* some tasks are more appropriately performed by men and similarly some tasks are accomplished by women.

It cannot be said, therefore, that Maori women, prior to the coming of the Pakeha, suffered oppression. The whanau was an organism, sharing a common life. It acted as a corporate body, members performing its tasks together to ensure that the wealth and resources were equitably shared by all. If one member of the whanau suffered, all suffered. The prime values were sharing, caring, and fulfilling one’s social obligations.

The effects of colonisation

Changes in the status of Maori woman occurred with the arrival of the Pakeha who brought with them a new economic system. Inherent in their system were individualistic and sexist values; it was a system that not only rewarded the individual, but undervalued women. Economic value became measured through a system of monetary exchange. Child-minding, cooking and housekeeping were not seen as having any economic value.

Maori people could either sell their resources, such as land and fish, or their labour. Under a Pakeha system the only demand was for males. Gradually, the attitudes of

Maori men began to change. They began to model themselves on their Pakeha bosses and workmates, regarding their earnings as belonging to themselves, and thus deciding what portions were to be meted out and to whom. With this psychological shift, Maori women began to experience a new social order, manifested not only in the new individualistic attitude, but also in the new attitude towards them as decision-makers, partners, wives, lovers, mothers, nurturers, care-givers and sisters. This had a considerable effect on the whanau. At the same time, it did not overturn the old order completely: when whanau contracted themselves to work together for a Pakeha employer, they not only divided the work equitably, but also their earnings.

Pakeha did not accept women's autonomy. This is evident in Maori women's herstory which reflects the attitudes of Pakeha society. The demand for land, together with assimilationist policies, personal and institutional racism, cultural genocide and urbanisation, had an adverse effect on all Maori people, with Maori women being pushed constantly to the bottom of the heap. The net result was that *te mana me te tapu o te wahine* was eroded.

Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi is a plain statement of Maori property rights, ownership and entitlement. When *iwi* speak of honouring the Treaty of Waitangi, they mean just that – equity in the use and management of resources. Economically, the Pakeha is indebted to Maori people for being allowed to use Maori resources while at the same time denying Maori people access to those same resources. The net result for Maori people has been the massive development of under-development.



*Whaia te iti kahurangi.
Ki te tuohu koe,
me he maunga teitei.*

Seek ye the treasures
of your heart.
If you should bow your head,
Let it be to a lofty mountain.

There is now a significant movement to reclaim *kaupapa* Maori, as with the recognition of the importance of whanau. Initiatives such as *Te Kohanga Reo*, *Maatua*

Whangai, Kokiri, and Iwi development, are restoring elements to the culture and promoting whanau operations. By the recovery of their culture, Maori people can recover their identity, self-esteem and dignity.

In reclaiming Maori women's autonomy, we seek to nurture and preserve Papatuanuku and to distribute her resources equitably among her descendants. To continue in the direction that this country is heading is to invite the wrath of Papatuanuku.

We seek the right for Maori women to participate in the management of the resources of this country (e.g. land and fish), and the right to develop our own corporate (whanau) structures to ensure the welfare of all.

We want to see decision-making with respect to the economic and social development of Aotearoa pursue a partnership, under the Treaty of Waitangi, that promotes whanau, hapu and iwi decision-making. This should take into account the fact that information gathered and analysed as part of national decision-making is at present carried out within a predominantly monocultural framework.

To further these aims we claim, in economic terms, fiscal protection in order to improve the quality of life for whanau, thereby ensuring te mana me te tapu o te wahine.

"He putiputi kei i a ia ano tona kakara"

"A flower that exudes her own fragrance"



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BACK TO THE FUTURE: MAORI SURVIVAL IN THE 1990s

Joe Williams

The first part of the title I have given to this paper is of course taken from a very successful Hollywood movie. I have not so named it because what follows will be a feast of fantasy and escapism. I have chosen that phrase because it is, in my view, the nearest English approximation we have to a Maori approach to the Treaty of Waitangi and the history we share as colonisers and colonised.

The second part of the title which gives emphasis to "survival" will be explained shortly, but first things first.

When I was a teenager, I remember asking a series of questions of one of the most knowledgeable kaumatua that I have ever known. The questions related to a subject which had puzzled me for some time. I asked him why our word for the front of an object, "mua", was the same as our word for the past ("nga wa o mua" literally translates as "the time in front of us"), and why was our word for the back of an object, "muri", the same as our word for the future.

The kaumatua must already have been pondering the question because he answered without hesitation. He said, "It is because our ancestors always had their backs to the future and their eyes firmly on the past. That", he said, "is what makes us different from the Pakeha."

At that point, everything else fell neatly into place. So that was why, whenever I went to hui, the old people spent more time talking about our ancestors and about the past than they ever did talking about the actual reason for the hui. That was also why, at those same hui, the ones who had lived before us and had passed into memory were the first to be greeted by the kuia in karanga and by the koroua in whaikorero.

Many Pakeha detractors have said that the Maori dwell too much on the past. They would probably be right from a Pakeha perspective. The Maori response would probably be that Pakeha do not spend enough time thinking about and learning from their own past. That is why we're in the mess we are today.

Time and the Treaty of Waitangi

What has all of this to do with the Treaty of Waitangi and Maori rights? My view, and I believe it to be a view shared by the overwhelming majority of Maori with whom I have spoken, is that if we are to do justice to the Treaty of Waitangi, and indeed to the Maori people themselves, we must return to the bargain itself as our starting point. We must go back to 1840 and to that Treaty in order to chart our course for the future. By that, I do not mean to say that we should attempt to re-write history. The reality is that the Treaty of Waitangi has been neglected for 150 years, and that is a reality which both Maori and Pakeha must face. My point centres on whether we should start from the Treaty and then deal with the neglect, or, as appears to be the case today, start with neglect and then deal with the Treaty. The two approaches lead to different results.

I will develop an example. Maori rights law is a field dominated, and often driven, by imagery. In 1840, the Maori signatories were referred to as "The Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the Separate and Independent Chiefs".



Given the imagery used, it is hardly surprising that the British Crown decided that relations between itself and the Maori should be regulated by way of an international treaty, and that relations should begin with a benchmark recognition of Maori title to their resources and autonomy over their own affairs. Eight years earlier, on the other side of the world, Chief Justice Marshall used somewhat similar imagery in determining the rights of native Americans:

“The Indian *nations* had always been considered as distinct, independent, political communities, retaining their original natural rights, as the undisputed possessors of the soil from time immemorial, with the single exception of that proposed by irresistible power, which excluded them from intercourse with any other European potentate . . . The very term ‘nations’, so generally applied to them, means ‘people distinct from others . . .’ *The words ‘treaty’ and ‘nation’ are words of our own language, selected in our diplomatic and legislative proceedings, by ourselves . . . We have applied them to the Indians as we have applied them to all other nations of the earth. They are applied to all in the same sense.*”

(*Worcester v Georgia* [1832]. My emphasis.)

The terminology and imagery adopted drove the law of the period in both cases. It was not surprising that Indian *nations* had status in law according to the US Supreme Court as distinct independent political communities holding title to their estates and a right to self-government. It was exactly the same with the Treaty of Waitangi. The use of very powerful images naturally led to the conclusion that these chiefs and tribes had legal title to their resources and a right to autonomy (*rangatiratanga*). The imagery used implied the rights set out.

By the 1860s, new images had been created to imply new legal consequences. In New Zealand, settler governments had taken control of colonial affairs, the land wars had been fought and the Treaty of Waitangi was under threat. In the famous 1877 decision in *Wi Parata v The Bishop of Wellington*, Chief Justice Prendergast rejected Treaty imagery and terminology and imposed his own:

“On the foundation of this colony, the Aborigines were found without any kind of civil government or any settled system of law. There is no doubt that during a

series of years the British Government desired and endeavoured to recognise the independent nationality of New Zealand. But the thing neither existed nor at the time could be established. Maori tribes were incapable of performing the duties and therefore assuming the rights of a civilised community."

With the stroke of a judicial pen, the history of first contact was rewritten. Having established that the Maori were uncivilised, it was a simple enough step to conclude that the Treaty of Waitangi was a nullity. The uncivilised status of the Maori was the *sole* basis for this conclusion. New Zealand, in the view of the Chief Justice, was therefore "acquired *jure gentium*, by discovery and priority of occupation, as a territory inhabited only by savages". Thereafter, it was a very short step to the conclusion that the Maori had no rights except those accorded to us specifically by the settler parliament.

R v Symonds had held in 1847 that Maori title was "to be respected" and "cannot be extinguished (at least in times of peace) except by the free consent of the native occupiers." Prendergast CJ turned this on its head:

"In the case of *primitive barbarians*, the Supreme Executive Government must acquit itself as best it may of its obligation to respect native proprietary rights, and of necessity must be the sole arbiter of its own justice. Its acts in this particular cannot be examined or called in question by any tribunal because there exists no known principles upon which an adjudication can be made." (My emphasis.)

In the space of 37 years, the Maori had been transformed from a Confederation of United Tribes to "primitive barbarians" whose title was subject to the unreviewable fiat of the "Supreme Executive Government". The imagery was once again designed to imply the conclusion.

The couple of cases quoted below show that exactly the same U-turn was occurring in the United States and Canada at much the same time.

In *Montoya v US* (1901) the inversion was completed in the following fashion:

"The North American Indians do not and never have constituted 'nations' . . . in short the word 'nation' as applied to *uncivilised* Indians is so much of a misnomer as to be little more than a compliment." (My emphasis.)

R v Syliboy (1929) concerned the status of an early treaty:

"Treaties are unconstrained acts of independent powers. But the Indians were never regarded as an independent power . . . The savages' rights of sovereignty even of ownership were never recognised . . . In my judgment the Treaty of 1752 is not to be treated as such; it is at best a *mere agreement* made by the Governor in Council *with a handful of Indians*." (My emphasis.)

We are now 150 years on from the Treaty of Waitangi and "the Chiefs of the Confederation of United Tribes". We are 110 years on from the "primitive barbarians" of Chief Justice Prendergast. Where is the imagery taking us now?

In Canada and the United States, official imagery has returned to that adopted by Marshall CJ. Tribes are once again referred to as nations, and their treaties are once again treaties. The impact of this on legal and political developments has been significant. "Native self-government" is formal Canadian Federal Government policy. Indian sovereignty has developed as a constitutional principle in the United States to a level of considerable sophistication. Formal legal recognition of Aboriginal title to land and fisheries has led to recent major land-claim settlements in Canada. Terminology has changed in post-Treaty of Waitangi Act New Zealand as well. But we have yet to witness a return to the imagery of the Treaty itself. New images have

been constructed: officials now refer to the "Treaty partnership" between Crown and Maori . . . a partnership requiring *utmost good faith and reasonable co-operation*. Iwi authorities have become the modern rendition of the United Confederation of Tribes and the Separate and Independent Chiefs. The Tino Rangatiranga secured to the Maori in 1840 has been rendered as Iwi "self management".

These new images dilute the Treaty's promises. They lack the Treaty's grandeur. The starting point for today's image-makers is not what is contained in the agreement of 1840, but what is perceived to be acceptable to New Zealand's conservative heartland.

I believe that if we are to get it right in the 1990s we must approach our collective future as New Zealanders in the way that the old people chose to deal with their future. We must fix our gazes firmly on the past and in particular on the terms of that agreement which promised so much for our future. A Maori approach would have us back into the future carefully and cautiously. There is a lot to be said for that approach.



The principle of survival

The second part of my title is "Maori Survival in the 1990s". I have chosen the word "survival" because I believe it to be a concept of central importance in understanding what the chiefs wanted in 1840.

I have often asked myself why those 540-odd chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi. They did not gain anything immediate by its terms. Article 2 of the Treaty protected Maori title to land, forests and fisheries. But in 1840 that title was unquestioned in any event; British colonial common law recognised it. And given the political reality at the time, the British authorities, such as they were, could ill afford not to recognise it. The guarantee of rangatiranga or tribal self-government was equally, at the time, an unsurprising thing. The tribes were self-governing *in fact*. There is also considerable evidence that they were recognised to be so in British colonial law (see *Worcester v Georgia*). Why then did they sign?

The chiefs saw considerable benefit to themselves in Pakeha colonisation. It provided the opportunity for acquiring British technology and trade. The importance of this is not to be underestimated. They were, however, concerned at the price that would be

exacted for these advantages. Some had been to Sydney and even to London before 1840 and would have known that there were significant risks in agreeing to British colonisation. Others, particularly in the North, had already suffered considerable loss as a result of land sales. The Maori perspective in 1840 would, in my view, have been one of viewing the Treaty as an insurance policy against those risks. Records of the Waitangi speeches suggest that many of the chiefs knew that tribal, indeed Maori, survival was at stake in this proposal. Orange, for example, refers to a group of chiefs who were opposed to the acceptance of any British authority:

“. . . they expressed their fear that it would inevitably lead to a diminishing of chiefly status, a submission to a superior authority and the imposition of restrictive control. These chiefs were aware that the substantial loss of land each had suffered was leading to weakened control, so a further erosion of authority by sharing power with the British Government was unacceptable.”

(Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, 1987, p. 48.)

The Maori understood that the Treaty recognised tribal rangatiratanga and title to resources. These guarantees did no more than restate what must have been obvious to any bystander in 1840 anyway. The Treaty guarantees would, therefore, have been pointless unless, in signing, the rangatira were looking forward to a day when title and autonomy might become threatened. Securing the Article Two recognition of title and rangatiratanga was not an end in itself. It was a means to an end. The rangatira knew that colonisation carried with it a potential threat to tribal well-being and sought to guard against that. The Treaty provided the building blocks with which the tribes could ensure their own survival in the face of British colonisation. By survival, I mean the preservation of tribal cohesion through the protection of its economic base (land and fisheries); its cultural base (language, culture and history); and its social and political base (the well-being of its citizens). Survival also required protection of the ability to adapt to and utilise the material and other benefits which were the positive side of colonisation. Without that right to develop, the purpose of the Treaty was lost. Chief Judge Durie has said that the chiefs wanted the best of both worlds. The price for that was agreeing to the Pakeha presence. The next ten years will show us whether the bargain was a fair one or not.

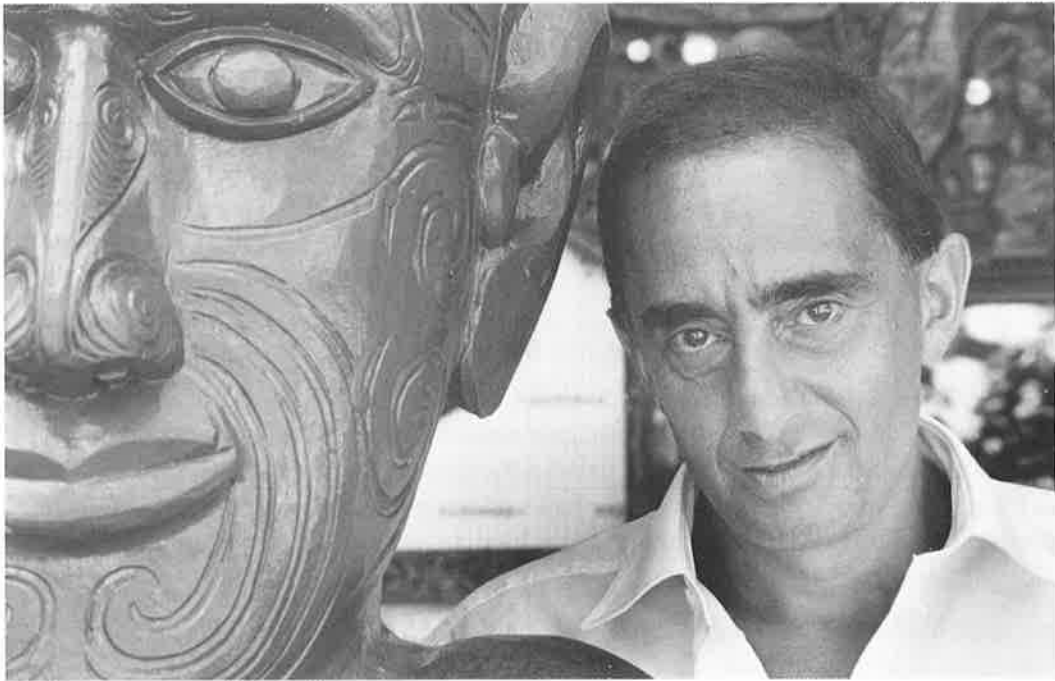
The Treaty was thus the means whereby the risk of assimilation and, indeed, decimation might be minimised, while yet retaining the advantages of contact. Seen in this context, there is considerable sense in seeking protection of tribal territories, tribal government and customary law, *and* of the cultural treasures referred to in the Article 2 term “taonga”. In the final analysis, indigenous rights, no matter where in the world they might be claimed, are about the protection of indigenous peoples and their unique ways of life. Cultural, economic and political survival in New Zealand is the most pressing issue facing the tribes today. In my opinion, it was also the primary concern of the chiefs in 1840.

Survival for the Maori will depend on the recognition of the unique constitutional status of the tribes; the recognition of the right of each to an adequate economic base; the recognition of the right of each to substantive legal, political and economic autonomy; and the recognition that each must be accorded the power to protect and to nurture its taonga – its cultural treasures.

Conclusion

We must begin to lay down those building blocks now. It will soon be too late.

I leave you with two thoughts, then. We must go back to, and come to terms with, our past before we can feel confident about our future. The key issue now, as then, is the survival of the tribes as discrete social, cultural, economic, political and legal entities in the life of this nation.



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The following essay originated as an address to the Oxford Symposium of New Zealand Race Relations, 1989.

MAORI CLAIMS: IS THE CHALLENGE BEING MET?

Eddie Durie

In the past, Maori claims could not as a rule be heard by the courts. If they were dealt with at all, it was only at a political level.

Of course there were exceptions. Some claims fitted the general laws – of contract for example – and others fitted the special laws of Parliament for the administration of Maori land. The main claims, however – those alleging unconscionable land dealings or confiscations in early times, or those about hunting and fishing, for example – were outside the legal pale.

Many need not have been, since they fell within the ambit of the English common law doctrine of aboriginal title. This doctrine was recognised by the New Zealand courts, in an unusually brief moment of legal lumination, in 1847. The law was then pregnant with possibility for the handling of Maori claims, but the legal light went out and for over 100 years, indeed until 1986, the doctrine went missing from New Zealand's shores. It was Paul McHugh* who found it, and who, to the great acclaim of Maori and the New Zealand judiciary, sent it south again.

Maori, meanwhile, had pinned their hopes on the Treaty of Waitangi. I am sure no disrespect was intended to the laws of England, but they were the laws of England, not the tribal laws of home, and the only non-tribal law to which Maori had agreed was the law in the Treaty of Waitangi. In time, the Treaty was seen as the main law, a sort of constitutional yardstick against which all other laws, English or Maori, had to be measured. The New Zealand courts, however, were to find that the Treaty was not part of any law, unless Parliament was to make it so, and Parliament had not. This was a hidden clause that Maori had not bargained for and some began to see the Waitangi compact as having been a slippery deal. They were reminded of Hone Heke Pokai's words, in 1845 . . . "The treaty is all soap, very smooth and oily, but treachery is hidden under it."

The result was not a turning away from the Treaty, however, but a welter of Maori petitions to the Colonial Parliament to have the Treaty recognised in law. From as early as 1884, Maori were in England petitioning Westminster as well (beginning with the petition of Tawhiao, the second Maori King). In 1924, when neither Parliament had responded, Tahupotiki Ratana, a spiritual leader, endeavoured to put the Treaty before the League of Nations. Throughout all this time, a litany of litigation was continued through the courts. By 1900 the Treaty was before the Privy Council (*Nireaha Tamaki v Baker*). In the 100th year of the Treaty, in 1940, it was before the Privy Council again on the petition of another leading chief (*Hoani Te Heuheu Tukino v Aotea District Maori Land Board*).

For Maori, there was a lot of hard scrummaging, but few goals scored. There developed in Maori minds a scoreboard that read "Settlers 60, Maoris 1." The "1" was in 1900, when the Privy Council chided the New Zealand judiciary for its narrow treaty view in *Nireaha Tamaki v Baker*. But success for Maori was shortlived: Parliament overturned the Privy Council's view (see *Land Titles Protection Act*, 1902). To Maori it must have seemed that the settlers wrote the game rules, selected the referees, then changed the rules if penalised for a foul.

How then were Maori claims dealt with in the past if they had not the benefit of the law? The answer, in a word, is "badly"; and in a sentence, that they were dealt with politically. They were dealt with usually in response to a Maori Parliamentary petition.

Most of the petitions were declined, though let it be said in fairness that there was sometimes a hearing beforehand. Some petitions were sent to an independent Commission of Inquiry, but even when recommendations favourable to Maori were made, they were not usually followed.

A few cases saw what the politicians called "settlements". Settlement was a euphemism for lack of choice, for with such an inequality of bargaining power, Maori had to take what was offered or receive nothing at all. More significant, however, was the token recognition of a wrong. I think some "settlements" were accepted by Maori, not because the compensation was right, but because of the admission of fault that was implied.

Certainly they were not like legal settlements, or settlements out of court. There can be no settlement out of court if there is no competent court to settle out of. That was the nub of the problem: there could never be recourse to an independent assessor with power to bind.

What has happened today is that, by various means, the Treaty and the doctrine of aboriginal title have regained admission to the courts, and with some measure of success. When some describe this development as a Maori gain, however, I think they miss the point. The gain is to the country. It has advanced us one step further in our relentless quest for a just society.

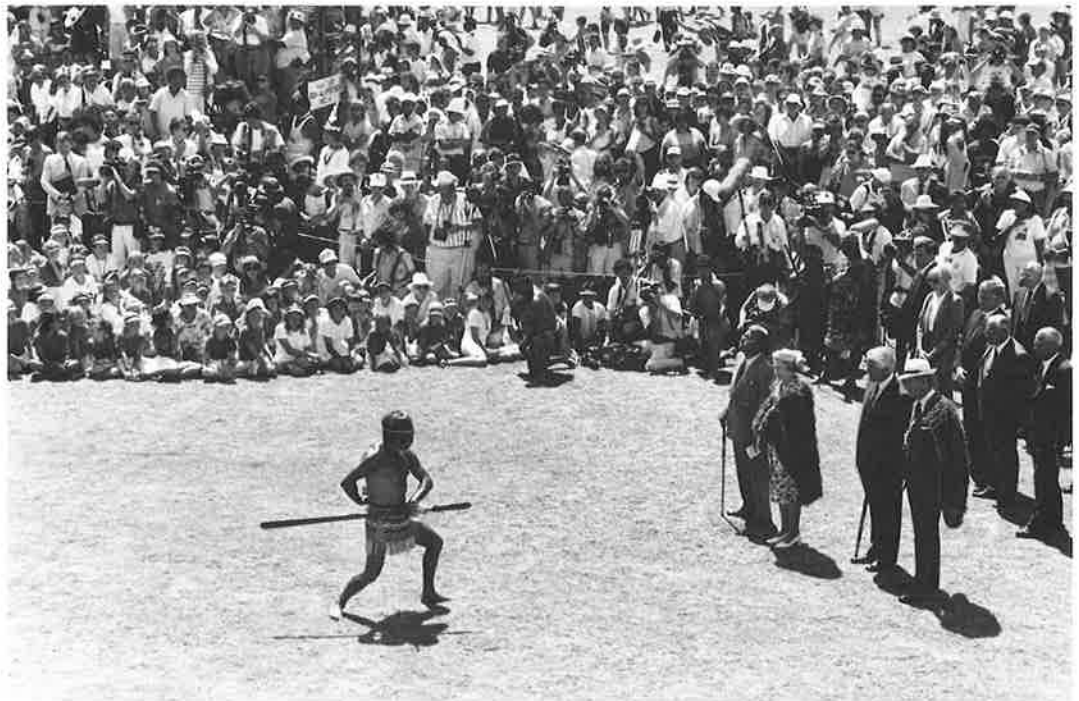
New Zealand's search for a just society was apparent when we were the first democratic country to give women the vote. It was further apparent when we established a welfare state. It is not a just society, however, when an identifiable people within it are denied access to the law for the resolution of their legitimate claims. Save for a civil emergency, it is not a just society that allows of that situation for one year only, let alone 150. For a while we did not see that, but we see it now. At the eleventh hour before our sesqui celebrations, we began the task of setting things to right; and although we started much later than North America, for example, we have possibly done as much in the last six years as was done there in a lifetime.

It is appropriate now to recall that our commitment to a just society was made at the beginning of our time. Our nationhood began with a Treaty, and that Treaty began with a promise to protect "just rights". It recognised that Maori were there and settlers were coming, and it promised that the traditional authority of the Maori would be maintained and that "the necessary laws and institutions" would be provided for "peace and good order". Those were the words of the Treaty. Now, 150 years on, the underlying question remains the same: what laws and institutions are necessary to accommodate the founding cultures of our state?

The question is not capable of any absolute answer. The Treaty gives some clues but serves mainly to remind us that we are committed to seeking the solution appropriate to our time.

How claims are dealt with now

Maori claims are dealt with now by both legal and political processes. Neither has total sway, nor should have, in my view. Time has proven graphically that Maori cannot depend on political whim alone. But nor are legal rules sufficient in themselves to deal fairly with the many variables that time and changed circumstance have imposed. There must be elements of both processes in handling Maori claims; and at present there are.



On the legal side, Maori claims have involved both the Waitangi Tribunal and the general courts. The Waitangi Tribunal was specifically set up for the job, but then the courts became involved; firstly, through some judicial enterprise that reintroduced aboriginal title laws; and secondly because Parliament – largely in response to the Tribunal's own recommendations – provided for adherence to the Treaty, or for the accommodation of Maori needs, in particular statutes.

The courts have the advantage of being able to make binding orders where the Tribunal cannot. But the courts, no doubt aware of the political exigencies, have tended to refrain from final orders. They have goaded Maori and the Crown to a settlement of their own. Through the wise use of injunctions and the retention of a supervisory role, they have redressed the former inequality of bargaining power, so paving the way for realistic settlements and accords.

The strength of the Waitangi Tribunal, on the other hand, is in its ability to lay the facts bare, and to promote bicultural understandings about them. The Tribunal was tailor-made for the independent assessment of Maori claims. Its rules of operation enable it to commission research and ferret out facts and opinions that might otherwise not see the light of day. Most importantly, it is bicultural in its composition and modus operandi. That fact, in my view, has done more than anything to give the Tribunal credibility. It has brought about new cross-cultural understandings and has influenced legal, political and public opinion. I consider New Zealand has added a new dimension to the judicial determination of indigenous peoples' claims. It has provided another world-first in founding the Waitangi Tribunal and prescribing its powers and procedures. I do not think there is any other body that determines historical facts and interprets a cross-cultural treaty through a tribunal equally representative of both the cultures involved, and which, in hearing claims, utilises the procedural protocols of each. It does not presume that only Anglos have laws and legal processes. And in a new development on legal pluralism, it will sit on marae, and in courtrooms, and will conduct procedures according to Maori kawa or English law as occasion demands. It has a specific statutory power to do that.

There are limitations on the Tribunal, however. It makes findings of fact and interpretation (themselves subject to review), but – except in a special class of case –

it cannot make final orders; it can only recommend. It recommends to Government. More particularly, the Tribunal is required to make *practical* recommendations.

I do not think the Tribunal should be able to make final orders. I agree that a political solution is required. Nor do I have any problem with the fact that any recommendations should be practical. How could they be otherwise? What needs observing, however, is the opinion underlying the instruction the legislature has given. By prescribing as it has, I think Parliament has acknowledged the underlying truth: that Maori claims cannot be satisfied by normal legal standards. In other words, one cannot give to Maori the full justice that could normally be expected, because of the injury that would nowadays result to innocent property holders, and because the national economy simply could not cope with the full monetary awards that would be involved. The legislation itself testifies to the reality that there must be a compromise. I agree that that must be so, but I do not think the Tribunal can adequately recommend on what that compromise should be. The only compromise that any people should be asked to accept is that which comes from a negotiated agreement in which they have been fully involved. That's the rub that brings me to the third and final part of this paper.

Is the challenge being met?

Whether or not we consider the challenge is being met depends on what we think the challenge is. One view, politically popular, is that the challenge is to dispose of Maori claims within, say, five to ten years. The United States experience testifies to the unreality of that view. Forty-three years after special courts were established for Indian claims, the backlog is barely reduced.

Justice delayed is justice denied, and I can understand the wish to act promptly. I suspect, however, that that is not the main reason why many are demanding more speed. The demand is rather to dispose of Maori claims quickly so that the country might return to normal; normality being, I think it is assumed, a way of life in which the Maori thing can be put out of sight and mind. But it must not be seen as normal, in my view, to exclude Maori from future consideration because of the settlement of a claim. Nor can I accept that a quick inquiry and pay-off can ever produce an enduring solution. Those who do not learn the mistakes of history are bound to repeat them, as has often been said, but we also need to be reminded in this case that the quick inquiries and pay-offs of last century are a significant source of complaint in many of the claims before us now.

I think it far more important to begin with an earnest endeavour to understand the problem, and also the realities in which the problem must be resolved.

Having spent fifteen years, now, in the judicial administration of Maori affairs, I have come to the conclusion that there can be no ideal solution to Maori claims.

Large-scale land returns are now impracticable, and, as I said earlier, we have not the economy that would be needed to make full monetary amends. There needs to be a compromise, a second best, and with it a recognition of the disappointment that that must entail. It is necessary that both sides should acknowledge that to be so. It then becomes important to talk not only of compensation, given the limitations on proper recompense, but of long-term strategies to assure a better future. Claims must be resolved, not only to end the past, even assuming that can be done, but to create a new beginning.

I have come to the further opinion that underlying many claims is a basic concern that through landlessness, or the lack of an economic base, the cultural survival of many tribes is seriously threatened. That, I think, is the main concern. There is not the wherewithal to sustain the institutions, practices, extended family links, schools and

tribal bases necessary for the survival of the tribal way. Planning to provide for that wherewithal is essential to the settlement of such claims.

It must then be understood that many claims are symptomatic of a more serious malady than the claims themselves express. Some tribes are totally landless, and being unsure of how they came to that state, respond by laying claim to every nook, cranny or foreshore that might be brought into question. It is not always understood that when the Treaty was signed, it was intended that each tribe would be assured a sufficient land endowment for its needs. The current condition of many tribes is evidence in itself that those assurances were not maintained.

If we are genuinely concerned to settle the past, and provide for a better future, we must be willing to look beyond the specifics of many claims and to seek out the root of the problem. I wonder, then, how profitable it is to seek judgement on who did what to whom and why 100 years ago. An alternative is to recognise the worth of the Treaty's goals, and to strategise now for the gradual provision of an economic base for the tribes in accordance with the Treaty's original intention.

There is a further factor that augurs well for the settlement of claims. From dealings with numerous claimant groups, involving large numbers of Maori people, I have become singularly impressed with the enormous constraint and responsibility with which the claims have been advanced. Certainly they have been promoted with vigour, strength and power – and why shouldn't they be? – but never irresponsibly. The media focus on the loudest few from amongst the Maori people gives quite a different picture, but as Edmund Burke once said, when the crickets make the place ring with their importunate chink, never imagine they are the only inhabitants of the field.

It has become obvious to me, now, that the claimants bringing cases to the Waitangi Tribunal have no wish to destroy society or to prejudice race relations. In even the most gross instances of a proven wrong, Maori have modified their claims so as not to upset private property-holders who might otherwise be affected. The many non-Maori who appear, including those representing the Crown, are, having actually listened to the Maori case, equally intent on reaching an arrangement that is fair. There is much



goodwill there. The main intransigence has not come from the Maori and Pakeha involved in the proceedings, but from commentators passing judgements from outside.

The overwhelming impression I have is that Maori are mainly concerned to secure a place for being Maori in New Zealand, with the resources needed to sustain the Maori way, and the opportunity, as well, to participate in general national endeavours.

That is what was bargained for in the Treaty. That is what an increasing number of New Zealanders nowadays consider to be only fair. And that is what many in the international community also now support.

I would finally like to return to a point I left hanging at the end of the second part. I conjectured that, once it had found for a wrong, it was not helpful for the Waitangi Tribunal to recommend a compromise, for if compromise is needed it can only be made by the claimant tribe. That assumes a negotiating process, between Maori and the Crown, or, in some cases, between Maori and certain industries particularly affected. The key to handling Maori claims, in my view, is how effectively we can structure the negotiation arrangements.

Negotiations require that both sides should be evenly armed. It is incumbent on the Crown, if it wants a lasting resolution of Maori claims, to ensure that the Maori negotiating costs are paid for, and that the claimants are not lacking for professional aid.

Nor should negotiations be limited to Maori and the Crown. The Crown's resolve to withhold development of a resource may well provide the incentive for a negotiated accord being jointly submitted to Parliament by Maori and private developers.

Negotiations should also involve, in my view, much more than the search for a lump-sum settlement with the return of some land. There ought also, indeed there ought rather, to be an effort to agree upon a tribal development plan, with a programme for meeting certain goals, and provision for occasional reviews.

Those are suggestions. One cannot be prescriptive. I do not think, however, that we will meet the challenge of handling Maori claims unless we first improve our understanding of their character and their underlying concerns; unless we appreciate the compromises required; and unless we think now in terms of long-term tribal development strategies, that might allay the claimants' fears, and restore, at the same time, the very goals our mutual forebears agreed upon, 150 years ago.





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RAUPATU: THE SEARCH FOR JUSTICE

R. T. Mahuta

From the 1860s right through until the present day, Raupatu has had a devastating effect on the Tainui people. Left landless and without other economic resources, Tainui have suffered poverty, unemployment, ill health, low levels of education, loss of culture and mana, and political powerlessness. Governments, rather than addressing the issue of unjust and unlawful Tainui land loss, have offered band-aid systems of unemployment, sickness, and family benefits: negative forms of funding which result only in short-term solutions to immediate problems rather than the establishment of an economic base with its consequent comprehensive improvement in the life of the tribe.

This paper outlines some of the means by which the longstanding grievances of the Tainui people over Raupatu, or land confiscation, may be addressed. Specifically, it describes the outcomes that the Tainui Maaori Trust Board wishes to achieve through direct negotiations with Government.

An international perspective

During the past two decades there have been significant international developments concerning the legal and human rights of indigenous people. The efforts of the United Nations, the International Labour Organization, and other international and non-governmental organizations have caused a growing number of nation-states to begin re-examining the legal and moral implications of their policies and laws for indigenous tribal minorities. As a result, the fate of the world's 200 million indigenous people is no longer just a local or national "domestic issue". The rights of indigenous peoples are now of worldwide concern and the basis for legal action.

What is happening (or not happening) in New Zealand must be viewed against these larger developments. Already the courts and the Waitangi Tribunal have made extensive use of international laws, covenants, standards and principles to reach their decisions and recommendations on Maaori claims. As a signatory to many of these international instruments, New Zealand has a legal and moral responsibility for their "full and faithful" implementation. What follows is a brief overview of some of the international agreements that have relevance to the Tainui claims.

The United Nations

Over the years the United Nations has ratified a number of instruments that are applicable to land and property rights of indigenous people. Besides Article 17 of the UN Charter and Articles 6, 7, 8, 17, and 22 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN General Assembly in 1986 passed Resolution 41/32 which states that the "right to property" is fundamental to the enjoyment of other human rights. In 1987 the UN Commission on Human Rights adopted Resolution 1987/17 to encourage states to provide legal protection of property rights. Similar statements can be found in the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (all 1966).

In 1988, Madame Erice-Irene Daes submitted to the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations a "Draft Universal Declaration on the Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples". Part III provides for "individual and collective ownership of

lands or resources which they have traditionally occupied or used. The lands may only be taken away from them with their free and informed consent as witnessed by a treaty or agreement." Land rights include "surface and substance of resources pertaining to the territories they have traditionally occupied or otherwise used including flora and fauna, waters and ice seas." Where lands and resources have been taken, indigenous peoples have the right to "reclaim land and surface resources or where not possible, to seek just and fair compensation . . . when the land has been taken away without their consent."

Convention 169

Convention No. 169 of the International Labour Organization (1989) applies to "tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community." It calls upon nations to uphold the cultural, economic, religious, educational and political integrity of indigenous people, and to ensure they receive equal treatment under national laws and programmes. To avoid the use of "equality" as a guise for national assimilation, all the Convention's articles make clear that state consultation and cooperative planning with indigenous people is essential in those areas, such as education and economic development, that may affect their rights or well-being.

On the subject of education, for example, the Convention says: "Education programmes and services for the peoples concerned shall be developed and implemented in co-operation with them to address their special needs, and shall incorporate their histories, their knowledge and technologies, their value systems and their further social, economic and cultural aspirations."

Furthermore, the Convention includes guarantees for the protection of indigenous languages and their use in education, as well as the right to establish educational institutions and to implement their own educational programmes.

In regard to lands the Convention says: "Adequate procedures shall be established within the national legal system to resolve land claims by the people concerned"; "Adequate penalties shall be established by law for unauthorised intrusion upon, or use of, the lands of the peoples concerned, and governments shall take measures to prevent such offences." Where violation of land rights occur, the state has the obligation to restore these rights or, where not possible, to provide ". . . lands of quality and legal status at least equal to that of the lands previously occupied by them, suitable to provide for their present needs and future development."

Official New Zealand comment on Convention 169 cites the rights to Maaori under Article III of the Treaty of Waitangi, and notes that Article II "guarantees to iwi Maori the control and enjoyment of those resources and taonga which it is their wish to retain. The preservation of a resource base, restoration of iwi self management, and the active protection of taonga, both material and cultural, are necessary elements of the Crown's policy of recognising rangatiratanga." Similar comments of support for rights to self-determination and culturally relevant education were expressed by the New Zealand Permanent Representative.

It should be noted that the New Zealand comments on draft principle 27 of Convention 169 state that the proposed wording of the "right to claim that states honour treaties and other agreements with indigenous peoples" is weak. New Zealand called for:

" . . . a mechanism to ensure that states honour their treaty commitments. In the New Zealand context, the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal was established . . . to hear grievances and make recommendations about alleged breaches of the courts and direct negotiations. The important point is that the Government accepts its

responsibility for providing a process for the resolution of grievances arising from the Treaty.”

The courts

Similar developments are emerging in national and international courts concerning indigenous people's rights, particularly where land and natural resources are involved. With a few notable exceptions, these court decisions have re-affirmed the legal standing of treaties involving indigenous people.

At the national level, an increasing number of court decisions – for example, in the United States, in Canada (*Saanichton Bay Marina Ltd v Claxton*, 1989), India (*Lal Chand Mato and Others v Coal India Ltd and Others*), and Brazil – suggest a convergence in legal thinking which is also reflected in more recent political developments in Eastern Europe and amongst other captured ethnic and indigenous peoples.

What one can conclude from the UN initiatives and the growing list of court cases is that it is becoming increasingly difficult for nation-states to impose “equality-as-assimilation” and parochial judicial reasoning to maintain control over the legitimate aspirations of indigenous people.



The historical background

The present attempts by the Tainui Maaori Trust Board to seek redress for the confiscation of their lands are merely the most recent in a long series of efforts.

At the commencement of colonization, and seeking to avoid the devastation of indigenous groups which had followed other British colonial ventures, the Treaty of Waitangi embodied the principles which were supposed to guide ethnic relations: in return for the Crown's right to buy any land the Maaori wished to sell, and for recognizing the Crown's sovereignty (English language version) or administrative governorship (Maaori language version), the full rights of Maaori chieftainship were guaranteed; Maaori possessions (lands, forests, fisheries, and other treasures) were protected; and the Maaori were granted the rights and privileges of British subjects.

At first the Treaty was upheld but, once the chiefs realized that land was being sold in such quantities that the economic viability of their tribes was threatened, they resolved to shut up shop. Maaori rights were violated as the colonial government moved to acquire more land. Waikato lands were invaded and tribal members were wrongly labelled "rebels" for defending their homes.

Following this armed conflict, one-and-a-quarter million acres of the most fertile and productive lands in New Zealand were confiscated under provisions of the 1863 New Zealand Settlements Act. Although some lands were later returned (314,364 acres), they were not returned to the original owners but rather to those Maaori (kuupapa) who fought with the British.

As a result of Raupatu, Tainui's economic foundation and previous affluence were destroyed. This has had grave and continuing consequences for the well-being of Tainui people.

There has been a constant stream of attempts to obtain justice, including delegations to the Queen of England and petitions to Parliament. The outcome has included several Commissions of Inquiry, several series of drawn-out negotiations with the Crown, a Waitangi Tribunal hearing in which the issue was indirectly addressed, and an Appeal Court hearing on the ownership of coal within the Raupatu boundary.

The Sim Commission in the 1920s found that Waikato people were forced into the position of being "rebels" and then had their lands confiscated. However, the brief of the Sim Commission did not include consideration of the legality of confiscation. Hence, while coming down on Waikato's side, the finding was limited to a judgement that confiscations were excessive.

After almost twenty years of negotiations between Tainui leaders and the Crown, a first step was taken: the Tainui Maaori Trust Board was established in 1946 to administer a small annual grant. As the historical record indicates, this settlement was inadequate and further measures are needed.

Historians including Sinclair, Dalton, Ward, Belich, Sorrenson and Orange agree:

" . . . that the Tainui people of the Waikato never rebelled but were attacked by British troops in direct violation of Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi."

(Waitangi Tribunal, Report No. 27.)

More recently, the Bentinck-Stokes Commission (1981) found that confiscations were illegal, and the Waitangi Tribunal hearing on the Manukau (1985) stated that the problems created by Raupatu must be fixed.

In 1989, the Appeal Court adjudged that the 1946 agreement was inadequate and that Tainui has rights to lands in the Raupatu area. Now, the Crown has undertaken to enter direct negotiations concerning Raupatu.

The negotiation strategy

A just settlement would involve the return of all the Raupatu area, full compensation for wrongs done to Tainui, and full compensation for lost economic opportunity. However, the majority of the Raupatu lands have passed into private ownership and a settlement of this magnitude would run into billions of dollars – an unrealistic prospect in the present political and economic situation. Therefore, Tainui anticipates a progressive settlement based on two fundamental principles:

I riro whenua atu, me hoki whenua mai

– as land was taken, so land should be returned

Ko te moni hei utu mo te hara

– compensation should be made for past wrongs

In other words, serious negotiations will result in a mixed land, resource, economic, and political package. The composition of this package must provide for a strong tribal economic base.

The relief package sought is comprised of the following parts:

- land for land
- return of resources
- compensation for wrongs done and opportunities lost

Each part has several components. The Tainui negotiators, together with the Crown, should identify those components which can be immediately agreed to, those which will require some time but are resolvable in the near future, and those which should be discussed later.



Land and resources

The title to all lands in the Raupatu area should be transferred to the Tainui Maori Trust Board or, where that is not possible (i.e. where lands have passed into private ownership), land of comparable value substituted. In practice this would mean:

- Return of viable farmlands to assist hapuu (sub-tribal groups) affected by Raupatu.
- The title to land and resources utilised by SOEs, such as Coalcorp, transferred to Tainui and partnerships established for management. A plan for the training and employment of Tainui people in all facets of these operations would be implemented.
- The title to Crown properties being used for post offices, hospitals, etc., returned to Tainui with an agreement to lease back to the present users. A plan for the training and employment of Tainui people in all facets of these operations would be implemented.
- The title to areas designated for parks and reserves transferred to Tainui; the Crown would retain management of these, but Tainui would have the kaitiaki (trustee) role and so must approve of management plans. A plan for the training and employment of Tainui people in all facets of these operations would be implemented.

- The title to the Waikato river bed, inland waterways, and West Coast harbours transferred to Tainui. Tainui would have the kaitiaki role and so must approve of management plans. Naturally, Tainui would be compensated for any use or removal of resources associated with these.

The annual grant

The Crown has paid \$475,000 to the Tainui Maaori Trust Board since 1947. The annual grant should be updated to 1990 dollar values and regularly adjusted for inflation. Also, a back-payment for lost development opportunities should be made as an operating endowment.

Education

Based on the return of tribal lands which were either given or confiscated for educational purposes and used to support New Zealand universities, funding for the following educational package is sought:

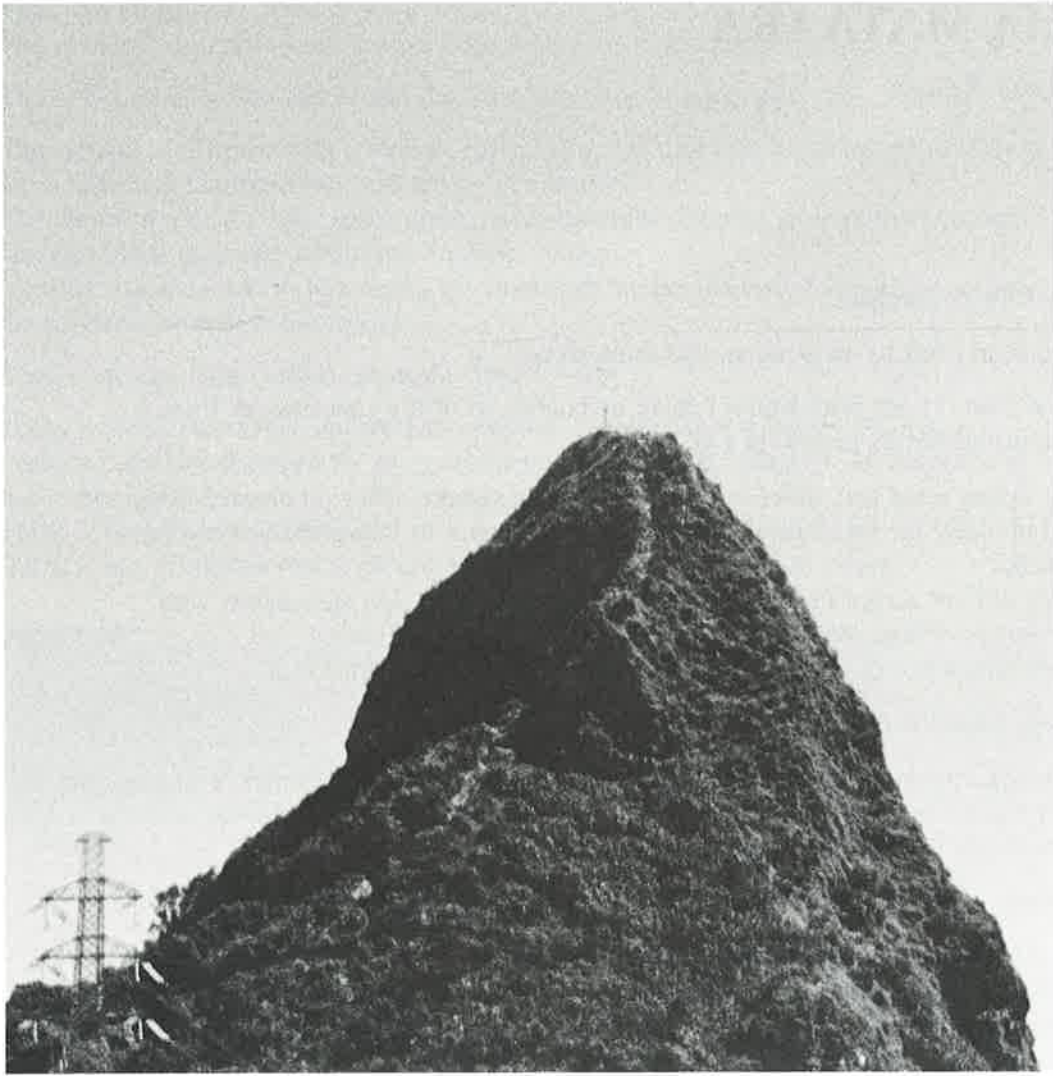
- The establishment of two post-graduate endowed colleges, one at the University of Waikato and the other at Auckland. These colleges would:
 - be autonomous, each comprising a physical entity within the university with its own residential, tutorial, study and workshop provisions;
 - be a place of residence for students – predominantly but not exclusively Maaori – who wish to live in a college environment which is Maaori in as many aspects as possible;
 - have a tutorial staff working within the college and offering some specialised lecturing to other departments in the university;
 - provide, through seminar and research activities, a “think-tank” where national matters of policy and international matters of scholarship can be pursued at an advanced level;
 - be a place where scholars of national and international stature may be in residence for varying lengths of time;
 - be a place for Maaori activities and workshops, especially in the arts.
- To establish links with major international universities, the Tainui Trust Board intends to invest in residential properties in these places to accommodate Maaori students. Part of the compensation settlement would be devoted to this purpose.
- The Trust Board is seeking the provision of autonomous technical and vocational training courses (including “second chance” academic instruction) to be operated at various locations in the Waikato and funded through bulk grants on a rolling-triennium basis (the same basis as that of other post-compulsory educational institutions). The Trust Board believes that Tainui students can only succeed in tertiary education if they have exceptional preparation at the secondary level. The present system of secondary schooling is not meeting the needs of Tainui students. The Trust Board therefore seeks assistance in the form of:
 - grants for secondary students to attend residential colleges;
 - the establishment of three Tainui-controlled secondary units for university-bound students, one in South Auckland, one in Huntly and the other in Hamilton.
- Support for Kaupapa Maaori programmes. Although there is widespread demand for additional bilingual units and schools in the Waikato, the existing programmes are handicapped by a lack of Maaori language materials, and new programmes cannot be established because of the lack of qualified Maaori-speaking primary teachers. The Trust Board therefore seeks assistance in the form of:
 - increased resources for the development of materials;

- expanded facilities for training Maori teachers (guaranteed places at Teachers' College for Maaori students).
- The Board wishes to see a Kohanga Reo established on each marae within its boundaries and, where appropriate, in those urban centres which contain a large number of beneficiaries.

Conclusions

Settlement and compensation as described in the preceding sections will result in long-term socio-cultural, economic, educational, and political improvements in the lives of Tainui people. The return of land will begin to provide an economic base and will serve as a symbol of the return of Tainui mana and pride. The education programmes will assist Tainui children and youth to obtain the qualifications they need to become contributors to Tainui and New Zealand society. The settlement proposed allows Tainui people the opportunity to become the arbiters of their own destiny.

Tainui has selected a strategy for settlement that will result in the least possible impact on national interests, yet allow the tribe to pursue meaningful and reasonable self-determination. The tribe is seeking the return of a small fraction of its traditional land and resources as just settlement for the significant economic, cultural, political, social, and educational losses it sustained as a result of illegal and unconscionable acts by the Crown and other parties. As set forth by the Court of Appeal, the government document *He Tirohanga Rangapu* (Partnership Perspectives), and the Treaty of Waitangi, a spirit of partnership is needed so both Crown and Tainui can achieve what one author refers to as "the sharing of initiative, power, and responsibility."



Diane Mary Kumea Ratahi belongs to Ngati Tara hapu of the Taranaki tribe and works as Research Tutor at Te Matauranga Trust in New Plymouth. In choosing not to be photographed, she declared herself as being simply a reflection of her people.

KIA MATAARA

Diane Ratahi

My tribe is Taranaki.

The legacy left to me is mine, and mine alone.

How I use it, and with whom I share its bounty, is of my choosing, as I am responsible for its growth and its demise.

My tipuna acted and spoke in terms of mana motuhake. They prophesied the greed and plunder, the separation of kin from kin, that was to follow the arrival of the Pakeha.

They did not accept the authorisation of other chiefs to sign agreements with foreigners on their behalf.

They would not deal with anyone less than a rangatira of equal rank.

I was raised on the history of our tribe.

I clearly remember the humble way in which they explained the order of tikanga and how these were to be maintained. One such responsibility was to choose between various options for assisting the continuance of being Maori.

I chose to look after those tribal taonga which are known to be ours.

At that time I had decided not to concentrate on any specific tribal taonga as each was equally important. I spent many years acquiring as much practical knowledge as possible.

Much of this activity was kept within our whanau and it was conducted when the kaumatua was ready.

It involved a broad range of tribal kaupapa explaining tribal contacts, foreign invasions and settler conflicts.

An inclination towards this choice is built into the vast majority of our Taranaki people, many of whom have reached national recognition in the care of taonga.

Our past leaders proclaimed and defended this choice.

In today's expression it is *the retention of tribal resources within tribal custodianship*.

It is my choice.

Our tipuna stood tall, held fast, and bent with the natural elements of change.

From the time of Oaoiti, who endured the first invasion by a foreign country to our tribal shores, through to Te Horopapera's Pai Marire movement, Noke's defence of our homes and families, Te Whiti o Rongomai's defensive form of protest, Tohu Kakahi's stand of no compromise and the genuine attempts at diplomacy of Ihaia Ngakirikiri, Hohaia Rongomaiwaho and Kaweora, our rangatira laid positive foundations for negotiating better ways of working together.

Each was directly involved in reaching an agreement on matters relating to survival. Each believed in the agreement that was reached.

And each was subjected to abuse, imprisonment or physical harassment.

Their teachings have come down to us.

The principal instruction has always been to negotiate directly.

The only problem with this is that the necessary trust is missing.

The signing of a treaty with a foreign party, who was guilty of invading the privacy of our homes and families, was rejected by our leaders.

The imposition of this new order upon our community signified an important change amongst tribal rangatira within the Taranaki region.

It meant that they had to join forces to counteract the beginnings of illegal sales and the purchase of their tribal taonga.

Their common cause was to retain the Maori estate.

Today's problems expose the need to establish a relationship which is 150 years overdue, and also the need for the government to justify its authority, as government has to be seen to govern.

There is no problem with this.

But it is not justifiable that it should be at the expense of the Maori estate.



Our tribe has been accused of many things. In all cases, the accusers are quite correct according to their manual. But if you looked at the motives and reasoning behind particular actions, you would find that these have been done in defence of home and family and to retain what is left of our tribal taonga, our depleted Maori estate.

We have difficulty accommodating the present demands for changes to our legacy when there is clearly an intention to allow us only limited involvement.

For example, one term used is 'in an advisory capacity'.

Every iwi and hapu within the Taranaki district is against this.

In the past, matters critical to the tribes have foundered because the committees concerned lacked experience and knowledge of the needs and expectations of Maori.

It is true that the consultation process has improved, but close examination of the mechanisms would show that they continue to limit active involvement.

Our people are aware of this, and their frustration and anger arise out of *alarm*, not a wish for confrontation.

It is difficult to accept any authority over our heritage other than ourselves.

Government authorises only one person to be nominated from the nine tribes arising from the tangata whenua and the tangata waka of the Taranaki region, claiming any other arrangement to be unnecessarily cumbersome.

The custom of the iwi, on the other hand, is to choose one person from each tribe to speak on its behalf, and only on very rare occasions is one person alone asked to monitor and advance the changes for all of us as Maori.

The authorities seem to have great difficulty dealing with the definitions of iwi, hapu and whanau.

Although these have been explained, it does not seem to qualify our need for those groups to be represented in major decisions.

The tribes of the Taranaki district have always maintained their independent right to take charge of their tribal taonga, and we are therefore highly suspicious of the reasoning behind a specially constituted kaitiaki governing all our tribal taonga.

It appears to us that the last of our taonga have been neatly packaged within the Maori Fisheries Act, the Resource Management Bill, the Local Government Amendment Bill, and the Runanga Iwi Bill.

One of our kaumatua gave recognition to this with the comment: *Now, we have nothing.*

We have tried, like our tipuna, to accommodate many of the changes but the rules keep changing.

We are now seen as a continual source of frustration to progressive change.

It is extremely difficult to hold onto the process of change in the manner in which it ought to be held.

The mechanisms provided for that 'manner' are as foreign and intrusive as the HMS Alligator's bombardment of our tribal village in the 1830s.

It would be unfair of any society to say that we have denied them access to a share in our tribal taonga. Indeed, such is the alarm of Taranaki iwi at being locked off from their taonga that over a century of continuous trekking to and from the steps of the houses, residences and offices of Parliaments, Governors General, and Ministers of Native and Maori Affairs has gouged out a trail known affectionately as the Taranaki track.

We regard our taonga as still being under tribal rangatiratanga.

Each hapu has the responsibility of providing kaitiaki and servicing the needs of the taonga.

The intentions of the foreign business community and of government are quite clear as demonstrated in the State-owned Enterprises Act and the re-defining of the Treaty articles into principles.

The deliberate avoidance of educating a whole community on Maori issues is slowly coming to the forefront of media attention, but what is not identified is that current changes are grounded in what is left of our legacy.

It is therefore now accepted that every generation of Maori will be taught to react when the demands society makes of their tribal taonga is beyond justification.

We have witnessed the ever increasing erosion of tribal rights by the accelerating machinery of 'progress' imposed in the interests of 'the public good'.

It is therefore amusing that 'the public good' has now been replaced with 'the corporate good'.



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DEVELOPMENT: SOVEREIGNTY OR DEPENDENCY?

Manuka Henare

The approach I find most useful when discussing planning and development is to draw on my own personal experience as well as the experience of the office in which I've been employed for thirteen years. Prior to that, I worked for Corso and Community Volunteers, so for some 24 years I have been involved in community and people's development both in Aotearoa and overseas. While the bulk of my work has been with non-governmental organisations, I have also from time to time helped on the New Zealand Government's external aid programme.

This work experience has involved a number of things: first of all, the funding of all kinds of groups – in the Pacific, in Africa, in Asia and in Aotearoa. Many of these groups consist of people like ourselves; they belong to a kinship system, a tribal system, or some other cultural context similar to that of Maori. I have been fortunate enough to sit down with a great many of these tribal groupings as they've tried to address the very same questions that our people are addressing now. In some parts of the world – in Tahiti, Kanaky, India and so on – where you have minority groups struggling for their cultural identity and to give effect to their *tino rangatiratanga*, there are very particular problems. It is their experiences which have led the Commission I work for to re-examine the notions of planning, development and partnership, and the central place in them of religion and culture.

The programmes we run are called "partnerships" and involve between two and four million dollars a year in total. We have only two full-time people and two part-time people. So we've had to be organised, otherwise we'd have had all hell break loose. There's nothing worse than keeping people at the doing end, at the development end in a village, waiting while you get your office organised.

The work has therefore required me to be a bureaucrat, in the sense of someone who looks after other people's money and makes sure that when it's passed on it can all be accounted for. This involves audits and that difficult task of trying to meet the recipient people's wishes and hopes at the same time as meeting the demands of donors, whether they be government or the Catholic Church or any other non-governmental organisation. Sometimes there are great tensions in trying to meet the aspirations of both sides, especially when your heart leans more towards one side than the other.

But this relationship between so-called donor and recipient, which is one of power, has to be addressed. I have seen many Maori groups and organisations experiencing the same sort of difficulties, and I predict that over the coming few years they will in fact intensify. One of the things about transferring money or resources from a dominant group who see themselves as givers, to another group who are seen as receivers, is that it's usually the dominant group who sets the agenda. So there are powerful tensions built into the process, somewhere in the middle of which is that beautiful word, "development".

What, then, are some of the lessons to be learned from my own experience? First of all, the idea of development comes out of the colonial experience of most of the world's population. Certainly we're no different from most of the people of the



Pacific, Asia and Africa. One of the interesting lessons I've learned is that development can mean quite different things to different people. If you belong to the dominant group, you will see development in a certain light. If you belong to the so-called receiving group you will have quite a different view of development. And that is why many tribal groups throughout the world have actually rejected the term development or even the idea of development. Bitter experience has taught them that development means that the dominant group has some idea of what they want you to do. The process of transferring funds, resources, or whatever, is to get you to do what it is that they believe is good for you.

Out of this comes the idea of dependency. Whole nations at the moment are in a state of dependency; so much so that over the last thirty years the debt of many Latin American and African countries has become so vast that there is no way that they can ever pay it off. I happen to be one of those who believe that the creating of a state of dependency is in fact a deliberate tactic. There are many others who say it's an accident. Well, I just can't help but say, why is it the black, brown and yellow people who always accidentally get into debt? And it's always another group who accidentally seem to be in control? Indeed, is it not our own experience?

So we have to be very clear about what we mean when we say "Maori development". Is it development on someone else's terms, with which we will happily fit in? To me, that's a key question. For what we may be witnessing among our own people today is in fact an extremely sophisticated way of continuing dependency. I haven't made up my mind, but I can't help but be a bit suspicious.

Another, more positive view of development, and one I happen to like personally, is linked with the idea of self-reliance: the idea that it is self-reliant development which actually leads to some sort of national sovereignty. I accept this because my history as someone from Tai Tokerau has taught me that the Maori development of last century had something to do with tino rangatiratanga. If not, if the development programme we're on about has nothing to do with tino rangatiratanga, then it is, in fact, a state of dependency we're talking about. And we should not be using words that mean one thing and then trying to make it sound better by putting in these other flash new

words, "tino rangatiratanga". Because if I've understood the tupuna correctly, they had a very specific intention and a very specific meaning which went with those very powerful words.

Let us now look closely at the connection between development and sovereignty, the idea that sovereignty assumes full meaning when it follows certain phases or steps in a programme of self-reliance.

First of all, you should be able to see a group in *full control over a geographical area* which includes land and sea, since this constitutes the actual living environment of a group of people. It includes all their possessions and resources. If it's not the whole of Aotearoa or Te Wai Pounamu, it's some important parts of it.

Secondly, you can see some evidence of *self-sufficiency in daily life*, and this includes all the essential requirements just to be a healthy and fit person.

Thirdly, you can see a commitment by a people to *building up a complex economy*. As you will see a bit later, it is my conviction that our tupuna of 1830, 1840, were beginning to involve themselves in the emerging complex economy. That's why they went trading. They didn't sit down and have a big waananga: should we, should we not? They didn't have to look at the cultural implications. As far as I understand it, they saw steel axes, looked at their stone ones and said, "I can cut down a tree in a day, or I can spend two weeks." And the choice was simple. That's why there were adzes literally thrown up all over the countryside.

Another part of this economic aspect is that genuine development situates the economic growth within the social and cultural aspirations of a people. This takes into account cultural heritage, tradition and a people's freedom to decide their own economic and social ways of doing things in order to be the makers of their own future.

Fourthly and finally, *political independence* includes and integrates all of the above aspects.

I offer those steps to you as guidelines, because I suspect we will know when we have got tino rangatiratanga; when, in fact, we have all those things. Anything less is not tino rangatiratanga – it is something else. And we should name it for what it is.

There is one further lesson to be learned. Many of the people in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, particularly tribal groups, have found that, in order to plan their development for today and the future, they have to take into account their experience of colonialism. One of the things that these groups have to do is literally cleanse their minds of all colonial attitudes, values and processes. Just thinking that you have a room full of brown people who are all gung ho about tino rangatiratanga doesn't necessarily mean you've got it. It could be that there's just a new form, a very sophisticated form, of dependency being created: now they have brown people helping to continue dependency. So unless there is some sort of cleansing process involved, we may not end up with planning and development as we might wish it.

That's just something of my experience of the last twenty-odd years. Now, when we talk about planning and development for hapu and iwi, how do we do it? Well, first of all, our tradition teaches us that you plan the future by looking at the past. That's what my uncle at Whangape keeps telling me. So let's do that, because I think certain principles of planning and development come out of the actual experience of generations of hapu and iwi, certainly since the 1820s.

What I want to do is to look carefully at the ideas of kawanatanga and tino rangatiratanga, that is, Articles One and Two of the Treaty of Waitangi. And think



about what our tupuna actually meant when they put their moko or their signatures to this tapu document. Remember, *self-reliant development leading to Maori sovereignty*. This is also what we've got in mind; and as we go through the experience of the last 150 years, let's see how many of those sovereignty steps we can tick off and say ae, we have that, we have that, we have that. It will be interesting to see if we end up with tino rangatiratanga at the bottom. Just so that we listen to our history.

First of all, He Kara, the national flag picked by some of the rangatira in Tai Tokerau in 1834 and used by many hapu and iwi in different parts of the country over the last 150 years. This is the flag that guaranteed that Maori trade would be protected by the British Navy on the high seas. It's a flag of national sovereignty – that's how some of our rangatira saw it. That's how the British and others saw it too.

In 1835 we had He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni – the Declaration of Independence, which many of the rangatira of the people were signatories to. This was also, among other things, to guarantee that we would become part of an international trading network. And in order to further it, hapu and iwi needed to form and meet in congress, annually, to start passing laws to do with the running of a country. The idea of a Maori parliament, in other words, didn't start with the Treaty of Waitangi. It actually has its roots in the Declaration of Independence, when there was an obvious willingness amongst the hapu and iwi involved to give the mana to another level. That's how it seems to me. They never quite got it together, but you can see the intention.

We come now to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. There are two important components to it: te tino rangatiratanga, and kawanatanga. I'm involved with Te Runanga Whakawhanaunga i Nga Hahi, which has been doing research for Maori church points of view on this and it seems to us that tino rangatiratanga has something to say about Maori sovereignty which includes all administrative and other rights and obligations that go with that. As we understand kawanatanga, it was approving some form of legitimate government to be established, and the expectation was that under kawanatanga the role of government would be to uphold the Treaty and help administer a state. I am reminded of what Bishop Pompallier recorded in his diary

following a conversation with Maori Catholic leaders in 1845. They compared Aotearoa to a ship and said that the Pakeha was very welcome to sail in her. You may even take the helm and steer her, they said, if that is your wish. But you must always remember that it is our ship.

What we can envisage, then, under rangatiratanga and kawanatanga is that the new state would be established on a shared basis, on an equality that wasn't based on numbers, since 540-odd rangatira gave to one man equal status. There's a different notion of equality here, an equality based on mana, on the quality of the relationship. The Treaty, therefore, is about mana, and the enhancement of it. Which is why it is extremely difficult to accept Mr Palmer's, Mr Bolger's and everybody else of that ilk's view . . . that the ceding of sovereignty meant that Maori were happy to be governed for the rest of their days and into the future. It is very difficult to imagine that that was the intention of our tupuna.

In 1852 came the New Zealand Constitution Act, which was supposed to have allowed for home rule of hapu and iwi, where Maori laws for the government of Maori districts would operate, and also let the settlers look after themselves, in the context of the provinces where the Pakeha were. But what actually happened was that, instead of furthering this historical build-up towards national sovereignty and national development, it all got sidetracked under the Constitution Act and everything got shunted over to the Crown side.

To me, that was the break. Today, we spend most of our time worrying about the kawanatanga side and looking from time to time to the tino rangatiratanga side. That may be a bit harsh, I know we mean more than that; but in fact we spend all our days discussing this kawanatanga side which has built up a state of dependency. Which doesn't meet any of the criteria of sovereignty. Now we're trying to break the cycle of dependency, and until that's done we can never have tino rangatiratanga. We've got something else.

When we look carefully at the institutions that have been built up, we see that they've spent the last 150 years building up all the structures of state which have enhanced kawanatanga. And have essentially diminished tino rangatiratanga. So much so that none of us are happy about our health, Maori education, Maori employment, Maori anything – none of us are happy. And perhaps you can see why. Because the actual structures that were established were not established for Maori, nor were they intended to enhance hapu and iwi.

Kawanatanga first of all meant the British Crown, then it was passed through the Constitution Act to a New Zealand Crown. At present, the New Zealand Crown consists of the following people: the Governor-General, who as we know is a Maori; the ministers of the government, where there are two Maori; and then there is another grouping, the servants of the Crown – heads of all the departments and ministries – and there's two Maori there. So we probably have more Maori as part of the New Zealand Crown than we've ever had in our history. Very interesting, that.

The problem is: to whom have they given allegiance? To whom are they *expected* to give allegiance is also a relevant question. Because even though their hearts might want to give allegiance somewhere else, there's only one book that they put their hands on, and there's only one person they swear allegiance to. And it isn't nga rangatira o nga hapu me nga iwi. There's a real dilemma there, a built-in conflict of interest.

If we have our development principles right, and if we agree that development has something to do with sovereignty, then being part of an exercise which seems on the surface to be pro-Maori, but doesn't lead to sovereignty of some sort, can only be a

consolidation of dependency in the long run. You may have your own views on this, but that's how it seems to me based on my own work experience.

Let's go a bit further and look at Maori Affairs. The Department of Maori Affairs was not established as an agency of the hapu and iwi. It originated as an agency of the Crown. As I suggested before, it doesn't matter how many brown people you put in that agency, in the end they have to be loyal to the institution they serve. That can't be helped. So there was a built-in limitation on what that agency could do.

We also know that the history of that particular agency of the Crown was very mixed. Essentially, though, it was there to assist in the integration, the assimilation and so on and so forth, of the indigenous people into someone else's country. I think that's fair comment. It's not a comment on all the good Maori that worked in there – not at all. It could be that we would be worse off today if it hadn't been for people being in there slowing the steam-roller down.

Out of the Maori Affairs Department, or related to that, you got the establishment of Maori trust boards, the Maori Land Court, and now we have this Iwi Transition Agency. But our fundamental question again comes back: in developmental terms, which side are they agents for? Are they agents for kawanatanga, or agents for tino rangatiratanga? It's a deep question, it's a tough one to ask. I think the answer's a bit obvious, eh? But this doesn't mean I'm advocating a wholesale "we're not going to get involved in that". Because one of the things I've learned about development is that it's a whole lot of phases. You do this in order to get there. The main thing is to know where *there* is.

There are two common misconceptions about planning and development. One is: if you don't know where you're going, then any road will do. The other one is: if you don't have any clear ideas, then any idea will do. If our vision is a tino rangatiratanga one, we have to follow a certain process and plan all the steps to arrive where we want to be. If our idea of development is woolly, if, as I said, any idea will do, then – a million dollars here, that sounds good, we'll take it.

Development has very little to do with money alone. I know from bitter experience that if you want to kill off the aspirations of a people, fill that country up with money. That's why Niue's in trouble, that's why the Cook Islands are in trouble in terms of their own national aspirations, because they are locked into our economy to serve New Zealand's interests. The Kanaks and the Tahitians have the same difficulty with France, the Hawaiians with the United States . . . you name it . . . We know that experience, we know what it means.

If it's true that we plan our future by looking at our past, then our past teaches us many things. Now we have to get organised to see what it is we have to do to plan our development so that it leads to tino rangatiratanga, which actually means Maori sovereignty.



Gloria Hareruia Herbert belongs to Te Uriotai o Pawarenga. She works as Maori Liaison Officer with the Far North District Council, and for Te Runanga O Te Rawara.

SURVIVING IN PARADISE

Gloria Herbert

Drive 150 kms north of Whangarei, take the left turn at Mangamuka and travel a further 40 kms west to the end of the metalled road. You will find yourself in Pawarenga, a small remote rural Maori settlement on the south side of the Whangape Harbour in North Hokianga. It is where I was born in 1936 and the place to which I returned in 1953 with my parents. Eventually I married Jim Herbert, also of Pawarenga, and we settled down to manage a small dairy farm – a typical Hokianga farmholding which needed lots of hard work and perseverance to make a go of it. We raised a family of two sons and four daughters, took in the occasional whangai from the urban whanau and then had a third son who is our last and only child still at home. Consequently, I have lived most of my life in Pawarenga.

It is a beautiful valley, off the beaten tourist track and far from the madding crowd. I always tell people that I live in paradise. Pawarenga is my turangawaewae, the place where I belong. Comparatively, there are not all that many people here. About fifty or so households and 400 people, mostly Maori. Mostly Catholic, too. The history of Pawarenga is inextricably linked with the history of the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in the Hokianga, exemplified by the presence of the Mill Hill Mission fathers for over a century, and of the Sisters of Mercy since the 1920s as teachers in the convent school.

Like a lot of rural Maori settlements everywhere, Pawarenga endured the impact of the migration of its people to the cities, a trickle after the end of the depression which is when my mother and father left, and a mass movement of people after the Second World War continuing into the 50s and 60s.

The reality was that when my family came home in 1953 at the behest of my maternal grandmother to look after the papakainga and the home farm, we met everyone going the other way, drawn by the urban magnet of jobs, opportunities and the good life.

Pawarenga, like many similar rural communities everywhere, became a place where only the old people and some of their mokopuna remained, along with a few diehards who never ever wanted to leave anyway.

About ten years ago a counter-movement of people began. For some it was a yearning to come home after having spent all their working lives in the city; for others, a growing disillusion with the diminishing job scene and the so-called 'good life', a realisation that paradise was indeed back home where they came from. For whatever reasons, our people started to come home.

What a transformation that has created! Old papakainga have been restored and are being lived in again. Those who came back with skills, cash or both have built new homes; and, along with a few really beautiful modern homes, a much greater number of modest garage-type dwellings have blossomed on the landscape. Even more noticeable is the growing number of young parents with their babies and pre-schoolers. The old playcentre which had been in recess for years is now a thriving Kohanga Reo full of bright-eyed toddlers, young mothers and proud nannies; and children's laughter echoes from the convent school which nearly closed for want of sufficient numbers fifteen years ago.

Our people are coming home.

The same scene is being repeated in countless little communities and settlements everywhere. In the Hokianga at Motuti, Mitimiti, Panguru, Motukaraka, Taheke, Waima, Otaua, Whirinaki . . . Throughout Tai Tokerau, and indeed in rural Maori communities throughout Aotearoa, there is a renaissance, a coming-home of the people.

What makes these places so special? Because special they surely are, even though the visitor's first impression may be shock that some people have actually chosen to return to homes without running hot water or a flush toilet; to an apparent absence of material assets and conspicuous signs of affluence. The truth is that our richness is in other dimensions which are ageless and timeless.

Pawarenga and places like Pawarenga are the homelands, nga turangawaewae, the soul-centres of tens of thousands of our people who live everywhere throughout Aotearoa and indeed throughout the whole wide world, all of whom relate back to the lands of their tupuna, to their hills, valleys, rivers and seaways. Places with their own special names, that have stories and songs about the events of these lands and the people who lived there.

We are the richer for their being and for their remaining much as they were, with people who still hold fast to the reo and who maintain the tribal mita (the idioms of speech peculiar to each community). It is in places and to people like these that the heritage of whakapapa and waiata really belongs.

Even so, the stresses of deliberate cultural deprivation by seemingly well-intentioned governmental and missionary education systems have taken their toll over the past several generations; and subsequently, even in a community like Pawarenga, there are now only just enough people with the knowledge to sustain and nurture those cultural values which are the very essence of our being Maori. Our spiritual 'ecology' is still intact, but only just.

In Pawarenga and places like Pawarenga, our environmental ecology is also still intact. Here is the home of the Warawara forest, covering 16,000 hectares, which contains the last extensive upland kauri forest in Aotearoa, with sanctuary areas significant of what this land must have been like 150 years ago.

The Whangape harbour has no commercial fisheries and no reclaimed areas, so the fragile sea environment is still intact. Which means that in their season, delicacies like tuna, whitebait, crayfish, kina, kutai, paua, pipi and every kind of fish can be caught, dived for, netted, or (the easiest way) dropped off at your door by one of the whanaunga with a surplus!

There are three marae in Pawarenga – Morehu, Ohaki and Taiao. Twenty years ago, they were relatively primitive, with no electricity, inadequate water supplies and few amenities. However, increasing unemployment in the early '80s led to the setting up of subsidised work schemes, which in turn led to the slow, painstaking restoration of all our marae.

For everyone the renewal of all the marae has also been the means of renewal of the people. Our people pooled their slender resources and met the need to continually maintain the supply of materials by frenetic fundraising at home, supplemented by the even greater efforts of extended whanau in the cities who never lost touch with their home marae bases.

One marae decided not to use any subsidised work programmes at all but rather to use the building of their new whare-kai and whare-tipuna as a way of bringing the urban-born whanau of Tamaki Makaurau back to Pawarenga to work, uniting and



bonding the young people back to their beginnings, giving them a true sense of their tribal identity as Te Uriotai of Pawarenga.

When the work schemes disappeared, the commitment of the many whanau of the three marae carried on, sustained by voluntary work as disciplined as any 'real' job environment.

Their dedication and commitment is indicative of the value placed on our marae as the very pivot of our being a community, of our way of giving and sharing joys and sorrows, of living and caring according to all that we traditionally value as whanau, hapu and iwi.

The three marae are approaching completion virtually together; and for us, 1990 will be the year of their openings,

the end of those beginnings. 1990 is also the beginning of another era for a younger generation who are in many ways more worldly-wise and older than they should be.

Because it isn't all sweetness and light. In Pawarenga, as in so many similar places, we have our casualties of unemployment and under-achievement, those who turn to negative lifestyles and those who dare not hope. And it is not just our school-leavers and young people who are at risk and very vulnerable to the social impacts of economic policies and decision-making from afar, it is *virtually everyone*, and particularly those with homes to maintain and with children or grand-children to look after.

Much of the land of Pawarenga is Maori land with such complex multiple-ownerships that it has been almost impossible in the past for any one shareholder to set up an economic base. For that reason, our young people traditionally left Pawarenga to find work elsewhere. Now, often as not, there is no work out there either: so, not only are our young people no longer leaving, their city-bred cousins are coming back here to live and survive as best they can.

For the home people, an essential strategy of survival has been to work together as a community and to build on the strengths of our traditional tribal perspectives of the extended whanau, of hapu and iwi. There is truth in the words that divided we will never survive.



So how are we surviving? By the vision of only just enough people who believe in a future where hope flourishes, faith may move mountains and love can still sustain the life-force of places like Pawarenga. It is hard work, because some of the newcomers to the valley, even if they are whanaunga from the cities, bring different survival tactics and values with them. These create tensions and only those who live in places like this can really appreciate the dynamics peculiar to a rural Maori settlement and the way such tensions are worked through and resolved.

A community trust established ten years ago initiated job and training programmes that have led to the setting up of several small business cooperatives. They manage to survive in a policy environment that simply does not recognise the special needs of small community-owned businesses and their potential to contribute positively to the well-being of the nation. So an important part of the overall plan is to work regionally and nationally with similar cooperative groups to help alter political attitudes and to instigate changes in policy. By sheer tenacity and group commitment, our community businesses continue to operate and survive, if ever so marginally.

Perhaps even more importantly, Pawarenga Community Trust has contributed to the ongoing politicising of our people, who traditionally have seen themselves first and foremost as Te Uriotai, the iwi of Pawarenga.

With that political awareness has come involvement in the wider world of first the Hokianga with its historical affiliations, then tribally as part of the several hapu belonging to Te Rarawa and culminating in our commitment to the marae-based Runanga o Te Rarawa, then regionally by networking with the other iwi of Te Tai Tokerau and, inevitably, networking nationally with all the iwi of Aotearoa. Beyond that is the still largely-submerged consciousness of our place in the global scheme of things . . . Our cultural, social and economic isolation has been permanently breached and Te Uriotai will never again be as insular as we once were.

In the real world everything happens on the ground level, and it is here in the places where we live that our real successes or failures can be monitored and measured.

A good example of the real world of Pawarenga has been the development of the canoe-racing culture that emerged from a T.A.P. programme set up to teach trainees

to build and paddle canoes, an initiative that was described by a somewhat disbelieving consultant of the time as a 'wild card' proposal. For us it was our opportunity to participate in the revival of outrigger canoe racing, which had already been happening for many years through the efforts of several groups of both Maori and Polynesian people, and culminating with their historic coming-together at Pawarenga three years ago to form the national sporting canoe federation known as Tatou Hoe o Aotearoa. The flow-on from that momentous event has been two-fold. Firstly, the growing strength of our own club, Nga Hoe Horo o Pawarenga, which sent a men's and a women's team to Hawaii last year to take part in the World Canoe Sprints events. Bear in mind that because Whangape harbour is a tidal inlet, paddling can only take place on a full tide. So to accommodate all our young men and women who are in training and competing fiercely for places in the teams to represent Pawarenga at regattas and the biennial world sprints events, everything in Pawarenga tends to run on glide time – like Access training programmes and milking cows!

Secondly, there has been the spin-off benefit of a cooperative business, employing the equivalent of two full-time workers, which manufactures laminated paddles and quality six-man racing outrigger canoes with an ocean-going capability, and which will provide further opportunities for our up-and-coming generations.

These positive outcomes, together with the discipline and dedication of our waka club members, help to counteract the other obvious role-models of those who are involved in the alternative economy of growing dope and dealing. For even in paradise we have our temptations and our corruptions.

And our women. They are playing a particularly important role in these times of social change and economic upheaval, not only in the traditional roles of being the stable force in the home, the activators of the Kohanga Reo, and the ringa wera on our marae, but also by working at the interface of political action where decisions are being made on policy directions that impact on Maoridom. And by supporting and caring for our men. Our men have taken the brunt of alienation over many generations by being compelled to adapt to an alien cycle of work and values, often to the extent of diminishing their own personal mana and wairua.

The dual and complementary strengths of our men and our women working together are an essential part of our survival strategies.



Like many similar communities we as a people are often our own worst enemies. Sometimes there are communication breakdowns and horrendous misunderstandings. There are jealousies and the bearing of grudges and from time to time the occasional bad decision with its consequences. And as so often happens, too few people carry too much of the burden of responsibility.

But the good by far outweighs the bad. The synergy created by the people when they pull together is almost palpable. And it happens all the time! At all the many hui: hui-mate, hui-wananga, hui-runanga, hui-Katorika, hui katoa! Fundraisings, school events, the annual united maraes sports day every New Year, the waka regattas; and, of late, the hosting of all sorts of diverse groups and individuals who are drawn by the magic of Pawarenga.

To those of us who understand the tremendous cultural heritage from our past, who are aware of both its inherent strengths and fragilities in the world of today and its awesome potential and significance for a peaceful future in the world of tomorrow, founded on the acceptance and practice of true biculturalism, it is vital that places everywhere like Pawarenga, and people, whoever they may be, like Te Uriotai, be sustained.

Because although we may be few in number (and the reality is that the majority of Maori are now urban dwellers) –

We are the true keepers of our heritage, of our past history and of our future.

We are the tangata whenua, the people of the land.

We are the guardians of the mountains and the valleys, of the rivers and the oceans, of the forests and the wetlands.

We are the ahi ka, who keep the homefires burning.

We are the hunga kainga, the whanau who occupy the homes and tend the gardens, who grow the flax and keep the traditional skills and values of our turangawaewae alive, and who all-year-round maintain the marae that constantly wait for our people to come home.

We are the first and the last; the spiritual home of the beginning, of giving birth to the life force; and the final resting place of return to Papatuanuku.

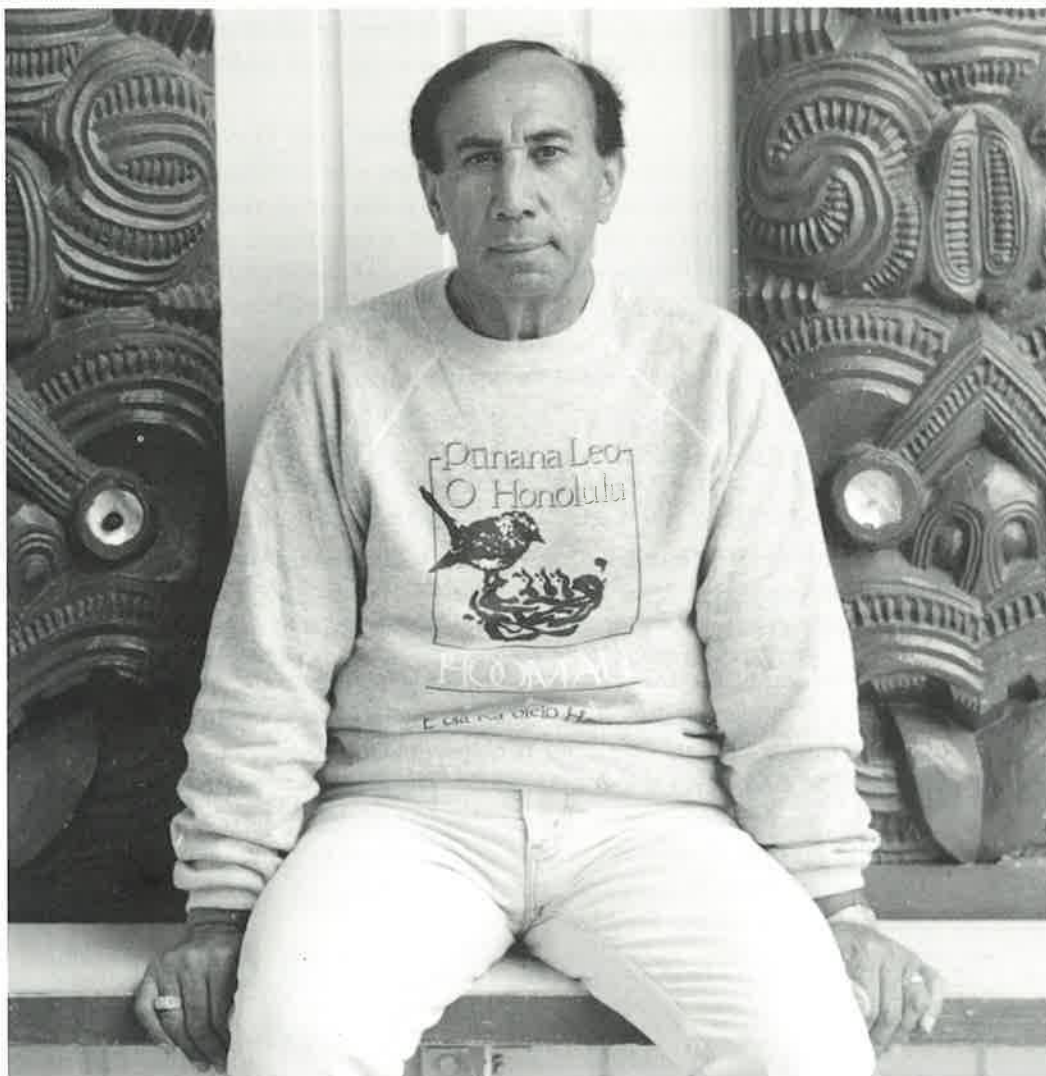
It is good that within the cities there are urban marae and other Maori organisations where our urban whanaunga are working hard to provide a common point of coming together, where the skills can be maintained and passed on, and the knowledge of te reo along with the age-old wisdoms and stories of our tupuna can be learned . . . The skills of the Pakeha are then readily picked up to give us professional qualifications and practical expertise that will carry us into the world of tomorrow.

But to be true to the Maori understanding of time where the past, the present and the future are all part of a continuum, and to hold fast to the essential value placed on our relationship to the lands where we belong, it is vital that our urban cousins be able to say:

“Remember that (at the foot of some distant mountain, or by some ocean shore or near a certain river . . .) there is this place where you belong, where the people will instantly recognise you by your whakapapa and will be able to tell you exactly who you are.

“If you go there, listen. The land will speak to you. You will hear the time-old stillness of the mountains, the sigh of the forests and the whisper of the waters. They will sustain your body and heal your spirit.

“The old people will speak to you. Their stories will both delight and sadden you. Their songs will stir longlost memories in your mind. Their laughter will linger, and their love, the aroha of all the whanau, will never leave you.”



Tīmoti Samuel Kāretu was born in Hastings of Tūhoe ancestry and grew up on the Waimako marae at Waikaremoana. He is Professor of Māori at Waikato University, on leave as Māori Language Commissioner since August 1987. He lives in Wellington.

THE MĀORI LANGUAGE TODAY

Tīmoti Kāretu

As part of its promotion and publicity campaign in 1988, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori issued a poster which featured a photograph of Pūkākī and his twin sons with the following caption beneath,

“Tōku reo, tōku ohooho
Tōku reo, tōku māpihi maurea
Tōku reo, tōku whakakai marihi.

Language is the key to understanding”.

The expression “Tōku reo . . .” had been coined two years previously as a catchphrase for Māori Language Week, and because of its message, its concision and its lyrical beauty I considered it worthy of retention. Hence its inclusion in the poster.

New Zealand must be one of the few countries in the world where the phrase “Language is the key to understanding” is meaningless and uncomprehended, and where linguistic ignorance and arrogance are rife and thriving. As Dr. Pawley of the University of Auckland said in his paper entitled *On The Place of Māori in New Zealand Life: Present and Future*, “. . . New Zealanders probably have less respect for culture and tradition than almost any other nation – the pioneering peasant mentality still dominates here. If something is no use we have no time for it. And most of the electorate have no use for Māori.”

Since 1 August, 1987, when Māori became an official language of this country, there has been opposition to its active promotion, and to its use in the media and the public place. This opposition is not new, it is just, as the following cases demonstrate, less covert and subtle.

When the Commission first took up residence in its present premises there was a negative reaction to Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori being used in the directory on the ground floor. As more notices in Māori and English were put in place the negative reaction grew; and although the verbal reactions have dissipated with the passing of time, the underlying attitude has not.

.....

The Commission in its endeavours to employ a bi-lingual, bi-cultural secretary wished to insert an appropriate advertisement in the local media, that is the *Dominion* and the *Evening Post*, in Māori only. In his letter declining our request, Mr B.E. Geale, Joint Classified Advertising Manager (Sales) said, “. . . it is our company policy that all classified advertisements published in languages other than english [sic] should be accompanied by the english [sic] translation so as to give all our readers an opportunity to understand what is being printed.”

We were willing to supply a translation for the edification of the staff concerned but did not wish to include it in the advertisement. My point was that I wished to see how many applicants could understand the advertisement, thus giving me some initial indication of the linguistic competence of the applicant. Those having to read it in English would obviously be unsuitable and ineligible, and I doubted that such a position would be of interest to the wider reading public of the newspapers concerned. Furthermore, it did not preclude non-Māori with the requisite aptitudes from applying. (It is interesting to note that the *New Zealand Herald* accepted the advertisement without hindrance or restriction, and while

the *Evening Post* remains entrenched in its attitude, it, in fact, published an advertisement in Māori only in its edition of 14 March 1989.)

.....

The Chief Executive of the Commission and I were in a shop in Wellington completing the formalities of a purchase, and were conducting a private conversation in Māori as we always do. An objection to our conversation was raised by an assistant who considered it "rude" because she could not understand. Our reaction was swift and as a consequence we received an apology from the manager who informed us that the assistant had been duly spoken to. The case is not an isolated one, however, for, as Dr. Pawley states, "The monoculturalism of New Zealanders can reach extraordinary heights. Kiwis are simply not used to hearing other languages spoken around them. A friend born overseas tells stories of Kiwi office mates who get rattled when visitors come in and converse with her in their mother tongue – who are rattled even when she speaks over the phone in another language. Passengers in buses become uneasy when they hear the sounds of foreign languages buzzing around them. Some friends, otherwise kindly and liberal folk, are even disturbed by the sound of the Māori news on radio. They can't understand it and it is somehow threatening. Monolingual New Zealanders expect everyone to accommodate by talking English in front of them."

.....

A group calling itself 'One New Zealand' wants the word Pākehā legally expunged from the vocabulary of New Zealand and argues that, while there are people of Māori descent, there are no Māori, only New Zealanders. Furthermore, this group wishes all programmes in the Māori language on television to be captioned. I oppose captions, an unnecessary expense. If people wish to know what is being said, then learn the language.

I doubt, very strongly, that speakers of Māori will desist from including the word Pākehā in their conversation when referring to the fair-skinned majority of this country; nor do I see Māori ceasing to refer to themselves as Māori. Certainly, this Māori will continue to use both words in contexts where he deems them appropriate, in spite of the rantings of both 'One New Zealand' and the more recently formed Kiwi United Society.

.....

Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori has also been the recipient of anonymous letters. The following is from "Dismayed Citizen" dated 2 March, 1989:

Dear Sir,

Your article (enclosed) as per N.Z. Womans Weekly causes concern as regards language in New Zealand.

We are predominantly an Anglo Saxon culture with a Westminster style of government and have English as the one and only official language of this country.

According to your policies we should be trying to accommodate a language that:

- 1) Is dead, (not used officially since 1840)*
- 2) Has no alphabet or written Records*
- 3) Only useful to 300,000 odd New Zealanders*
- 4) Of no use whatsoever internationally*

As an alternative language educational systems should be looking at

French

German

Japanese

all of which (and including English) are more intelligent languages.

Ethnic minorities including Maori are supposed to fit in to the English system and "westernise" themselves.

Yours faithfully

Many more examples of the racism endemic in this country could be cited, and while some might consider these circumstances to be isolated they are symptomatic of the thinking of the majority of New Zealanders.

The most recent cause célèbre regarding the language has been the Ngāi Tamarāwaho affair, the case in which documents filed in Māori were refused by the Registrar of the Tauranga District Court.

While there was no onus on his part to accept the document, one had hoped that there might be some modicum of humanity and political astuteness on the court's part. However, such was not to be, and a translation had to be supplied by the petitioners despite the court's access to interpreters.

Te Taura Whiri is consequently recommending, as an extension to the present legislation, that:

- any person presenting evidence in Māori be responded to in Māori;
- that all evidence given in Māori be recorded in Māori;
- that documents filed in Māori be accepted by the court.

Māori only takes on an official guise when some breach of the law has been perpetrated. Such is the irony of the Māori language situation as it pertains in New Zealand in 1990. The arrogant assumption is that all should speak English on all occasions and yet, as Dr. Tāmami Reedy says in his report, *Developing an Official Māori Language Policy for Government* (p. 5), "The fact that English is now the only working language for the vast bulk of Māoridom has not brought about the societal unity promised by the anti-Māori language policies of the past 150 years."

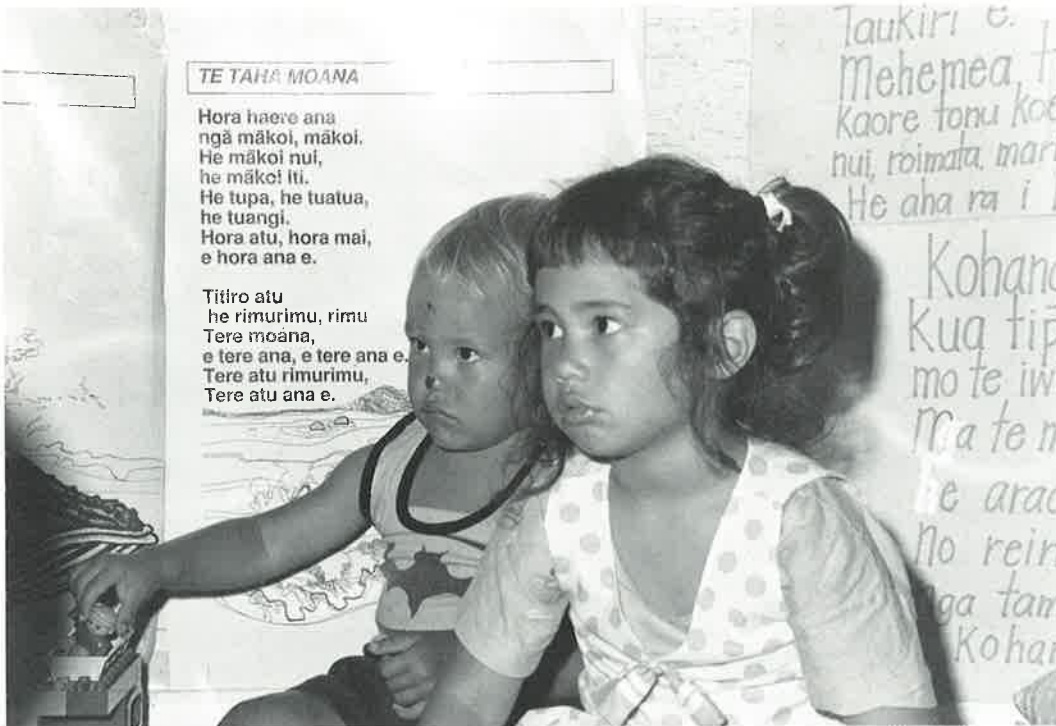
I am convinced that the compulsory inclusion of language and things Māori in the school curriculum will not bring unity but greater division. It is not our intention to impose our language on others for we know what it is like to have a language imposed on us and as a consequence of that measure to see our own language in decline. Our philosophy is to make our language available to those who so desire it.

One need not be a seer or a genius to deduce that despite almost 200 years of repression and suppression, both covert and overt, the Māori language has survived, albeit with only 50-60,000 who could truly be said to be native speakers, and a further 120,000 or so who are termed passive speakers. That says much for the resilience of both the language and its speakers - to have withstood the continued onslaught of the ignorant, the arrogant and the racist.

Mere survival, however, is not sufficient to ensure the language is maintained into the millennia to come. Policies in place at present need to be streamlined, strengthened and improved to guarantee that the students involved emerge with a good command of *quality* language. (I do not deny that language in its natural state changes, but unnatural change into a meaningless and slovenly language should be abhorred and averted.)

Rhetoric and resources per se will not guarantee the survival of the language. What is required is a commitment, and that I do not see despite Kōhanga Reo, Te Ātārangi, Kurakaupapa Māori and bilingual schools, universities, polytechnics and other institutions that are making their own attempts to teach the language.

The Māori population more than any other needs to commit itself to the proposition that the language deserves to be retained, maintained and sustained. And once having



made that commitment, it needs to ensure that English is no longer employed in predominantly Māori situations but that Māori be spoken on all those occasions. The continued use of English by Māori people, particularly speakers of Māori, among themselves, is to denigrate the Māori language itself and to guarantee its extinction.

Language is difficult, hence the concentration on the comparatively less demanding aspects of dance, song, carving and weaving. These skills, which are cited by some as being those which make a person Māori, can be acquired without language but often the knowledge is perfunctory.

It is evident from the reaction to Māori language promotion that the bulk of New Zealand cares little whether Māori survives or not. The reactions rather indicate that the preference would be for Māori to disappear altogether, but as Dr Reedy states in the report referred to earlier, "Māoridom today appears to be more bent on remaining Māori despite the poor self-image that post-European history has bestowed on the label 'Māori'. Clearly, Māori language is being seen by many as a rallying point for a restructuring and piecing together of a much broken and damaged people. It serves to restore an identity for people who see themselves as Māori and want to be recognised as such."

What is ironic is that the same people who would wish that Māori were not here use things Māori with which to identify once away from these shores. The Olympic team in Seoul performed its version of the haka, as do the All Blacks. Schools which pay scant attention to things Māori have a school haka, more often than not a bowdlerised, meaningless form of 'Ka Mate', 'Utaina' or 'Tau Ka Tau'. Such was the case when I was at Wellington College. The sensitivity to Māori people is nil and the message of the haka ignored, a further index of the attitude of most of New Zealand to the culture of the Māori.

Legislation will not guarantee the learning of Māori by the majority of New Zealanders, nor is it sought, contemplated or envisaged. What is sought is a greater tolerance of the right of things Māori to exist, to be nurtured and to grow, the most

important of these being the language, for that is the very essence of all things Māori. Without it, all else becomes meaningless.

The Māori population needs to be convinced of this and then to make it a reality; for despite the intermingling of the two main cultures, Māori and Pākehā, for nigh on 200 years, I doubt that there would be 100 Pākehā who are fluent in Māori. To me, no more need be said regarding their attitude to the language.

Economic and social demands have necessitated the Māori's becoming bilingual and bicultural; therein lies the salient difference. There is no economic pressure to become Māori-speaking but I would point out the social advantages of doing so are overwhelming. Was it not said on 6 February, 1840, "We are one people", meaning that we should appreciate and accept each other for what we are? Most pertinent to that appreciation is the knowledge of each other's language, the key to each other's culture. Since contact, it has been a very one-sided affair.

People lament the state of race relations but one can scarcely feign outrage or amazement at the reaction of Māori to the disparaging and vilifying remarks about them and their language.

Like any language, Māori will have to be able to accommodate concepts and ideas that are foreign to the culture. The language did that readily upon initial contact and is continuing to do so, for therein lies its relevance to the present generations whose world it must be able to describe. Its more esoteric and classical aspects can be learnt and appreciated at the appropriate stage of development.



I said in a television interview that 50 years from now the language would be struggling to survive if commitment to it were not made. I abide by that remark, but what is needed in addition to commitment is a climate that is not blindly hostile and antagonistic but rather one in which those who wish to may participate in the learning and use of the Māori language.

No other country in the world can ensure the survival of the Māori language nor guarantee it its place in the sun. It must survive and be meaningful in its own context – not just be seen to be so but be allowed to do so.

Tolerance is the basis of all understanding and, as my tīpuna would have it, no matter how tempting other avenues might be, "Kaua e utua te kino ki te kino, te taunu ki te taunu engari me manaaki".



Linda Tuhiwai Te Rina Smith was born in Whakatane of Ngati Awa and Ngati Porou. She is Senior Lecturer in Education at Auckland University.

MAORI EDUCATION – A REASSERTION

Linda Smith

Education in the last decade has been under considerable public scrutiny, both in New Zealand and in other Western nations. Debate has focused on the failure of schools to provide equally for all sections of the community. It has occurred at a time of major economic change which has forced people to examine the role of schools in preparing people for work. High unemployment, particularly among young school-leavers, has raised questions as to what our students are being taught in schools, how they are being taught and for what purposes. This attention has meant that teachers, the curriculum, school organisation and the state educational bureaucracy have all been subjected to intense critiques from both the neo-conservative stream and the radical left.

In New Zealand, Maori people have played a pivotal role in the critique of education. This is not surprising, considering the long-standing crisis in the education of Maori people. We are constantly faced with a barrage of statistics which show that a majority of our children are performing disastrously at school. Although the statistics seem impossible to deny, the translation of those results into positive and successful interventions by government has been largely unimpressive. Over the last decade, the tension between government, as represented by the Education Department and individual schools, and Maori people has resulted in a struggle over the role of teachers, the inadequacies of the curriculum, and the institutional barriers of all educational structures. The "system" and all it represents has been the target of intense frustration and anger felt by Maori people throughout the land.

While, at a wider level, the debate over education has engaged differing political and philosophical arguments, in the Maori world this debate has taken the form of action. By 1982, Te Kohanga Reo had become an uplifting catch-cry. Throughout the last decade, local, regional and national Maori initiatives were beginning to take shape. All of these initiatives share in the fact that they were marginalised from mainstream programmes in the way they were funded, the way they were organised, in their "curriculum", and in the way they were perceived by the community at large. Many programmes were "allowed" to exist because they were an example of institutional sensitivity to Maori concerns; others were desperate, and therefore short-term responses to specific crises; others were aimed at groups who could not be a threat to anyone, such as pre-schoolers; and still other programmes were simply subverted by tutors and organisers who wanted to serve the interests of Maori. As the decade advanced, an increasing number of Maori groups began to challenge the mainstream institutions more directly. This was primarily in order to bring about a more dramatic improvement in the position of Maori people in New Zealand society. The Treaty of Waitangi has provided the basis from which many of these challenges have been made.

This paper concentrates on drawing together the educational changes which have arisen from the aspirations of Maori communities. These changes have taken place within a wider context of educational, political and economic change. They are changes which show the possibilities of tino rangatiratanga in an education system which has for so long denied the very validity of things Maori. They are changes which redefine the way Maori education has been conceptualised and discussed. Finally, they are changes which show other tangata whenua groups that in the struggle

for control of a destiny, the past must be constantly regenerated through the active and committed education of succeeding generations.

Maori education: Where have we been?

When the term "Maori education" is used, it is usually in connection with the policies and practices applied by the state to a perceived Maori *problem* in education. This perception influenced the ways early European missionaries established and maintained schools. It also underpinned the philosophy and practice of state schooling. In the early days of mission schooling, for example, Maori people were regarded as being uncivilised, unchristian and therefore uneducated. As schooling developed, the more generalised perception of Maori people being uncivilised gave way to more specific claims about the problematic nature of Maori beliefs, values and lifestyle. Maori homes were described as having a demoralising influence on children, and Maori parents were portrayed as being uncaring. The "communalistic" lifestyle of Maori society was regarded as being a barrier to individual achievement. The power of the chiefs and the organisation of people into tribal groups were also considered to be major impediments to advancement.

As each perceived barrier to children's learning was dealt with by educational policy-makers and practitioners, another problem was identified and brought into public focus. For example, Maori language was targeted as one such impediment to learning and there were active and frequently violent attempts to expel it from the school grounds. Children were punished for speaking Maori at school and families were made to feel that it was dumb to do so at other times. Once the banishment of Maori from the school premises was achieved, the next educational problem to be identified was that Maori children spoke poor English. In other words, Maori children were changed from having total fluency in one language to having virtually no fluency in any language at all! This "problem" was translated by educationalists into a complex array of deficits which at the time was said to lead to poor achievement in all areas of schooling.

Layer upon layer of Maori belief-systems and practices was peeled back and found to be lacking in any real educational value. Schools were encouraged to make the classroom as distinct from Maori homes as possible. It was believed that this difference would serve an educational function in that new values, patterns of relationship and codes of conduct would be modelled and would in time replace old values and practices. This assimilatory function of schools had a powerful influence on the way Maori educational policy evolved, and to a large extent set the parameters of what Maori education was about. This in turn, however, led to an ever-decreasing range of educational options, usually reduced to equations that contained more of one thing and less of another. For example: more English language skills/less Maori; more technical skills/less social skills; more time at school/less dole money.

For a long time this kind of approach had little real impact other than to increase the frustration of Maori people. The educational bureaucracy was slow to change; many schools were resistant to community calls for action; teachers were still being trained inadequately; and Maori students continued to pay the price. But eventually this frustration led to some significant changes occurring outside mainstream education. In turn, these alternatives have been influential in modifying various aspects of state schooling: for example, the introduction of *taha Maori* into the curriculum, the Treaty of Waitangi into school charters, and a Maori dimension in teacher training. Many of the innovations which have occurred in the Maori world have the potential to inform not only New Zealand educators but those in other Western nations who are struggling to provide successfully for their own indigenous and migrant minorities.

Maori education as it is now being determined by Maori people is beginning to



reassert a philosophical foundation based on a tradition that is at least a thousand years old. It is a foundation which validates the knowledge and experience we have had as a people over the centuries of migration and settlement. It removes the notion that schooling for Maori is about cultural replacement, about making Maori children more able at school by ensuring that they are less able as Maori. Furthermore, it contains a vision for the future which has captured the imagination and aspirations of Maori. Given the energy which is now being applied in Maori communities throughout Aotearoa, greater Maori involvement in, and commitment to, education will continue into the 1990s. *But* it is an involvement and commitment that is dependent on having control over meaningful decision-making.

Te Kohanga Reo: the language nest

Schooling has had a devastating impact on Maori language. The moves to ban Maori from school grounds because it limited children's learning potential was followed closely by exhortations to Maori parents that they would best help their children by not using Maori at home either. School policies were reinforced by widely-held Pakeha beliefs that Maori language consisted merely of gesticulations and superficial greetings and was linguistically and semantically incapable of handling the complex concepts and skills needed in a school programme. Unfortunately, this ideology has been internalised by many Maori as well.

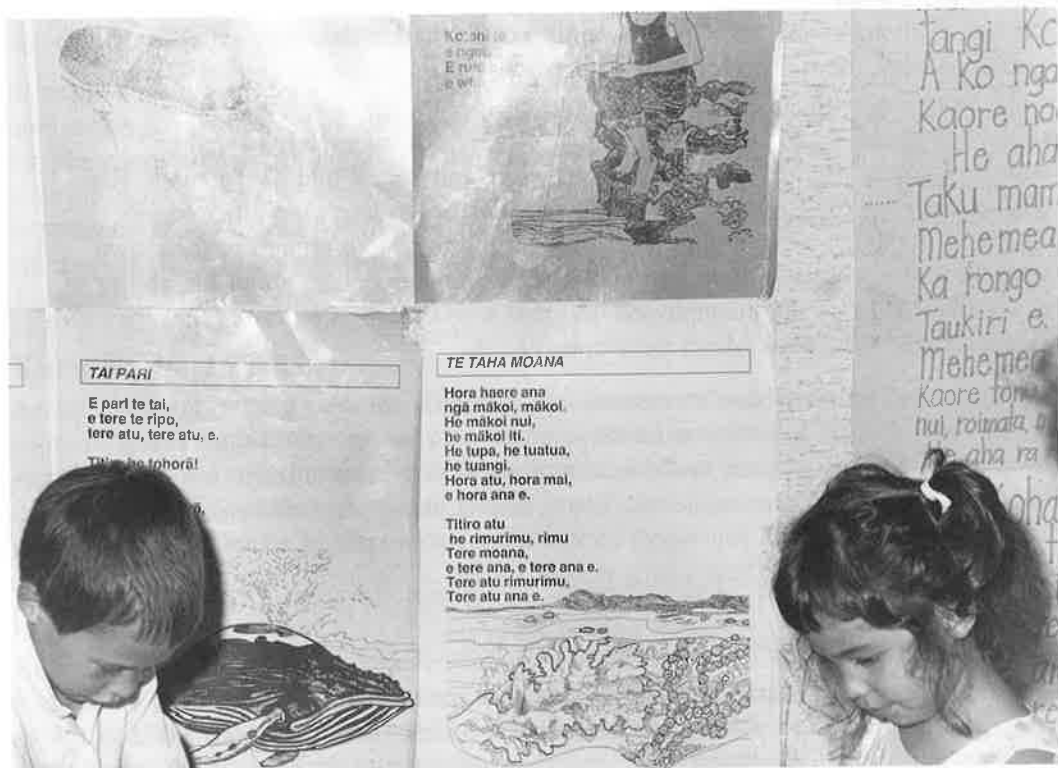
By the 1970s it had become quite clear to Maori people that their language was in danger. It had low status even among many Maori; secondary schools which offered Maori language as a subject were not producing speakers of the language; the demand for Maori newspapers, which were once so active, had virtually disappeared; even letter writing in Maori, which had also been a common occurrence, was diminishing. More importantly still, English was beginning to appear more often on marae and in the few other remaining contexts of Maori language dominance.

Concern about the state of the language was heightened by Maori activist groups in the early seventies. This concern was confirmed by the research carried out by Richard Benton of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, which showed only a few pockets left in the country where Maori could still be described as a

community language. By the end of the decade, almost all sections of the Maori community recognised that Maori language was under severe threat of extinction and that the pressure which had been applied to schools to help the language was being resisted. Furthermore, schools were continuing to turn out a large number of Maori students with no qualifications, not even the one of self-worth, into a world of increasing unemployment.

Out of this sense of desperation and urgency came Te Kohanga Reo, a concept of language rescue which was aimed at the one group in Maori society not already corrupted by school experience: the "under fives". Te Kohanga Reo sought to nurture the children in an environment which was based on Maori values and to immerse them in language which was exclusively Maori. From 1982 onwards, there was a rapid growth of Kohanga Reo throughout the country. Despite the difficulty of acquiring resources, including that of a native speaker, parents and communities quickly mobilised to establish their own Kohanga Reo. Other parents were prepared to travel miles each day to place their child in a Kohanga Reo if there were none in their own neighbourhood.

It is through the Kohanga Reo movement that the new possibilities for Maori education have emerged. Unlike schools, Te Kohanga Reo explicitly links the home setting with the setting at Kohanga. For example, the roles that individuals play at Kohanga Reo closely match the roles young children would expect to see at home. A kaumatua, a kuia, pakeke and tamariki carry out natural roles at Kohanga. Each role is valued and interdependent. Parents are expected to be involved and are shown how to involve themselves effectively. Mothers have been given a place to demonstrate leadership and talents long untapped or under-rated. The whanau, through Te Kohanga Reo, has regained its role as the basic unit of decision-making and self-determination in the education of children. Unlike other pre-school or school initiatives designed for Maori children, Te Kohanga Reo began with a sense of purpose which was reflected right across the community; and with a dependence on the Maori community, if it was to succeed, that was almost total.



Te Ataarangi

While young children in Kohanga Reo were being immersed in Maori, their parents were also having to learn the language in a hurry. This increased demands for adult language classes. While many of these were being held at polytechs or community night-classes, there was also a demand for Kohanga Reo whanau to hold classes in the evenings for parents and to hold more community-based language programmes. The Te Ataarangi movement began as a way of meeting this demand. It is based on a language-teaching methodology that was developed overseas using cuisenaire rods as a tool for promoting rapid oral development. In New Zealand, however, Te Ataarangi has been transformed into a programme which sits comfortably within a kaupapa Maori framework. Within this programme, the role of the tutor is stressed. Unlike other classes, where teachers teach in a didactic manner, Te Ataarangi tutors are expected to feed knowledge to their students through the use of rakau or rods and through the power of the group itself. Learners are expected to exercise the qualities of patience, sharing and support for each other. Te Ataarangi's success has seen it develop into a national organisation with its own training and support programme. Many of its tutors are already state-trained language teachers, but the vast majority have come up through the programme itself and have developed sufficient fluency to establish their own local classes.

Work schemes

Te Kohanga Reo set the scene for a number of initiatives in Maori education. However, while Te Kohanga Reo was working with the very young, the school system was still not coping with the Maori students it already had. Maori students were continuing to have unhappy and unsuccessful experiences at school, and young Maori were continuing to bear the brunt of high unemployment. Their lack of school qualifications was in many cases seen as a lack of any skills or value at all. Various government schemes set about taking these young people into special programmes to give them the skills they did not get at school and turn them into candidates for employment.

Many of the programmes were designed to capture the interest of the young people concerned. Although funded by government through the Department of Labour, programmes were often successfully subverted to serve community needs. Carving schemes were established, Maori art and music programmes developed, marae restoration projects begun, as well as a host of other attempts made to gather unemployed young Maori people into constructive activity. While Te Kohanga Reo worked at reviving the language, the work schemes began to revive other Maori activities, at the same time turning disillusioned young people around to their own cultural heritage. Although there will continue to be much debate about the ability of these schemes to place the unemployed into real work, there is no doubt that they did some remarkable things for Maori development.

Most of the work schemes had an element of "life skills" in their programmes, involving such diverse activities as literacy, grooming, and assertiveness training. Many of the young people had had educational experiences which were a total disaster at the most fundamental level. Young Maori men and women whose lack of self-esteem, confidence and self-worth locked them into a state of social paralysis. Maori tutors working with these young people started at the level of providing the basics of aroha and care. They established surrogate whanau networks, found real whanau contacts, and attempted to restore mana to a lost generation.

For many of the young Maori in these programmes, being taught the basics of Maori language and history filled a huge gap in their self-image. The specialised skills of bone or wood carving, catering for hui, and meeting-house restoration, gave some

substance to what it might mean to be Maori. The nature of the programmes themselves in many cases provided a caring environment in which to learn new skills and develop new kinds of relationships.

Tribal waananga

It may seem contradictory that, in a decade of hard economic times, Maori people have taken a pro-active role in a range of activities. But it is perhaps as a consequence of economic realities that we have had to look to ourselves and our past more intently for solutions. No other solutions were available. Part of that process has involved attempts to build a sound economic base. Those attempts have required the mobilisation of people, the re-examination of history, the collating of specific tribal data, the searching for information related to each area or issue. In short, some iwi have embarked on major educational campaigns designed to rediscover and transmit knowledge pertaining to their specific concerns.

Many whanau and iwi groups hold intensive waananga to discuss and refine important topics. Whether it is held for a day, a weekend, a week, or longer, the waananga provides a traditional framework for teaching and learning. In educational terms, the waananga or hui contains some important beliefs about learning and teaching and the nature of knowledge. There has been some research in education which comments on the group-orientation of Maori children. It is an orientation which schools have attempted to break down, in favour of more individualistic learning. Group learning, however, connects with the kinds of learning in which many Maori participate outside of school, either on the marae, in a hall or in someone's living room.

During the next five or ten years this activity by iwi will escalate as they struggle for greater control over their own destinies. This will, of necessity, include greater demands being made on education. Already, iwi are seeking Maori people who are not only well-qualified in terms of an occupation but are skilled in tribal affairs and fluent in Maori language. The fact that few people like this exist has already prompted one iwi, Ngati Raukawa, to develop its own Whare Waananga. Other iwi are currently examining this option as well. Recent educational changes at tertiary level should enable more iwi to take control of the education of their people, either in association with existing institutions or on their own.

In recent times, "getting a job" or "getting a *good* job" has been used as a primary motivation for staying on at school. It is one which has not worked particularly well for Maori students. The "good job" has to have benefits which connect with the lives young Maori people live and want to live. Being able to work for your iwi has an importance and is a goal which many young Maori have responded to already in the building of waka, the establishment of tribal runanga, and research into iwi development.

Kura Kaupapa Maori

An inevitable consequence of Te Kohanga Reo has been the demand for a continuation of its philosophy and practice into the primary and secondary school systems. The participation of significant numbers of Maori parents in the Kohanga Reo movement has raised their expectations and made them more sophisticated in dealing with schools.

Initially, the demand for further immersion schooling was directed at local schools. This became a time-consuming and frustrating affair with less than satisfactory results. Bilingual units or schools were eventually set up to cope with the demands of Te Kohanga Reo parents as well as those whose children had not had Te Kohanga Reo experience. Up until the end of 1989, the bilingual unit or school option was the only response by the state to the crisis in Maori language. Bureaucratic barriers made even

this approach difficult to achieve as communities had to negotiate in turn with individual principals, the education boards, the inspectorate and the education department.

For some parents, moreover, the bilingual option was considered to be untenable. It was, for many, a compromise which undermined the most successful aspects of Te Kohanga Reo. It was an approach which compromised the language when the children were still at a vulnerable stage of development. It also compromised the kinds of relationships the children had developed at Kohanga Reo with pakeke (adults), and between themselves. More significantly, it was an option which compromised the autonomy over educational decision-making which Maori whanau had established at Kohanga Reo.

For these parents, the best alternative was to extend Te Kohanga Reo to the primary level. Initially, many children were kept at Kohanga Reo until they had turned six, the legal age for entering primary school. Eventually, pockets of parents in areas as far apart as Christchurch, Rotorua and Auckland established their own Kura Kaupapa Maori outside or on the fringes of state education. The first Kura was established at Hoani Waititi marae in West Auckland. By the time legislation was enacted making Kura Kaupapa Maori a legal option (the end of 1989), there were six Kura in operation and three others nearly ready to start. The legislation will signal to an increasing number of communities that this is another choice which Maori parents can make for their children.

Kura Kaupapa Maori is an educational alternative which is explicitly Maori. The Kura Kaupapa Maori movement articulates a philosophy which has its foundations in the past but its hopes in the future. It has set out to make "being Maori" the norm and seeks to instill in its children the knowledge and skills which they will require to live as well-educated adults in a world which for them will always be essentially Maori.

Maori women

Maori women have been instrumental in many of these educational initiatives. Te Kohanga Reo has provided a training ground for many of the tutors in ACCESS programmes, health groups, and in primary and secondary teaching. The participation of women in these programmes has also raised awareness of many of the problems which Maori women have had to confront on their own. Sexual abuse, violence, single parenthood, poor health are all part of the burden which Maori women have attempted to break free from through self-education and support programmes.

Many of these programmes are informal, organised by community-based workers who have identified women with common needs. Whether the course is formal and sophisticated, such as ones for women setting up small businesses, or informal and simple as with ones for women who have survived incest, they have all involved a re-examination of the roles Maori women have in Maori and the wider society. For many younger Maori women, accounts of the past have ignored the role that women played in society and this invisibility has led to the assumption that they had no role and were therefore unimportant. Women's groups have been active in attempting to reconstruct and reassert the significant position that women had in the traditional society of each iwi.

Although the Maori Women's Welfare League is the best known organisation of Maori women, there are in fact many groups which have formed around specific issues: health groups, mana wahine groups, community workers, literacy organisations, women's support groups, lesbian groups, sexual-abuse groups and women-in-management groups. Many of these less-known groups have established national networks as well as cross-links with other organisations.



Implications for the wider world

Education systems across the world have had little success with either indigenous or migrant ethnic minorities. Education research for several decades got lost in the deficit-driven approach. This research theory assumed that if groups of people were failing in school it was because they were doing something wrong; in other words, there was a deficit in *their* make-up which schools needed to fill. This meant, for example, that one of the functions of schools was to give children appropriate “experiences” to help develop literacy because their own experiences were deficient. For Maori people, this function was no different from the original purpose for establishing Native schools.

Although deficit-based assumptions continue to surface in most discussions about Maori education, recent educational research has moved beyond this approach. What is now seen as crucial for Maori children is what occurs or does not occur at school. Research across a number of educational areas has shown the importance of the connections between home and school in children’s learning. Furthermore, this research has shown how much more closely schools connect with the lives of children from the dominant culture and class-group in society. For example, teachers’ language patterns and quality of interaction with children have been shown to benefit this group of children more, because they follow patterns similar to those these children experience at home. The curriculum, and the kind of knowledge it validates, affirms these children’s home and cultural experiences more than it does those of children from minority groups. Teaching and learning methodologies used most frequently in classrooms also match more closely the teaching/learning strategies used in the homes of dominant-group children.

For Maori children, the disconnection between home and school has been a fundamental element of their education. Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori and other kaupapa Maori institutions, on the other hand, seek to maintain and even strengthen that connection. Schools have played an instrumental role in dismissing Maori knowledge and experience. All the Maori initiatives mentioned here have deliberately set about reasserting the validity of matakura Maori – Maori knowledge and Maori realities. Recent changes in education which purport to give a greater

emphasis to parents and communities in school structures have yet to convince us that "Tomorrow's Schools" will be any more effective for Maori children than yesterday's schools have been.

Maori initiatives across a range of educational areas demonstrate that Maori people do have an interest in education and are willing to participate fully in educational processes. The vision that schools offer must contain more than a "good job" for an individual; it must be a vision which can maintain the connection between being Maori and being well-educated. The current vigour within the Maori world has already attracted interest from other indigenous people and educationalists. By regaining some control over education, even if it has happened outside state structures, we have moved forward.

The significance of having Maori people initiating educational change is that there is more likelihood that we will create structures which serve our own interests more directly. It is in our interests to gain knowledge and skills which give us power over our own lives. It is in our own interests to gain knowledge and skills which connect our present reality with the political, economic, social and spiritual world in which we live. It is in our interests to gain knowledge and skills which give our lives meaning and purpose. These interests have not been served well by past mainstream educational structures.



Rangimarie Parata of Ngai Tahu was born in Rotorua in 1964 and grew up there and in Christchurch. She is currently overseas, working in the Corporate Finance Division of New Japan Securities Europe Ltd, London.

ATTITUDES

Rangimarie Parata

Who am I to be writing in this book alongside such distinguished people?

Who am I to think I could possibly have something worthwhile to contribute to the development of our people and indeed New Zealand?

Who am I to even dare to offer opinions and suggestions to the world at large?

These are the questions that run through my mind. Why should I instantly react this way? Is it because I'm not good enough to be here, or is it because I think I'm not good enough to be here? (There is a subtle difference.)

I wonder, I ponder and then I *kick* myself! Here I go again, that old 'attitude' problem: accepting the status quo; expecting only what society expects of me – after all, I am a Maori, I am a woman and I am young!

Poor Rangimarie, you say, and I believe. Twelve months ago this would have been a blank page, for poor Rangimarie would not have had the guts to do this. So why am I here now?

Because I have made the astounding discovery that I *can* do what I *want* to do and I control my destiny. This may sound old hat to some of you, but this revelation has been a turning point in my life. It all comes down to attitude! There are a multitude of reasons why *not*, but I have learnt that most excuses are the ones you create for yourself.

So I may not be particularly creative – in fact, writing prose and poetry has never been my forte – and I may not have a lot of years to draw upon in putting together this literary masterpiece, but I do have ideas and I do have some experiences and achievements tucked under my belt. So at the risk of losing my job, upsetting my family and exposing my innermost secrets to the world at large, I will write about what I know best . . . *me*. This is not intended to be a 'This is Your Life' episode. I hope in fact that you may be able to relate to some of my experiences or maybe see things from a slightly different perspective – that of a Young Maori Woman.

There are many dimensions that make up the final product, me. It is difficult to separate them, but for the purposes of this article I have managed to pull out the elements which I believe make me uniquely me. Forgive me if they start to overlap but you will appreciate that one does not go without the other.

My story begins with Rangimarie – the Maori, and works through to Rangimarie – the Young Maori Business Woman.

Part I: Rangimarie – the Maori

This dimension of my make-up is the foundation of all that is me. I have been Maori all my life. It *is* me. It is not something I have learnt from a book. I do not believe it is something you *can* learn from a book. To me being a Maori is a way of life.

I am Ngai Tahu, and thanks to the persistence of my parents I know my roots. They have instilled values in me which have got me where I am today. I have no identity crisis – I am Ngai Tahu, I am a Maori and I am proud of what I am. The fact that my



parents were unable to pass on the language, through no fault of their own, does not make me any less a Maori. It is something that for now I have to live with, but I know that when the time is right I will learn the tongue of my Tipuna, and it will be for me, for my own edification, not to justify my 'Maoriness' or to impress!

It seems to me that a large proportion of my generation is confused about what being a Maori means. There are so many conflicting messages coming through. It's as if we were born two generations too late or one generation too early. On the one hand, many of our parents were discouraged from speaking Maori and forced into urban living. The generation now coming through, on the other hand, is fortunate that it has come at a time when the efforts of our parents' generation and of generations past are coming to fruition with the renaissance of the language and culture through Kohanga Reo and tikanga Maori in the schools.

But what about us? As recently as ten years ago, I was forced to abandon Maori studies at school in favour of Japanese and French, as Maori was not considered an academic subject! Even those in the Maori classes had to learn Maori the Pakeha way, a way which we can see has not proved successful for our people. One can take heart that these things are gradually changing. Nevertheless, what about those of us who have not had the benefit of those changes? Once again, what about us?

This is a desperate call from our generation which I am echoing, but it is one that I have found my own way of addressing. It comes back to attitude once again. I have coped with the system as it has been in the past. I could have dwelled on the injustices of the whole system, for no-one can deny there are injustices. But I chose to get on with it and learn to play the game by their rules – what better way to change the rules!

As for the identity crisis largely caused by urbanisation and the loss of the language evident in our generation, I can only offer again my way of coping. To me, being a Maori comes from the heart. It is not the colour of your skin, it is not whether or not you have a Maori name, it is not whether or not you can speak the language. It is aroha and wairua. You can learn the language, you can learn to swing a poi or do a haka, but you can not learn aroha or wairua. If you've got those things, take strength from them and believe them. You are well on the way to becoming a fuller person.

I was fortunate in that I had my parents' support and encouragement every step of the way and was able to hurdle this obstacle of identity very early. Come to think of it, this probably gave me a head start: it was one more potential obstacle I didn't have to worry about. My parents continually reinforced pride in my heritage and culture, and from the minute I could hold a poi I was out there in the front row grinning toothlessly and doing my thing for all the world to see. Culture clubs and hui were part of my life. But there was also the other part of my life – the Pakeha world.

Education and school have played a major part in my development. Once again I was fortunate to have parents who, although not highly educated themselves, were going to make sure their kids were, even if they had to drag us to school by the hair – literally.

I recall one incident my parents recounted to me which had the potential to change my future dramatically. It is an incident which unfortunately happens all too frequently. People who profess that Maori have the same opportunities as Pakeha, and therefore should have no excuses, should take note. Although there may be the same opportunities, there are inevitably more obstacles, obstacles which are often so obscure they are not visible to the undiscerning eye.

At the tender age of five I was subjected to one of my first Maori-bashing incidents. It wasn't as physical as it sounds; in fact it seemed so insignificant at the time that I can't even remember it. Anyway, apparently I was doing fine at school, keeping up with the best of them (after all I had no reason to think I was any less capable than the others in my class). I was doing fine, that is, until one day the teacher noticed a sharp decline in the quality of my work. This continued for some time until the teacher had no choice but to ring my parents who would have to 'answer for it'. It was discovered that even at that early age I had an attitude problem! How could this be?

Well after some deep soul-searching by my mum and dad (had they done something wrong?), it was discovered that I had reacted to playground taunts – "You're just a dumb Maori . . . Dumb Maori . . . Dumb Maori!"

It sounds silly that simple things like this can cause such damage, but when you think about how impressionable kids are at that age you begin to understand how it can happen; and, guess what? – it continues all the way through life, although it may become more subtle as you get older.

How many of our kids are set back right from the start by taunting or similar experiences? If you get kicked down often enough, you quickly learn to lie down and stay down. I was saved by my parents once again.

Why is it that my parents keep featuring in this article? I mean, it's meant to be about me! Another revelation: I do not subscribe to the theory that you're either born with brains, skills, and so on, or you're not. I believe environment plays a major part in shaping our lives, and parents play a major part in shaping that environment. I have my parents to thank for pulling me through many of the knocks. I only hope that I will be sensitive enough to pull my own children through the knocks; after all, we are the parents of tomorrow.

While I am confident in myself as a Maori, I am now equally confident in the Pakeha world, largely as a result of my educational achievements and the fact that I have no hang-ups about being a Maori.

Being able to find the balance has not been easy, but I have learnt to simplify the whole situation.

I see myself walking down *my* road. I make my own choices and I control *my* road. The road is a combination of all that is me. It is complex yet simple, and it represents

all my dimensions. On either side of the road are two worlds which heavily influence the direction my road takes.

On my left is the Pakeha world, a world made up of values and standards brought to New Zealand by the early European settlers, evolving into and monopolising the essence of our society today.

On my right is the Maori world, embracing all the values and traditions of my Tipuna which have evolved on a much smaller scale in today's society but which are equally important to me.

My life has frequently required me to step off my road into one of these worlds. During school hours I would walk and compete in the Pakeha world and after school I would step back into the Maori world, whether it took the form of hui, culture practices, home or Te Wai Pounamu College where I boarded during my secondary school years.

I have since learnt it is very tiring and less effective to keep jumping from one world to the other. I have discovered I do not need to compromise one for the other. By pulling the best out of both worlds I am able to make a greater contribution and be a much more rounded and developed person. I have my feet firmly planted in both worlds and am still learning as much as I can from each.

Part II: Rangimarie – the Maori Woman

Another cross to bear – not only was I born Maori, but a woman as well!

During my time at Te Wai Pounamu College I became familiar with the lives of many Maori girls my age from all over the country and from many different but at the same time similar backgrounds. We ate (boy, did we do a lot of that!), worked and lived together as one whanau.

Sadly, many of these young Maori women had suffered abuse and general knocks throughout their lives. Enough to shatter their confidence and self-worth. Their feelings of failure were perpetuated by a school system which concentrated on academic achievement. If you didn't have it, you were classed a failure. I have heard criticism of the Maori boarding schools, particularly the girls' schools, whose success or otherwise our own people have questioned. I ask the question, what is the measure of success? Are we to measure it in Pakeha terms alone? If you take into account the fact that many of these girls have had to start a step further back with little if any confidence, would not the fact that they can stand with their heads held high by the time they leave college be a good measure of success? It also amuses me that parents can blame the schools for their children's failure, when by the time they reach high school the damage has already been done. Responsibility rests fairly and squarely with parents – education must begin at home.

I thoroughly enjoyed my time at boarding school. I learnt how to cope with many different situations, and this has held me in good stead for the real world. I have made lifelong friends and I have learnt discipline, respect for others and to hold my head high. I believe success at these colleges cannot be measured solely by the number of School Certificate and Bursary passes. How do you put a score on the number of kids that these colleges prevented from becoming streetkids? How do you score the change in attitude and increase in confidence? How do you score self-worth?

How many times did I hear the teachers from Avonside Girls' High School, the day-school we attended, marvel at us college girls' ability to lead and motivate our classmates (not always in the right direction, mind you!), and how many times were they awed by our sudden display of confidence when performing for large crowds, the Queen even? The question was often asked, why were we such different girls when

at college or on stage performing? My answer is, because we had self-worth and respect. We were successful in our own terms. We knew our culture and we were Maori. No one could deny us that! We respected and we were respected. In the classroom, unfortunately, many were failures and it was too late to change that.

My mates always dubbed me the 'brainy one'. To keep things in context, I would simply remind them of their own strengths. I firmly believe that if everyone concentrated on their strengths we would all be much better off. I have had to use my brains as, unfortunately, I was not blessed with any practical or artistic skills. The message is, 'Do what you are good at first'. There is no better confidence booster than succeeding at that. You can then move on to bigger challenges. Half the battle is believing in yourself and this must come from confidence.



I left college with a will to do something with my life. Being a woman at university was no big deal. There were plenty of women there. It was not until I entered the big wide world . . .

Fresh out of university, still wet behind the ears, with a Business Studies degree tucked under my belt, I headed for the big lights – Wellington. At first I didn't encounter any great problems that I could attribute solely to being a woman; after all, I had a multitude of other sins to blame as well!

I was eager to put my degree into practice and although I had always vowed I would avoid working in any Maori organisations until well into my career – for reasons I will elaborate on later – an opportunity presented itself which I couldn't refuse: the chance to get some on-the-job training in business finance and lending in the Development Finance Corporation, at that time a well-established finance company.

The training was to be for a year on secondment from the Maori Trust Office where I was working for a short period. Together with three other secondees from the Department of Maori Affairs, I was trained in a range of business areas for the ultimate purpose of forming the nucleus of the staff to operate the Maori Development Corporation.

I think I was considered a bit of a punt by the people who selected the secondees. The other three had far more experience and of course were all men. I had the relevant bit of paper (and besides it looked better having a female on the team!).

For the first six months I did what I was told, watched, listened and tried to absorb as much as I could. I churned out what was required, though on reflection it was probably more a matter of what was expected of me. There wasn't any great pressure on me to perform as well as the rest of the team, and this was perpetuated by my own attitude. I did what I thought was expected of me, and no more. Then I realised I was deliberately not extending myself. Fortunately, I was old enough to help myself this time. I had fallen into the same trap I fell into when I was five, but instead of believing myself to be a dumb Maori I simply accepted and reinforced the stereotype of a 21-year-old Maori woman.

I tell this story because once again it is not an uncommon occurrence amongst young Maori women. I have dubbed it the 'Cop-out Syndrome'. I could find some whopping excuses for not being able to do this or that. But that is exactly what they were – excuses!

My message to other young Maori women is to get out there and do it! Ignore the stereotypes, prove them wrong. There is no greater satisfaction. But remember your worst enemy is more often than not yourself.

I cannot excuse men, however, for their hand in shaping the so-called 'norms'. I have experienced chauvinism from the subtle to the blatant. I do not believe it is a woman's problem: it is a man's. But we women must learn to cope with it for now, and, where possible, change it.

I am particularly exposed to it in the business world and even the Maori world where traditionally men have dominated. I am still working on dealing with the situations as they arise. For example, when meeting new clients or business associates, almost exclusively men, I am often ignored if with the rest of the team. I have trained myself to step forward and put my hand out alongside my co-workers, and, at the risk of being dubbed outspoken, voice my opinions, much to the surprise of employers and clients alike.

It is true that as a woman in a predominantly male world I have had to work twice as hard, but the returns have been twice as rewarding. The hard part is getting past the preconceived ideas. This can only happen if you know your stuff! It is no good talking about how wonderful you are. You need results and you need to know what you are doing. My confidence comes from knowledge and experience. Once I have demonstrated to my clients that I can deliver the quality of service expected of the position, I am suddenly seen in a whole new light. I am suddenly something unique and amazing! I have done nothing more than my male co-worker but because it was not expected of me in the first place it is perceived as a much greater accomplishment. And why not? – I had to work my butt off to conquer the stereotype in the first place!

I am finding more and more that there are definite advantages in being a woman, particularly in business. I am often underestimated, but this immediately gives me some leverage and some room to play with. One of my methods of coping with a particularly chauvinistic or patronising character is to say to myself, "One day, mate, I'll be your boss!" You might call this arrogance, I prefer to call it natural justice! In fact, taken in the right way, knocks can be your biggest motivating force. So many times I have set out vengefully to prove them wrong.

Being a Maori woman in business makes me even more unique, and although it can be lonely at times, with few other sensible people to talk to, it has its advantages.

The uniqueness alone is a positive factor. The fact that I have a distinctive cultural dimension to add to my resume can only be a plus.

Part III: Rangimarie – the Young Maori Woman

At 24 I am still very much of the Rangatahi in Maori terms; in business terms I am getting on!

When I was at university one of my assignments was to write my own obituary as a planning exercise. I was tempted to take the easy way out and die at 23, but for the sake of the exercise I lived to a ripe old age and accomplished some wonderful things. However, my life story read so that I deliberately did not return to Maoridom, careerwise anyway, until well over 40. Why? Because in Maoridom age has traditionally been a prerequisite for power, influence and respect. This is based on the premise that with age comes wisdom. No problem as far as I am concerned. Our old people do have a wealth of knowledge and experience to offer.

Now, with the need for a wider range of skills to lead our people through the next century, it is becoming increasingly obvious that many of our authorities are seriously deficient in these skills. There has been a conscious effort to rectify this by encouraging continued education, particularly in business and administration. Still no problem as far as I can see. So what is the dilemma?

On the one hand we have an established regime. On the other we have an increasing number of young people coming through with the necessary business and administrative skills. Each side feeling threatened by the other. I know I feel dwarfed by the strength of our kaumatua in things Maori. I would imagine there is some fear on our kaumatuas' side of their mana being threatened by the superior business skills of the younger generation.

But let's take this from a different angle. On the one hand, there is tremendous knowledge of tikanga Maori and the wisdom that only comes with age; on the other, there are the business and administrative skills of the young. Simple, why not combine the strengths? No one person has all the answers; together we have a better chance of finding them!

I see both sides at fault on this issue. We are encouraged to go out and get an education. We may even be lucky enough to receive tribal grants for this purpose. We go out, we get educated and suddenly we're too young to have a say! Or worse, can't speak Maori, so "sit down and be quiet." That's when you get the young educated rebels demanding to be heard as of right and treading on everyone's mana to do so, which aggravates the problem.

This is a difficult situation to resolve, but I have learnt that the age-old saying 'Patience is a virtue' works for me. I will continue to do my own thing and chip away at the rock. By a strange twist of fate I am already working in a Maori organisation and have responsibility for the South Island. My age has caused some problems but I have learnt to play that down and focus on my skills. I have had to mature very quickly and think through a lot of issues, probably before my time (there I go again, stereotyping!). However, in my efforts for further personal development I will be travelling abroad for a year. There is still so much more I would like to experience. I am in no hurry to take over the running of my tribe – you must be crazy! I believe I can do more by developing my own skills so that when my time does come I will be ready.

Part IV: Rangimarie – the Young Maori Business Woman

I have already touched on some of my experiences as a young Maori business woman. Strictly speaking I am not yet a business woman in terms of running my own

- 75% of small businesses fail within five years of being established.
- The October 1987 stockmarket crash saw the collapse of a large number of public companies and businesses – how many of these were Maori companies?
- The existing business 'rules' were established by the Pakeha for the Pakeha, and they have had a significant head start, both in terms of familiarity and practical application of the 'rules', and in terms of easy access to resources previously owned by our Tipuna.

So, we aren't doing too badly when we look at the total picture. Yes, there is a need to increase business skills amongst our people. However, this should not be at the expense of our existing qualities. We are already half-way there. In fact, many of our people have made it in business. Unfortunately, we tend to hear the negative far more than the positive.

We still have a big learning curve ahead of us, but the first step is acknowledging those skills already available and building from there. I have developed confidence in myself by watching even the supposed experts and successful businessmen make fundamental mistakes. Business is not as mysterious as many would like you to believe.

Part V: My message

Essentially there are many reasons why *not*. The real trick is to acknowledge them, change those within your control and step over those out of your control.

I am proud to be Ngai Tahu and I am proud to be a Maori woman. It is premature to say I have made it, but I have reached the first level of self-realisation. I know who I am and where I want to go.

The key to self-realisation is attitude! You will be only what you want to be!

business, nor am I an authority on Maori economic development. However, my position as Account Manager for the Maori Development Corporation entails analysing business proposals to see if they are feasible and, where necessary, offering business advice. From this angle I have made some interesting observations, and must comment on some of the traits I have found in many of the Maori business people I have come across.

I have been somewhat perturbed at the assumptions made by many, including our own, that Maori people are not business people by nature; that Maoridom has a lot to learn in the business world but little if anything to offer. I strongly disagree with these assumptions.

When I began my degree in Business Studies I had no background in business whatsoever. To my surprise I found myself simply learning another language. All this high tech, jargon and intellectual theory was merely commonsense in another language. Since when did anyone have to learn step by step how to make a decision?

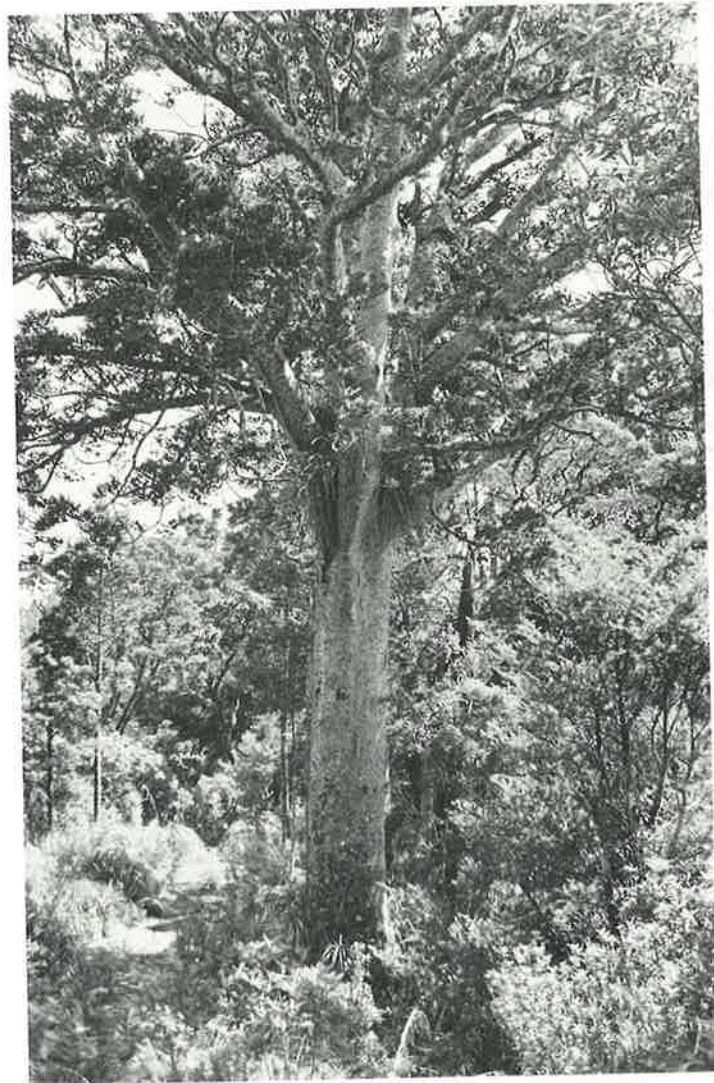
It dawned on me a bit later in life when coming face to face with real people in business that they did not have the fancy jargon. What they had was commonsense and many were what I call 'streetsmart'.

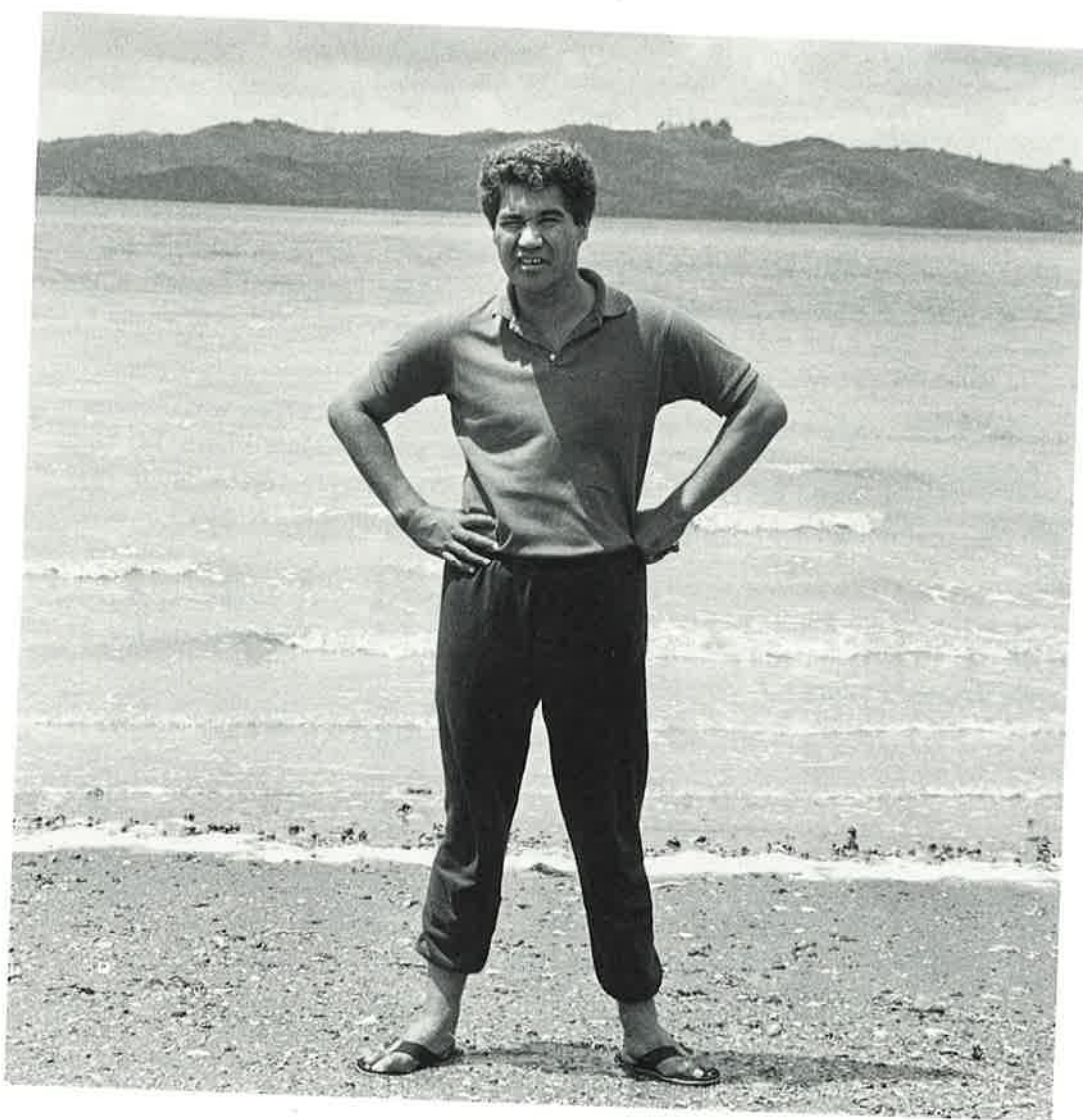
Commonsense is one of the those underrated qualities which I believe to be inherent in our people. As a matter of course we have had to make do with what we have and live on our quick wits, practical application and resourcefulness. With the little money available and many mouths to feed, it is no wonder our parents learnt to work hard, make sound decisions and act quickly.

These qualities are not lost in business. They are essential. The ability to organise is also a trait which is often underrated. It is no mean feat to organise a hui or tangi at the drop of a hat, or even a household of ten children plus the extended family.

University is great for theory and ideology. The real test is whether or not you can apply them.

We are often reminded of our failures in business by the media but things should be looked at in perspective.





Rawiri Paratene was born at Motukaraka, Hokianga, in 1954. He is of Ngai Tupoto and Te Hikutu hapu of Nga Puhi iwi. He is a Maori dramatist based in Opononi.

The introduction to the following poem was translated into Maori by Akuhata Tangaere.

A TRIBUTE TO THE LIVING MAORI RACE

Rawiri Paratene

I te tekau tau mai i 1890, i te wa whakamutunga i pataitia ai taua patai, tera pea he ngakau kore tona whakautu. Tata ana te Maori ka ngaro ki te korehaha i te mahi a nga riri whenua o te tekau tau mai i 1860, me nga mate hou kaore nei i taea e te tinana Maori te whawhai.

E tu tu haere tonu ana i to tatou whenua etahi tohu whakamaharatanga i whakaarahia hei whakamaumaharatanga ki te 'whatungarongarotanga o te iwi Maori' (Ara, kei One Tree Hill i Akarana tetahi hei taura whai tikanga mo tenei korero). Me ki, mo te iwi Maori, i te whanautanga mai o te rau tau 20, kua tata rawa atu a ia i te ngaro ki te korehaha.

Kua tae mai nei ki te tekau tau atu i 1990, kua puta ano taua patai. Ahakoa ia ra i hoki ake tatou i te mate, a, e kaha ana te wairua ina tomokia nei e tatou te rau tau 21, e kore e taea te ki tuturu e tu rangatira ana tatou.

Ka marama, mehemea e tirohia ana nga mamaetanga nana tatou i pehi.

The pakeha
with his 'steal' blades
has tried to gut us.
He almost succeeded.
A lot of blood has been lost
and our dangling hearts
are tied with flax
to our knees.

We are busy now
gathering severed limbs
transplanting vital organs
regenerating rich brown skin
re-embowelling disembowelled
bowels

And soon we'll be together
and we will stand as one
No longer hollow-stomached

For we are not extinct
Nor are we endangered!

The pakeha
with his 'beehive' matches
has tried to burn
our parents' tongues.
He wants to slice ours out
with his brand new
rust resistant, ever efficient
disposable, bic-thinking
all new, all purpose, all empowering
all-uminium blades.

We are busy now
gathering scattered pieces
of the riddle of our language
Yes
all those pidgin-remnants
of an acrobatic tongue
that once was fluent as a river

And soon we'll be together
and we will speak as one
No longer tongue-tied

For we are not mutes
Nor are we illiterate!

•

The pakeha
with his barter (and his
bullets)
has tried to banish us.
And not content with that
he came armed with Holy
Bible
to take possession of our
souls.

We are busy now
gathering our people
reviving and recruiting
reclaiming what is ours

And soon we'll be together
and we will *RISE* as one
No longer razzle-dazzled

For we are not homeless
Nor are we lacking spirit!





Tilley Te Koingo Reedy is Ngati Porou, born at Hiruharama, East Coast. A mother and a grandmother, she now lives in Wellington, where she manages the Maori Unit of the New Zealand Planning Council.

PIECES OF SILVER

Tilley Reedy

The mists rise slowly from the lake, the sun filtering through to silver a swell of gentle breath and illuminate the distant mountains and the ancient trees hugging the shoreline. Geneva slumbers. Neither the swans, nor the early fishermen, disturb the tranquil waters . . .

Here and there the creeping light picks out the majestic castles and their sweeping lawns to water's edge . . . Aloof, of another era. Conjuring up images of knights in shining armour, prancing horses, admiring ladies . . . images of another place, another time . . .

With fear and awe the brothers watched Maui haul up the huge fish. "Control your hunger until I have given thanks to Tangaroa" he ordered, but they ignored him. In anger the gods caused the fish to writhe and twist, forming mountains and valleys, and Hikurangi, the beginning of the world. Always there to welcome the new day.

Slowly, Geneva awakens to the new day. Geneva: magical city, international city, crossroads of the worlds of yesterday and today. Its many voices a cacophony of sounds, bridging east and west, north and south, and black, white and brown.

Kia ora! Bonjour! Hi! Guten tag! Konnichiwa! Buenas Dias!

The 'Old Town' is warmed by the strengthening sun. I gaze at its history. I walk the pavements that perhaps Caesar walked, I touch the ancient walls that slave hands built, and marvel . . . I ride the train to Jungfrau-jock and silently pay tribute to those men and women and their incredible feat of engineering. Their mastering of the elements of nature allows me to stand 13 thousand feet above sea-level and gaze in awe at the wonders of His works, and marvel . . .

Yet I had no such comfort when I neared te tahi o Hikurangi that one time. Only a few feet to the top and I couldn't make it. Yet the wonder of it remains. Ngati Porou as far as the eye could see, the Waiapu meandering its hungry trail to Te Moananui-a-Kiwa beyond, the sea route of Paikea on the back of his whale, of Horouta from its Hawaiki. When I fly over the Pacific I realise how incredible their journey, and marvel . . .

And now as I sit in on Convention 107 at the United Nations I marvel at the pettiness of Man and his hunger for power, for control. And not just here, it's everywhere!

About one hundred and fifty countries are represented here, and most with delegates from workers, employers and governments. They meet to revise Convention 107, 1957. They meet to consider the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples to maintain their own distinct identity and culture . . .

Kapohanga, the house, was warm. The embers in the middle of the room glowing, the lamplight soft. The old ancestress listened as she had always done to the talk and laughter within her. There had been much talk as usual, lots of laughter and not too much "sh..sh.., keep quiet you kids, tirituri!" The child embraced the female figure holding up the tahuhu, the ridgepole. Secure, trusting, she laid her cheek against it, smoothing her hands over the silken wood, as many of her whanaunga had done over the generations.

They had brought the house down from the hill above, closer to the playful waters of Waitakaro (. . . Some 50 years later she would bring the name 'Waitakaro' to her home so far from home . . .) And now the house was to be moved again. There would be changes: Hinewairere would be promoted to the front of Kapohanga to welcome their descendants, and her place in the enlarged fully carved house would be replaced by their warrior grandsons, Ponapatukia and Te Rangitawaea. To their taha mauī, would stand the carved dining hall, Nga Tama Toa – named for the warrior sons killed in World War II and lost to Ngati Porou forever. For some, their family-names were also lost forever. Perhaps the 'price of citizenship' had been too high for them . . .

The child and her ancestor watch the movement of people across the marae. They feel the pain and anguish of the expressed grief:

"Kai kinikini ai te mamae i ahau, e . . ."

Then the group waits. Patiently, they wait. Eventually, they move to the warmth and comfort of Kapohanga, their refuge . . .

Geneva, too, has been a refuge to many over the centuries. No international wars for over 200 years. No wars . . . no pain. Lucky Geneva! Wise Switzerland! More recently, two World Wars and each time able to remain neutral. What an enviable record! Today, Geneva remains a refuge for those seeking peace; a world-court for those seeking arbitration; a forum for formulating recommended policy (as with Convention 107); a trusted partner for international wealth within its many banks.

Yet it has not always been like this. According to our tour guide yesterday, Switzerland arrived at this idyllic situation via some very tortuous routes. One story she tells is of a group of strong-minded women who banded together a long time ago to overcome their ruler's habit of eating babies. They fed him up with his own son . . .

Brave mother – a sacrifice . . . Protective mothers – ever safeguarding their young and their future.

"Kia kaha tatou ki te tautoko i to tatou reo e apohia nei i te reo o tauīwi . . . The Kohanga Reo imagery captures all our hopes and dreams for our language. We must make a commitment to talk and talk in Maori. To make it a living language. The name itself shows us the way – kohanga, nest; so back to the home, to the whanau . . ." She spoke with conviction, her words rising to the capture of ceiling and walls of her tipuna whare.

The child now the mother gazes at her child. "I have let her down. I who had so much."

The language everywhere was Maori. Tiny Nanny Bessie fussed around. She seemed always to be peeling tiny Waikato potatoes with her tiny pocket knife – neat, precise, careful. Her kits were the same – beautifully made, neat and precise. Nanny Liza, big, warm, beautiful, always cooking huge pots of food for shearing gangs . . . Maisie, famous for her hospitality, for her Maori bread, and for always cleaning up. Never still . . . The aunties, always there, always around . . . gossiping, planning, supporting.

The child remembers clearly the strength of these women, their unspoken message of how special she was . . . how special all us girl-kids were. They nurtured us and inculcated within us pride in being Ngati Porou. They demanded excellence in everything we did. They taught us a lot of our cultural values through action-songs set to American 'pop' tunes . . .

"Mr What you call it what you doing tonight . . . E te Hokowhitu-a-Tu kia kaha ra . . ."

They certainly understood youth psychology.

And discipline? Well, everyone was your mother or father – so you couldn't get away with anything. They were everywhere. At the toilets when you wanted to sneak a pinched smoke, or passing by as you lay in the sun on the hill instead of being at school. That was the worst crime out – playing hooky from school. They firmly believed that 'education' was the answer for everything.

They encouraged fierce competition within whanau, hapu and iwi, and taught solidarity against outside forces at each of those levels.

And all through te reo . . .

Bonjour. Guten tag. Konnichiwa. Buenas Dias.



The Convention is taking a break. There is a need for solidarity and consensus. The sensitive topic of the land rights of some 300 million people of widely differing races from all over the world has been under consideration for several hours. Their rights to ownership, possession and use is the scope. Consideration of their natural resources is yet to come.

What a unique opportunity to write history! Kei hea taua te iwi Maori? Kei hea to taua reo?

"E nga mana, e nga reo o Te Ao Whanui, tena koutou katoa." Tamati, the first Maori to represent the New Zealand Government at Convention 107, is speaking.

"On behalf of the New Zealand delegation I bring sincere greetings from our homeland, Aotearoa – New Zealand, to all nations gathered here. On behalf of the Maori people, I join with other members of our delegation present here in expressing a strong hope for a purposeful outcome to this Committee's work . . .

"It is with pleasure that I make this statement on behalf of our government, addressing our past and present position.

"In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by the indigenous Maori people and the representatives of the British Crown, thereby establishing New Zealand – a nation of two peoples. Since that time, these two peoples, Maori and Pakeha, have striven to

carve out a strong healthy nation for their descendants. However, for the Maori people history has not provided the sense of equality promised by the Treaty. The social and economic record shows an alarming gap in education, housing, health, and employment. The cultural deterioration, reflected in Maori language loss and the dislocated identity of Maori youth, has led to disproportionate institutionalisation.

“Over the past five years, my Government has moved to shift focus philosophically and administratively in an attempt to correct these imbalances . . . The New Zealand Government acknowledges the right of indigenous people to the control and enjoyment of those resources which it is their wish to retain. At the same time, it may be appropriate for governments to take measures to re-endow indigenous peoples with certain lands and resources . . . in the true spirit of partnership . . .”

Partnership? The Treaty promised that. The Treaty also promised me my tino rangatiratanga.

“Ahakoa huri atu tatou ki hea ka tu tonu mai ko te iwi te kaipupuri o to tatou tino rangatiratanga . . .” Kapohanga gathers his convictions to her . . . “In recognition of the treaty contract the Government will devolve power of control to iwi. That will bring challenges to institutions, to systems, and to those with a vested interest in the status quo. Not only the Pakeha, but Maori too. We know that power-sharing will be rejected because no one willingly gives away power. Neither the Pakeha, nor the Maori. So, ranks will close up, obstacles will be raised, and red herrings will be floated. Not only by the Pakeha, but by the Maori too. Promises will be broken. But we will not go away. We live here. We are the living embodiment of our iwi . . . The living past, the living present, the living future.”

“ . . . the recognition and preservation of Maori identity is fundamental to the government’s policy concerning Maori people . . .” Tamati continues.



“The two peoples-one nation concept of New Zealand’s founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi, is reflected in the government’s recent reform of Maori policy. It recognises the *Iwi* – the tribe – as the fundamental social structure of the Maori

people and the basis of the retention of Maori identity . . .”

As clear as yesterday she can hear the beautiful, resonant voice of Uncle Arnold emphasise with action, “Na Ponapatukia i parani toku mana Ngati Porou ki toku rae.” Thump! Thump! Thump! He smacks his forehead with his closed fist, instilling within her unquestioning mind the might of Ponapatukia to indelibly mark each of his descendants for Ngati Porou and ensure the mana of Ngati Porou for all time! . . . All that, there at Hiruharama . . .

At Hiruharama, dream place of Tuta of a new Jerusalem, turangawaewae of Te Aowera hapu and its many whanau, centre court of Te Aitanga-a-Mate and Te Whanau-a-Rakairoa and their many descendants, the child absorbed and was absorbed by her whanau, her affiliated hapu, and her iwi. She secured her identity and her culture. She secured her tino rangatiratanga and wore it with pride.

It is rather difficult to convince her, sitting here in Geneva on the eve of 1990, that her proudly fearless tipuna would give up their tino rangatiratanga for ‘thirty pieces of silver’.

